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The Concept of Unlearning in Art Histories and Women's Art Praxes: The Case Studies of Emily Carr (1871-1945) And Gabriele Münter (1877-1962)

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The Concept of Unlearning in Art Histories and Women's Art Praxes: The Case Studies of Emily Carr (1871-1945) And Gabriele Münter (1877-1962)

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Résumé

Cette thèse étude le concept de désapprentissage en histoire de l'art moderne, notamment tout au long du XIXe siècle dans une perspective féminine et internationale. La thèse explore les processus qui ont permis un changement de paradigme, afin de comprendre les mécanismes qui ont porté à une révolution esthétique moderne. Désapprendre apparaît pour la première fois dans des écrits pédagogiques sur l'art en Angleterre à la fin du dix-huitième siècle, ce concept est mobilisé afin d'analyser le travail de deux femmes artistes modernes, Emily Carr (1877-1945) et Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Par deux études de cas comparatifs, la recherche met en évidence la force émancipatrice de la praxis de désapprendre dans l'art des femmes avec l'aide d'un corpus qui investigue les processus communs, les techniques et les éléments de tentions d'une artiste emblématique de la modernité canadienne et sa contemporaine allemande dans l'ère coloniale. Cette perspective transnationale permet de réévaluer le rôle des femmes artistes dans la création des histoires de l'art moderne.

La première partie de la thèse trace l'apparition du concept de réapprentissage comme un moyen d'émancipation de l'académie, pour une expression authentique et simple. Clairement explicité pour la première fois dans les *Discourses on Art* de Sir Joshua Reynolds, l'idée de désapprentissage évolue à travers du 19e siècle dans les théories anglo-saxonnes comme celles de William Blake, de John Ruskin, de William Morris, et jusqu'au vingtième siècle par la théorie de Roger Fry qui postule les processus de réapprentissage comme un retour aux arts anciens par une lecture anthropologique de l'avant-garde internationale. La deuxième partie de la thèse explore le désapprentissage comme une praxis artistique propre aux femmes artistes de la fin de siècle. Selon l'hypothèse de la thèse, c'est le désapprentissage qui développe la force émancipatrice de ces femmes artistes par des pratiques promues par le biais de l'art autochtone de la Colombie-Britannique (Carr) et l'art populaire bavarois (Münter) de proximité. Ce processus est facilité par la mobilité, l'ironie et les technologies accessibles aux femmes. Compris comme un « amnesie intentionelle » (Baldacchino), désapprendre a pour but de s'affranchir (par l'éducation et de l'éducation) dans leurs pratiques artistiques avec l'aide des objets familiers.

Mots-clés : Désapprendre (concept de), histoire de l'art, études des femmes, Emily Carr, Gabriele Münter, 18-20e siècles.

Abstract

This thesis studies the concept of unlearning in the history of modern art during the long nineteenth century from a feminine and international perspective. The thesis explores alternative artistic processes to understand the mechanisms that led to a modern aesthetic revolution in the Western image tradition. Unlearning appears for the first time in pedagogical writings on art in England at the end of the eighteenth century. This thesis uses the concept to analyze the work of two modern women artists, Emily Carr (1877-1945) and Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Through two comparative bodies of work, my research highlights the emancipatory force of their praxes of unlearning. This corpus investigates the common processes, techniques and incongruencies of an emblematic artist of Canadian modernity and her German contemporary in the colonial era. This transnational perspective makes it possible to reassess the role of women artists in creating modern art histories.

The first part of the thesis traces the appearance of unlearning as a means of emancipation from art education in favour of an authentic and simple expression. First appeared in Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses on Art*, the idea of unlearning evolved through the nineteenth century in Anglo-Saxon theories such as those of William Blake, John Ruskin, and William Morris. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Roger Fry developed an aesthetic theory which postulates a "retrogressive movement" as a return to the ancient arts through an anthropological reading of the international avant-garde of Post-Impressionism. The second part of the thesis explores unlearning as an artistic praxis specific to women artists of the fin de siècle. Unlearning is understood as a "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino) aiming for emancipation through education as much as from education and ultimately gaining autonomy through art. Facilitated through technologies, mobility and irony, their unlearning gets exemplified by a close study of their private book collections and transposed onto their respective ethno-artistic project: With Indigenous art from British Columbia (Carr) and Bavarian folk art (Münter).

Keywords: Unlearning (concept of), Art History, Women Studies, Emily Carr, Gabriele Münter, 18-20th centuries.

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Figure 51. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Houses in Kallmünz (Häuser in Kallmünz),* 1903-04. Coloured woodcut, 18.3 x 18.7 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 785). [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk,* 63.]

Figure 52. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), "*Female Head" ("Weiblicher Kopf")*, c.1902. Woodcut, 29.9 x 19.8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 820). [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 61.]

Figure 53. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Münter's atelier in Munich, Schackstrasse 4, with her palette and easel,* winter 1903/04. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter: Die Jahre mit Kandinsky*, 91.]

Figure 54. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Münter's atelier in Munich, Schackstrasse 4, with life size nudes,* winter 1903/04. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter: Die Jahre mit Kandinsky,* 90.]

Figure 55. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Westminster School of Art*, 1901. Gouache and ink on paper, n/a. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP06152). [Source: Bridge, *Emily Carr in England,* 22.]

Figure 56. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *"Imagine if every student brought a chaperone to class",* 1902. Graphite and watercolour on paper, n/a. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP06140).). [Source: Bridge, *Emily Carr in England,* 136.]

Figure 57. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Algeron Talmage (possibly) visiting a student at work*, 1901. Graphite and ink on paper, n/a. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP05910). [Source: Bridge, *Emily Carr in England,* 102.]

Figure 58. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), "*Just as you're feeling better And joy your bosom fills, Down falls your heart to zero For in comes nurse with pills"*, 1903. Bound sketchbook with 56 drawings in graphite and ink, 20.7 x 16.5 cm. McMichael Canadian Art Collection (1973.8). [Source: Carr, *Pause a sketch book*, 25.]

Figure 59. Emily Carr's copy of Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*. *Comprising all the Poems written by Walt Whitman following the Arrangement of the Edition of 1891-2*. New York: Modern Library, circa 1940, Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 6 Item 2). [Source: Photograph by the author]

Figure 60. Emily Carr's copy of Robert Browning, *The poetical works*, New York: Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1872, Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 6 Item 5). [Source: Photograph by the author]

Figure 61. Emily Carr's copy of Denman W. Ross, *A Theory of Pure Design*. *Harmony, Balance, Rhythm,* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907, Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 7 Item 3). [Source: Photograph by the author]

Figure 62. Emily Carr's drawing in her copy of *Poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti,* 1904. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 6 Item 6). [Source: Photograph by the author]

Figure 63. Gabriele Münter's copy of *Godey's Lady's Book and magazine*, 1861, Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Photograph by the author]

Figure 64. Gabriele Münter's copy of the *Catalogue of the 12th exhibition of the Berlin Secession of 1911* heavily commented by Gabriele Münter, Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Photograph by the author]

Figure 65. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Sister and I in Alaska. "As the day of our departure from Sitka drew near, we betook ourselves to the Indian village, and procured a curio or two as mementoes of our happy trip, and offerings for our friends",* page 35, 1907. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (I-67766). [Source: Emily Carr, *Sister and I in Alaska*, 35.]

Figure 66. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Sister and I in Alaska. "We are immediately taken adopted, and straightway taken for our initiation trip to the totem poles, and thereafter bourn thither twice daily, for the rest of our sojourn in Sitka, be the climatic conditions favourable or unfavourable",* page 19, 1907. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (I-67766). [Source: Emily Carr, *Sister and I in Alaska*, 19.]

Figure 67. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Totem Pole*, *Sitka,* c.1907. Watercolour, 34.8 x 21.5 cm. Private collection. [Source: Moray, *Unsettling Encounters. First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr,* 154.]

Figure 68. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945). *Totem Walk at Sitka,* 1907. Watercolour on paper, 38. 5 x 38. 5 cm. Victoria, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, The Thomas Gardiner Keir Bequest (1994.055.004). [Source: Hill, Lamoureux, Thom, eds., *Emily Carr. New Perspectives in a Canadian icon,* 25.]

Figure 69. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Indian Village, Ucluelet,* 1899. Ink on paper, 22.2 x 30.3 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00641). [Source: Moray, *Unsettling Encounters. First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr,* 77.]

Figure 70. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Indian Girl*, 1899. Ink over pencil on paper, 28.4 x 18.5 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00600). [Source: Moray, *Unsettling Encounters. First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr,* 79.]

Figure 71. *Postcard sent by Gabriele Münter to her sister in law, Tunis,* Feburary 13 1905. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv.2580). [Source: Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 92]

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Figure 73. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Family at the carnival, Tunis*, March 1906. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2554). [Source: Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 140.]

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Figure 76. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Ottoman cemetery, Tunisia,* spring 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2580). [Source: Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 143.]

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Figure 78. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Sidi Bel Hassen Cemetery, Tunisia,* 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2586). [Source: Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 142.]

Figure 79. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Tunisian graveyard,* n.d. Pencil on paper, 11 x 16.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_16, 18). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

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Figure 88. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Women on Bavarian grave yard*, n.d. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2445). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

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Figure 91. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Grave crosses in Kochel*, 1909. Oil on cardboard, 40.5 x 32.8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 658). [Source: Friedel and Hoberg, eds., *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Retrospektive*, 119.]

Figure 92. Figure Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Cross in graveyard,* 1908, Oil on cardboard, 63.6 x 51.6 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv.- Nr. L564). [Source: Lempertz auctions, Munich]

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Figure 95. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962). *Two women talking on Grüngasse, Murnau,* 1908/09. Black and white photography, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky*, 192.]

Figure 96. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Avenue in Parc Saint-Cloud (Allee im Park von Saint-Cloud),* 1906. Oil on canvas, 40.5 x 50.5 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 651). [Source: Friedel and Hoberg, eds., *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Retrospektive,* 75.]

Figure 97. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Gabriele Münter's sketchbook with names of artists and galleries, Paris,* 1907. [Source: Hoberg and Behr, *Gabriele Münter. The Search for Expression 1906-1917*, 56]

Figure 98. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Untitled "Dutch girl,"* 1907-08. Woodcut, 11 x 9.8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 852). [Source: Friedel, *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 103.]

Figure 99. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Mme Vernot and Aurélie,* 1906. Coloured lino cut, 23.4 x 18.1 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 813). [Source: Friedel, *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk,* 77]

Figure 100. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Parc Saint-Cloud,* 1907. Coloured lino cut, 10.5 x 24.5 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 827). [Source: Friedel, *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 83.]

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Figure 102. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *The Quay, Alert Bay,* c. 1908. Watercolour on paper, 26.35 x 36.83 cm. Whistler, Audain Art Museum Collection (2016.0.13). [Source: Watanabe, Bridge, Laurence, and Polay, *Emily Carr. Fresh Seeing,* 113.]

Figure 103. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Totem by the Ghost Rock*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 90.2 x 114.7 cm. Vancouver, Collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery, Emily Carr Trust (VAG 42.3.10). [Source: Moray, *Unsettling Encounter*, 224-225.]

Figure 104. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *An Indian Village*, 1909. Gouache, 36.3 x 52.5 cm. Private collection [Source: Sotheby's]

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Figure 109. *Postcard mailed home by Emily Carr, showing Église Saint-Michel and calvary, in Saint-Michel-en-Grève,* 10 July 1911. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections. [Source: Watanabe, Bridge, Laurence, and Polay, *Emily Carr. Fresh Seeing,* 46.]

Figure 110. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Wayside Cross, St. Efflamme, Brittany,* 1911. Watercolour on paper, 44.5 cm x 27.0 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00613). [Source: Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, online collection]

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Figure 112. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Untitled (Graveyard)*, 1911, Oil on wood, 68.6 x 53.3cm. University of Lethbridge Art Gallery, Alberta (198716). [Source: Watanabe, Bridge, Laurence, and Polay, *Emily Carr. Fresh Seeing,* 45.]

Figure 113. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Totem Pole (Alert Bay),* 1911. Oil on canvas, 68.6 x 35.9 cm. McMichael Canadian Art Collection, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern, Dominion Gallery, Montreal (1974.18.4). [Source: Hill, Lamoureux, Thom, *Emily Carr. New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, 32.]

Figure 114. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Street, Alert Bay,* 1912. Oil on canvas, 81.8 x 60 cm. Private collection. [Source: Hill, Lamoureux, Thom, *Emily Carr. New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, 145.]

Figure 115. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Totem Pole (Alert Bay), "Being As It Were In A Chast[e]ned And Subdued Frame Of Mind...,"* 1910. Ink with colour wash on paper,

23.4 x 18.6 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP 06061). [Source: Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, online collection]

Figure 116. Anonymous, *Gabriele Münter on a bicycle, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck,* 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky,* 9.]

Figure 117. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Local peasant couple, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck,* 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2055). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

Figure 118. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Gabriele Münter's teacher Maximilian Dasion next to a draw well, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck,* 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2055). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

Figure 119. Unknown photographer, *Gabriele Münter drawing outdoors*, summer 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2070) [Source: GMJE-Foundation]

Figure 120. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Painting a Landscape* ("*Beim Landschaftsmalen*"), 1901/02. Oil on canvas, 23.5 x 27.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. L636). [Source: Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 63.]

Figure 121. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962). *Drawing of a Bavarian farm house in Kochel,* 1902. Pencil on paper, 12.4 x 18 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_9, 7). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

Figure 122. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *House and barn*, *probably Kochel*, 1902. Oil on textile, 21 x 31.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. L 635). [Source: Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 65.]

Figure 123. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962). *Drawing of a non-descript landscape,* 1902. Graphite on paper, 12.4 x 18 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_9, 53). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

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Figure 126. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *"House." Jane Lee's 'Shanty', Guion, Texas,* 1900. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika*, 67.]

Figure 127. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Alpine hut (Heustadel), South Tyrol,* 1908. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky*, 29.]

Figure 128. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Alpine Hut (Heustadel),* 1908. Ink on paper, 6.8 x 8.3 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (GMS 1083). [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk,* 108.]

Figure 129. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *View of the Murnau Moors* ("Blick aufs Murnauer Moss"), 1908. Oil on cardboard, 32.7 x 40.5 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 654). [Source: Hoberg and Friedel, eds., *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Retrospektive*, 102.]

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Figure 134. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Wall with cupboard and collection (e.g. two works by Alexej Jawlensky, in Kandinsky's and Münter's apartment*, c. 1913. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky,* 251.]

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Figure 137. Emily Carr (1871 - 1945), *Tanoo Q.C.I.,* 1912. Water colour on paper, 76.2 x 55.8 cm. Collection of Hank Swartout, Canada. [Source: Milroy and Dejardin, eds.,From the Forst to the Sea. Emily Carr in British Columbia, 132.]

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Figure 141. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Wall with reversed glass paintings in Kandinsky's and Münter's Munich apartment,* c. 1913. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation. [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky*, 249.]

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Figure 143. Heinrich Rambold (1872 - 1953), *Exvoto for sick farmer ("Exvoto für bettlägerigen Bauern"),* n.d. Gouache and oil behind glass, 24.3 x 16.3 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation, former collection of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky (H 74). [Source: Mühling, Hoberg, Straetmans, *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter,* 32.]

Figure 144. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962). *Exvoto*, c.1908/09. Ink and oil behind glass, 23.2 x 16.9 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation (GMS 731). [Source: Mühling, Hoberg, Straetmans, *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter,* 321.]

Figure 145. Anonymous artist of Raimundsreut, Bavaria, *The Death of a Saint* ("Der Tod des Hl. Josef"), 1800-1825. Reversed painting on glass, 27.2 x 22.8 cm. Oberammergau, Oberammergau Museum, formerly collection Johann Krötz (Inv. nr. H 38). [Source: Uhrig and Werner, *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst,* 28.]

Figure 146. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *The Death of a Saint* ("Der Tod eines Heiligen"), n.d. Ink and oil behind glass, 29.8 x 21.1 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation (H 120). [Source: Mühling, Hoberg, Straetmans, *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter,* 392.]

Figure 147. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962). *Wayside cross in landscape ("Kruzifix in Landschaft")*, 1910. Gouache and oil behind glass, 14.2 cm x 20.3 (framed). Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (G 12190).

Figure 148. Anonymous, *Gabriele Münter dressed in a traditional Bavarian dress with a rake in front of the garden pavilion of Murnau villa,* 1910. [Source: Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter: Die Jahre mit Kandinsky*, 230.]

Figure 149. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Flowers in front of pictures ("Blumen vor Bildern"),* 1910. Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 49.5 cm. Bern, Expressionismus Stiftung beim Kunstmuseum Bern. [Source: Uhrig and Werner, *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst,* 84.]

Figure 150. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Still Life with Figures* ("*Dunkles Stillleben mit Figürchen*"), 1910. Oil on canvas, 79.5 x 70 cm. Schlossmuseum Murnau, loan of Vereinigten Sparkassen, Murnau (Inv. nr. 11306). [Source: Uhrig and Werner, *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst,* 85.]

Figure 151. Gabriele Münter(1877 - 1962), *Still life with flowers and figurines (Stillleben mit Blumen und Figuren),* 1911. Oil on cardboard, 68.5 x 50.8 cm. Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen (Inv. nr. 857-1962/8). [Source: Uhrig and Werner, *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst,* 88.]

Figure 152. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Dark still life (mystery) (Dunkles Stilleben [Geheimnis]),* 1911. Oil on textile, 78.1 x 100.6 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. nr. S 152). [Source: Jansen, *Gabriele Münter. Malen ohne Umschweife*, 194.]

Figure 153. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Still life with St. George* (*Stilleben mit Heiligem Georg)*, 1911. Oil on cardboard, 51.1 x 68 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (GMS 666). [Source: Hoberg and Friedel, eds., *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Retrospektive,* 165.]

Figure 154. Heinrich Rambold (1872 - 1953), *The Queen of Bohemia confessing to Saint Nepomuk, (Beichte der Königin von Böhmen beim Hl. Nepomuk),* n.d. Gouache and oil behind glass, 31.7 x 21.3 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation, former

collection of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky (H 114). [Source: Mühling, Hoberg, Straetmans, *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, 318.]

Figure 155. *Anonymous photograph of Henry van de Velde's Folkwang Museum, Hagen, entrance hall with fountain by Minne and paintings by Gauguin and Matisse,* c.1910. [Source: Kuenzli, *The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum*, 508.]

Figure 156. Gabriele Münter (1877 - 1962), *Drawing of an ex voto from the Alpine region ("Vor der Waldkapelle, June 4",* n.d. (probably 1908). Graphite on paper, 11 x 16.5. cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_23, 81). [Source: GMJE-Foundation, Munich]

Figure 157. Anonymous, *Devotional copy of the Madonna of Ettal, a Bavarian pilgrimage site, (former collection of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky),* early 19th c. Wooden and coloured sculpture, 53 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. nr. HP 5). [Source: Uhrig and Werner, *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst,* 63.]

List of acronyms and abbreviations

BC: British Columbia

GMJE-Foundation: Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, München

GMS: Gabriele Münter Stiftung

INHA: Institut international de l'histoire de l'art

NGC: National Gallery of Canada

NKVM: Neue Künstlervereinigung München

NYPL: New York Public Library

PRB: Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood

RA: Royal Academy

UK: United Kingdom

VAG: Vancouver Art Gallery

To Hedwig Breyer Otto and Gerd Otto

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General Introduction

Since the mid-eighteenth century, the common myth of artistic progression[1] has been contested by theories stressing the importance of regression. Uncovering the origins of art was seen as a tactic for renewing European art that have become decadent and mannerist. In their quest to rejuvenate modern art, turn-of-the-century artists wilfully turned their back on mimetic representation in favour of a more direct and personal form of artistic expression, which they identified in the arts of the "unlearned:" namely the creations of ancient cultures, children, or Indigenous peoples. This desire for simplicity, as expressed by the European avant-garde at the beginning of the twentieth century, seems irrevocably modern. However, it, in fact, echoes the concept of unlearning, as it was coined by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his *Discourses on Art*[2] in the late eighteenth century.[3] For Reynolds, unlearning captures the artistic process of leaving behind certain forms of stylistic decadence, which he located, for instance, in French academic painting. Unlearning aims to arrive at a form of artistic expression—a "real simplicity"[4] that is true, immediate, authentic, and devoid of fashions.

First, it should be noted that there is a distinction to be made between the term "primitive"[5] and its usage, on the one hand, and the historic concept of "primitivism," used in disciplines such

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[1] Olga Hazan, *Le mythe du progrès artistique : Étude critique d'un concept fondateur du discours sur l'art depuis la renaissance*, Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999.
[2] Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
[3] Reynolds delivered his discourses in front of the students of the Royal Academy on the occasion of the annual prize ceremony, at first each year and later every other year, from the establishment of the Royal Academy in 1769 until his retirement as its president in 1790.
[4] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 49.
[5] In using the word "primitive," I am aware of its historic usage during imperial and colonial eras as a term with pejorative and racist connotations. The term primitive was used to designate cultures that were considered undeveloped and unlearned, archaic and exotic in comparison with contemporary Western society. During the nineteenth century, the terms "savage" and "primitive" were used interchangeably in the rising discipline of ethnology. Since the twentieth century, the adjective "primitive" became a collective term for European antiques, naïf painting, folk art, child art and the art of mental health patients (referred to as "art of the insane" in primitivist discourse). While acknowledging this history, I use the term "primitive" in this thesis as a historical designation in the interest of brevity and conciseness, favouring primitivizing as a term indicating the Western artists practice and not a judgement of the artifacts that sparked the artists' interest. I am aware that even when put into brackets, every time harmful

as anthropology, aesthetics, art history and literary studies, on the other. Generally, two main ideas are linked to the notion of "the primitive:" a historical and a geographic one. Understood as a historical notion, "the primitive" originated in antiquity when the word "primitivus" was used in an agricultural and horticultural context. Stemming from the Latin "primus," as in "the first," the term simply meant "the first of its kind," "the early bloomer," or even just "prior" (to others). In the following centuries, the adjective primitive was added to anything primordial and simple. In the early modern period, other disciplines got interested in the notion: The idea of a universal language, for example, was formulated first in sixteenth-century England and discussed over the following centuries in England and France.[6] Until the eighteenth century, the term "primitive" was exclusively used when speaking about the genealogy of language and not of peoples. This changed only in the post-revolutionary reception of Rousseau's usage of the term. The shift towards a sociological and anthropological deployment of the term occurred around 1800 when the "primitive" was put at the beginning of humanity's genealogy for the first time.

The idea of "the primitive" entered British Anthropology in the 1870s and, one decade later, German *Ethnologie*. At the time, the term continued to be used synonymously with the words "simple," "original," or "archaic." Only at the end of the nineteenth century did the concept begin to be linked to an evolutionary idea of mankind and the differences between human races. "Primitive" was thus understood as one step on the ladder of cultural evolution and racial difference. Cultural anthropology, as a new discipline founded in 1869 by Adolf Bastian as *Ethnologie*, was based on comparing different cultures—meaning, European culture with non-European ones. At the heart of this distinction lies the comparison of cultures that possess a history in writing, scripture or, simply put, an alphabet, with cultures that do not fall into that category. While the first anthropologists contented themselves with literary descriptions of the non-European cultures, the new discipline of ethnology understood itself as a natural science that—with the help of new media like photography (1839), audio recording (1877) and film (1895)—, tried to come

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words are repeated they revoke the systems of injustice that created them. It is of course understood that I do not feel either the art in question or the peoples who produced it should be considered "primitive" in the senses outlined above.

[6] It is worth noticing that in German theories of language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the term "primitive" is not used. "Primitive, der bzw. Das Primitive," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2010, 10.24894/HWPh.3250, accessed 30 September 2021

into contact with cultures that did not possess an alphabet, and that were thus considered "primitive"[7].

This shift, from the verbal to the visual, describes a precise moment in time of European modernity. Initially thought of as an attack against humanism as well against Catholicism, cultural anthropology offered a scientific alternative to the disciplines of History and Philosophy to explain the origins of human thought by thinking of scripture as only one symbolic code amongst others.[8] Instead of writing about foreign cultures, collecting ethnographic objects for newly found ethnographic museums became the new accepted anthropological practice. This practice was considered objective since the collected items were considered authentic records done by the foreign culture themselves.[9] Today this practice is regarded as a violent act of cultural appropriation facilitated and supported by colonial regimes and their imperial projects. Private collectors and anthropological museums that documented and housed the artifacts were complicit in the colonial projects as they offered interpretations of these artifacts and visual cultures from the colonizer's perspective.[10]

The scope of this thesis runs parallel to this shift of paradigm. It follows two aims: first, writing the history of the concept of unlearning from the end of the eighteenth century up to the twentieth century, prior to WWI, and second, establishing unlearning as a woman artist's praxis with Emily Carr (1871-1945) and Gabriele Münter (1876-1962). I argue that the concept of unlearning already contains its methodology. The term of unlearning itself, both a gerund[11] and a progressive verb form,[12] hints at its twofold nature of "unlearning" as a concept and a process. Originating in eighteenth-century Aesthetics as much as in "Indigenous wisdom"[13] and expression, unlearning advocates for a re-connecting of the spheres of knowledge that got delinked by the modernity/coloniality paradigm. In this thesis, unlearning is simultaneously understood as a

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[7] "Primitive, der bzw. Das Primitive," 2010, 10.24894/HWPh.3250, accessed 30 September 2021
[8] Sven Werkmeister, *Kulturen jenseits der Schrift: zur Figur des Primitiven in Ethnologie, Kulturtheorie und Literatur um 1900*. München: Fink, 2010, 13 – 14. Werkmeister delivers a comparative study on motifs of "the primitive" running parallel in the disciplines of ethnography, cultural theory and literature at the beginning of the 20th century.
[9] "Primitive, der bzw. Das Primitive," 2010, 10.24894/HWPh.3250, accessed 30 September 2021
[10] "Primitive, der bzw. Das Primitive," 2010, 10.24894/HWPh.3250, accessed 30 September 2021
[11] The gerund takes the same function as a noun within the sentence.
[12] The progressive verb form indicates an ongoing action.
[13] Tlostanova and Mignolo, *Learning to Unlearn*, 13.

historic and a-historic concept and told from the margins of canonical modern art, bridging Canadian and German art history via English art theory and writing. I consciously choose to anchor the concept of unlearning in eighteenth-century English art writing and to follow its trajectory in the Anglo-Saxon context up to WWI. So far, philosophies of unlearning have been formulated outside art history, mainly in domains connected to education. Art history has recently introduced non-progressive approaches to history writing induced to do so by decolonial thinking. I consider my thesis as part of this revisionist history of modernism. I am conscious that this thesis is told through the lens of two white Western women artists from a privileged social background. Their experience of modernism in the years 1890-1913 is historically determined by their race, gender, and the socio-political background of Canada and Germany during the colonial era.

In the first part of my thesis, I follow the notion of unlearning as it can be found in the *Discourses* of Joshua Reynolds. At the foundation of the Royal Academy, unlearning, as part of its educational model, hints at the innovative power of the margins. "Nothing to unlearn" becomes the leitmotiv for the English School in the making, negotiating the idea of emancipation through education and emancipation from continental academism through recovering the origins of art. I follow the challenges of English art and art writing throughout the long nineteenth century and the threats stemming from urbanization, industrialization and imperialism at play in the construction of historic primitivism. At the turn of the twentieth century, art critics and historians were challenged to develop new historical models to tell the history of modern art, constructing new models of artistic development based on anthropological models.

Originating in an institution of learning, as defined by Joshua Reynolds, unlearning points to the paradox in pedagogy of emancipation through education and, at the same time, emancipation from education. This paradox comes close to an impossibility in the trajectory of modern women artists trying to realize their professional and artistic ambitions in Canada and Germany of the *fin de siècle*. Understood as the artistic process of leaving behind mimetic representation in favour of direct and personal artistic expression, the praxis of unlearning does not, however, possesses the same meaning when undertaken by a woman artist as it does when adopted by a male artist.[14] Prior

[14] I am aware that there is no such thing as a "male artist." I used this term to hint to the fact that artists are more often than not thought of as men. Persons identifying as women who choose art as their field of

to WWI, it was still impossible for women at the end of the nineteenth century to get the same artistic training as their male colleagues. Systematically excluded from places of higher education, Carr's and Münter's generation of aspiring woman artists received their education in private art schools, which took way longer and generally required several displacements and extended funding. More often than not, money in the form of inheritance laid the foundations of many women artists' careers. That shows how crucial financial independence was to pursue an artistic education. If there was no inheritance, there were only two options: to teach on the side or marry. Generally, when professional women artists married, their artistic production dramatically declined or was obliterated altogether if they were not encouraged by their husbands to continue. The duties of a wife included the care for her husband and children and increased domestic responsibilities, which ultimately deprived her of the privacy and time required for creativity, as Sonia Halpern has argued.[15] The modern woman artist of the twentieth century, similar to the "new woman", was constantly at risk of failing to satisfy either her professional or artistic ambitions. She was loathed as "dilettant", "amateur" or simply as a "child like" or "naïve." Class and gender expectations regarding appropriate behaviour ultimately structured women's professionalism.

And yet, despite all their effort to gain access to artistic education, women hardly reached the purpose of all academic training, mimesis, and its subsequent rejection. How could unlearning have the same hold on them when their access to learning could still not be taken for granted? Women artists' unlearning cannot be simply a rejection of a naturalistic representation of nature in favour of expression inspired by non-Western art but lies on a more pragmatic level. Continuously at risk of failing, the "new woman artist," as I will call her,—conscious of her precarious position—found ways to transcend and disassociate creatively. While travelling and mobility (e.g. the bicycle) helped her to get beyond the limitations set by society, irony and humour, as expressed in private sketchbooks, caricatures or commentaries found in their private collections of books tell of a necessary emancipation from authorities in knowledge production. Unlearning, understood as

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profession are not automatically included, due to the masculinist, if not misogynist, construction of art history in the 19th century. That is the reason why they are specified as "women artists"—a fact that has been highly contested by feminist art historians since the 1970s.

[15] Sonia Halpern, "The Unmarried Woman Artist: Emily Carr." In *Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Sharon Anne Cook et al, 45 – 7, Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

praxis, turns their reflections on their marginal position in the art world into an action, a willed act, a form of "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino) that opens up a space of artistic expression that is genuinely free, self-conscious and authentic. Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's ethno-artistic projects with Native and folk art as their subject matter run counter to the narrative of the "primitivist revolution" facilitated by shock but advocate for a response to the genius loci of their immediate environment.

Unlearning: Its Etymology and History

Unlearning is neither an art historical nor an aesthetic concept. This may be due to its ambiguous nature.The multiple forms of the verb "to unlearn" are equalled by a multitude of usages and meanings as a concept and praxis. The term "unlearning" is commonly used today to designate an action or reflection meant as "going against the grain" or as "seeing something critical" but also as another word for "re-thinking" something. While many authors use "unlearning" as a catchphrase or metaphor for their book titles, few of them go through the pains of determining what unlearning could mean in a given context since the notion of unlearning is neither bound to one specific concept of unlearning nor a specific national tradition. Its unbound nature makes unlearning a "travelling concept" in Mieke Bal's understanding of the term. According to Bal, "(…) concepts are not fixed. They travel – between disciplines, individual scholars, historical periods, and geographically dispersed academic communities."[16] Concepts are then, in comparison to theories, not ready-made machines only working when you provide them with the "right" objects. In the Dutch cultural theorist's understanding of *Travelling concepts*, a theory is as mobile, subject to change, and embedded in historically and culturally diverse contexts as the objects on which it can be brought to bear. For Bal, concepts, instead of theories, provide the openness and space for reflection required for them to be simultaneously the subject matter and methodological principle of cultural analysis. In the following, I will present unlearning's etymology, its occurrence in published writing, and its usage in selected domains relevant to our topic (e.g. pedagogy, post- and decolonial studies, museum studies, and history) to assess its operative potential for the field of modern art history.

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[16] Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002, 24.

In general, the English verb ‘to unlearn’ is defined as “to forget or relinquish knowledge of (something previously learned); esp. to put (something considered undesirable) out of one’s mind; to give up or discontinue (a habit or practice).”[17] “Unlearning,” in its common understanding, is the negation of learning, but never to its extreme of not learning[18] due to the nature of the English prefix “un-.” The etymology of this prefix goes back to the Middle English period (from around 1150 to around 1450), with shared roots in Old English and Old High German’s prefix “un.”[19] In the English language, un-learning is constructed in the same way as in the German *ver-lernen*. By adding the prefix “un-“ (and “*ver*-“ respectively), the verb “ to learn” and its -ing form get altered.[20] In English, the prefix “un-“ develops its transformative force depending on the parts of speech it is attached to, whether it be an adjective, verb, or noun. In conjunction with an adjective, “*un-* almost always means ‘not,’... but there’s a particular kind of nothingness implied ... and that’s that nothing had been removed, taken away, or altered.”[21]

Attached to a verb, “un-“ does imply an altering action, an “un-doing” of what had previously been “done.” In some cases, the prefix “un-“ hints at the impossibility of some actions, like in “un-seeing,” which is sometimes used to create parody or irony. Throughout this thesis, I argue that unlearning also hints at the possibility of its impossibility or at least entertains a certain kind of doubt if unlearning is effectively possible or not. In a third and important case, the prefix “un-“ does not indicate the opposite of its stem but an emphasis on the same. This is echoed in the present-day usage of unlearning, described as the activity of “learning how to unlearn,” especially when it comes to questions on how to change individual or collective behaviour.

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[17] *Oxford English Dictionary*, “unlearn, v.” June 2020, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/215031?redirectedFrom=unlearning&, accessed 15 September 2021.
[18] The standard definition of “learning” being “acquiring knowledge of (a subject) or skill in (an art, etc.) as a result of study, experience, or teaching. Const. *from*, *of* (archaic), *at* (a person). Also, to commit to memory (passages of prose or verse), *esp*. in phrases *to learn by heart, by rote, ...*”
[19] It is important to note that the German word for “unlearned” is “ungelernt” whereas in the gerund verb form unlearning becomes “verlernen” in German.
[20] In Middle Low German (spoken between 1100 and 1600), unlearning was “entlèren” after the Latin ”dediscere”. For translation of the term, see Gerhard Köbler, https://www.koeblergerhard.de/mnd/mnd_e.html , accessed 15 September 2021.
[21] An example could be “un-washed,” but also the noun of the “unlearned.” Merriam-Webster, “'Un-': You Don't Always Have to Be So Negative. Unraveling a common negative prefix,” https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/when-un-isnt-negative accessed 15 September

A simple bibliographic search for "unlearning" as a keyword related to publication titles gives valuable insights into its occurrence and usage over time. Unlike other aesthetic terms, such as "the beautiful" or "the sublime," unlearning is not equally used in its translation into art history's traditional languages, Italian, French and German. The German "*Verlernen*" or the French "*désapprentissage*" are rarely used, and the Italian "disimparare" is virtually inexistent. With over 15.000 entries in the world's largest bibliographic database *WorldCat*, unlearning is significantly more widespread than in its German (469) or French (226) translation. And yet, in comparison to its counterpart "learning" (with over 10 million entries), literature containing the word "unlearning" presents an infinitesimal share.

Nevertheless, the number of unlearning publications since 2010 represents 50% of all titles published from 1576 to 2021. It is fair to say that unlearning is a contemporary phenomenon with a long history. Before unlearning appeared in the English language in the sixteenth century, the expression "the unlearned" had already been used since the fourteenth century to describe an unfamiliarity of a person with sermons or words in general and similarly used with "the unread."[22] Before the twentieth century, the unlearned[23] was identical to the unread, in contrast to the learned, read or erudite. The unlearned is the one who has not learned his lesson (yet). The earliest texts concerning the unlearned are from the sixteenth century and deal with theological challenges for the "unlearned ministers" promoting protestant teachings in England. In the following centuries, books using the term "unlearned" focused on teaching the unlearned, whether epistles or mathematics. As literacy spread throughout Europe in the eighteenth century, pamphlets were written for the unlearned to read by themselves.

From the early 1940s onwards, the notion of unlearning appeared in new fields of the social sciences, like psychology and sociology, as well as linguistics. This trend continued and became even more relevant in the 1960s as psychology entered the domain of education in the shape of a psychology of learning and, therefore, unlearning—focusing primarily on children and their development. In psychology, unlearning is part of the so-called interference theory within the more

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[22] *Oxford English Dictionary*, "unlearned, adj. and n.," Modified version of the OED Third edition, September 2020, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/215034, accessed 15 September.

[23] *The Oxford English Dictionary* dates the appearance of the adjective "unlearned" to the end of the fourteenth century and its noun to the mid fifteenth century. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/215034, accessed 15 September.

extensive subject of memory. There, unlearning happens as new learning interferes with retaining old memories. Scientists concluded that forgetting is produced involuntarily by interference: "Any given memory is said to be subject to interference from others established earlier or subsequently."[24] Even though this hypothesis proved challenging to corroborate in experiments, it is still an accepted doctrine today. 1970s literature that included unlearning covered research areas from medicine and philosophy to political science and history.

By the 1990s, the term unlearning had spread virtually across all disciplinary fields, from the human and social sciences (e.g. ethnic studies and post-colonial studies) to natural sciences and economic studies like organizational unlearning. In the last twenty years, thinking through the possibilities of unlearning was also promoted in business management, development studies, urban planning, and queer theory. It became prevalent during and after the 2008 financial crisis. From 2011 onwards, authors from disciplines in the humanities and social sciences became interested in the Occupy Wall Street movement, which tried, with anarchist methods, to establish horizontal organizational structures to establish decision-making by consensus and general assemblies open to all and held in the public space. The disciplines of anthropology, history, art history and art education welcomed the idea of unlearning only reluctantly. Based on models of progress (art history), presumed objectivity (history writing) and positivity of empiricism (anthropology), these disciplines ultimately welcomed unlearning only through the decolonizing of their institutions: universities, museums, and archives.

Some Philosophies of Unlearning

In the last 50 years, education studies have led the discussion on unlearning.[25] While the term "unlearning" itself was often used as a metaphor, word play or signal for much-needed reformation, beginning in the 1970s. "Unlearning lessons learned" is for sure the most used wordplay in this context, focusing on a new education facilitated by educators and theorists that prefer learning through experience over knowledge following Michel Foucault's distinction between "dominant

[24] Kara Roger, "Forgetting", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/science/memory-psychology/Forgetting#ref986149, accessed 15 September.
[25] As a latest example, serves Éamonn Dunn's dissertation "Unlearning. Education, Literature, Event", Dublin: Trinity College, 2020. Dunn had been co-organizing the conference *The Pedagogics of Unlearning* in Dublin, 6-7 September 2014.

knowledge" (*savoir dominant*) and "subjugated knowledge" (*savoir subjugué*).[26] Paulo Freire[27] and Jacques Rancière[28] are two authors representative of the so-called critical pedagogy that has questioned the role of the teacher. Critical pedagogy tried to undo the power relations between the learned and the unlearned by promoting learning without a teacher and interpreting the "freedom to learn" as an emancipatory state.[29]

In 2014, Jacques Rancière got invited by the organizers of the conference on *The Pedagogies of Unlearning*[30] to return to his "ignorant schoolmaster" explaining a critical element in the makeup of unlearning:

> 'Unlearning' can also mean this: the dissociation between the acts of teaching and learning; the fact that you learn from somebody or something that never taught you... This might be the deepest challenge – of the 'un' present in 'unlearning' and 'un-explaining'. In a sense there is something wrong with the negative prefix. The un-explanation is not a negative form of criticism. It is not a denunciation of the explicative practice, which tries to weave a sensorium of equality, erasing the barriers that the explicative system had put on the paths of communication between speaking beings... The 'un' of unlearning or unexplaining does not simply mean that we break with the normal forms of teaching and learning. It points to a dissymmetry – or dissociation – at the heart of those forms. We learn as ignoramuses and we teach as ignoramuses. We learn something from people who never taught us anything. We don't teach what we have learnt. We teach without knowing what we teach. [31]

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[26] In a philosophical speculation on the conceptual qualities of unlearning in pedagogy, Michel Foucault's idea of "se déprendre" as formulated in his Histoire de la sexualité III. *Le souci de soi* (1984) is turned into a theory of unlearning in contemporary philosophy via the idea of "désapprendre" offered by Nader N. Chokr, *Unlearning: Or How Not to Be Goverened?,* Exeter: Societas, 2009.
[27] Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.
[28] Jacques Rancière, *The ignorant schoolmaster: Five Lessons in intellectual emancipation*, translated by Kristin Ross, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
[29] For a critique on recent interpretations of Rancière's and Freire's theories, see Gert Biesta, "Don't Be Fooled by Ignorant Schoolmasters: On the Role of the Teacher in Emancipatory Education," *Policy Futures in Education* 15, no. 1 (January 2017): 52–73. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210316681202 accessed, 15 September 2021.
[30] The conference proceedings were published in 2016. Aidan Seery and Éamonn Dunne, eds., *The Pedagogics of Unlearning,* Earth, Milky Way: Punctum books, 2016.
[31] Jacques Rancière, "Un-what ?" In *The Pedagogics of Unlearning*, edited by Aidon Seery and Éamonn Dunne, Earth, Milky Way: Punctum books, 2016, 25-46.

Rancière's call for breaking with "normal forms of teaching and learning" is echoed by Jack Halberstam's idea of unlearning as a process of learning "how to break with some disciplinary legacies"[32] as a precondition of any new knowledge paradigm. For Halberstam, failure creates the opportunity and freedom to un-discipline oneself.[33] Failure can be many things besides losing (read: not succeeding), for example, not knowing, not conforming, unbecoming or undoing. Success, measured by male, white, and Western standards, requires incessantly trying in the logic of progress. Consequently, every thing and every body not measuring up to patriarchal ideas is bound to fail.[34]

Equally, John Baldacchino's concept of *Art as Unlearning*[35] is located in the space between emancipation and autonomy. The art educator sees tensions between those two poles arise through education and art. On the one hand, education leads to emancipation, and, simultaneously, it induces emancipation *from* education itself. On the other hand, autonomy is gained through art, and a "willed forgetfulness"[36] of all things once learned. For Baldacchino, unlearning is a movement between these two poles, which echoes Mike Bal's idea of a "travelling concept."[37]

Parallel to the field of education, post-colonial critique has invested in the idea of unlearning since its first-time use by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her 1988 text "Can the Subaltern Speak?"[38] Initially, Spivak reflected on the necessity to unlearn her privilege as a feminist and post-colonial critic. She demanded that one's relationship with privilege and prejudice in Western education and Western educational institutions be unlearned. Unlearning required from her to think

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[32] Jack Halberstam, "Unlearning," *Profession,* 2012, 9-16, 10
[33] Halberstam, "Unlearning," 12.
[34] Jack Halberstam, *The queer art of failure*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011, 7.
[35] John Baldacchino has formulated the idea of art as unlearning for the first time in, John Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness: The arts, education and the case for unlearning," *Studies in philosophy and education* 32, no. 4 (2013): 415-430. See also, John Baldacchino, *Art of Unlearning*. *Towards a Mannerist Pedagogy,* London: Routledge, 2020; John Baldacchini, and Gert Biesta, "Weak Subjects. On art's art of forgetting: an interview with John Baldacchino by Gert Biesta," In *Art, Artists and Pedagogy: Philosophy and the Arts in Education*, edited by Christopher Naughton, Gert Biesta, and David R. Cole. London & NY: Routledge, 2018, 127-146.
[36] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 429.
[37] Bal, *Travelling Concepts,* 2002.
[38] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Cultures*, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1988, 271-313.

about the way she was expected to behave as a "subject of knowledge" as well as a "woman subject of knowledge" and it signalled the difficulty of learning "outside of the traditional instruments of learning" within the institution.[39] Post-colonial critique has pointed to the nexus of Western education and imperial modes of thinking. Therefore, unlearning Western education requires unlearning imperial thinking and can be understood as a mode of decoloniality.

In 2012, Madina V. Tlostanova and Walter D. Mignolo called for an unlearning that is defined as "… [to] forget what we have been taught, to break free from the thinking programs imposed on us by education, culture, and social environment, always marked by the Western imperial reason."[40] The authors significantly differentiate between "imperialism/colonialism as a singular, historical process" and the "rhetoric of modernity/coloniality."[41] By "unlearning" the colonial way of thinking, Tlostanova and Mignolo call for a "revolt against [the] imperial order of knowledge."[42] The scholars borrowed their concept of "decolonial thinking" from The Intercultural University of People and Nations of Ecuador, led by Indigenous intellectuals, with the slogan "Learning to unlearn to relearn."[43] In 2014, the Ecuadorian Government closed the intercultural university of Amawtay Wasi, claiming that the university lacked the quality standards of an institution of Higher Education. After years of activism, the University Amawtay Wasi was re-opened again in 2020 by President Morena in the centre of Ecuador's capital. Amawtay Wasi is a telling example of how Indigenous intercultural higher education is determined by state authorities deciding which Indigenous knowledge is accepted and beneficial to Ecuador's society. This is one example of the difficulties of unlearning within institutions of higher education modelled after Western ideas of knowledge production and learning—and ultimately the persistence of colonialism into the twenty-first century.

In 2019, the scholar, curator, and documentary filmmaker, Ariella Aïsha Azoulay denounced history's structural complicity with imperialism and institutional forms of violence,

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[39] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak as cited in Sara Danius, Stefan Jonsson, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "An Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak," *boundary2*, Vol.20, No.2 (Summer 1993), 24-50, 25.
[40] Madina Tlostanova and Walter Mignolo, *Learning to Unlearn: Decolonial Reflections from Eurasia and the Americas,* Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2012, 7.
[41] Tlostanova and Mignolo, *Learning to Unlearn*, 9.
[42] Tlostanova and Mignolo, *Learning to Unlearn*, 12.
[43] Tlostanova and Mignolo, *Learning to Unlearn*, 12. The re-opening of University Amawtay Wasi has been stalled by the COVID-19 pandemic.

including museums and archives. In her book *Potential history: Unlearning imperialism* she asks historians to collectively disobey and to take "collective responsibility for their discipline's corpus, timelines, facts, narratives, and publications."[44] Azoulay understands history writing as a tool complicit with the imperial efforts to erase or belittle existing diverse worlds, pointing to the camera as the preferred medium of imperial history and presenting the world as a *fait accompli*. To make room for "potential histories," historians must engage in nonprogressive approaches to history writing.[45] As a result, potential history strives "to retrieve, reconstruct, and give an account of diverse worlds that persist despite the historicized limits of our world."[46]

Most recently, unlearning found its way into art institutions by decolonizing permanent collections and archives.[47] A common strategy established by museums of the modern era is to invite contemporary artists to engage with the institution.[48] For the last ten years, the German-Dutch artist Annette Krauss has identified multiple "sites for unlearning," whether riding a bicycle, using a library or managing an art space.[49] All these unlearning exercises have one common goal: becoming aware of unconscious habits, whether movements or thoughts and pointing to the quasi-impossibility of unlearning automatic habits (e.g. riding a bicycle). Similar to Jack Halberstam's ideas, Krauss's work uses the likeliness of failure to facilitate unlearning. Since 2014, the performance artist and theorist has investigated habits of knowledge production inside the art institution. In her research project "Sites for Unlearning (Art Organization),"[50] developed with the

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[44] Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *Potential history*. *Unlearning Imperialism,* London: Verso, 2019, 379.
[45] Azoulay, *Potential history*, 287.
[46] Azoulay, *Potential history*, 289.
[47] An example may be the Van Abbe Museum in Eindhoven, Netherlands, which engaged from 2016 to 2019 in a research programme encouraging "Deviant practices" to explore new ways of understanding the modern art museum with the intention of de-modernizing, decolonizing, deprivileging and decentralizing the institution.For more on the research project, see https://vanabbemuseum.nl/en/research/research-programme/deviant-practice-2018-19/, accessed 20 September 2021.
[48] Not only art museums, but also ethnographic museums strive for unlearning their colonial past. For a rare study on unlearning in ethnographic museums, see Nora Landkammer, *The Museum as a Site of Unlearning? Coloniality and Education in Ethnographic Museums, a Study Focusing on Germany, Austria and Switzerland*, 2018, http://www.traces.polimi.it/2018/10/08/issue-06-the-museum-as-a-site-of-unlearning/3 accessed 15 September 2021.
[49] For more on Annette Krauss's different projects of unlearning, see https://siteforunlearning.tumblr.com/, accessed 10 of September 2021.
[50] The findings of this research project were published in, Annette Krauss, "Unlearning institutional habits: an arts-based perspective on organizational unlearning," *The Learning Organization*, vol. 26, no. 5, 2019, 485-499.

Casco Art Institute: Working for the Commons, Utrecht, Netherlands, Krauss combined a feminist, decolonial and arts-based approach with strategies of organizational unlearning, knowledge management and theories of transformation.[51] As a result, Krauss has developed a working definition of unlearning as "an active critical investigation of normative structures and practices to become aware and get rid of taken-for-granted 'truths' of theory and practice in order to work and think through inequalities in everyday life."[52] Instead of replacing learning through unlearning, Krauss' unlearning exercises can be understood as a critique of an accumulative concept of learning within the broader knowledge economy.[53]

Art Histories of Unlearning

The absence of unlearning in art history stands out among other human and social sciences. It can easily be explained by the discipline's traditional makeup: progress, understood as a myth of human sciences, stands as an utopian notion in art history. For centuries, art historians tried to construct a linear stylistic evolution of art paralleled by the artworks' mimetic qualities. In her book *Le Mythe du Progrès Artistique*,[54] Olga Hazan pointed to the problems inherent in art historical models of progress (and decline) from Alberti and Vasari to Panofsky, Wölfflin, and Gombrich. These art historians used models of improvement to strengthen the position of the still young discipline. To do so, art history excelled in categorizing artworks rather than analyzing them, prioritizing history writing over detailed consideration of the art object. Most importantly, Hazan pointed to the structural and even constitutive role this myth had in art history by providing an objective and scientific character to the discipline. Today, art history—as much as its mother discipline history—needs to face its contribution to institutionalized discrimination of the "arts of the unlearned" and to learn how to integrate unlearning into its history writing.

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[51] Unlearning has been explored already in the context of "learning organisations", as for example, E.W.K. Tsang, "How the concept of organizational unlearning contributes to studies of learning organizations," *The Learning Organization*, vol.24, no.1, 2017, 39-38.
[52] Krauss, "Unlearning institutional habits," 487.
[53] For more on this topic, see Annette Krauss, "Lifelong learning and the professionalized learner" In *Unlearning exercises: art organizations as a site for unlearning*, edited by Binna Choi, Annette Kraus, and Yolande Van der Heide, Utrecht: Casco Institute 2018.
[54] Hazan, *Le Mythe Du Progrès Artistique,* 1999.

The only time an art historian formulated the idea of unlearning dates back to the 1990s: with his 1998 book *Die Moderne im Rückspiegel*[55] (*Modernity in the rare mirror*), the Austrian art historian Werner Hofmann (1928–2013) follows in the footsteps of the Vienna School of art history. In his understanding, modern art history requires looking backwards—as through a car's rear mirror—while moving ahead simultaneously.[56] The central idea of Hofmann's work is to comprehend modern art history as a triptych. Taking Gustave Courbet's *Atelier du peintre* (1854-55) as the centrepiece of his argument, Hofmann's art history points from the mid-nineteenth century toward twentieth-century modernity while at the same time looking backwards to the medieval ages. This is the origin of what the art historian coined as the "multi-focus" (*Polyfokalität*) of modernity. Interested in the irregularities of the discipline, Hofmann wrote his art history focusing on the period between 1750 and 1830[57] and artists outside of the art historical mainstream, like Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778), Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), Johann Heinrich Füßli (1741-1825), and William Blake (1757-1827). Interested in the unconventional artists and aesthetics within art history, Hofmann detected the notion of unlearning in Reynolds' *Discourses* and used it to describe the phenomenon of aesthetic revolutions he noticed running parallel in German and French art history at the turn of the eighteenth century.[58]

Three years later, Hofmann elaborated on his idea of "The Art of Unlearning."[59] This time, Hofmann drew the modernist artists' desire for an authentic way of expression back to the eighteenth-century dictum of a return towards an "art language of infancy."[60] His argument equates

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[55] Werner Hofmann, *Die Moderne im Rückspiegel. Hauptwege der Kunstgeschichte*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1998.

[56] Werner Hofmann's figure of the "rear mirror" can be read in contrast to Walter Benjamin's "angel of history." In his "Thesis on the Philosophy of History" ["Über den Begriff der Geschichte"] the "angel of history" is constantly looking towards the past while being propelled into the future. Instead of turning its back to the future, Hofmann's art historian in consciously writing history while at the same time integrating retrospection. For more on the "angel of history," See Walter Benjamin, "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," *Abhandlungen. Gesammelte Schriften Band I-2,* edited by Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991, 691-704, 697, 698.

[57] Werner Hofmann called this era the „divided century“ In Werner Hofmann, *Das entzweite Jahrhundert: Kunst zwischen 1750 und 1830*, Munich: C.H. Beck, 1995; translated into French as *Une époche en rupture 1750-1830*.

[58] Hofmann, *Die Moderne im Rückspiegel*, 194-199.

[59] Werner Hofmann, "The Art of Unlearning," In *Discovering Child Art: Essays on Childhood, Primitivism and Modernism*, edited by Jonathan Fineberg, 3–14. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998.

[60] Hofmann, "The Art of Unlearning," 6.

the artists' desire to become child again with an artistic praxis of unlearning. With this, Hofmann is able to bring together a plethora of thinkers and artists interested in the "art of unlearning." Jean-Jacques Rousseau is read against William Hogarth and Joshua Reynolds and the artists Gustave Courbet and Paul Gauguin are discussed together with Paul Klee and Jean Dubuffet. Taking these European white male protagonists' desire to "become child again" as his leitmotiv, Hofmann ignores the socio-historic context that leads to the artists' unlearning in the first place. Advocating for "the art of unlearning," the Austrian art historian never frees himself from the evolutionary model of art history predefined by his predecessors of the Viennese school,[61] concluding that "unlearning without relearning is meaningless."[62]

Another student of the Viennese school, E.H. Gombrich, argued that regression would be a conscious decision only to a certain degree. In his psychoanalytical reading of Picasso's childlike sketches for *Guernica* (1937), published posthumously in 2002, the British art historian argued that regression was primarily a product of the unconscious.[63] And yet, for Gombrich, no other artist stands for this "Lure of Regression" [64] more than Pablo Picasso. He is the only modern artist Gombrich included in his work on *The Preference for the Primitive* (2002). According to the art historian, deliberate regression happens at the will of the ego, be it that of William Hogarth, Baudelaire, or Picasso, all three of whom called for a willful return to the stage of the ignorant child. When Picasso stated that when he was a child, he "drew like Raphael" and had been trying to draw like a child ever since he expressed his wish to unlearn the artistic training he had received early on.[65] Picasso's famous remark serves Gombrich as the paradigm and, simultaneously, the "parable of the problem"[66] of primitivism in art. Learning from the child meant Picasso learned

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[61] As Thomas Zaunschirm convincingly argues, this needs to include Hofmann's antipode Hans Sedlmayr (1896-1984). At the end of his career, Werner Hofman believed to recognize his own multi perspective approach to modernity also in the work of Alois Riegl, Franz Wickhoff, Max Dvorák, Otto Pächt and Ernst H. Gombrich. Thomas Zaunschirm, "Werner Hofmann im Rückspiegel," *Werner Hofmann prospektiv*, edited by Elisabeth Voggeneder and Brigitte Borchardt-Birbaumer, Cologne: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, 115-123, 121.
[62] Hofmann, "The Art of Unlearning," 13.
[63] Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, 235. The author refers here to Freud's *The Ego and the Id*, first published in 1923 in German, *Das Ich und das Es.*
[64] Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive,* 235–241.
[65] Picasso's talent had been discovered by his father, an artist and art teacher, who instructed him from the age of seven. For more information on Picasso's education, see the 2002 exhibition catalogue *Picasso Joven: Young Picasso*.
[66] Gombrich , *The Preference for the Primitive*, 241.

from his method and not from the distortions of form he had already found in non-Western art. The result of this unlearning, indistinguishable from the "art of children," could only attract the viewer's (more certainly so the art critic's) interest if the latter knew it to be by Picasso or any other "great master." Or, as Gombrich puts it, "the joke rests on the comparison," [67] wherein one relaxes one's standards to return to more "primitive ways."[68]

Understanding primitivism as an intellectual joke among connoisseurs and masters excludes every person who has not gone through the same learning experience given their gender or race. Gombrich's parable demonstrates the problem of primitivism in art, as he suggested, and marks the starting point for my investigation of women artists' primitivizing praxes as a "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino). Picasso's famous statement about him drawing like Raphael already at a young age and without any artistic training and trying to become a child again is a vital remark for my argument on several levels: First of all, it speaks of Picasso's consciousness of his historic position within art history and of taking willful action to regress towards an unconscious, childlike state that is unknown to him. The impossibility of this undertaking can be illustrated by Picasso's *Le Jeune Peintre* (1971), a picture he completed only one year before his death at 90. Since the first exhibition of this painting shortly after his death, the work has been considered a nostalgic self-portrait.[69] But as Nathalie Leleu convincingly argues, the image of a young painter functions less as a commentary on his exceptional talent at an early age but as Picasso's *oeuvre testamentaire* preparing his posteriority.[70]

The present thesis wants to resist the narrative of unlearning as a relearning in disguise. Instead, it proposes a potential history of women artists' praxes in the tradition of unlearning as found in English art writing. The first part of this dissertation offers a diachronic overview from unlearning's first appearance in Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses,* its metabolization within English

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[67] Gombrich , *The Preference for the Primitive*, 241.
[68] Gombrich , *The Preference for the Primitive*, 241.
[69] As for example by Rafael Alberti and René Char in the catalogue to Picasso's first posthumous exhibition in May 1973. Rafael Alberti and René Char, *Exposition Picasso, 1970-1972*, 23 May – 30 September 1973, Palais des Papes Avignon, Avignon : Rullière-Libeccio, 1973.
[70] See Nathalie Leleu, *Picasso's Le Jeune Peintre*, Musée Picasso, Paris, https://www.museepicassoparis.fr/fr/collection-en-ligne#/artwork/160000000000709?filters=query%3Ale%20jeune%20peintre&page=1&layout=grid&sort=by_author¬e=13142, accessed 15 September 2021.

art writing until its renaissance in Roger Fry's definition of post-Impressionism as a "retrogressive movement"[71] at the eve of the First World War. To do so, it freely travels between academic, historical, and aesthetic ideas of unlearning. In a close reading of the *Discourses*, this thesis contextualizes the notion of "unlearning" within the Royal Academy's art training. By following Reynolds' arguments, the pragmatic nature of unlearning becomes apparent as he negotiates the idea of emancipation through education. Despite its emancipatory nature, Reynolds' unlearning was highly exclusionary. It was implied that only adult individuals (white, Western, and male) could perform such a return to the origins of art. Everyone who was supposedly stuck in an earlier stage of human development was excluded from unlearning, including those who were not part of (intellectual) society due to their gender, race, or class.

The second part of this thesis explores this impossibility to unlearn in relation to two modern women artists, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. Unlearning as a means of emancipating oneself from education is read together with their strategies to gain artistic autonomy through their involvement with non-academic art. Their collecting of Indigenous and folk imagery makes them part of twentieth century primitivizing currents. Put into the context of their art education, their artistic praxes unfold as an unlearning aiming for emancipation from an art education they had desperately been seeking. Carr's and Münter's unlearning took place over more than twenty years, describing the process of learning, learning to unlearn and unlearning. This process was facilitated by their access to technologies (like the camera and the bicycle), mobility (in the form of travelling) and humour (while facing failure). Their ultimate unlearning is a willed act of gaining automony through their art with artistic strategies including dissociation, displacement, and transfer.

Reynolds' desire to emancipate English art from continental art education by recovering the origins of art is closely linked to the eighteenth-century dictum of art learned as a universal mother tongue. As he was paralleling the idea of learning art with the process of learning a language, the first president evoked more extensive reflections on authority and knowledge production, more precisely, from which authority to learn. Conscious about his defects in teaching a language (of art) that is not his mother tongue, Reynolds uses unlearning to dissociate teaching and learning, as did his French contemporary Joseph Jacotot (1770-1840), who came to be known

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[71] Roger Fry, "Manet and the Post-impressionists," *London: Grafton Galleries* 8 (1910): 7–13, 12.

as “the ignorant schoolmaster” (Rancière).[72] Reynolds presented his solution of an artistic turnaround as a return to the mother tongue of art unknown to English artists. Reynolds’ dictum of having “nothing to unlearn”—presented to the very first students of the Royal Academy as an advantage over Continental academic traditions—, set the tone for later art histories of unlearning that are characterized by a dissociation and emancipation from canonic art and ultimately a desire to write one’s own art history.

For Reynolds, as for his nineteenth-century English successors promoting forms of artistic unlearning, Gothic art and artists became an alternative origin story for the young English art tradition. For example, unlearning the dominance of the Italian High Renaissance meant for William Blake (1757-1827) and his followers to find innovative picture strategies in the work of artists like Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) and, more specifically, the woodcut technique. Since the mid-nineteenth century, investigating “The Nature of Gothic”[73] became a means for English theorists like John Ruskin (1819-1900) and William Morris (1834-1896) to reflect on the relationship between the artist and society. Under the influence of industrialization and the beginning of mass production, Gothic art became the primary reference for a new generation of English artists and thinkers searching for an innovative way of art production founded in their own history.

As the leading example of the third generation of English art writing on unlearning, Roger Fry’s aesthetic theory, formulated in 1909, blends contemporary art history with anthropological writing. Fry sees himself as in direct succession of Joshua Reynolds as he searches for modern artistic expressions in a variety of image traditions: early Italian Renaissance, Byzantine art, early Islamic art, child art, the art of people with mental health conditions, ancient Greek art, prehistoric and contemporary native art of Australia and West Africa. Finally, in 1910, Fry added French avant-garde art by a group of contemporary artists he called the “Post-Impressionists”[74] to his idea

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[72] For more on Jacotot’s pedagogy, see Jacques Rancière, *The ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*, translated by Kristin Ross, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
[73] John Ruskin, “The Nature of Gothic,” In *On Art and Life*, London: Penguin Books Ltd. 2004, 1-56.
[74] Roger Fry, “Manet and the Post-impressionists”. London, Grafton Galleries 8 (1910): 7–13.

of “primitive art.”[75] What he understood as a “retrogressive movement” of “highly civilized and modern men trying to find a pictorial language appropriate to the sensibilities of the modern outlook”[76] contrasts with the common idea of primitivizing practices as a regress—understood as a “backward movement is (unlike progressive movement) without intention.”[77]

Fry, very much like Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc in their *Blaue Reiter* almanac, believed in the universal power of art, disregarding that this universality was highly exclusive. Within publications like *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, the non-European artifacts are turned into objects of European art and scholarship:[78] the separation of the ethnographic objects from their culture of origin using photography (isolated in front of a neutralizing background), suggested that “they had fallen into Europeans’ laps as unclaimed goods.”[79]

The body of modern art that twentieth-century art history called “primitivist” was produced from about 1880 to 1930 and ran parallel with the emergence of the discipline of anthropology—the collecting, analyzing and publishing of ethnographic artifacts. The aesthetic appreciation of these objects comes relatively late in this development, precisely when Western artists were striving to rejuvenate modern art. According to Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “it was not by chance that the aesthetic appreciation of ethnographic objects as avant-garde went hand in hand with the nullification of those who produced them. The Romantic vision of a societally relevant *tribal art*

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[75] Fry defines “primitive art” as “...not so much an attempt to represent what the eye perceives, as to put a line around a mental conception of the object.” Fry, “The Post-Impressionists”, 11-12. Fry turns Manet into the father of the “Post-Impressionists” and “primitive art,” focussing on the influence seventeenth-century Spain had on his artistic development. He argues that Cézanne had been the only one picking up on this as he was developing his own “design which should produce the coherent, architectural effect of the masterpieces of primitive art.” Fry, “The Post-Impressionists”, 10.
[76] Roger, Fry, “The French Group,” In *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition. British, French and Russian Artists*, edited by Grafton Galleries, London: Ballantyne & Company, 1912, 25–29, 26
[77] Frances Connelly, “Primitivism.” In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199747108.001.0001/acref-9780199747108-e-594?rskey=Dnq6gj&result=596, accessed 15 September 2021.
[78] For more on this metamorphosis, see Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “’N***kunst’ ohne ‘N***künstler.’ Zur fotografischen Aneignung und außereuropäischer Kunst,“ In *Ästhetik der Differenz. Postkoloniale Perspektiven vom 16. Bis 21. Jahrhundert. 15 Fallstudien*, Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2010, 291-313.
[79] Annegret Hoberg, “Is All Art created Equal? The Blue Rider and Widening Horizons,” *Group Dynamics. The Blue Rider*, edited by Matthias Mühling, Annegret Hoberg, and Anna Straetmans, Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2021, 25-79, 63.

at the center of a collective's [the Blue Rider's] social and religious practice was a source of fascination for bohemians at the social fringes."[80]

While Canadian art history has successfully addressed this "romantic vision" of settler-colonial artists already in the 1990s by accusing artists like Emily Carr of having had an "imaginary Indian"[81] in mind when promoting their "Indian imagery," only recently, and under the pressure of decolonizing efforts of public institutions, German art history began addressing Germany's "amnesia"[82] surrounding the avant-garde and colonial conquest.[83] Annegret Hoberg, as Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Kea Wienand and Barbara Paul before her, pointed to the "double repression" of Germany's colonial past: for the first time at the moment of the loss of the colonies after WWI and a second time after 1945, repressing the colonial racism during National Socialism. Looking beyond Franc Marc's vision for a new world art or Wassily Kandinsky's idea of a "spiritual plus" in art from a multitude of traditions, recent art historical work recognizes the absorption of objects from colonial contexts without any distinction in the almanac of 1912.[84] Or as Annegret Hoberg recently formulated: "There was no innocent gaze, just as no criticism is known to have been leveled at colonialism by German or French avant-garde."[85]

Frances S. Connelly's definition of historic primitivism as "not simply the emulation of so-called primitive or early visual expression; rather [it was] a search for origins and an attempt to escape the inexorable progress of historical time"[86] points to the contradictions within primitivism and shows where the praxes of unlearning and primitivizing differ. Where regress implies a backward movement "without intention," unlearning only happens as a "willed act of forgetfulness" (Baldacchino) necessary for emancipation from the art tradition that is being

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[80] Schmidt-Linsenhoff, "'N***kunst' ohne 'N***künstler,'" 299.
[81] Marcia Crosby was the first scholar to do so, In Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," In *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, edited by Stan Douglas, Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1991, 267-8, 275-9, 287-90.
[82] For more on the conflicting discourses in post-war Germany, see Kea Wienand, *Nach dem Primitivismus? Künstlerische Verhandlungen kultureller Differenz in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1969–1990. Eine postkoloniale Relektüre*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016.
[83] On one of the first exhibition projects with a decolonial perspective in a German museum, see Julien Chapuis, Jonathan Fine, and Paola Ivanov, eds. *Unvergleichlich. Kunst aus Afrika im Bode-Museum*. Berlin: Edition Braus, 2017, exhibition catalogue.
[84] Hoberg, "Is All Art Created Equal?," 66.
[85] Hoberg, "Is All Art Created Equal?," 66.
[86] Connelly, "Primitivism," 2014.

forgotten. Under the influence of industrialization and new imperialism during the long nineteenth century, the desired historical source of authentic expression oscillated between ancient cultures of Greek, Egypt or Babylon, Gothic art, and ethnographic collections of prehistoric, African, Oceanic or folk art.[87] The imagery of these cultures, appropriated and collected by imperial powers since the Age of Enlightenment, was identified as proof of an earlier state of cultural development. Eager to discover the origins of human society, the modern West assumed that the further back one goes in time, the simpler things become.[88] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, several theories tried to explain the evolution of humanity after the idea of Charles Darwin's evolution theory. In the following decades, theories on the development of the human psyche[89], culture and, ultimately, art were developed. Eventually, the "primitivist fantasy" (Hiller) bound the far-away with the long-ago.[90]

Twentieth-century Primitivism and modern art – after the End of an Idea

Art-historical discussions surrounding primitivizing artists focused for a long time on a definition of "primitivism" coined by Robert Goldwater's 1938 *Primitivism in Modern Art,* which isolated African and Oceanic art from all other historic court traditions and overlooked Gothic art as

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[87] Nineteenth-century ideas of Paleolithic art were shaped by Western archaeologists who had used categories formerly used for craft to characterize it. This would only change with the eventual recognition of Paleolithic cave paintings. For more on this, see Oscar Moro Abadía, "Art, craft and Paleolithic art," *Journal of Social Archeology*, vol.6, no.1, 2006, 119-141. Gregory Curtis, *The Cave Painters. Probing the mysteries of the world's first artists*, New York: Anchor Books, 2007.

[88] While the evolutionary anthropology had been predominant in the United States, relativist theories on culture arrived in Northern America with the German anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942). Boas viewed culture not as a result of human development but as a joint product of individual, psychological, and historic conditions that turned into an individual form and could be grouped under more general phenomena. Forty years after he begun his studies in relativist anthropology, Boas published his results in 1927 in his book *Primitive Art*. Franz Boas, *Primitive Art*, New York: Dover Publications, 1955.

[89] For example, Adolf Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Geschichte: Zur Begründung einer psychologischen Weltanschauung*, Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag, 1968 [1860]; Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Tabu: einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1913 ; Wilhelm Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*. *Outlines of a psychological history of the development of mankind*, translated by Edward Leroy Schaub, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916 [1912] ; Lucien Lévi-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieurs*, Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1910.

[90] Susan Hiller, *The Myth of Primitivism*. London: Routledge, 1991, 87.

"Europe's own historical primitives."[91] Scholarship by Frances S. Connelly on primitivizing practices of Western artists and theorists has identified a standard set of visual attributes inherent in all art considered "primitive" during the long nineteenth century: "a rudeness, the grotesque distortions and monstrous forms, and a use of emblematic imagery."[92] Post-colonial research has established that the term "primitive art"[93] since its first appearance in 1927 does not refer to any specific art tradition but to a European cultural construction that reflects its imperialist, colonialist and capitalist makeup.[94]

Connelly's posture within post-colonial discourse differs from studies focusing on a critique of "primitivism" as coined by Robert Goldwater and of William Rubin's 1984 exhibition "Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern" held at the Museum of Modern Art. Most criticized were the exhibition's formalist comparisons of twentieth-century avant-garde art and artists with non-Western sources and their appropriation of tribal design presented as shared "affinities." This criticism is built on the ground-breaking work of thinkers like Frantz Fanon[95] (*Peau noire, masques blancs,* 1952) and Edward W. Said[96] (*Orientalism*, 1978). In their wake, post-colonial theory exposed the underlying racist and colonialist systems of primitivizing practices.[97] They lay open an actual disbalance in the power relationship between European artists and non-European art and challenged the apolitical and formalist interpretations of modern primitivizing artistic practices. This critique is based on the idea of a complex cultural

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[91] This is remarkable since, already in 1938 Robert Goldwater hat written on *Primitivism in Modern Painting*.Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 3.
[92] Frances S. Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," *TOC: Journal of Art Historiography*, special issue. Accessed Sept. 25, 2021, https://arthist.net/archive/10573, 4; Frances S. Connelly, "Introduction: Framing the Question," *Sleep of Reason*. *Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, 1-10.
[93] It is important to note that the German-American anthropologist Franz Boas developed his theory of "Primitive Art," published in 1927, on the basis of his research on the native art of the Northwest coast of Canada and the United States.
[94] For a complete discussion on the Western construction of primitivisms from 1880 to 1930, see Philippe Dagen, *Primitivismes 1. Une invention moderne*, Paris : Gallimard, 2019; Philippe Dagen, *Primitivismes 2. Une guerre moderne*, Paris: Gallimard, 2021.
[95] Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs*, Paris : Édition du Seuil, 1952.
[96] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
[97] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, 1988; Homi Bhabha, K. *The Location of Culture*, London, 1994; Frances Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics*, 1725–1907, University Park, Pa., 1995; Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*. Chicago, 1990.

exchange and focuses on issues of representation and appropriation of non-European art within the work of modern artists. The proclaimed "affinity" between these two was, in fact, one-sided.[98]An increased self-reflexivity of the discipline of art history itself led to investigations of the complexity of the primitivist gaze.[99] Most recently, anthropological research turned the gaze back and asked about African and Oceanic art production under colonial conditions, following the question: "was the inherited plastic language of the sculptures and masks flexible enough to develop a reflection on colonial experience on its own formal terms?"[100] To answer this question, anthropologists let the objects that had inspired European artists "speak"/talk back/ to "dispel some of the more misleading assumptions that Western viewers have brought to them."[101]

The collection of ethnographic objects served anthropology as well as the modern connoisseur to construct the "otherness" of the ethnic differences in the realm of (national) imperialism.[102] Both collected ethnographic objects, even if for different reasons: the ethnographer to document the material culture of the "savage" people, the artist to prove the existence of a far and long ago so-called primitive art by stressing the aesthetic value of the objects, elevating it into the status of a work of art to enable its assimilation to the aesthetic discourse. What happens with the ethnographic object in both cases is a displacement out of its original context and a dematerialization of the physical thing.[103]

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[98] Charles Harrison, Frances Frascina and Gil Perry, eds., *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Going Native: Paul Gauguin and the Invention of Primitivist Modernism," In *The Expanding Discourse*, edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1992, 312 – 329; Griselda Pollock, "Back to Africa: from Natal to natal in the locations of memory," *Journal of Visual Art Practice* 5 (2006), 49-72; Lara Bourdin, "The Sculpture of Irma Stern (1922-1955)," Master thesis, Université de Montréal, 2014.

[99] Ruud Welten, "Paul Gauguin and the complexity of the primitivist gaze," *Journal of Art Historiography,* no.12, June 2015, 1-13, https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/welten.pdf, accessed 15 September, 2021.

[100] Jonathan Hay, "Primitivism reconsidered (Part 1): A question of attitude," *Res. Anthropology and aesthetics*, vol. 67-68, 2016/2017, 61-77, 62; See also, Jonathan Hay, "Primitivism reconsidered (Part 2): Picasso and the Krumen," *Res. Anthropology and aesthetics*, vol. 69-70, 2018, 227-250.

[101] Hay, "Primitivism reconsidered (Part 1): A question of attitude," 77.

[102] Johannes Fabian, "Ethnische Artefakte," "Ethnische Artefakte und ethnographische Objekte: Über das Erkennen von Dingen." In *Das entfernte Dorf. Modern Kunst und ethnischer Artefakt*, edited by Akos Moravansky, Vienna: Böhlau, 33.

[103] For more on the relationship between the ethnic artifact and modernism, see Fabian, "Ethnische Artefakte."

According to James Clifford, collecting as a cultural practice means relocating the ethnographic object into Western ideological and institutional systems and discursive traditions, as well as the contextualization and valorization of the object.[104] The praxis of collecting is based on the specific assumptions of temporality, wholeness, and continuity. Clifford[105] reminds us that Western collecting had been a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture, and of authenticity.[106] Since the sixteenth century, Western ethnographic collections have separated artifacts from their original contexts and made them stand for the abstract wholes of "primitive art."[107] In fact, Primitivism and Anthropology have a common operator: both deal with the "other" as an object and with other objects at the same time. Anthropology deals with objects, things and artifacts, whereas twentieth-century Primitivism knows only one work of art. Whereas the ethnographer tries to decipher ethnographic objects from fetishes, the primitivizing artist[108] relegates fetish qualities onto ethnographic objects to borrow from their affective quality.

That way, collecting became the appropriating gesture of primitivism—either by anthropology or modern art.[109] Both, cultural artifacts and works of art, need to prove their value by authenticity, guaranteed by a vanishing cultural status and the removal of objects and customs from their current historical situation. What Clifford called the "art-culture system" works only when the collected 'exotic' object has a "second home in an ethnographic or an aesthetic milieu.[110] Within primitivist modernism, the boundaries between art and science and between the aesthetic and the anthropological are not permanently fixed. I argue that they are, in fact, "circular:" Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's collecting of "primitive images," either native or folklore, functions

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[104] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988, 215.
[105] Clifford chooses a new path through modernity, where people and things are out of place to contest the colonial relations established by twentieth-century ethnography. In the twentieth century, he argues, "distinct ways of life once destined to merge into 'the modern world' reasserted their difference, in novel ways." Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 6.
[106] The accumulation of possessions as a means of identification changes if the material goods are of an "other" culture. Whereas proper collecting as rule-governed possession is generally valued, the fixation on single objects either in the form of idolatry or erotic fixation is negatively marked as fetishism.
[107] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 218 – 220.
[108] For more on the artist as ethnographer, see Ákos Moravánszky, ed., *Das entfernte Dorf: moderne Kunst und ethnischer Artefakt*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2002, 7 – 20.
[109] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 221.
[110] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 226.

as a “double primitivism.”[111] [112] This primitivism is not the sole result of their close encounter with objects of non-academic art. Still, it is mediated twice: once by a modern style, which had been first altered by French avant-garde artists’ encounter with ethnographic collections and second by their unlearning induced by a close engagement with ethnographic objects from their immediate environment.

Two Contemporaries: Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter

The corpus of this dissertation focuses on women artists’ unlearning praxes, specifically in the work of Emily Carr (December 13, 1871 – March 2, 1945) and her German contemporary Gabriele Münter (February 19, 1877 – May 19, 1962). As contemporaries, they share not only similar trajectories but also a fascination for “the arts of the unlearned:” intrigued by First Nations design from Canada’s Northwest Coast, Emily Carr created a collection of totem pole paintings, whereas Gabriele Münter collected international folk art and engaged in reversed glass painting, an old folk art tradition from the South of Germany that she integrated into her still life paintings. Interested in the concept of unlearning, I recognized similar mechanisms playing out in both artists’ praxes. Learning and unlearning did not work in the same way for Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. Still, by comparing these two contemporaries, I identified general principles of emancipation through education and autonomy through their artistic praxes essential to the notion of unlearning and the unique value it acquires for women artists within the modern art discourse.

Emily Carr’s and Gabriele Münter’s ethno-artistic projects served a regional and national purpose different from each other. Based in early twentieth-century British Columbia, Carr’s project got linked to an aesthetic but also a political agenda of appropriation and colonization

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[111] Usually, women collectors have to fight against the cliché of a random accumulation of assorted objects. Women’s collections are mostly closely linked to domestic history in which collected material is supposedly accumulated with no specific self-consciousness attached. Generally speaking, women’s collections express personal identity and are as much extensions of the self as the collections made by men. Whereas women collect out of joy, men acquire with creativity and seriousness—so the common sense. By examining Emily Carr’s and Gabriele Münter’s collections of books, artifacts, and images, I seek to prove the “seriousness” of their undertaking. For more on women collecting, see Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
[112] For more on Emily Carr’s collection of images painted in B.C. on site, see Lothar Hönnighausen, “The Artist as Collector: Emily Carr’s Indian Paintings and Writings,” In *Before Peggy Guggenheim: American Women Art Collectors*, edited by Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2001, 223 – 232.

within a settler-colonial society. In contrast, Gabriele Münter's interest in and collecting of folklore art was for a long time thought of as a programmatic gesture within the avant-garde agenda to renew art through borrowing from its expressive qualities and authentic spirituality.[113] After the first post-colonial studies on German Expressionism undertaken by Anglo-Saxon scholars in the 1990s, scholarship on German avant-garde's role during Germany's colonial era before WWI arrived later and belated.[114] To compare Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter does not neglect the different conditions for each discourse to be considered but opens up the discussion about the "praxis of unlearning" as an artistic choice by women artists at the turn of the twentieth century and as a connecting link between the two art histories.

Born into a British settler family, Emily Carr is considered a settler within the context of settler-colonial art history. Therefore the subject of my thesis is situated within the settler-colonial realm, where settler-colonial art history brings settler and Indigenous art production into the same analytical frame.[115] Nevertheless, my proposition to think of Emily Carr's collection of totem pole images as a "praxis of unlearning" widens the "settler-colonial" perspective by alluding to the challenges shared with Gabriele Münter and other modern women artists' professional and artistic emancipation and their search for artistic and creative autonomy prior to WWI.

Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter have already been compared with other female contemporaries. However, Emily Carr's iconic status within Canadian art history is superior to Gabriele Münter's respective role in German art history. Gabriele Münter, despite several major

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[113] In 1846, the English art historian William John Thoms – heavily influenced by the German Grimm brothers' work – defined "Folk-Lore" as the knowledge (lore) of the people (folk) to promote research on "literary antiquities" like fairy tales. Ambrose Merton [William John Thoms], "Letter to the editor," *Athenaeum*, August 22, 1846, 862-863.

[114] For a first discussion of German Expressionism within historic Primitivism, see Jill Lloyd, *German Expressionism. Primitivism and Modernity*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1991. More recently, Katherine Kuenzli pointed to the connection between the *Blaue Reiter* collective's primitivizing theories and a contemporary museum practice of exhibiting avant-garde art together with ethnographic artifacts, in Katherine Kuenzli, "The 'primitive' and the modern in Der Blaue Reiter almanac and the Folkwang Museum," In *Der Blaue Reiter and its legacies*, edited by Dorothy Price, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020, 51-69.

[115] Damian Skinner, "Settler-colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts," *Journal of Canadian Art History* 35, no.1, 2014, 130-145, 157-175, 157.

solo exhibitions since her death in 1962,[116] is mainly perceived as part of the artist collective *Der Blaue Reiter*[117] and modern artist couple Münter/Kandinsky[118]. Emily Carr has been compared with female contemporaries in the past: most prominently with Georgia O'Keeffe (1887-1986) and Frida Kahlo (1907-1954), two women artists that possess an equally iconic status in their homelands[119] or with other Commonwealth artists like the Australian Margaret Preston (1875-1963).[120] A comparison of Emily Carr with her Canadian contemporaries is taking place in the exhibition "Uninvited: Canadian Women Artists in the Modern Moment,"[121] organized by the McMichael Canadian Art Collection, Ontario. At the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the iconic Canadian all-male artist Group of Seven, the McMichael Canadian Art Collection recognizes the work of women artists from settler-colonial and Indigenous communities in the modern era describing their challenges to enter the Canadian art establishment.

Comparing Emily Carr, who possesses a unique position within Canadian art history, with an international, non-iconic artist such as Gabriele Münter, allows me to focus on Carr's role within modern painting. Together with the members of the pivotal *Group of Seven,* she stands for Canadian modernism based on landscape painting. Since the 1927 "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern,"[122] Emily Carr's paintings of the British Columbian forest and First Nations sites were idealized as truly Canadian, thus supposedly mediating between the Canadian nation and the Indigenous communities preceeding European colonization. This false assumption got highly criticized by post-colonial scholars during the 1990s, accusing Carr of appropriating

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[116] Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg, eds., *Gabriele Münter: 1877-1962; Retrospektive*, Munich: Prestel, 1992, exhibition catalogue. Isabelle Jansen, *Gabriele Münter 1877-1962. Malen ohne Umschweife*, Munich: Prestel, 2017, exhibition catalogue.
[117] Most recently in Matthias Mühling, Annegret Hoberg, and Anna Straetmans, *Gruppendynamik: Der Blaue Reiter*, Berlin: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2021.
[118] Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky. Biographie eines Paares*, Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1994; Andrea Blühm and Barbara Schäfer, *Künstlerpaare: Liebe, Kunst und Leidenschaft*, Ostfildern: Hantje Cantz, 2008. Bibiana K. Obler, *Intimate Collaborations*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
[119] Sharyn Rolfsen Udall, *Carr, O'Keeffe, Kahlo: Places of their Own*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
[120] In 2011, Emily Carr's work was exhibited at documenta13 in Kassel together with works by Australian artist Margaret Preston.
[121] Sarah Milroy, *Uninvited: Canadian Women Artists in the Modern Moment*, Vancouver: Figure1, 2021, exhibition catalogue.
[122] *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. Exhibition Catalogue, Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1927.

First Nations design. Emily Carr's settler-colonial perspective on First Nations' culture led to a leaving aside of her so-called Native pictures of Northwest coast villages with their unique architecture of long houses and totem poles. Still, in 2012, when Emily Carr was shown at the international art exhibition *documenta13* in Kassel, the eco-feminist curator Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev displayed Emily Carr as an early advocate of ecological concerns and as a feminist role model, ignoring her role in settler-colonial art history, which developed around the same time in countries that were once part of the British Empire.[123] By the same token, Emily Carr's international art education in England (1900 – 1905) and France (1910 – 1911) was diminished together with her relationship to international primitivism.[124]

Only recently did the influence of the European avant-garde on Emily Carr's artistic development receive heightened attention with the exhibition *Emily Carr. Fresh Seeing: French Modernism and the West Coast* in 2019,[125] which challenged the canonical version of the French contribution to Carr's art beyond a purely formal one. For most of the twentieth century, Emily Carr's early work was notoriously undervalued by the conviction that Emily Carr's art matured only later in life and through her exploration of the Canadian landscape. Due to her belated entry into the international art scene in the 1920s, Carr was rarely connected to the history of the European avant-garde and was generally ignored by European art historians.[126] On the contrary, international exhibitions presented Emily Carr in recent years as the ambassador of her home region, British Columbia[127] and Canadian Modernism in general: for example, as a representative

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[123] Settler-colonial art history is a group of researchers from Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa and the United States working on a methodology for art history that responds to the peculiar and particular dynamics of settler-colonial societies. For more information, see https://settler-colonial.mystrikingly.com/, accessed 15 September 2021.

[124] Gerta Moray is the first author who linked Emily Carr's project of creating a complete pictorial record of Native villages with International Primitivism. She stresses the distinct nature of Emily Carr's project—that is, its location between European primitivist taste and the needs of her colonial homeland. According to Moray, Emily Carr created an artistic language through which she could encounter and translate local realities into the stylistic preferences of European primitivist taste. See Gerta Moray, "Emily Carr and the Traffic in Native Images," In *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, edited by Lynda Jessup. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

[125] The first exhibition on Emily Carr's French sojourn dates to 1991. See Ian M. Thom, *Emily Carr in France*, Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1991, exhibition catalogue.

[126] In 2014, the Dulwich Picture Gallery showed a retrospective of Emily Carr's work curated by the Canadian Sarah Milroy. See Sarah Milroy and Ian Desjardin, *From the Forest to the Sea*. *Emily Carr in British Columbia*, London: Goose Lane Editions, 2014, exhibition catalogue.

[127] For example, Milroy, *From the Forest to the Sea*, 2014.

of landscape painting[128] or as the Canadian representative of international (Post)Impressionism[129]. In 2021, Emily Carr was shown in Germany in a group exhibition on the "Magnetic North. Imagining Canada in Painting 1910-40" in the context of Canada's invite as the Guest of Honour at the 2020/2021 international book fair in Frankfurt, Germany.[130] Curated by the German Art Gallery Schirn, Emily Carr and the Group of Seven were looked at from a Nordic perspective, building connecting links to Canada via Germany's artistic tradition of romantic landscape painting as, for example, by the German painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840).[131]

More often than not Canadian art history ignored that Carr's ethno-artistic project, resumed while in France, links her work to contemporary primitivizing practices undertaken by European, especially French avant-garde artists like Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and Henri Matisse (1869-1954). It was in 2006 that Johanne Lamoureux commented first on Emily Carr's choice of marginal subject matter—the totem pole—mirroring not only her strangeness and marginalization as a woman artist but also functioning as a catalyst, redirecting her artistic and pictorial strategies so that she could find her place among modern painters. [132] Taking Lamoureux's hypothesis further, I argue that Emily Carr's unlearning can hardly be seen solely as a refusal of the principles of the imitation of nature but should be recognized as a necessary and wilful rejection of the artistic modes of expression that had been deemed suitable for a woman painter in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Carr's engaging with the native art of the Northwest coast is only one element of her praxis of unlearning facilitated by technology, mobility, travelling, the constant risk of failure and her ironic reaction to it.

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[128] Emily Carr was shown in 2017 together with Wassily Kandinsky and Claude Monet in the exhibition but also Georgia O'Keeffe at the Musée D'Orsay, Paris. Béatrice Avanzi, Isabelle Morin Loutrel, and Guy Cogeval, *Au-delà des étoiles. Le paysage mystique de Monet à Kandinsky,* Paris : Musée d'Orsay, 2017, exhibition catalogue.
[129] As for example in, Katerina Atanassova, *Canada and Impressionism: New Horizons, 1880 – 1930*, Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2019, exhibition catalogue.
[130] Martina Weinhart, ed., *Magnetic North. Imagining Canada in Painting 1910-40*, Munich: Prestel, 2021. exhibition catalogue.
[131] Although this is not the first time that a Nordic perspective has been employed. See, Roald Nasgaard, *The Mystic North: Symbolist Landscape Painting in Northern Europe and North America, 1890 – 1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
[132] Johanne Lamoureux, "The Other French Modernity of Emily Carr," in *New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, edited by Charles C. Hill, Johanne Lamoureux and Ian M. Thom, 2006, 42–53, 49.

Gabriele Münter is foremost known as a member of the German expressionist group *Der Blaue Reiter* and a European avant-garde artist within the expressionist realm.[133] Her life and career are inseparably linked to her teacher and later life partner, Wassily Kandinsky (1866 – 1944). For decades, it was unthinkable to look at Gabriele Münter as an artist of her own account. For the most part, Münter was compared with him, or they were compared with other pivotal artist couples of twentieth-century European and international avant-garde.[134] Only recently, has her work been discussed independently from her former teacher, for example, with female members of the artist group *Der Blaue Reiter* or with other modern women artists of the international avant-garde active in Germany before WWI.[135]

In 1912, in the *Blaue Reiter* almanac, Wassily Kandinsky shaped Gabriele Münter's reception for decades to come by illustrating his article "On the question of form"[136] with her work. After the dissolution of the collective and the traumatic events of WWI, the society of the Weimar Republic rejected pre-war Expressionism as decadent. Only three group members, Franz Marc, Wassily Kandinsky, and Paul Klee, remained in the German collective memory. This is primarily due to Carl Einstein's selective view of the group formulated in his *The Art of the 20th Century*, published in 1926.[137] Additionally, Wassily Kandinsky wrote his "Reminiscences"[138] in 1930 about his participation in the *Blaue Reiter* to control his reception. At this moment, Gabriele Münter had

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[133] Timothy O. Benson, *Expressionismus in Deutschland und Frankreich: Von Matisse zum Blauen Reiter*, Zürich: Kunsthaus, 2014, exhibition catalogue.
[134] As the most recent examples of research on artists couples in the twentieth century, see Emma Lavigne, ed., *Couples modernes, 1900-1950*, Paris: Gallimard, Centre Pompidou Metz, 2018, exhibition catalogue; Bibiana K. Obler, *Intimate Collaborations*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014; Barbara Blühm and Andreas Schäfer, *Künstlerpaare: Liebe, Kunst und Leidenschaft*, Ostfildern: Hantje Cantz, 2008.
[135] Most recently Gabriele Münter has been compared with Marianne von Werefkin, Maria Marc, and Erma Bossi. See Birgit Poppe, *"Ich bin Ich," Die Frauen des Blauen Reiters*, Köln: Dumont, 2011; Sandra Uhrig, *Erma Bossi – Eine Spurensuche*, Murnau: Schloßmusuem Murnau, 2013, exhibition catalogue. In 2015, a major exhibition in the Schirn Museum in Frankfurt showed Gabriele Münter among other well-known and unknown Expressionist women artists of the Berlin avant-garde from 1910 to 1930: Ingrid Pfeiffer and Max Hollein, eds., *STURM-FRAUEN. Künstlerinnen der Avantgarde in Berlin 1910-1932*, Köln: Wienand Verlag, 2015, exhibition catalogue; Karla Bilang, *Frauen im 'STURM': Künstlerinnen der Moderne*, Berlin: AvivA, 2013.
[136] Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," In Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, eds., *Der Blaue Reiter*, Munich: Piper, 2009, 132-188, 180.
[137] Carl Einstein, *Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1926.
[138] Wassily Kandinsky, "Der Blaue Reiter (Rückblick)," In *Das Kunstblatt*, vol.14, no.2, 1930, 57-60.

already met her second life partner, the art historian Johannes Eichner, who substantially impacted her career and reception until he died in 1958.

In his monograph, published in 1957, Eichner definitely bound Gabriele Münter's reception to Kandinsky.[139] He linked Münter's psychological character with her artistic production. He opposed her "natural talent" and art to Kandinsky's intellectual and spiritual contributions to modern art theory.[140] This cliché has been perpetuated for over fifty years partly due to the lack of testimony or theory written by Gabriele Münter herself. Only abridged publications of her correspondences and journals remain.[141] Kandinsky's influence on Gabriele Münter's oeuvre cannot be denied but needs to be put into perspective. Asked in 1958 to name her most significant artistic influences, Gabriele Münter mentioned besides Kandinsky Alexej Jawlensky[142] and reversed glass painting. But when asked about her formal influences during 1908 – 1913, Münter mentions Van Gogh, via Jawlensky, and his theories, mainly his talking about synthesis.[143]

This dissertation combines Gabriele Münter's preoccupation with folk art and an intensified influence of French avant-garde theory through Alexej Jawlensky. Both influences led to the repudiation of her conservative artistic education. After her first artistic training in Düsseldorf and extensive travel to the U.S. and all over Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century, Gabriele Münter settled down in 1908 in the South of Munich in the Bavarian countryside where she discovered Bavarian *Hinterglasmalerei* (reversed glass painting). Collecting and painting these glasses facilitated her praxis of unlearning that would alter her landscapes and, most of all, her expressionist still lifes, wherein she integrated her own reversed glass paintings and other folklore artifacts. Painting in a folklore medium and collecting antique and contemporary reversed glass paintings is recognized today as an avant-garde practice. [144]

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[139] Johannes Eichner, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter: von Ursprüngen moderner Kunst*, München: F. Bruckmann, 1957.
[140] Eichner, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter*, 26–35.
[141] Gabriele Münter's own writings remain banned for another twenty years.
[142] Roditi, *Dialoge über Kunst*, 117.
[143] "Wenn ich ein formales Vorbild habe – u. gewißer maßen war es gewiß der Fall 1908 – 13; so ist es wohl van Gogh durch Jawlensky u. dessen Theorien. (Das Sprechen von der Synthese.)" Gabriele Münter as cited in Friedel and Hoberg, *Gabriele Münter: 1877 – 1962. Retrospektive*, 52.
[144] For more on the importance of folklore on twentieth century international avant-garde, see Katia Baudin and Elina Knorpp, *Folklore & Avantgarde. Die Rezeption volkstümlicher Traditionen im Zeitalter der Moderne*, Munich: Hirmer, 2020, exhibition catalogue.

Carr's and Münter's Praxes of Unlearning

Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter followed similar trajectories in their early careers. Both, born at the end of the nineteenth century, had no access to conventional artistic academies and, therefore, "nothing to unlearn." They received their artistic training at private art schools, where they followed a curriculum influenced by the Beaux-Arts tradition. Nevertheless, after having learned what they could, they turned their back on the academic training they had fought so hard to receive. Around the year 1907, both encountered non-academic art that would initiate their respective ethno-artistic projects—at the same time as de Vlaminck, Matisse, and Picasso came across Oceanic and African art in Parisian ethnographic collections and started the "primitivist revolution"[145] (Restillini). While the group of artists in the circle of the Stein family had constructed their change of style around a precise moment of confrontation with art fundamentally different from the academic traditions, I argue that Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter's unlearning is based on a gradual process of integrating familiar objects into their body of work. This happened not by "shock" but by "creative dissociation"[146] (Pasi) from the art education available to them. Due to the difficulties they had to face to emancipate themselves through education, encountering art outside the art historical canon had a different effect on their artistic praxes than of that of their male colleagues. Even if the results of their unlearning may seem similar in style to the artistic production of their male colleagues, their primitivizing was determined by proximity rather than by distance and exoticism.

Since the 1990s, Emily Carr's "totem pole pictures" and especially her 1920s artisan practices—"prostituting"[147] native art as Emily Carr admitted late in life—, selling her pottery and

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[145] In a recent juxtapositon of Modiglini and Picasso, Marc Restillini repeats the myth of an artistic modern revolution by "shock" experienced at Picasso's visit of the ethnographic collection of the *Musée d'Éthnographie du Trocadero* without any mentioning of the othering effect this had had on the cultures represented. Marc Restillini, "Modigliani, Picasso – The Primitivist Revolution. The Centenary of an Avant-Garde Artist, " *Modigliani. The Primitivist Revolution*, Munich: Hirmer, 2021, 11-29, 23.
[146] Marco Pasi, "Hilma af Klint: western esotericism and the problem of modern artistic creativity," *Hilma af Klint: The Art of Seeing the Invisible*, edited by Kurt Almqvist and Louise Belfrage, Stockholm: Axel and Margaret Johnson Foundatio, 101-116, 114.
[147] Emily Carr, *Growing Pains: The Autobiography of Emily Carr*, Toronto: Irving Publishing, 1946, 231.

rugs to BC tourists have been criticized as cultural appropriation.[148] Moreover, through her autobiographical writing on her encounters with First Nations peoples, Carr made believe that she had been able to create a deep bond with the native heritage of British Columbia based on a thorough understanding of First Nations' customs and overall culture. Marcia Crosby, an art historian with Tsimshian-Haida ethnicity, was the first scholar to question Carr's "profound understanding" promoted by the 1990 national retrospective.[149] In her 1991 seminal article "Construction of the Imaginary Indian,"[150] she addressed the discrepancy between settler-colonial suppression of Indigenous culture and settler-colonial artists' identification with Indigenous people. For the next twenty years, writing on Emily Carr tried to discern what she could have known from her settler colonial perspective and the relationship with British Columbian native communities she visited on her travels.[151]

Today, settler-colonial art history has identified this phenomenon as "settler indigenization," defined as "gestures by which a transplanted people reimagine themselves as 'native' to the land they choose to call home."[152] Another approach that has proven valuable in explaining this phenomenon is psychoanalysis. In her Jungian reading of the Carr family's "migration trauma," Phyllis Marie Jensen remarks that "Emily Carr and her family and the larger British community responded to migration primarily through replication of the homeland."[153] But as Emily Carr tried to identify with her parents' homeland during her London sojourn, she realized

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[148] As an example of how post-colonial critique on Emily Carr was received as an attempt to demolish the female patron saint of Canadian art history and only reluctantly taken seriously, see Robert Fulford, "The Trouble with Emily. How Canada's greatest woman painter ended up on the wrong side of the political correctness debate," In *Canadian Art,* Winter 1993, 32-39.
[149] Doris Shadbolt, *Emily Carr,* Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1990, exhibition catalogue. At this point, Doris Shabolt is considered the leading expert on Emily Carr, after having published her monograph, Doris Shadbolt, *The Art of Emily Carr*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1979.
[150] Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian," In *Academic Reading – Second Edition: Reading and Writing Across the Discipline*, edited by Janet Giltrow, Peterborough, Ontario: broadview press, 2002, 488-498.
[151] For a profound and complete analysis of Emily Carr's encounters with British Columbia's First Nations along the Westcoast, see Gerta Moray, *Unsettling encounters: First Nations imagery in the art of Emily Carr*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.
[152] Kristina Huneault, "The Politics of Invitation: Canadian Women's Art History and the Settler-Colonial context," In *Uninvited: Canadian Women Artists in the Modern Moment*, edited by Sarah Milroy, Vancouver: Figure1, 2021, exhibition catalogue, 24-33, 28.
[153] Phyllis Marie Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the spirit of the land: a Jungian portrait*, London: Routledge, 2016, 184.

that she was Canadian only.[154] To overcome what Jensen calls a "psychic split"[155] as she attempted to identify with the homeland of her parents, Carr instead started to identify with West Canada:

> During her travels along the Pacific Northwest coast seeing the village art of the First Nations peoples – who had been a large presence in her childhood – she experienced an epiphany and a sense of belonging. The spirited Aboriginal art taught her to look with fresh eyes at the land of her birth and she spent the rest of her life seeking a relationship to the land. The land of the Pacific Northwest motivated her studies, inspired her art and influenced her vision.[156]

Carr was using her art to bound herself to her homeland Canada and places along the Northwest coast where she had shown up "uninvited."[157] Unlike "territories," places are physical spaces bound to experiences and memory with emotions and values attached. This mechanism can turn a place into a "home" and a territory into a "homeland." [158] Yet, this territory had been unrightfully claimed by European settlers. During Emily Carr's active years, Canada's racial policy in the form of the Indian Act enacted by the Federal Government in 1876 created an increasing inequality between settler and Indigenous communities. Today the ethical aspect of Emily Carr's encounters with First Nations communities is considered when judging her inclusion of Northwest Coast art into her painting. Recently, her friendship with Sewinchelwet (Sophie Frank) (1906-1939) was subjected to a thorough analysis. Kristina Huneault's case study reveals a complex relationship between idealization and devaluation. Even though Emily Carr often spoke about her "love" for Sophie Frank as for Indigenous peoples of the Canadian Northwest Coast in general, this love was full of unwanted projections and a "racially determined paternalism"[159] on Carr's side. In a comparative

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[154] For more on Emily Carr in London, see Samantha Burton, "Canadian girls in London: negotiating home and away in the British World at the turn of the twentieth century," Montreal: McGill University, 2012. PhD thesis.
[155] Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the spirit of the land: a Jungian portrait*, 183.
[156] Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the spirit of the land: a Jungian portrait*, 185.
[157] For more on how the relationship between "host" and "guests" was reversed in the settler-colonial context, see Huneault, "The Politics of Invitation," 2021.
[158] Different from the idea of "territories," places are physical spaces that are bound to experiences and memory and that have emotions and values attached to them. This mechanism can turn a place into "home" and a territory into a "homeland." Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the Spirit of the Land,* 180.
[159] Kristina Huneault, 250.

analysis of Carr's painting with Frank's basketry and juxtaposing both women's aesthetic concerns and productions, Huneault manages to restore Frank's cultural agency.[160]

Gabriele Münter's inclusion into the discussions surrounding twentieth-century Primitivism happened only recently and under the influence of decolonizing efforts of German museums of modern art like the Lenbachhaus, Munich.[161] The permanent collection of the Lenbachhaus Munich has been rearranged within the project "Museum Global," an initiative of the Federal Cultural Foundation of Germany to re-think German museums of modern art.[162] Led by the idea of plural modernities, the Lenbachhaus Munich developed a new presentation of their permanent collection, including an international perspective on the Munich movement. The group *Der Blaue Reiter* figured prominently in Robert Goldwater's *Primitvism in Modern Art* as "emotional primitivism" (in contrast to "romantic," "intellectual," and "subconscious"). Focusing on the art of Paul Klee, Franz Marc, and especially on Wassily Kandinsky's theories, Goldwater identified in the group's treatment of "folk subject" a more "vague" and "general" approach.[163] For the remainder of the twentieth century, the *Blaue Reiter* has been left uncriticized for their member's primitivizing practices due to the dominance of Kandinsky's theories putting inner expression above outer form. In May 1912, Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky published their almanac, illustrated with images of folk art, art by children, African and Polynesian carving, and Bavarian reversed glass paintings together with European old masters and the contemporary French avant-garde.[164] In the past, the artists of the German avant-garde group have been praised for their stylistic diversity and having opened their readers' eyes to the equal status of works of art produced around the world: all these works could after all be seen as possessing the "inner necessity"[165] considered essential for the art

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[160] Kristina Huneault, 251.
[161] In the last national retrospective the curators reserved one section of the exhibition to "Primitivism." Isabelle Jansen, "'Auf der Suche nach den Wurzeln der Kreativität.' Der 'Primitivismus'," In *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Malen ohne Umschweife*, Munich: Prestel, 2017, exhibition catalogue, 135-181.
[162] For more information on the German government's museum initiative, see https://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/en/programmes_projects/image_and_space/detail/group_dynamics_the_blue_rider_and_collectives_of_the_modernist_period.html, accessed 15 September 2021.
[163] Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, 113.
[164] For more on the photographic sources of the publication, see Helmut Friedel and Isabelle Jansen, eds., *"Die Blaue Reiterei stürmt voran". Bildquellen für den Almanach Der Blaue Reiter. Die Sammlung von Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter,* Munich: Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, 2012, exhibition catalogue.
[165] Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," 162.

of all ages and cultures—yet critics of the group neglected until very recently the colonial context of the German Empire prior to WWI.

In an unpublished preface to the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kandinsky and Marc write: “the whole work, called art, knows no borders or nations, only humanity.”[166] For most of the twentieth century, the *Blauer Reiter* was celebrated as a cosmopolitan group bringing together artists from different nationalities and genders who used art as their common language and were untouched by post-colonial critique. Edward Said had absolved Germany in his seminal *Orientalism* for having had no “protracted sustained *national* interest in the Orient.“[167] With the arrival of debates around restitution and the provenance of ethnographic objects held in German collections,[168] Germany as a colonizer is entering the public discourse.[169] Only recently did the general public realize that Germany is guilty of “subjugation, exploitation, and dismantling of existing social, religious, commercial, and cultural structures”[170] in its former colonies.[171] In the wake of the decolonizing of German museum collections, the Munich Lenbachhaus reviewed their presentation of works by the *Blaue Reiter* collective. Since early 2021, the collection of early twentieth-century art has been juxtaposed with the actual ethnographic objects (on loan from German ethnographic collections) that had been included in the 1912 publication.[172] The curators aim to prove that the members of the *Blaue Reiter* did not possess a somewhat innocent gaze. Annegret Hoberg’s fundamental article “Is all art created equal?” explains how the collective idea of the colonies was shaped at the time by publications, illustrated magazines and the so-called *Völkerschauen*— exhibitions of foreign

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[166] Kandinsky and Marc as cited in Annegret Hoberg, “Is All Art created Equal?, 26.
[167] Emphasis in the original. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage, 1978, 19.
[168] Discussions on historic colonialism in Germany was mainly focussing in the last twenty years on the Berlin Humboldt Forum (completed in 2020), which houses a large ethnographic collection in a reconstructed Prussian palace in the centre of Berlin. Exhibiting artefacts that had been robbed from former Prussian colonies in a museum that is constructed to remind of Germany’s imperial age evoked many criticism and helped to bring Germany’s colonial past back into the collective consciousness.
[169] The fact that Germany did not participate in the slave trade created the myth that it had less guilt in relation to colonialism.
[170] Hoberg, “Is All Art Created Equal?,” 31.
[171] The former German colonies include territories in today’s nation states of Namibia, Togo, Cameroon and parts of Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda.
[172] The non-European art depicted in the 1912 almanac are from Gabon, Borneo, Bali, Cameroon, Brazil, Easter Islands, New Caledonia, Mexico, Alaska, and Sri Lanka.

peoples during fairs (e.g. during Munich's *Oktoberfest*) or in a zoological setting (e.g. Hamburg's Zoo *Hagenbeck*).

Compared to the Dresden *Brücke* collective's overt exoticism,[173] Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky, the *Blaue Reiter* theorists, avoided direct formal analysis of non-European art and abstained from integrating any African art. Instead, Kandinsky focused on the visual effect the works might have on the almanac's reader. He intended to "emancipate"[174] the ethnographic object through photography's dramatizing effects. In the decolonial analysis of the *Blaue Reiter*, currently exhibited at the Lenbachhaus Munich, Gabriele Münter figures with her private photographs of a 1901 *Völkerschau*, her reversed glass paintings, and the still lifes she painted before 1912. While her reversed glass paintings and still lifes figured already in the 1912 almanac, her photographs of foreign peoples' encounters with Munich's public at the Oktoberfest belong to her private collection, which was exhibited for the first time together with her painterly œuvre during her last retrospective in 2017. In the new presentation of the permanent collection, her photographs of 1901 are put in context with the contemporary phenomenon of Germans' fascination with North-American First Nations. Germans' ideas of the "imaginary indian" were promoted in Wild West shows[175] and by the German author Karl May.[176] In 1909, August Macke, another member of the

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[173] Emil Nolde travelled to the South Sea, accompanying an expedition. For more on the Brücke and exoticism, see Christoph Wagner and Ralph Melcher, *Die Brücke und der Exotismus: Bilder des Anderen,* Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 2011.

[174] Hoberg, "Is all art created equal?," 62. Wassily Kandinsky is using the term "*Emanzipation*" in his text *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (*Concerning the Spiritual in Art*) to describe a dissimilarity with nature. Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst, insbesondere in der Malerei,* Bern: Benteli Verlag, 2006, 118.

[175] The Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, shown throughout Europe in 1890-1891 and again in 1906, embodied the imaginary cowboy the German public had already been familiar with through Karl May's books. For a deeper understanding of Germans' fascination with the American West, see Julia S. Stetler, "Buffalo Bill's Wild West in Germany. A Transnational History," PhD diss., University of Nevada Las Vegas, 2012, http://dx.doi.org/10.34917/4332615, accessed 15 September 2022.

[176] The German author Karl May (1842-1912) wrote a series of adventure novels with the Indigenous hero "Winnetou." May's "imaginary indian" (Crosby) shaped the idea of German society of North American First Nations way into the twentieth century, primarily through the movie adaptations of the 1960s. Karl May travelled for the first time to the Middle East and the U.S. shortly before his death in 1912. In May's hometown Radebeul, Germany, each year an open-air festival stages his novels in front of an audience. In 2010, the Canadian First Nations artist of Cree ancestry, Kent Monkman, went to Germany to confront Karl May's "imaginary indian" with his alter ego Miss Chief Eagle Testicle. In the following, Monkman created his video work *Dance to Miss Chief* (2010), a 4:53 min video loop with Miss Chief dancing to excerpts of a German 1960s Western starring the ficticious First Nation character "Winnetou."

Blaue Reiter, began to paint Native Americans in a romantically transfigured view. Gabriele Münter instead focused on local folk traditions she found near her Murnau home.

That is where she discovered the local tradition of reversed glass painting and met Heinrich Rambold and Johann Krötz.[177] Rambold was one of the last artists of the region producing traditional reversed glass paintings as souvenirs. At the same time, Krötz had amassed an extensive private collection of traditional Bavarian reversed glass paintings that served as a source of inspiration Münter's glass production and collecting. In a back-to-nature *Lebensreform*[178] (life-reform) mindset, Münter and Kandinsky moved into their Murnau cottage in 1908 and began collecting folk art shortly after: religious carved figures, votive panels, reversed glass paintings and Russian popular prints known as *lubki*. Like artifacts from foreign countries, regional folk art was considered "authentic" and "natural" and was idealized as such. The artists' interest in folk art was fed by the idea of homeland ("Heimat") that was thought of as being collectively rooted in the "spirit of the people." Its connection to national (and colonial) ideas is placing folk art together with non-European art in a hierarchy that puts one's own culture higher than others. At the same time, the everyday life of rural Bavaria could not have been further from the bohemian Schwabing artist circles that each year during carnival season dressed up as either "Bavarians," "Greeks," "Spaniards" or other mythological figures. In *fin de siècle* Munich, local ancient traditions on the verge of disappearing got absorbed in the art world composed of a diverse and cosmopolitan group of people.[179] The Munich neighbourhood of Schwabing, as much as the rural village of Murnau,

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[177] For more on the particularity of a local production of reversed glass paintings coinciding with the beginning of its collecting in Murnau and its surrounding regions, see Constanze Werner, "Vor allem wies mir die Volkskunst den Weg. Gabriele Münter im Kontaxt von Volkskunst als Inspiration, Sammelgegenstand und Stil," In Nina Gockerell, Sandra Uhrig, and Constanze Werner, *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst,* Murnau: Schloßmusuem Murnau, 2017

[178] Around 1900 in Germany and Switzerland, well-educated young bourgeois men and women aimed to reform society by reforming their life in a holistic fashion. The most prominent example of an escapist phantasy turned reality is a place in the Swiss mountains called Monte Verità that attracted intellectuals and artists alike. They were interest into spirituality, theosophy but also alternative ways of being in relationship and dressing up. German artist groups like *Die Brücke* and the *Blaue Reiter* were like-minded with the Ascona community. For an in-depth analysis of the connection between German avant-garde artists and the life reform movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, see Renate Foitzik Kirchgraber, "Lebensreform und Künstlergruppierungen um 1900," PhD diss., Universität Basel, 20033, http://edoc.unibas.ch/diss/DissB_6566, accessed 15 September 2021.

[179] Helmut Bauer and Elisabeth Tworek, eds., *Schwabing – Kunst und Leben um 1900*, Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1998, 18.

transformed from a geographic into a cultural site under the influence of the international avant-garde. While living in Murnau[180], Gabriele Münter engaged in folk art practices (reversed glass painting)[181] and cultivates her garden dressed in local costumes usually worn by farm people. In contrast, when in Schwabing, where Münter and Kandinsky kept an apartment, they participated in the international salon of Marianne von Werefkin, exhibited with the members of the *Neue Künstlervereiningung München* (later *Blaue Reiter*) and displayed their folk art collection.

Understanding Münter's relation with non-European art and culture as a praxis of unlearning entails going beyond a decolonial analysis of the historical context of primitivizing art and artists in the twentieth century. It points to her biases and preconceived notions on foreign cultures as a white upper-class German woman prior to WWI. Where previous accounts focused primarily on formal comparisons between the paintings created and the ethnographic objects depicted, I am integrating Carr's and Münter's primitivizing practices into their larger praxis of unlearning, joining research on women artists' education and artistic emancipation with decolonizing efforts in modern art history. Engaging with non-academic art was an avenue towards emancipation from art education and it fostered artistic autonomy in their artistic practice. This will open up a space for the works of Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter to be considered together in a comparative, transnational project on the common grounds of unlearning. Through a close examination of the artworks (and the archival resources related to them) that each woman created before and after integrating ethnographic objects into their imagery, I intend to demonstrate that unlearning was a deliberate artistic strategy to inscribe themselves in the modern discourse, a strategy used despite and because of the disadvantages each faced in "learning."

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[180] For more on Gabriele Münter's Murnau residence and its influence on her engagement with Bavarian folk art, see Matthias Mühling and Isabelle Jansen, eds., *Das Münter-Haus in Murnau,* Munich: Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner Stiftung, 2014; Brigitte Salmen, *Wassily Kandinsky – Gabriele Münter. Künstler des "Blauen reiter" in Murnau. Ein Kulturführer des Schloßmuseums Murnau*, Murnau: Schloßmuseum des Marktes Murnau, 2008; Helmut Friedel, ed., *Das Münter-Haus. Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug*, Munich: Prestel, 2000.

[181] On the technique, history and conservation of reversed glass paintings, see Simone Bretz, *Hinterglasmalerei... die Farben leuchten so klar und rein,* Klinkhardt & Biermann, 2013. For a detailed study on the tradition of reversed glass painting in the South of Bavaria in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, see Brigitte Salmen, ed., *"...welche zuweilen Kunstwerth haben." Hinterglasmalerei in Südbayern im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Murnau: Schloßmuseum Murnau, 2003, exhibition catalogue. The first study on Gabriele Münter's reverse glass paintings dates back to 1981. Rosel Gollek, *Gabriele Münter. Hinterglasbilder*, Munich: Piper Verlag, 1981.

Dissertation Structure

The structure of this dissertation reflects the two-fold nature of unlearning: that of a concept with its distinct history and that of an artistic praxis in modern women artists' work. The first part of this thesis follows the occurrence of unlearning within art historical writing and its metabolization throughout the long nineteenth century up to the beginning of the twentieth century. The history of unlearning closes with art writing contemporary to the corpus of this thesis. The second part of this dissertation focuses on Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's early body of work from 1890 to 1913. The year 1913 functions as this dissertation's chronological endpoint for several reasons. It marks important milestones in the curriculum of both artists, with major solo exhibitions and the last moment before their lives were disrupted by the upheaval of historical events following the beginning of WWI.

The first chapter, "Paradox pedagogy," centers around the foundation of the Royal Academy and its first president Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses.* His usage of the concept of unlearning within his model of art education demonstrates how he intended to turn the disadvantage of having "nothing to unlearn" into an advantage for the new school of English art. A close reading of selected *Discourses* and Reynolds' private letters, unpublished texts and preparatory notes, made accessible by Jan Blanc's complete edition of his writings, give invaluable insights into the paradoxes present within his conception of unlearning. While Reynolds is eager to promote the most authentic artistic expression to his students, he is torn between the continental dogma of the Italian High Renaissance and his fascination for early Flemish and German (Gothic) art considered "barbaric" by his contemporaries. By following his arguments, the pragmatic nature of his concept of unlearning becomes apparent as he is negotiating the idea of emancipation through education with the idea of emancipation from continental art education through recovering the origins of art—similar to the idea of art learned as a universal mother tongue.

"Phenomena of unlearning throughout the nineteenth century" is the second chapter's focus. It brings together diverse positions found in English art writing after Joshua Reynolds' death that were equally searching for authorities in the art that promoted forms associated with simplicity, authenticity, and a sense of truth. Under the influence of industrialization and a new imperialism, the desired historic authority of authentic expression oscillated between ancient cultures of Greek, Egypt or Babylon, Gothic art, and ethnographic collections of prehistoric, African, Oceanic or folk

art. The main English representatives of nineteenth-century unlearning selected for this chapter are William Blake, John Ruskin, and William Morris. The fascination for the Gothic artist (e.g. Albrecht Dürer) is the common denominator between Reynolds and his successors. However, he has a different function for every one of them. For William Blake, the praise of Gothic art had two functions: first, as a counter-argument against the historic and geographic dominance of the Italian High Renaissance, and second, as a source of inspiration for his own pictorial innovations in the form of his illuminated books where he would work the text and its illustrations on the same plate. For Blake's followers, who called themselves The Ancients, his pastoral woodcuts were inspiring a return to a mythological past when the artist was supposedly still working in harmony with nature. For them, Blake had led English art back to its origins and linked it to a larger universal theme anchored in classical traditions. In "The Nature of Gothic" (1851-53), John Ruskin analyzes the artistic process of the medieval artisan as a reimagining of the relationship between nature and the public of the past. William Morris promoted gothic art as "intelligent art" in his lecture "The Lesser Arts" (1877) and saw it as a means to emancipate decorative arts from the art historical and aesthetic frameworks that nullified them. This chapter follows Frances Connelly's research on nineteenth-century primitivizing practices that identified Gothic art as Europe's own historical "primitives" overlooked by the twentieth-century construction of Primitivism.

The third chapter singles out Roger Fry as the early twentieth-century representative of unlearning in English art writing. It analyses his art critical and theoretical œuvre from 1889 until 1910. Special attention is given to three key texts: the re-edition of Reynolds' *Discourses* in 1905, his 1909 "An Essay in Aesthetics," and the catalogue to his exhibition "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" (1910). My analysis reveals Fry's construction of "Post-Impressionism" as a "retrogressive movement" and complex process which unfolded over twenty years. Influenced by continental (Morelli, Meier-Graefe, Tolstoy, Wölfflin) and Anglo-Saxon (Berenson, Ross, Santayana) art historical and aesthetic writing, Fry developed his very own aesthetic theory blending contemporary art history with anthropological writing. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the English art critic widened the concept of unlearning and turned it into a trans-historical concept. In re-editing Reynolds' *Discourses*, Fry understands already in 1905 that the Royal Academy's first president had been foreshadowing twentieth-century primitivizing in his search for an authentic artistic expression that he could promote to his students. Similarly to the father of the English school of art, Fry searches for modern artistic expressions in a multitude of arts: the

early Italian Renaissance, Byzantine art, early Islamic art, as well as child art, the art of people with mental health conditions, ancient Greek art, the art of "cavemen and "Bushmen" or "modern negro [art] of W. Africa." In all these examples, he is interested in the intellectual process leading to the creation of images. He had to wait until 1909, when he discovered Henri Matisse's work and the French avant-garde, to find contemporary art that shared the same mental process in drawing as, for example, children or historic Byzantine artists. I argue in chapter three that only from this moment on could he conceived of Manet, Cézanne, Matisse, Gauguin, and Van Gogh as representatives of a "retrogressive movement," whom he called "Post-Impressionists" for his 1910 exhibition at the Grafton Galleries, London. The "unconscious mental process" of drawing a line around a thought is as much present in a child's drawings as in Henri Matisse's art. Simplicity and imaginative truth in favour of the imitation of nature become the pillars of his aesthetic theory. In retrospect, he establishes Manet as the movement's spiritus rector and Cézanne as its progenitor, an affiliation that could anchor this new movement within modern art history. Despite the prefix "post," Fry did not think of the post-Impressionists as successors to Impressionism but in contrast to it, exploring and expressing the "emotional significance which lies in the things." This conception of Post-Impressionism was achieved through unloading and simplifying design until the artist reached the desired synthesis. The recomposition of known elements together with the combination of new ones defined this praxis of unlearning.

The second part of the dissertation is dedicated to unlearning in Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's artistic praxis. It is constructed in response to part one and starts under the same premise as English art at the time of the foundation of the Royal Academy, with "nothing to unlearn." At a time when Western societies were limiting women's ambitions outside the home, modern women artists' attempts to reconcile their professional and artistic ambitions came close to an impossibility. After establishing the context of professional ambitions for women artists, and their (lack of) opportunities, chapter four examines the paths of Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter inside institutions of learning open to women at the end of the nineteenth century. It compares their family context, migration history, training, and the beginning of their eventual professional artistic career. Their white middle-class privilege and financial independence made it possible to receive formal artistic training (in Germany and California, respectively), and yet, both were retrospectively dismissive of their early art education. Both women had made "art world professionalism" (Huneault) their career goal, which was reinforcing the dominance of oil painting while at the same

time disqualifying non-academic art and artisans. Artistic ambitions demanded that modern artists distinguished themselves by rejecting the academic mainstream and developing their voice, what Nathalie Heinich called artistic "singularity".[182] For women artists at the turn of the century, this meant standing out against a mainstream that they had never truly learned in the first place and echoed the paradox inherent in unlearning since the eighteenth century.

The fifth chapter explores the beginning of the unlearning process for Carr and Münter. "Learning to unlearn" is a way to describe their growing awareness of their lack of skills and learning experience and their drive to deviate from the linear training path that had led many women artists to professional failure. The chapter continues to explore women's challenges in rejecting societal norms and pursuing their desires outside domestic life. The modern woman artist, similar to the "new woman," was self-sufficient and self-supporting and, as I argue, had professional ambitions. She voluntarily risked not getting married: Carr and Münter both remained single and childless to focus on their careers. While international training played a significant part in their artistic development, new technologies like the bike and the camera allowed them to travel beyond their predescribed path. Finally, these women developed an ironic and humorous view of their personal situation that allowed them to persevere despite the ever-present scrutiny and risk of failure.

In the fifth chapter, I introduce the bike and the camera: two technologies understood, according to Gilbert Simondon, as a medium acting between the operator and the natural material ["la matière naturelle"[183]]. They gained special importance for women artists' training and assisted them in their search for their subject matter. The bicycle impacted women's independence permanently and allowed them to expand their horizons. In a case study on "Modernity's 'fugitive,'" I build upon Catherine Blais' classification of modern mobile women (the cyclist, motorist, and pilot), adding the modern woman artist as yet another example of a mobile woman transgressing her societal limitations. I selected Carr's bicycle trip on Vancouver Island and

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[182] Nathalie Heinich, "Le muséum des muses. Catégorisation scientifique et singularité artistique à la fin du XIXe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, no.13, 2005, 209-226. This aspect will be further explored in the second part of this thesis.
[183] Gilbert Simondon, "Naissance de la technologe (1970)" In *Sur la technique (1953-1983)*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2014, 131-178, 131.
1.3.

Münter's travel through the U.S.A. with her camera for comparison with the artists' sketchbooks they kept while on travels. The chapter closes with both artists' time away from home for further studies, Carr in London and Münter in Munich. Both women faced a constant risk of failure, rejection and mockery from their male teachers, which they integrated into drawings and sketches documenting their studies at private academies. Faced with failure, they turned to humour, as can be seen especially in Carr's caricatures, poems, and funny books. However, pursuing a professional artistic career and thereby not conforming to contemporary gender roles had severe repercussions, culminating in Emily Carr undergoing a "rest-cure" for treating mental and physical exhaustion and Gabriele Münter fleeing Munich with her married lover and teacher Wassily Kandinsky. This moment is crucial in both women's careers, describing failure's impact on their unlearning, opening the door to break with their "disciplinary legacies" (Halberstam).

The following "Interlude" on the private collections of books held by Carr and Münter introduces unlearning as a praxis. Here, books are conceived as a free space to authentically and freely express their ideas and opinions on others' art and theories. This case study walks the reader through a few examples of the types of books and the commentaries each artist placed in them to reveal their state of mind as they engaged with the text. Comments and annotations indicate the artists' engagement with theory and text. This discloses Carr and Münter not only as "thinking artists"(Shadboldt) but as conscious of their ignorance. As I argue in this interlude, this "critical consciousness" (Freire) is the basis of any emancipation through a praxis of unlearning. Praxis is understood in this chapter in the Marxist sense as equally consisting of reflection and action. Carr's and Münter's praxis of unlearning, here exemplified in their interaction with their private books, is characterized as genuinely free, self-conscious, and authentic. This case study suggests thinking of private libraries not only as a means of learning but of unlearning and questions the idea of knowledge production as an additive model of constant progress.

The last chapter transposes the praxicological thinking demonstrated by Carr's and Münter's interactions with their books into their art. Their art is the subject and object of their unlearning simultaneously. As a "travelling concept" (Bal) or "concept in motion" (Adorno), unlearning oscillates between emancipation through education and autonomy through art. The case studies assembled in the sixth chapter demonstrate different aspects of unlearning as a willed act and form of "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino). While Carr and Münter developed their ethno-

artistic project on travels within the colonial paradigm, Carr in Alaska and Münter in Tunisia, the realization of their projects happened with objects and images found close to "home." This chapter focuses on Carr's completion of a collection of totem pole paintings she found on her travels along British Columbia's West Coast and Münter's artisan practice and collection of reversed glass paintings that became the subject of a series of still lifes.

From the first encounter with their respective subject matter, their praxes of unlearning peel away layers of contemporary tourism and avant-garde, aesthetics and modern art history. While unlearning has proven to be a "travelling concept," the importance of travelling for a praxis of unlearning is yet to be defined. In chapter six, Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's travelling is not about mobility or creating a distance from society but about getting closer to the motifs and environments that promise new artistic experiences. Both women encounter their artistic subject matter as part of a tourist experience set in place by imperialist and colonialist powers. As white and Western women, they were free to roam around the tourist sites. Even though both women encountered their project while travelling, they framed it from what was familiar to them.

For many modern women artists, having already achieved professional artists status at home, coming to Paris bared relatively more risks than opportunities. While the avant-garde movements attracted women artists to Paris, the aesthetic revolution happened within circles closed to foreigners, especially to female ones. Also, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter spent their Paris sojourns relatively isolated, with no direct access to the artistic leaders of Montmartre and Montparnasse. I argue that the relative proximity to the Parisian avant-garde, either personally or stylistically, is not a helpful indicator to judge the importance and effect of their respective stay. Instead, I am looking at the changes in their artistic practice during and after their respective sojourn. As the main difference between the aesthetic revolution led by the French avant-garde through "shock," Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter absorbed the revolution through a selective adoption of motifs, techniques and practices already familiar to them. The "recollection of a familiar motif" is subject to a case study on Emily Carr's stay in Brittany that made her remember earlier travels to native sites in her home province British Columbia. While still in France, she returned to her sketches and translated them into the new language of modern art. In analyzing these first and second versions of the same motifs, Carr's selective adoption of avant-garde techniques becomes apparent. While she took on the Fauve colour palette, she dismissed the

practice of distorting the body. Instead, she adapted the aesthetic means of her painting to the affective qualities of her motif.

Similarly, Gabriele Münter used synthesis of design as a compositional strategy in the wood and lino cuts she developed while in Paris but she never aimed for abstraction. Instead, she searched for the same aesthetic qualities in Bavarian folk art the moment she moved to Bavaria. The "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino) of unlearning becomes apparent in Carr's and Münter's selective re/collection of ethnographic imagery they each integrated into their modern art praxis. Similar to Sigmund Freud's idea of "screen memories," Carr and Münter realized only when they return "home" that the subject matter they had chosen for themselves already before their Paris sojourn was a valid modern art project.

After having recognized their ability to unlearn, the last missing step towards unlearning is the actual praxis of unlearning to gain artistic autonomy. Emily Carr established her artistic agenda and fostered her stylistic development towards modern art by deliberately choosing British Columbia's totem poles as her subject matter while identifying with the Indigenous carver. In comparison, Gabriele Münter engaged in the domestic tradition of her immediate environment by learning the ancient folk art practice of *Hinterglasmalerei* from the supposedly last painter of reversed glass paintings in Murnau and collected folk art. Both artists created collections of paintings integrating ethnographic objects from their immediate surroundings into their imagery. The familiarity of the environment wherein both artists have placed their motifs is a primary factor and condition of unlearning. The specific iconography or technique of these paintings—representing ethnographic objects in the medium of modern painting—warranted them a place in the discussion on twentieth-century Primitivism. However, they are not part of the "primitivist revolution" by "shock" as described by European avant-garde artists and their first encounter with non-European art but express the paradox of a "primitivism of proximity." Found in their immediate environment, these objects are both familiar and unfamiliar at the same time. The affective qualities of this "class of material objects"[184] drew Emily Carr to paint an entire collection of totem pole paintings. With this collection, she was responding to the genius loci of the native

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[184] Emily Carr, "Lecture on Totems," *Opposite Contraries. The Unknown Journals of Emily Carr and other writings*, edited by Susan Crean, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2003, 177-203, 177.

sites while bringing together the "strong talk"[185] of the totem poles and modern ways of painting she had set as a standard for herself during her French sojourn.

Gabriele Münter is showing us another way to master her environment intellectually through artistic means and intention. She did not limit herself to collecting Bavarian folk art of reversed glass painting and depicting them in oil, as did Alexej Jawlensky in his still lifes. Instead, she acquainted herself with this folk art as did artisans over hundreds of years before her—through copying. Before she developed her motifs, Gabriele Münter copied contemporary and historic glasses to learn the technique of reversed painting. Once she had perfected this technique, she created a new genre within her œuvre of still life paintings, bringing together objects from her folk art collection. Through repetition and variation of this motif—found in her own home—Gabriele Münter created images that responded to the theoretical needs of Franz Marc's and Wassily Kandinsky's ideas as expressed in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* : as such, they are a unique proof of Gabriele Münter's unlearning.

The ultimate goal of a women artists' praxes of unlearning is to offer a new narrative about histories of modernism that resonate with today's challenges in decolonizing institutions of knowledge production, higher education and collecting while respecting the women artists' specific experience of their time and life.

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[185] In her collection of short stories published in 1941, Emily Carr remembers her travels along the West coast of British Columbia, her encounters with First Nations communities and native sites. In a passage, written after her visit of Gitiks, a Nisga village site in the Nass River valley, Carr reflects on the totem pole carving and imagines the native carver's intention: "He [the native carver] wanted some way of showing people things that were in his mind, things about the creatures and about himself and their relation to each other. He cut forms to fit the thoughts that the birds and animals and fish suggested to him, and to these he added something of himself. When they were all linked together they made very strong talk for the people. He grafted this new language onto the great cedar trunks and called them Totem poles and stuck them up in the villages with great ceremony. Then the cedar and the creatures and the man all talked together through the totem poles to the people." Emily Carr, *Klee Wyck*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2003, 85.

Part 1 – History of a Concept: Unlearning in the Long Nineteenth Century

In the first part of my thesis, I follow the notion of unlearning as it can be found in the *Discourses on Art*, invented and written by Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first president of the Royal Academy. As part of the educational model at the newly found English Academy, the concept of unlearning already hints at its innovative power from the margins of art history. "Nothing to unlearn" was Reynolds' credo for an art school without tradition. The emancipatory virtue of this ignorance is a thread leading us from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. The history of unlearning throughout the long nineteenth century is presented in this thesis as an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon. Even though English artists and theorists had been in contact with continental art theories, those theories were metabolized by English thinkers and artists, based on the local conditions and needs of a new school of English art.

The School of English art is a new tradition, invented to bridge art from south and north of the Alps, whether early and high Italian Renaissance, German gothic or Flemish painting. Joshua Reynolds was eager to integrate all of them into his concept of art. Art schools formerly considered barbaric became the teacher of an authentic and truthful expression. Medieval art is promoted at the heart of William Blake's art, which is less concerned with academic connections but with a truly original and genuine expression. William Blake and his nineteenth-century contemporaries share a fascination for everything gothic. The German artist Albrecht Dürer connects eighteenth with nineteenth-century English art writing in its search for authenticity. For Blake's followers, the gothic artisan is an expression of a search for the origins of art that seem lost under industrialization, which has shown its destructive effects on culture and land during their lifetime. In the form of English neo-Romanticism, the ancient artisan gets idealized as having produced his art in harmony with his native English environment.

Under the influence of industrialization and imperialism, the status of handmade objects got questioned and triggered reflections on the nature of art in European aesthetics at the end of the

nineteenth century. At the height of historicism, art historians' search for the primordial included historic and contemporary sources – local traditions as well as faraway cultures. The idea of different evolutionary states and historic moments existing simultaneously around the globe opened the door to ever more complex aesthetic theories usually subsumed under the catchword "Primitivism." John Ruskin was only recently included in the discourse on the historical phenomenon of primitivism. His discussion on the nature of the "savage" Gothic as Europe's own historic "primitives" in his writings had been ignored by Robert Goldwater and William Rubin. They constructed modern European primitivism exclusively on African and Oceanic Art in their metabolization by Paul Gauguin and Pablo Picasso. As a European construction, modern primitivism takes on a slightly different tone in the writings of John Ruskin on the subject of Gothic art. Still primitivizing in its content, Ruskin goes beyond the promotion of stylistic borrowing by incorporating social and political questions of his day and age, which results in an overall more complex primitivism in modern Europe. Rather than elaborating on a hierarchy of arts based on race, Ruskin sought truthful expression beyond art, the artist, and the genius paradigm, which had been at the heart of aesthetic discussions on unlearning since the eighteenth century

William Morris, the artist and theorist who championed the British Arts and Crafts movement, discovered in English "peasant art" – found outside the urban centers – a desired state of symbiosis with the land. In this art, he saw a chance for emancipation from the constraints of the industrial age. In a lecture subject to this thesis, Morris argues for an "intelligent art" measured against this ancient art without imitating it. William Morris is proposing nothing short of an unlearning as an emancipation from the rigid art historical and aesthetic frameworks that nullify decorative arts. This unlearning takes place through the restoration of the simple life that had been destructed by industrialization. This consists of studying the art of the peasants in their precarious state without imitating or repeating their art**.**

Roger Fry's unlearning, closing the first part of this thesis, bridges English art writing from the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. Over 25 years, Roger Fry developed an extensive body of art critical work leading up to his "An Essay in Aesthetics" (1909) that he put into practice with his two post-Impressionist exhibitions in 1910 and 1911. Analyzing his writing from 1905 to 1910 provides reference points for his development of post-Impressionism as a "retrogressive movement." Beginning in 1905 with the re-edition of Reynolds' *Discourses,* Roger

Fry opened the door to a "new world of aesthetic speculation." His aesthetic speculations borrowed from art theories across his intellectual horizon spanning Europe and Northern America, including art from different cultures and eras, bringing together Byzantine and Bushmen, child art and naïve. With the first post-Impressionist exhibition, he finally could exemplify his aesthetic theory with contemporary French artists and prove its relevance for generations of artists to come. In his concept of post-Impressionism, formulated in 1910 while preparing the exhibition "Manet and the Post-Impressionists," I recognize a revival of Joshua Reynolds' dictum of unlearning. In the exhibition catalogue, Fry introduced post-Impressionism into twentieth-century art history as a "retrogressive movement." The retrogressive nature of the post-impressionists' unlearning consisted in a willed act of forgetting their academic training and emancipating themselves from their education. Their unlearning goes beyond a yearning for the origins of art, as described in chapter 2. Unlearning at the beginning of the twentieth century is more than just a means to emancipate oneself from the great masters of the past: it is a quest to reach autonomy in and through art itself. In the second part of this thesis, it will become apparent at this point that the praxis of unlearning functions differently when it concerns modern women artists.

Chapter 1. Paradox Pedagogy: Unlearning at the Foundation of the Royal Academy

> One advantage, I will venture to affirm, we shall have in our Academy, which no other nation can boast. We shall have nothing to unlearn.[186]

The art history of unlearning begins with a paradox. The idea appears for the first time in the discourses held by the Royal Academy's first president, Joshua Reynolds. In the first of fifteen *Discourses*, Joshua Reynolds proclaims unlearning as the only advantage of a nation that had just started to educate its artists. To place unlearning at the basis of an institution meant for learning is a paradox at the heart of this chapter. The relatively late foundation of the Royal Academy, compared to continental traditions, puts English Art in a disadvantaged art historical position. In effect, Reynolds oscillates in his writings between affiliation with the art-historical tradition by promoting the great masters of the Italian Renaissance while at the same time fostering England's own art. As presented within a three-stage model of education by Reynolds in his *Discourses*, Unlearning becomes an emancipatory final step within the process of learning.

The events leading up to the foundation are as important as the historical conditions. Decades before the foundation of the Royal Academy, private art schools had flourished in England, especially in London. The generation preceding the foundation is an era dominated by "a sober preoccupation with parliamentary government, the concerns of a burgeoning mercantile class, […] Science [which] attained new prestige, marked by the burgeoning of the Royal Society, which had been formally instituted in 1660."[187] In the following century, painting was taught in private academies until the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768.

At its foundation, the political and artistic climate had favoured a more independent Academy (politically and financially) than its continental predecessors. The challenge for founding

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[186] Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art Delivered by Sir Joshua Reynolds*, edited by Robert R. Wark, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997, 16.
[187] Andrew Wilton, *Five Centuries of British Painting. From Holbein to Hodgkin*, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001, 52.

the academy was twofold, making up for lost time by inscribing English Academy into the history to establish a tradition while at the same time distinguishing oneself from institutions that had become conservative and rigid and threatened by forces outside the academy due to their connection to the throne.

My examination of the history of unlearning starts with the term's first occurrence in Joshua Reynolds' first *Discourse* (1769). The lecture was delivered at the time of the establishment of the Royal Academy (RA) in London.[188] The founding of the Royal Academy ran parallel to the loosening up of the classical tradition and the will to renew the Academy. At the centre of this renewal was the question of whether to follow the model of the Great Masters (meaning the artists of the Italian Renaissance, with Michelangelo and Raphael as the ultimate masters) or to imitate nature. This problem raises further questions of authority and touches on the battle between the arts and a strict hierarchy of genres that was about to get loosened up. I argue that every deviance from the supposed ideal of Italian Renaissance art in Reynolds' writings was a creative way of upsetting the status quo and an effort to innovate aesthetics to integrate other forms of art into the English canon. In the eighteenth century, this meant questioning the supremacy of Raphael and Michelangelo and creating cases for artists from before the Italian High Renaissance and from regions north of the Alps.

Closely linked to the question of whom to consider an authority was the question of whom to take as a model to learn from. The newly found Academy's curriculum offers insights into the stages of learning and the understanding of learning in the realm of art education. For example, the idea of art as a language was discussed within the *ut pictura poesis* paradigm. Here, general questions regarding what can be learned and what is to be attributed to "genius" when it comes to learning art are critical in the matter of unlearning. In his quest to renew artistic education in the visual arts, Reynolds goes back to the antique models of rhetorical education, as did the earliest academies. Since English art did not develop from this historic lineage, it had to invent its own artistic tradition. When Reynolds bestows a certain superiority to artists preceding the Italian High

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[188] Werner Hofmann, "The Art of Unlearning," in *Discovering Child Art: Essays on Childhood, Primitivism and Modernism*, edited by Jonathan Fineberg, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998, 3–14. It was the German art historian Werner Hofmann who brought the concept of "unlearning" as utilized in Joshua Reynold's Discourses to my attention.

Renaissance or outside of Italy (especially Flemish and German artists that were said to have a "primitive" or even "barbaric" quality to them),[189] he is trying to turn England's marginal position into an advantage. Deviating from the art-historical common sense, claiming that English artists "shall have nothing to unlearn."

In this chapter, I discuss both the context and content of Reynolds' usage of the term "unlearning" in the *Discourses* and look at the contemporary aesthetic discussions that may have influenced his idea of integrating the deconstructive character of unlearning into the foundational texts of the RA. By examining his relationship to the early Italian Renaissance and Flemish works that he encountered on his travels, I investigate how those aesthetic experiences lie at the basis of his "practical art criticism" (Schor), for example, in his *A Journey to Flanders and Holland* (1797) translated into his quest for a return to the "infancy of art" as he promoted to his students.

1.1. The Birth of Modern Pedagogy: An English Perspective

1.1.1. English Renaissance or the Birth of the Modern Image

The history of "the Academy" is as much a history of Western ideas (*Ideengeschichte/Geistesgeschichte*) as it is the history of an institution of scientific research and artistic education. The humanist vision of a place dedicated to higher (philosophical) learning and discourse was invented in ancient Greece, and developed into a philosophical system in fifteenth-century Italy. Later, it was institutionalized by France, Germany, and other central European countries. The genesis of the *Academies of Art*[190], as told by the German art historian Nikolaus Pevsner is a favourite story of modern art history that parallels the establishing of avant-garde art as the anti-model to the Academy.

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[189] Eric Michaud, *Les Invasions Barbares: Une Généalogie de l'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris: Gallimard, 2015.
[190] Nikolaus Pevsner developed his history of art academies in the 1930s whilst living in Germany but published it only after settling into his London exile in 1940. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

To use the word "academy" synonymously with "conservative" was an invention of the nineteenth century at a moment when the French model of artistic education was established and copied until the early twentieth century. In the mid-seventeenth century, the French Academy followed the Italian model to elevate and emancipate the artists from guilds. The argument Nikolaus Pevsner makes throughout his book is intriguing when he links the idea of the Academy with absolutism as its midwife and protector – forming an unholy alliance with mercantilism.[191] With the foundation of the French Academy, pedagogy underwent a change from private to public and from practical to theoretical; now, the artistic training was sponsored and controlled by the state instead of a guild.[192] The rift between art and craft that had already happened at the foundation of the first academies in Italy became systematic and institutionalized. In order for art to become an academic discipline, it had to be distinguished from crafts. Based on the importance of drawing for science as for painting, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) argued already in his *Trattato della pittura*[193] that painting should be elevated from a manual skill to a science. Nikolaus Pevsner sees in Leonardo's argument a necessary operation to group painting together with the other *artes liberales* separate from craftsmanship.[194] In the nineteenth century, the gothic workshop and the master-apprentice relationship became a nostalgic ideal and was still alive at the foundation of the Weimar Bauhaus in 1919.

The German art historian Werner Busch endorsed the idea that English art (history) and society provided the perfect and unique conditions for this re-invention of the modern image and renewal of art at large.[195] Three factors determined this suitability: the presence of a constitutional

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[191] Pevsner, *Academies of Art*, 24. Pevsner proved in his history of academies "the paramount importance of economic considerations for the academic movement during the later eighteenth century. Only some of the oldest foundations with particularly strong traditions, such as Florence and Rome, and a negligibly small number of new institutions, as London, Madrid, Turin and Düsseldorf, were able to keep aloof from this new tendency, a tendency which was a natural outcome of the theory of Mercantilism." Pevsner, *Academies of Art*, 158.
[192] Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven and London, 1986, 1.
[193] Leonardo's *Trattato della Pittura* was published for the first time in French in 1632. For more information about the French reception of the treatise, see Daniel Arasse, *Leonardo da Vinci. Le rythme du monde,* Vanves: Hazan, 2019.
[194] Pevsner, *Academies of Art*, 30.
[195] Werner Busch, *Das Sentimentalische Bild: Die Krise Der Kunst Im 18: Jahrhundert und Die Geburt Der Moderne,* München: Beck, 1993, 10.

monarchy, the lack of a national artistic tradition[196], and a large and critical public.[197] Regarding the first condition, it bears noting that from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 onwards, English society was deeply influenced by the constitutional monarchy. Though the Revolution diminished the sovereign's power, it created a stark division between the aristocracy and the regular citizens (especially in the capital of London). The soon-to-be Industrial Revolution would enhance this new social stratification.[198] Since the 1750s, art reached a broader public, and at the same time, powerful, stark art criticism was formed that raised suspicion towards classic "high art."[199] The second notable characteristic of eighteenth-century England identified by Busch is the absence of a national artistic tradition. Until the founding of the RA in 1768, most high art was imported from the Continent.[200] However, the idea of importing an academic tradition and its canon was problematic because the aesthetic concepts to be adopted had already been questioned throughout the Continent. And finally, French art criticism had already become a crucial part of academia. Art was thought of as a vehicle for open public discourse within the ruling political system in England.[201]

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[196] Werner Busch, one of the most prolific scholars of English art, belongs to a generation of art historians who typically focused on French eighteenth-century art to explain the changing relationship between the image and the spectator from a historical perspective (a generation represented most prominently by Michael Fried, Thomas Crow, and Norman Bryson). Busch finds his subject of the modern image in the paradoxes of English art during a time of transition, where anachronic uses of genres of art appeared under special conditions.

[197] Busch, *Das Sentimentalische Bild*, 10-11.

[198] Eric Hobsbawm's book *The Age of Revolution* gives helpful insights into the conditions under which the Industrial Revolution unfolded in England. Although its social effects only became visible in the 1840s, the Industrial Revolution had already "taken off" in England in the 1780s and thus, prior to the other major political (French) revolution. As Hobsbawm explains, "... Britain possessed an industry admirably suited to pioneering industrial revolution under capitalist conditions, and an economic conjuncture which allowed it to: the cotton industry, and colonial expansion." Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: 1789–1848*, London: Hachette UK, 1996, 33. For comparison to the situation in contemporary France, see Thomas Crow, *Painters and public life in eighteenth century Paris*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

[199] Busch, *Das Sentimentalische Bild*, 10. See also Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century* Paris, 1985.

[200] For more on the import of Italian painting and the eighteenth-century English art market prior to the foundation of the Royal Academy, see Iain Pears, *The discovery of painting: the growth of interest in the arts in England, 1680–1768*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for studies in British Art, 1988. For a more general view of the art world in eighteenth-century England, see David Solkin*, Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth Century England*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1993.

[201] Busch, *Das Sentimentalische Bild,* 11.

The academy's foundation needs to be assessed amid this political and social climate. Joshua Reynolds began delivering his *Discourses on Art* in 1769. He was, at the time, the first president of the newly founded Academy and the most prolific portrait painter in England. He held his lectures at the end of every academic year and addressed them to the students and colleagues of the institution. His experience and immediate contact with Continental art and academies, especially those in Rome and Paris, made him the perfect choice for the newly founded institution.[202] Although he was not one of the founders of the Academy, Reynolds was nominated as a presidential candidate by several prominent and respected artists, including Benjamin West, a *protégé* of George III, George Moser, the king's former drawing-master, William Chambers, an architect, and Francis Cotes, a painter who had exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1767.[203] By choosing Reynolds as the RA's first president, the artists demonstrated their willingness to erect an academy that followed European models favouring an intellectual approach to art. Reynolds also held close connections to the literary elite of the so-called "republic of letters," which included titans such as Edmund Burke, Samuel Johnson,[204] Oliver Goldsmith, James Boswell, and Edward Gibbon.[205]

Efforts to found an English academy were facilitated by specific socio-political conditions: most significantly, the Glorious Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the uprising of an emancipated middle class. These conditions allowed the Academy to remain artistically independent from the Crown. Despite George III's royal protection, it was crucial to the founders that aristocratic amateurs and connoisseurs be excluded. Nevertheless, George III brought substantial support to the RA, balancing its books from 1769 until 1800 with 5,116 pounds from

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[202] Holger Hoock, *The King's Artists: the Royal Academy of Arts and Politics of British Culture, 1760-1840*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003, 23.
[203] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 22-23.
[204] Jan Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, *volume 1*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2015, 309. Reynolds had already met the writer and critic Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) in 1756. In 1755, shortly before their meeting, Johnson had published his *Dictionary of the English Language*. Johnson's role in Reynolds' thinking cannot be overstated; he had been Reynolds' mentor in art criticism and an editor of Reynolds' early publications in the *Universal Chronical* in 1759 and later in the *Idler,* which he ran. Johnson also functioned as the primary reader of Reynolds' *Discourses*.
[205] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 23–25.

his Privy Purse.[206] Founding an academy served at the same time as an "elitist mission for high-minded British art that would educate the public" and was supposed to fuel the hopes of facilitating "artistic and professional ambitions." It, therefore, included semi-artisanal practitioners in its body of academicians.[207]

Before founding the Royal Academy, many artists and movements contributed to preparing the British public for a new school of "English Art." The goal had always been to found a school that combined artistic ability with art writing. Instead of a coherent artistic school, London was filled with portrait studios, including the one belonging to Reynolds' teacher, Thomas Hudson. During the first half of the 18th century, several privately-run artists' academies appeared. Together with various artistic clubs and societies, these schools (like St Martin's Lane Academy) tried to establish "standards of practice and theoretical debate."[208] Their goal was to create a sense of "corporate identity"[209] upon which a national school of art could later be founded:

> Regularly visited by aristocratic collectors and connoisseurs, [the Royal Academy] served as a forum in which the artists of the city could mix with each other and with prospective patrons on a relatively equal and non-competitive basis, and engage in forms of study—particular, drawing from the antique and the nude, and perusing and copying the works of the Old Masters—that were traditionally associated with the highest ideals of art, and with the values of history painting in particular.[210]

In the light of the previously failed efforts to found a royal academy and in the face of the persistent marginality of portraiture, the singularity of Reynolds' rise to the top of the newly established Academy cannot be stressed enough. While portraiture gained ground in Great Britain, there was

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[206] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 28–29. The only difference separating the Royal Academy from its European predecessors was the role exhibitions played in its construction. Exhibitions played not only an artistic but also a financial role, supporting the Institution and making it financially and therefore politically independent from the Crown.
[207] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 20–23. At its foundation, the "Society for Promoting the Arts of Design" included members of earlier societies and private art schools.
[208] Mark Hallett, "Learning about Portraiture," in *Reynolds: Portraiture in Action*, edited by Mark Hallet, 25–49. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, 31.
[209] Hallett, "Learning about Portraiture," 31.
[210] Hallett, "Learning about Portraiture," 31.

only one English art that reached the Continent: gardening. English Gardening became the anti-thesis to French aesthetic theory.

A short detour into the English tradition of gardening ties into my argument that the concept of unlearning could only arise in a political, social, and artistic climate which allowed for a pedagogy that integrated elements of unlearning into the process of learning deviating from French aesthetic models. During what Jacques Rancière recently called "le temps du paysage,"[211] gardening became not only a specific object of thought but also a modified way of seeing that changed how "nature" was understood in aesthetic discourse. The art of gardening became an interface between nature and its pictorial representation, questioning the importance of mimesis in visual arts.[212] Subscribing neither to the paradigm of ideal beauty nor the sublime, gardening introduced the notion of the picturesque into aesthetics.[213] Jacques Rancière tells the history of English Gardening in contrast to French (Rousseau). Later, German (Kant) ideas of gardening and landscape in the realms of liberal arts pointed toward the winding roads English authors took to distinguish themselves from Continental theory to demonstrate a sense of freedom in the social order and politics. Rancière contrasts the English "génie du lieu" and the "décor de liberté anglaise" with the "ligne droite du despotisme français" reflected by the geometry of its gardens.[214]

The idea of a *genius loci* at work in the English Picturesque Garden promoting variety and surprise has already been discussed in Pevsner's 1955 lectures on *The Englishness of English Art.* Pevsner recognized the Englishness of this genuine English Art of Gardening as treating each place "on its own merits."[215] Pointing to the modern nature of this English doctrine, Pevsner links the idea of a geographical character of a site, and its historical, social, and aesthetic ties, with the "principle of tolerance in action."[216] Political tolerance granted by the Crown can be translated in

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[211] Jacques Rancière, *Le Temps du Paysage: Aux Origines de la Révolution Esthétique*, Paris: La Fabrique éditions, 2020.
[212] Rancière, *Le temps du paysage*, 30.
[213] Rancière, *Le temps du paysage*, 40.
[214] Rancière, *Le temps du paysage*, 94–95, 97. For an insight into the complexity and limitations of the confrontation "English vs French Gardens," see Marie-Madeleine Martinet, *Art et nature en Grande Bretagne : de l'harmonie classique au pittoresque du premier romantisme17e-18 e siècles*, Paris : Aubier Montaigne, 1980; Helmut-Eberhard Paulus, ed*., Kunst und Natur: inszenierte Natur im Garten vom späten 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert,* Regensburg : Schnell & Steiner, 2012.
[215] Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art*. London: Penguin Random House, 1999, 181.
[216] Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art*, 181.

aesthetic terms as informal, irregular, and practical. I argue that the "winding roads" of English Gardening can also be found in the intellectual serpentines[217] of Reynolds' pedagogy.

In his thirteenth *Discourse* of 1786,[218] Joshua Reynolds comments on gardening as a "deviation from nature,"[219] as gardening has turned nature into a repository of motifs to paint, integrating accidents into architecture. He complains that the pleasant irregular streets in old London are no longer subjects of landscape painters. He criticizes the new parts of the town built after a regular plan through which "uniformity might have produced weariness."[220] The "crooked roads" of English gardening became a metaphor for thinking about art in English aesthetics during the long 19th century.[221] As I argue, it is on these crooked roads that unlearning can travel.

1.1.2. The "emancipatory virtue of ignorance:" English Art Writing Before Reynolds[222]

The birth of the English style, a school of art writing, and the Royal Academy must be traced back to the work of the pioneers who were active before the RA was founded. The works of Jonathan Richardson and William Hogarth will be examined here to shed light on how the "Englishness" of English art was born. In his 2012 book *Artwriting, Nation, and Cosmopolitanism in Britain,* Mark A. Cheetham interrogates the Englishness of English art and art writing[223] through the path Nicolaus Pevsner had forged decades before. Cheetham claims that the assumed non-specificity of English art is its specificity: the very absence of an established English art theory defines the

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[217] The pun is definitely intended and refers to William Hogarth's serpentine "line of beauty", developed in his *Analysis of Beauty*. The metaphor of the "winding roads" does not mean to imply the Brownian style of landscape gardening also known as the Serpentine Style, which is commonly distinguished from the Picturesque in landscape gardening.
[218] This was shortly after the 1786 publication of William Gilpin's *Observations* relative chiefly to picturesque beauty made in the year 1772, on several parts of England, particularly the mountains and lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, London: R. Blamire, 1786.
[219] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 240.
[220] For a discussion on this passage in the context of modern urban planning, see Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art,* 184–192.
[221] It is William Blake, who remarks in his poem "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell": "Improvement makes straight roads; but the crooked roads without improvement are roads of genius." William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Boston: John Luce & Co. 1906, 19.
[222] See Mark A, *Cheetham, Artwriting, Nation, and Cosmopolitanism in Britain,* Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
[223] For Cheetham texts in art theory, aesthetics, art history, and art criticism can be subsumed under the umbrella term "art writing." Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 18.

domain of English art. Cheetham investigates this "particular speculative view on the visual arts to be deemed English"[224] and examines the paradoxes surrounding English art theory to discover where English traditions of art writing have been "inappropriately judged according to imported criteria, whether of German idealist aesthetics or French pictorial Modernism."[225] It is important to note that Joshua Reynolds was not the first to attempt to define a specific school of English art writing in contrast to that of the Continent. Since the early eighteenth century, French art and art theory had been regularly attacked but had also been used as a reference point for English writers such as Bainbrigg Buckeridge (1668–1733):[226]

> The French are indeed are forward people, who pretend to rival all nations of the world in their several excellencies; yet considering they value themselves so much on their own academy, it is a matter of wonder to see so little improvement in them by it: And if we are equal only to them now, how much should we outshine them, had the English disciplines in this art as many helps and encouragements as theirs?[227]

Buckeridge's call at the beginning of the eighteenth century for a "systematic improvement of English art writing" would be upheld throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, particularly in the writings of Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) and Richard Payne Knight (1751–1824).[228]

English Art Writing of this era avoided direct comparisons between English essays or abstracts (like those of John Locke) and serious aesthetic theories such as those by Immanuel Kant. While this avoidance signals the absence of an English art theory, it also highlights the richness and diversity of the philosophical criticism produced in Britain. In the eighteenth century, theory was defined as "any doctrine which terminates in speculation alone, without considering the practical uses and application thereof."[229] But John Locke and later Jonathan Richardson would probably not have categorized their writings as art theories. Richardson and Hogarth were

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[224] Cheetham, *Artwriting* , 3.
[225] Cheetham, *Artwriting* , 4-5.
[226] Most popular is Buckeridge's *An Essay Towards an English School of Painting*, London: Cornmarket Press, 1969 (1st edition 1706).
[227] Buckeridge, np. As cited in Cheetham, *Artwriting,* 17.
[228] Most influential, Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste,* London: Printed by Luke Hansard for T. Panye, Mewa-Gate and J. White, 1805.
[229] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1771, Vol. 3, 895.

reviewing the writings of continental authorities like Roger de Piles and Immanuel Kant and, at the same time, arguing that art does not have to be Italian or French.[230]

Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1667–1745) was the first Englishman to have a double career as a painter and a writer. According to Cheetham, Richardson's writings exhibit a "pioneering quality:" they reflect his knowledge of the art market and address an emerging class of British connoisseurs who were Protestant, economically active, and had the means to purchase art.[231] Two of Richardson's texts had an incredibly lasting impact on English art writing: *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715; 1725 expanded issue) and *Two Discourses*, published in 1719. According to Cheetham, these two texts show Jonathan Richardson attempting to "precipitate an English School of painting in portraiture."[232] When Richardson was formulating his plea for an English school of painting, he was confident in the future of English art because the English had the best models to study, such as Raphael's Cartoons,[233] which came to England in 1697 and helped to reeducate the English public. Similar to Reynolds 50 years later, Richardson also showed a certain suspicion towards the "learned," those other-than-English, who he qualified as mannerist and advanced. As Richardson puts it himself: "having no particular Notion, or System to propagate, or Defend, no Interest to serve separate from that of Truth, I shall do it Honestly; and I will do it as Clearly, and Briefly as I can; without entering into the Meanders of the Learned."[234]

After Jonathan Richardson, William Hogarth took up the baton of founding a National School. Famous during his lifetime for his conversation pieces and modern moral subjects in his engravings, William Hogarth is said to have promoted in his art the English character of common sense and reason as an anti-thesis to the Baroque and Rococo art of the Continent.[235] On the one

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[230] For more on the influence of cosmopolitanism on English philosophical criticism, see Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 18.
[231] Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 20.
[232] Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 20.
[233] Victoria and Albert Museum, "The Story of the Raphael Cartoons." The cartoons were first hung at Hampton House and, after several displacements, found their home at the Victoria and Albert Museum (then the South Kensington Museum) in 1865 as a loan from HM Queen Victoria.
[234] Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. Shewing how to judge I. Of the Goodness of a Picture ; II. Of the Hand of the Master ; and III. Whether 'tis an Original, or a Copy. II. An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur ; Wherein is shewn the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage of it,* London: W. Churchill, 1719, 94.
[235] Pevsner, *The Englishness*, 28.

hand, the Catholic Church as a significant sponsor of Baroque art did not exist in Protestant England. On the other hand, the English possessed a particular taste for truth and reality, as expressed in English portraiture. Because Hogarth elevated everyday life to an object of art, Pevsner views him as both a preacher and observer. The art historian identifies anti-aesthetic and utilitarian tendencies in English art and design since the medieval ages to prove his point about a distinctly English quality. He also attributes this to his concept of a "line of beauty" developed by Hogarth in his *Analysis of Beauty*[236] in 1753.[237] Hogarth's travels to France and his intellectual exchanges with French artists at St Martin's Lane Academy greatly informed his art writing.[238] The Englishness of Hogarth's art writing lies in his ability to naturalize foreign theories, like those of Michelangelo, on English soil.

Two years before he published his *Analysis* in 1735, William Hogarth[239] founded St Martin's Lane Academy.[240] The school became one of the most prominent of those "privately funded, informally organized academ[ies]" that were not "overly hierarchical and rule-bound."[241] His academy promoted a more egalitarian system in which students and teachers were not bound by a strictly hierarchical relationship. This novel system was principally expressed in the free choice of models to work from and in the order desired by the student.[242] Hogarth's freedom in his unconventional reading of European artists before him as a "local alternative,"[243] both theoretically

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[236] Other writings by Hogarth worthy of consideration are the earlier "Britophil" essay (1737), the later unfinished "Apology for painters" (n.d.), and the writings published posthumously as *Anecdotes of an Artist Written by Himself*, London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1833. See William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, London: John Reeves, 1753.
[237] To follow Pevsner's whole argument, see his chapter "Hogarth and Observed Life" in *The Englishness*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner, London: Penguin Random House, 1999, 26–55.
[238] Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 23-24.
[239] Reynolds was especially critical of Hogarth's idea of deducing principles from empirical observation, and of the ad hoc practice of the St Martin's Lane Academy. Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 25. Reynolds judged Hogarth's theory of the "Analysis of beauty" (1753), which had the serpentine line at its centre, as arbitrary and unfounded. For Reynolds, Hogarth was an artist, but as an artist, he was limited to imitations of others' imitations of nature. Accordingly, he judged Hogarth mannerist, even if he discussed him in the III Discourse. Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 40.
[240] Hallett, "Learning about Portraiture" 25–49.
[241] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 25.
[242] Mark Hallett and Christine Riding, *Hogarth*, London: Tate Publishing, 2006, 17. In eighteenth-century literature, St Martin's Lane Academy is portrayed as an institution "... adapted to the genius of the English: each man pays alike; each is his own master; there is no dependence." Jean André Rouquet, *The Present of the Arts in England*, London: J. Nourse, 1755, 24.
[243] Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 39.

and materially, ring true with Pevsner's proclamation of an English *genius loci*.[244] Some decades later, Reynolds would reject Hogarth and attempt the impossible task of unifying the ideal of the general principles of nature from classical Continental theory and an English theory articulated around his idea of a "grand style."

1.1.3. The Invisible Feminine in the Royal Academy

Regarding gender and the academy, and especially gender *in* the academy, we can observe an exclusion of "the feminine" on two levels: the philosophical and institutional. By the Renaissance, the division of fine arts and decorative arts was reflected by a fundamental change in artistic training from workshops to academies and by the theories supporting this division. The growing separation between the public and private sphere during the long nineteenth century directly affected the exclusion of women from places of artistic training. Fine arts were judged as public, as art produced in the domestic space were as feminine. Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock remark, in their iconic study on Old Mistresses, that the exclusion of women from the art world is not so much a question of their gender or their subject matter but the place and audience for whom they produce.[245] This separation of art from craft established a new "hierarchy of values and the sexual division in that hierarchy."[246] On an institutional level, Western academies denied women access to their institutions and thus hindered their ability to attain the same education as their male colleagues.[247] On a philosophical level, until the emergence of eighteenth-century neo-classical aesthetics, everything (and everyone) "feminine" was excluded from the antique tradition. In keeping up with its European predecessors, the Royal Academy founded its artistic education on the study and drawing of the nude form. These elements were used to exclude women from being students, not to mention teachers, at the RA. As Hoock explains, life class was "the practice

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[244] Pevsner, *The Englishness*, 181.
[245] Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013, 70.
[246] Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses,* 51.
[247] Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1990.

defining the intellectual pursuit of artists."[248] It would thus have been inappropriate for women to attend. As a result, they could not complete the required coursework and training.

1.1.4. Portrait of Presence: Mary Moser and Angelika Kaufman and the Royal Academy

The two female founding members of the Academy, Mary Moser and Angelika Kauffmann were exceptions in an all-male academic body. In fact, they were members of several academies.[249] And yet, they were not considered part of the assembly of the academicians.[250] Only active painters were allowed access to that restricted circle, and Moser and Kauffmann could not reach such status because they lacked life class practice.[251] Their inclusion within the circle of founding members is most prominently illustrated in Johann Zoffany's *The Academicians of the Royal Academy* (1771–72) **[Fig. 1].**[252] In an imagined space representing the life-drawing room of the newly founded Academy, Zoffany put two male models at the center of the Academicians' attention, surrounded by plaster casts of antique models. Moser and Kauffmann, however, are represented in effigy through the portraits that hang on the wall. They are excluded from the discussion that might have taken place amongst the other members on the importance of the antique or its survival in Italian Renaissance sculpture. The intellectual ambitions of the newly found Royal Academy and its

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[248] Hoock, *The King's Artists,* 32.

[249] Kauffmann upheld Neoclassicist ideals as promoted by Winckelmann and as taught at the prestigious Academy of Saint Luke in Rome. Mary Moser was one of the only two floral painters among the founding members. She may have been helped by the patronage of Queen Charlotte and her father George Moser, a Swiss enameller, who was the first Keeper of the Royal Academy. For a feminist art historical interpretation of the foundation of the Royal Academy, see Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society*, 7.

[250] At this point, it is important to note that when Reynolds is addressing his students or talking about "the painter," he is exclusively referring to male artists. The eighteenth century understood membership of the public in terms of "citizenship within the republics of taste and letters" (Barrell, "Sir Joshua Reynolds and the Political Theory of Painting" *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (1986), 37). Women could not be considered members of the public. In the tradition of republican thought, following Plato and Aristotle, women did not qualify for citizenship because according to the belief of that time, they were lacking a certain necessary degree of rationality, one which they could never aspire to achieve. Barrell, *Sir Joshua*, 37.

[251] Angela Rosenthal, "Angelika Kauffmann. Ma(s)king claims," *Art History* 15, no. 1 (March 1992): 52–59.

[252] For further information concerning Zoffany's painting held at The Royal Collection, https://www.rct.uk/collection/400747/the-academicians-of-the-royal-academy, accessed 29 September 2021.

affiliation with the history of academic discourse since Antiquity asked for the elimination of everything and everyone feminine.

The inferior status of the female founders limited their responsibilities within the academy system. As Hoock notes, they "were not expected to participate actively in the Academy's teaching or administration."[253] Hoock's research on various Hanoverian archival sources sheds important light regarding the exclusion of women from institutions of higher education. Indeed, he states that women were always the exception to the rule, never reaching the status of full members nor being admitted as part of the active body of the academy – nor of Hanoverian society.[254] Regrettably, the precarious position of women artists would not undergo any significant change until the twentieth century. In 1922, the Royal Academy admitted its first full female member, Annie Louisa Swynnerton.[255] Whitney Chadwick and other feminist art historians have written that the exclusion of women from art historical discourse was based upon assumptions about their so-called nature, roles within society, and capabilities. Interested in the arguments behind the exclusion of women from the art world, Chadwick explains that the assumption was that "artists [were] male and white, and art a learned discourse; [that] the sources of artistic themes and styles [lay] in the classical past; [and that] women [were] objects of representation rather than producers in a history commonly traced through 'Old Masters' and 'masterpieces'."[256] Such thinking remained well into the twentieth century.

However, the systematic ostracism of women from the academic world, and consequently from art history, took on a unique twist in the case of English art. Generally, women were seen as the opposite of high art culture, which justified their exclusion[257] from major cultural sites and practices.[258] In England, the "other" of high culture was not femininity but high culture (from the

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[253] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 32.
[254] Hoock, *The King's Artists*, 32–72.
[255] Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 7.
[256] Cheetham, *Artwriting*, 8.
[257] It is important to stress that inasmuch as Western art history and the art historical discourse on art academies talk exclusively about white Western male members, the female artists I mention as exceptions here were also all white, of European descent, and belonged to a social class and artist families that allowed them to pursue their art, even if they faced discrimination.
[258] Usually, in Europe, women artists were positioned by the "the virtue of their sex […] in relation to certain specific constructions of masculine subjectivity: the artist, the critic, the artisan, the connoisseur".

Continent) itself. As should have become clear by now, English Art was, from the start, marginal in relation to Europe as the center of high culture. As Ann Bermingham argues, English art could not bear being further "weakened" by another marginal element such as women – however, "accomplished" they might be.[259]

The reaction to accomplished women in the arts in England was distinct. Before the institutionalization of English art in the form of an Academy, art education in the late eighteenth century was dominated by gentleman connoisseurs and accomplished women alike. Ann Bermingham sums up the crucial difference between the gentleman connoisseur and the accomplished woman: "Women were educated in the skills of drawing and painting while men were educated in the skills of judging drawing and painting. "[260]Art education was a social attribute and became an attractive commodity for women who were being marketed to potential suitors.[261] Thus, the role of women in the eighteenth century was that of the art object rather than the artist. And with them, taste became a domestic notion.

When Ann Bermingham talks about the gendering of culture in the English context, she does not mean a feminization of aesthetic culture but a construction of female subjectivity in contrast and opposition to high art.[262] But in the case of English art, the female other of high art was neither art done by women nor artistic genres judged feminine but high art itself. Prior to the foundation of the Academy, English art was dominated by groups of art amateurs and Dilettantes that did not produce high art but bought, collected and judged art imported from Europe.[263]

Ann Bermingham, *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, London: Routledge, 1995, 492.
[259] Ann Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance : The Accomplished Woman in the Culture of Connoisseurship," *Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 2 (1993): 3–20.
[260] Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance," 3.
[261] Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance," 13.
[262] Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance," 5.
[263] The so-called Society of Dilettanti, founded in London by aristocrats in 1734 who had just returned from their Grand Tour and were searching for like-minded fellows to talk about their souvenirs, collections, and adventures while on tour. Reynolds had been a member of this group which, under the motto *seria ludo,* had set out to promote the study of classical history and art in order to promote classical aesthetics and build the taste of English society. For more on this subject and especially the connection between eroticism and collecting, see Ersy Contogouris, *Emma Hamilton and Late Eighteenth-Century European Art*, New York and London: Routledge, 2018, here especially the chapter "The Acme of Sir William's Delight," 37-65.

1.1.5. A Discourse of Exclusion: Joshua Reynolds and the Feminine

Questions of gender were not only critical to the institution's foundation; such questions were also present in Reynolds' *Discourses*. First, Joshua Reynolds addressed his *Discourse*s definitively and exclusively to the "gentlemen" of the Royal Academy. Second, his goal was to promote a classical academic discourse based on Continental models and, at the same time, civic and republican theories of art that had to be constructed masculine. In her 1987 book, *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine*, Naomi Schor reveals the logic behind Reynolds' rejection of the detail as "feminine," as a low, inferior, and deformed object.[264] Schor argues that Reynolds used the notion of "deformity" to signal opposition to the "particular." Deformity links the particular to the feminine. Sexual stereotypes in Western philosophy have existed since Plato and Aristotle and repeated way into the 20th century. As Schor explains,

> these stereotypes have mapped gender onto the form-matter paradigm, forging a durable link between maleness and form (*eidos),* femaleness and formless matter… According to his [Aristotle's] founding myth of sexual difference, woman's sexual desire only serves to confirm her *lack*:… the always imperfect nature which awaits the (male) artist's trained eye to attain the beauty of the Ideal is, in the idealist tradition in which Reynolds participates, feminine.[265]

In this logic, the feminine is always the passive element in the equation that needs the male gaze to come into existence. At the same time, nature is considered uncorrupted, natural, and hence feminine.[266]

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[264] Naomi Schor, "Gender: In the Academy," in *Reading in Detail*, edited by Naomi Schor, New York: Routledge, 2007, 9.
[265] Schor, "Gender: In the Academy," 9-10.
[266] Wassily Kandinsky wrote an introduction to the catalogue, with the working title "The destiny of artists, who are truly artists" in 1913, where he is calling Gabriele Münter a "natural," "inner" and "genuinely German talent" and a "purely feminine one" without possessing any "female coquetry," transcribed and translated in **Annex E**.

Reynolds embraced the concept of nature as female. According to Sherry Ortner, this equivalency appears throughout history and across cultures. Schor explains Ortner's hypothesis:

> Women are viewed cross-culturally as closer to nature than men, who are associated with the more prestigious term, culture, that is, anti-*physis*. Ortner lists three reasons for linking women and nature: women's physiology (childbearing); women's social role (childrearing), and women's psyche. Both as a social being and as an individual, women are seen as more embedded in the concrete and the particular than man.[267]

These three ideas linking women to nature will reappear in the discourses on the "new woman" and the woman artist, and they will be used as the main arguments to explain why women should not and cannot be artists. As we are going to see in the second part of this thesis, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter did not meet several criteria of female socialization to the extent that they refused to bear children, lacked female role models due to having been brought up as orphans, and neither were married. Remarkably, both women strongly identified with male artistic role models but came up against prejudice when choosing Indigenous and folklore art as their subject matter, as if these objects would meet especially well their innate nature. But where "man" (the primitivist artist) has to travel from culture to nature (from the "clearing of culture" into the "forest" of nature), "woman" always stands on the margins of nature and at the frontier of culture. And since she stands at the place where the two extremes meet, she can understand both.[268]

A parallel can be drawn between what I want to show with unlearning and Reynolds' *Discourses*; however, they do show moments of inconsistency.[269] As I argue in this chapter, the motif of unlearning is one of those inconsistencies as it shows Joshua Reynolds deviating from the classical canon and philosophy. This thesis will demonstrate that English art/writing and women artists of the late nineteenth century share a similar trajectory in their approaches to unlearning and nature. They both depart from a similar place of opposition to high art. They were facing the constant risk of being marginalized, thought of as second-rate artists, superficial dabblers, or

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[267] Schor, "Gender: In the Academy," 10.
[268] Sherry Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" In *Woman, Culture & Society*, edited by Michelle Zimbalist Ronaldo and Louise Lamphere, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974, 85.
[269] M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1953, 41. Abrams goes so far as to call them "bipolar."

dilettantes.[270] Professional ambitions by women at the end of the nineteenth century, as we are going to see in chapter 4, have to be discussed within the tradition of accomplished women and the larger historical context of systematic exclusion from the academies and misogyny in the art world.

1.2. Inventing Tradition: For a New School of English Art

1.2.1. Old Masters, New Traditions

Joshua Reynolds delivered his *Discourses* at the end of each year during the prize ceremony held for his students and fellow academicians. He discussed a variety of subjects, beginning with the education of young students, their courses, and their order of study. It is important to note that Reynolds did not think of his *Discourses* as a single aesthetic theory or treatise in a classical sense. He instead viewed them as a heterogeneous compendium of texts that addressed different aesthetic questions. Moreover, the early *Discourses* are didactic in nature, whereas later *Discourses* are "more expansive in their aesthetic engagement."[271] These later *Discourses* do not establish a whole "aesthetic system," but they are "coherent in their theoretical observations."[272] The most urgent question for the newly founded Academy concerned the relative importance of the imitation of nature and the Old Masters.[273] Reynolds delineated three theories to choose from: imitating nature, imitating the Old Masters, or imitating nature as seen by the Old Masters.

Because the Royal Academy's dominant method of teaching and learning relied upon the works of the Old Masters[274], the imitation of nature was learned–"second hand," so to speak – by imitating the masters rather than through empirical studies.[275] Iris Wien argues that this abstraction from individual perception was what made art a universal means of communication for Reynolds:

[270]By the nineteenth century the term had become pejorative and the opposite of anybody professional.
[271] Iris Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?" In *The Concept of the 'Master' in Art Education in Britain and Ireland: 1770 to the Present*, edited by Matthew Potter, Oxford: Ashgate, 2013, 29.
[272] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 29.
[273] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 31.
[274] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 30.
[275] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 32.

> The exceptional role of the Old Masters in Reynolds' art theory can be explained by his understanding of painting as a language which was universally accepted as a non-natural medium based on conventional signs. Due to the artificial nature of painting, only the works of the Old Masters could provide models of ideal beauty in art.[276]

Reynolds' writings on the ideal of beauty show a preference for the "great masters" of the Italian Renaissance. Reynolds had a clear hierarchy in mind and considered classical sculpture the epitome of beauty. The Old Masters of the Italian Renaissance were, in his mind, the ultimate artists who served as role models for generations of artists to come. And Michelangelo and Raphael were seen in direct succession of those antique artistic role models.

Reynolds suggested that his students study the Old Masters and the classical tradition first-hand. Namely, by travelling to Italy, as he had done on his Grand Tour.[277] When he was in Rome in the 1750s, Reynolds visited the Vatican and saw the finest works of Michelangelo and Raphael. Raphael's *School of Athens* appears to have made a significant impression on him as he copied it while in Rome. As Mark Hallett notes, Raphael's masterpiece displays an "idealization of those masculine forms of learning, discourse and sociability."[278] While Reynolds greatly admired the Old Masters, not even Michelangelo was perfect in his eyes. In a letter to Giuseppe Pelli in November of 1775, writing to share the positive reception of his portrait of the Duke of Toscana Leopold, Reynolds expressed his gratitude for his inclusion amongst the most prolific painters in the Duke's collection and his disappointment that he would not be able to return to Florence. The president of the Royal Academy reassured his Tuscan associate that Italian art, especially the art of Michelangelo, would be a part of his teaching. Indeed, he stated that the great artist would be the main and only model to follow in the art of drawing.[279] However, in his reading of this enthusiastic letter, Jan Blanc stresses that Reynolds no longer considered Michelangelo the *non*

[276] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 32.
[277] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 31.
[278] Hallett, "Learning about Portraiture," 48.
[279] See letters of Joshua Reynolds to Giuseppe Pelli, 26 January and 13 July, 1776, published In *The letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds,* edited by John Ingamells and John Edgcumbe, New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2000, 54–55; 59–62.

plus ultra from that year on.[280]In the last *Discourses* especially, Reynolds would re-assess his role in the hierarchy of painters. For example, in a manuscript on the compared virtues of music, poetry and art, Reynolds emphasizes that appreciating the art of Michelangelo and Raphael does not "come naturally" but is instead a learned taste.[281] What is more, he recounts an anecdote about tourists in the Vatican who would not be able to recognize the frescoes of Michelangelo and Raphael if they were not pointed out to them. Reynolds uses this anecdote to demonstrate that taste should and can be cultivated.[282]

1.2.2. Questioning Genius: Reynolds and the Arts North of the Alps

Reynolds' praise of Michelangelo in his *Discourses* left his appreciation of fifteenth-century Italian and Flemish painting mainly unnoticed. To excavate Reynolds' take on these traditions thought of as "primitive" in comparison to Italian Renaissance painting, shall help us to understand Reynolds' relationship with the notion of genius to give further insights into its integration into his understanding of unlearning within his three-stage model of education introduced at the RA. Underlying these reflections is the fundamental question if genius can be learned or not. If it can be learned, it can also be integrated into a model of education. Is the imitation of the great masters enough to become a great master yourself?

In the following, I will focus on his praise of Masaccio and Jan van Eyck to know where exactly Reynolds deviates from the praised "ideal." Both appear in writings other than the *Discourses*: for example, in his *Journey to Flanders and Holland in the year 1781.* Between 1774 and 1780, Reynolds made his first trip through Flanders, the Netherlands, and Germany.[283] The trip would influence *Discourses VI* to *X*. The passage that is important to my argument can be found in the sixth discourse, written in 1774, on the occasion of the graduation of the first class of students at the Royal Academy. In this passage, Reynolds details his three-stage model of

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[280] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds,* 831. Thanks to Jan Blanc's edition of Reynolds' writings, we know that Reynolds was aware of antique sources on art as well as of contemporary writing on antique art. Jan Blanc ed., *Les Écrits De Sir Joshua Reynolds. Collection Théorie De L'art / Art Theory, 1400-1800,* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2015.
[281] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 831.
[282] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 833.
[283] Joshua Reynolds visited on his journey the cities of Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, Dordrecht, The Hague, Leiden, Amsterdam, Düsseldorf, Aix-la-Chapelle and Liège.

education, focusing on the question of imitation. More specifically, he examines the mimetic mechanisms of artistic production (of nature, but more so of other artists)[284], comparing mimesis to the notion of "genius." In his preparatory notes for the sixth *Discourse*, Reynolds shows that his understanding of genius is historically determined:

> It must be confessed that simplicity and truth of which we are now speaking, is oftener found in the old Masters that preceded the great age of painting, than it was ever in that age, and certainly much less since. We may instance Albert Dürer, and Masaccio, from the latter of whom Raffaelle borrowed his figure of St. Paul preaching.
> The old Gothic artists, as we call them, deserve the attention of a student, much more than many later artists. In other words, the painters before the age of Raffaelle, are better than the painters since the time of Carlo Marratti.
> The reason is, the former have nothing but truth in view; whereas the others do not even endeavour to see for themselves, but receive by report only, what has before passed through many hands, and consequently acquired the tinge of a mannerist, or as a poet would say, mixed with fable, having no longer the simplicity of truth.[285]

Reynolds gives special attention to Dürer and Masaccio, both early Renaissance artists from Italy and Germany, respectively – a period and region typically thought of as "barbaric" (Michaud). While Reynolds does not explicitly state that the artists who preceded Raphael were better than him, he does argue that they were better than his Renaissance and Mannerist successors. Up until the nineteenth century, Albrecht Dürer was the epitome of German art and the missing link between Italian Renaissance and Early Modern art North of the Alps. A figure both of and out of his time, Dürer is significant for the historiography of art history. Aby Warburg described him in his *Tod des* Orpheus: Dürer embodies, for the end of the fifteenth century, a "[f]ile on the history of the re-entry of antiquity into modern culture '['Aktenstück zur Geschichte des Wiedereintritts der Antike

[284] Reynolds focused solely on the subject of imitation in his sixth *Discourse*. Read on the 10th of December 1774, it was the first discourse not to have been addressed solely to the new students of the academy but rather to its first generation of graduates, who would have been preparing to leave the institution. Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 465–467.
[285] William Cotton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and his works. Gleanings from his diary, unpublished manuscripts and from other sources, edited by John Burnet, London: Longman, 1856, 228–229.

in die moderne Kultur'].[286] As we will see in the following chapter, Dürer also plays a vital role in the art writings of William Blake, John Ruskin, and Roger Fry.

In the following passages of the same *Discourse*, Reynolds integrates his notion of genius into his framework of rules: "What we now call Genius, begins, not where rules, abstractedly taken, end; but where known vulgar and trite rules have no longer any place."[287] In his notes, collected by James Northcote, he gets even more specific: "Genius begins where rules end. When a painter is master of every rule that is already found out, let one rule more be added; that is, not to be confined by any, but to think for himself."[288] Once more, he uses Raphael as the exception to his rule, as a means of integrating the Italian Renaissance into his art theory and rectifying his hierarchy of painters:

> When a grace is said to be snatched beyond, or contrary to the rules of art, it is nevertheless a truth; for it may be contrary to one rule, but subservient to another more comprehensive. For instance, Raffaelle, in the figure of Christ in the *Transfiguration,* has made such lines as are contrary to the general rules; that of being natural, simple, unaffected, and of more energy. It breaks, indeed, through one rule to approach nearer to another of greater consequence.[289]

By granting some form of truth to works contrary to the rules of art, Reynolds opens the door for exceptions and inconsistencies within his art theory. In this case, the winding and crooked roads of English Art writing become palpable.

In the twelfth of the *Discourses*, Reynolds returns to the question of imitating the Great Masters, commenting on Raphael's practice of imitating the masters before him. To Reynolds, even if there is no doubt that Raphael is, together with Michelangelo, one of the Great Masters to emulate, there is something in the art of Masaccio "that perhaps it was not in the power of even

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[286] Aby Warburg, "Dürer und die Italienische Antike," In *Verhandlungen der 48. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Hamburg vom 3. bis 6. Oktober 1905*, edited by Karl Dissel and Gustav Rosenhagen, Leipzig: Teubner, 1906, 55–60, 55.
[287] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 97.
[288] James Northcote, *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt.: comprising original anecdotes of many persons, his contemporaries ; and a brief analysis of his discourses, to which are added, Varieties on art,* London: Henry Colburn, 1818, 54.
[289] Northcote, *Memoirs of Sir Joshua* Reynolds, 52–53.

Raphael himself to raise and improve."[290] Reynolds identifies Masaccio as the primary influence on Raphael:

> Though his manner was dry and hard, his compositions formal, and not enough diversified, according to the custom of painters in that early period, yet his works possess that grandeur and simplicity which accompany, and even sometimes proceed from, regularity and hardness of manner. We must consider the barbarous state of the arts before his time, when skill in drawing was so little understood, that the best of painters could not even foreshorten the foot. … indeed he [Masaccio] appears to be the first who discovered the path that leads to every excellence to which the art afterwards arrived, and may therefore be justly considered as one of the great fathers of modern art.[291]

Reynolds is here treading a new 'path' connecting Raphael with his prehistory, through a relay of artists, like Masaccio.

This idea can also be found in Jonathan Richardson's writings of 1719, in which he alludes to the connection between Masaccio and Raphael. Still convinced of the Aristotelian life-cycle of art, he argues that painting was revived after the Dark Ages and through Masaccio "rose into a better taste, [as he] began what was reserved for Rafaelle to complete."[292] Describing Masaccio's art as 'manly' and 'vigorous,' he labels Raphael as merely 'happy,' and everything after Raphael 'effeminate.' Richardson stresses the importance of the connoisseur being Protestant and thus immune to idolatry. In the same vein, Ernst Gombrich located the 'preference for the primitive' developed in Protestant countries like England and Germany during the eighteenth century.[293]

Reynolds elevates Masaccio as a role model for Raphael and, consequently, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Perugino, Andrea del Sarto, and others.[294] By elevating a predecessor of

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[290] Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, New York: Dutton, 1905, 340.
[291] Reynolds, *Discourses Delivered to the Students*, 337.
[292] Jonathan, Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London: John Churchill at the Black-Swan in Pater-Noster-Row, 1715, 204.
[293] In the second part of this thesis, I demonstrate how both artists were driven by a shared fascination with other religions and cults and their visual cultures. It should be noted that both Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter grew up in protestant families. Both women were fascinated by catholic devotional practices and their customs. For more on this topic, see chapter 4.
[294] Reynolds, *Discourses Delivered to the Students*, 338.

Raphael to his rank and by creating a certain kind of filiation up to the Great Masters of the Italian Renaissance, Reynolds indirectly calls their genius into question. In his public *Discourses,* Reynolds never questioned Raphael or Michelangelo directly but the faculty of genius. In contrast to Roger de Piles and most of the aesthetic theoreticians of the eighteenth century,[295] Reynolds was convinced that genius could be learned.[296] In his sixth *Discourse*, he describes the process of artistic professionalization *avant la lettre*:

> When the arts were in their infancy, the power of merely drawing the likeness of any object, was considered as one of its greatest efforts. The common people, ignorant of the principles of art, talk the same language, even to this day. But when it was found that every man could be taught to do this, and a great deal more, merely by the observance of certain precepts; the name of genius then shifted its application, and was given only to him who added the peculiar character of the object he represented; to him who had invention, expression, grace or dignity; in short, those qualities, or excellencies, the power of producing which, could not then be taught by any known and promulgated rules.[297]

In the above-cited passage, Reynolds is alluding to the difference between art in its infancy and maturity, namely the idea that genius could be learned as a more recent development. Used at the end of the eighteenth century, the term 'infancy' stressed the absence of – or at least, the distance from – 'artistic, aesthetic and cultural sophistication'.[298] In her discussion of eighteenth-century 'infant academies,' Angela Rosenthal comments on the phenomenon of artists painting children as artists, describing it as an expression of a new understanding of childhood in the eighteenth century in the works of Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Carle Vanloo, and Joshua Reynolds.[299] When Reynolds depicted infants in a portrait painter's studio in his 1782 painting *Children,* the engraving of the same motif by Francis Haward was published with the title 'Infant Academy.' Rosenthal sees in

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[295] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 470.
[296] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 470. See also this note, found by Blanc in the archives of the RA: "Je suis donc d'accord avec tous ceux qui disent que le travail est vain sans le génie, [Horace [1709], v. 408-411] avec ce sentiment ou ce bon sens. Mais je diffère en ce que je crois que ce génie peut être acquis…"
[297] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 96-97.
[298] Angela Rosenthal, "Infant Academies and the Childhood of Art: Elisabeth Vigée -Lebrun's *Julie with a mirror," Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37*,* no. 4 (2004), 606.
[299] Rosenthal, "Infant Academies," 608.

this picture 'deeply worked anxieties about the childhood of creativity, the origin of artistic genius, and the troubled emergence of an autonomous artistic self as well as the self of a child'.[300] Like a child that is only just beginning to learn, English art, so says Reynolds in his *Discourses*, had 'nothing to unlearn.'

In 1781, Joshua Reynolds travelled to the Austrian Netherlands, the United Provinces, and the German Rhineland. On this trip, he discovered Jan van Eyck. In Bruges, the first stop of his journey, Reynolds admired Jan Van Eyck's *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (1434–36) in the sacristy of St. Donatian's Cathedral. In his "A journey to Flanders and Holland in the year 1781,"[301] he takes care not to praise Van Eyck merely as the 'inventor' of painting in oil, as Vasari had already done, but as a painter with 'great character of nature.':

> And yet, [his] art is here in its <u>infancy;</u> but still having the appearance of a faithful representation of individual nature it does not fail to please. To a certain degree the painter has accomplished his purpose; which is more than can be said of two heads by Rubens … in the same sacristy, which are neither a good representation of individual or general nature…[302]

For Reynolds, Van Eyck is the artist who stands out as an example of the "infancy of art." In *The Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* (1436) and in the Ghent Altarpiece, Reynolds recognizes a great truth and nature, at least in Van Eyck's heads.[303] For Reynolds, the representation of an individual resemblance in painting is just the first step toward artistic freedom, and Van Eyck will stay for him the artist representing a simple yet dry and hard manner of painting.[304] The "barbaric simplicity" of the art of the pre-modern period – spanning the end of the medieval period to the beginning of the Renaissance – and the art of unlearned artists served as an antidote to modern art, which had become excessive in virtuosity and commonplace.[305] This

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[300] Rosenthal, "Infant Academies," 614.
[301] Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, edited by Harry Mount, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
[302] Reynolds, "A journey to Flanders and Holland in the year 1781," 251-252. Reynolds saw this Van Eyck on 28 July 1781. The second work by Jan van Eyck that Reynolds saw was the Ghent Altarpiece, also known as *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb,* in the Cathedral of St Bavo on 29 July 1781. Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 602.
[303] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 602.
[304] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 602,729FN1.
[305] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds,* 28.

conviction is very well present in the *Discourses,* and yet it is important to note that Reynolds omits Van Eyck in his yearly academic speeches. His account of the pictures he saw on his trip was published posthumously and not earlier than 1797.[306]

In 1905, Roger Fry criticized Reynolds, arguing that he "minimized his admiration for "primitive artists" like Van Eyck or the early Italian Renaissance only out of deference to contemporary opinion."[307] Had he not done so, he would have been a pioneer in art criticism, according to Fry, for he would have been "on the verge of making the discovery of primitive art."[308] However, Fry's appraisal should not disqualify Reynolds' judgment of Flemish "primitives" as irrelevant to our discussion of eighteenth-century primitivism. On the contrary, it proves Reynolds's willingness to integrate contemporary aesthetics into the academic traditions he wanted to incorporate into the Royal Academy.

It bears remembering that when Reynolds was formulating his *Discourses*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau had just begun disseminating his idea of the "noble savage." The concept was not yet fully enshrined in Western thought; the process would take a few more decades, as the nomenclature of positive primitivism (with the "noble savage" as its protagonist) was not yet present in eighteenth-century English ideas of personhood, civilization, rationality, or reason. In addition, English society at this time had not yet been rattled by the effects of the French Revolution and its terror nor altered by continuous contact with people from England's overseas colonies.

As Jan Blanc points out in his 2015 edition of Reynolds' writings, the only time that Reynolds showed interest in representations of the "exotic" was after he had produced and shown a portrait of the Polynesian Omai. The young man was brought to England by Captain Cook from the island of Huahine near Tahiti in 1773. Being the first South Sea islander seen in Britain, he had become a sensation in aristocratic and intellectual circles. He was even introduced to King George III. The press praised "the innocent native Freedom of this Indian Visitor (who) caused a

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[306] For the full account, see Cotton, *Sir Joshua Reynolds, and his works,* 228–229.
[307] Roger Fry, "Introduction," In *Discourses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, edited by Roger Fry, vii-xxxi, New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, 1905, xi–xii.
[308] Fry aligns himself with Reynolds as an art critic and thereby instrumentalizes him for his own "primitivist" project. Fry, "Introduction," xi.

good deal of Mirth and Pleasantry among the Noblemen."[309] But after he had made his tour all over England and entertained the English nobility, he was shipped off again with Captain Cook in 1776.[310] Just prior to his presentation of his VIIth *Discourse,* held on 10 December 1776, Reynolds showed his portrait of the Polynesian Omai. Jan Blanc sees in the passages of this *Discourse* dealing with the costume as an applied taste, an echo of Hume's *Essai sur la norme du goût* and Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.[311] Blanc argues it is likely that Reynolds' taste for representations of the exotic might have been influenced by his encounter with Omai. His supposition stems from his reading of Reynolds' letter[312] to Harry Verelst on 1 July 1777, in which Reynolds alludes to Jahn Verelst's representations of American Indians.[313] And yet, at this point in history, the far-away had not yet been conflated with the long ago. When discussing primitive and barbaric peoples and art, Reynolds refers to Europe's own historic "primitives" north of the alps.

1.2.3. The Fascination with "Barbaric" Art in Joshua Reynolds' Writings.

This dissertation reads the *Discourses* as a tool Reynolds used to reflect upon the precarious position of English art (history) within the Western canon and to turn a perceived weakness into an advantage.[314] The questions of the Old Masters and the adoption of one of them as a role model

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[309] "The Native of Otaheite at Court," 1774, held in the British Library, Ref. no. 03F91558R, Rec. no. C2215-08. https://www.captcook-ne.co.uk/ccne/exhibits/C2215-08/index.htm, accessed 15 September 2021.
[310] "Omai The Noble Savage," Captain James Cook 1728 – 1779, accessed 10 June 2021, http://www.captcook-ne.co.uk/ccne/themes/omai.htm, accessed 15 September 2021.
[311] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds,* 519.
[312]Ingamells and Edgcumbe, *The Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 61–66.
[313] Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds,* 526.
[314] Founding a new institution is closely linked to the question of "novelty," discussed by Reynolds in his third letter to the Idler, which reflects on the ideas of his friend and editor Samuel Johnson as expressed in *Rasselas*: "Yet it fills me with wonder, that, in almost all countries, the most ancient poets are considered as the best ; whether it be that every other kind of knowledge is an acquisition gradually attained, and poetry is a gift conferred at once ; or that the first poetry of every nation surprised them as a novelty, and retained the credit by consent, which it received by accident at first ; or whether, as the province of poetry is to describe nature and passion, which are always the same, the first writers took possession of the most striking objects for description, and the most probable occurrences for fiction, and left nothing to those that followed them, but transcription of the same events, and new combinations of the same images." Johnson, *Rasselas*, 31. Even if novelty was one of the qualities that are expected from a work of art, Reynolds was convinced that novelty was a reason for the decline in art. He refused any hegemony of

were one way of negotiating this problem. The question was crucial for a new school of art since it meant integrating this new school within an existing tradition, even if it was an invented one. Key to what Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger coined as "invented traditions"[315] is the element of repetition[316] that creates continuity with the past. By following, copying, and propagating the dogma of the supremacy of the Old Masters in his official *Discourses*, Reynolds reassured the legitimacy of his new school. For the young Royal Academy, it was suitable to align with the dominant discourse. The central element of Eric Hobsbawm's theory of invented tradition is that evoked continuity is merely "factitious."[317] Before the foundation of the RA, English Art consisted of imported art and artists[318]. The universal and uncontested supremacy of Italian Renaissance art at the moment of the Royal Academy's foundation offered a general (European) standard (e.g., of beauty) with which to "lead England out of its agony." Such a process depended on the repetition of the 'fixed (normally formalized) practices'[319] that secured the continuity of a tradition – even if invented. In our case, Reynolds inscribed the Royal Academy within the European tradition by placing the copy of Old Masters (antique and Renaissance) at the center of his academic curriculum.

To observe how Reynolds subtly began to question the supremacy of the Old Masters, we must reconsider his writings composed during the same time as his *Discourses*. Thanks to Jan

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artistic appreciation insofar as he believed novelty had to be constantly negotiated. For more on "novelty" in Reynolds' writings, see Blanc, *Les Écrits de Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 45.

[315] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

[316] "'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past […] The historic past into which the new tradition is inserted need not be lengthy, stretching back into the assumed mists of time […] However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition." Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1–2.

[317] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.

[318] Busch sees the project of establishing an English tradition of history painting as a failure. Before the foundation of the RA, the English aristocracy had imported art mostly from Italy. Being conscious of the difference in cultural traditions, those works of art functioned as objects of prestige and social distinction. They were considered foreign on a national as well as cultural level. Busch, *Das sentimentalische Bild*, 243.

[319] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.

Blanc's complete edition (and translation into French) of Reynolds' writings, it is now possible to compare his contemporaneous writings and notes (treatises, letters, travel notes, journals, etc.). This comparison gives us better insight into his views on various topics, especially art education. Reynolds approaches the dogma[320] of art history, beginning with Vasari's *Vite*. This seminal treatise established a clear hierarchy of artists, with Michelangelo (and other Italian High Renaissance artists) at the top. Already in the preface to *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors & Architects*, Vasari writes that the "barbarous nations, which we call German," produced only "ridiculous architecture" that "lasted until a better form somewhat similar to the good antique manner was discovered by better artists."[321] Reynolds deviates from this dogma through his nuanced criticism of Flemish painting by Van Eyck and his appreciation of early Italian Renaissance artists like Masaccio.

By juxtaposing the contradictory aesthetic judgements in Reynolds' diverse writings, I argue that the intention of his *Discourses* was twofold. First, there was a need for a national school of English art (the founding of the Royal Academy was a means to this end). Second, there was a need to position the Academy or the nation itself on the trajectory of Continental art history. Following the idea of a "national character" determining the nature of art in a given climate and society, Flemish art – and for that matter, all art north of the Alps (e.g., Albrecht Dürer) – was thought of as "primitive," even "barbaric" in nature.[322] As Eric Michaud points out in his book *Les invasions barbares*, it was only in the 1780s that art history was divided into various schools.[323] The idea behind such a division was to make it possible to distinguish the different schools and their masters from one another in order to define their inherent qualities. Starting in Düsseldorf,

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[320] Hazan, *Le Mythe Du Progrès Artistique,* 1999. Progress as a myth of human sciences gains a utopian notion in art history. For centuries art histories tried to construct a linear stylistic evolution of art paralleled by the mimetic qualities of the work of art. Hazan points to the problems inherent in such art historical models of progress (and decline) from Alberti and Vasari to Panofsky, Wölfflin, and Gombrich. These art historians used the model of progress as a means of strengthening the position of the still young discipline of art history. To do so, art history specialized in categorizing artworks rather than analyzing them, giving priority to history writing over detailed consideration of the art object. Most importantly, Hazan comments on the structural and even constitutive role this myth had for the history of art, to the extent that it asserted that it would provide an objective and scientific character to the discipline.
[321] Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, xxvii.
[322] Hoock, *The King's Artists,* 5 footnote 14.
[323] Michaud, *Les Invasions Barbares*, 48.

Germany, the Flemish and Italian collections were shown in separate rooms.[324] In the Imperial collection in Vienna (today *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien*), schools were shown chronologically for the first time to demonstrate the evolution of art. Christian von Mechel understood the Austrian Imperial and Royal Collection, presented in 11 rooms divided by schools in the upper and lower Belvedere, Vienna, as a pedagogical project representing the visual history of art.[325] The schools represented in the collection were the "Italian schools," "Flemish" schools and the "German" school of art. While the Italian schools were organized geographically, the other schools were presented chronologically, with Albrecht Dürer presented as the "father of the German school." At the same time, Jan Van Eyck represented the ancient and Rembrandt the current Flemish art.[326]

This model would become the art historical paradigm for the next 100 years. From room to room, the life of an artistic tradition or style would be displayed from infancy to perfection to decline. And from this moment on, qualities were assigned not to single works but to the national schools to which those works belonged.[327] Put in context, Reynolds' reservations regarding all art prior to and outside the realm of the Italian High Renaissance become more comprehensive. As I discuss in the second chapter of this dissertation, the national schools, first defined by shared geography and climate, would later be explained by the concept of race. Indeed, nation and style would be connected with race and psychology during the nineteenth century, ultimately turning art

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[324] Michaud, *Les Invasions Barbares*, 48

[325] "Der Zweck alles Bestrebens gieng dahin, dieses schöne durch seine zahlreiche Zimmer-Abtheilungen dazu völlig geschaffne Gebäude so zu benutzen, daß die Einrichtung im Ganzen, so wie in den Theilen lehrreich, und so viel möglich, sichtbare Geschichte der Kunst werden möchte. Eine solche große öffentliche, mehr zum Unterricht noch, als nur zum vorübergehenden Vergnügen, bestimmte Sammlung scheint einer reichen Bibliothek zu gleichen zu gleichen, in welcher der Wißbegierde droh ist, Werke aller Arten und Zeiten anzutreffen, nicht das Gefällige und Vollkommene alleine, sondern abwechselnde Kontrolle, durch deren Betrachtung und Vergleichung (den einzigen Weg zur Kenntniß zu gelangen) er Kenner der Kunst werden kann." Christian von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien*, Wien, 1783. Original held at the Augsburg, Staats- and Stadtbibliothek – HV 1223. https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/view/bsb11254009?page=,1, accessed 15 September 2021.

[326] Michaud, *Les Invasions Barbares*, 48. For the arrangement of the collection of paintings by schools in chronological order, see Christian Mechel's floor plan in the catalogue of 1783, as published in Alice Hoppe-Harnoncour, "The Restoration of Paintings at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century in the Imperial Gallery," *CeROArt,* HS 2012, https://doi.org/10.4000/ceroart.2336, accessed 15 September 2021.

[327] Michaud, *Les invasions barbares*, 47-49.

history into discipline with potentially racist biases. Comparisons between the art of different traditions would become increasingly contested. [328]

1.3. Unlearning: A Pragmatic Pedagogy

1.3.1. "Nothing to unlearn" or How to Turn a Disadvantage into an Advantage

Joshua Reynolds uses the notion of unlearning for the first time in the first *Discourse* while discussing his model of art education. Summarizing the advantages the British held over nations with strong art traditions such as Italy and France, Reynolds asserted that the British at least "shall have nothing to unlearn."[329] In Reynolds' eyes, the great masters of the Renaissance were excellent examples from whom one could learn a grand style of painting.[330] However, he also held the following belief: "rules are fetters only to men of no genius."[331] As early as his first *Discourse*, he posed the critical question: 'How much liberty may be taken to break through those rules […] when the pupils become masters themselves?'.[332] Reynolds wanted to lead English art out of its marginal position and place it on an equal footing with Europe. But he found himself in a double bind: English art wished to follow the model it also aimed to emancipate itself from. Reynolds initially took the French *Académie Royale* as the primary role model. He established a three-stage model for the study of painting which he used his *Discourses* to communicate. Surprisingly, through the study of other academies' models, Reynolds found the path to innovation, learning from the "defects in their method of education."[333]

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[328] Michaud, *Les invasions barbares*, 24, 51, 55.
[329] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 16.
[330] In contrast to William Hogarth who saw himself as the founding member of an English School that should champion British art. This also meant to reject all foreign influences, especially Italian. Jenny Uglow, *William Hogarth: A Life and a world*, London: faber and faber, 1997, 123.
[331] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 17.
[332] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 17.
[333] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 19.

Reynolds often compared the differences present in academies in the ways language and art convey meaning. To illustrate, in the first stage of the learning model, the student has to learn the "grammar" of the language of art. As Reynolds explains in his second discourse,

> The first degree of proficiency is, in painting, what grammar is in literature, a general preparation for whatever species of the art the student may afterwards choose for his more particular application. The power of drawing, modelling, and using colours, is very properly called the language of art.[334]

According to Reynolds, the student should not be concerned with the content of his painting at this stage in his studies. It is only later, "when the artist is once enabled to express himself with some degree of correctness," that he must "endeavor to collect subjects for expression; to amass a stock of ideas, to be combined and varied as occasion may require."[335]

It bears noting that Reynolds employed a direct comparison between learning a language and learning to paint: "Words should be employed as the means, not as the end: language is the instrument, conviction is the work."[336] In Reynolds' view, mimesis was to be considered a technical part of artistic education but should not be seen as "art" in itself. Reynolds' understanding of painting as a way of writing was most likely influenced by Samuel Richardson and his *Dictionary of the English Language*. Richardson defined style as a "way of writing" or as a "way of speaking in regard to language." In his second Discourse, Reynolds proposes his theory of pictorial style by emphasizing that "style in painting is the same as in writing, a power over materials […] by which conceptions or sentiments are conveyed".[337] This remark illustrates Reynolds' efforts to specify the unique qualities of the visual arts within the antique paradigm of *ut pictura poesis*, to which he still subscribed.[338] Indeed, the linguistic conception of painting is inherent to *ut pictura poesis*, and

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[334] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 26.
[335] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 26.
[336] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 64.
[337] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 32.
[338] For an extensive discussion of eighteenth-century linguistic theories and the concept of art as a language, see Iris Wien, *Joshua Reynolds: Mythos und Metapher*, München: Wilhelm Fink, 2009, 170–175.

Iris Wien sees Reynolds' writings as an "innovative contribution of this field" in *Joshua Reynolds: Mythos und Metapher*.[339]

The first publication to disseminate the concept of *ut pictura poesis* in England was the 1638 English translation of Franciscus Junius' *De Pictura Veterum*. Junius considered painting to be a universal language:[340] "Picture speaketh the language of all men; whereas among severall Nations there is such a wonderfull diversity of speaking, that a forrainer doth hardly seeme a man unto them that are of another Countrie."[341] Whereas spoken language was often seen as an insurmountable barrier between people, in Junius' view, visual language possessed immediate qualities that could be understood by men of all nations.

These immediate qualities revolved around resemblance. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, scholars such as Jean-Baptiste Du Bos still argued that painting was superior to poetry. In Du Bos' account, painting's superiority rested on its use of "natural signs:" "Painting makes use of natural signs, the energy of which does not depend on education. They draw their force from the relation which nature herself has fixed between our organs and the external objects, in order to attend our preservations" (Du Bos in the 1748 English translation – Bd. I, 322, of *Réfléxions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* [1719]). In Du Bos' understanding of painting as presenting "nature" [342] to the spectator without the need to appeal to the latter's imagination, pictures were "natural signs."[343] Du Bos established a distinction between the mechanical and poetic means of art. In his view, the more complex the subject matter, the more painting needed to employ both its visual and verbal qualities. Reynolds *Discourses* not only bridge the distance to the historic past but also, as Iris Wien observes, to the larger public outside of the Academy.

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[339] Wien, *Joshua Reynolds*, 35. Here, Iris Wien dedicates a whole chapter to Reynolds' poetic understanding of art and his conception of painting as a universal language.
[340] Wien, *Joshua Reynolds*, 170.
[341] Franciscus Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients, in three Books. Declaring by Historical Observations and Examples, the Beginning, Progresse, and Consummation of that most noble Art. And hos those ancient Artificers attained to their still so much admired Excellencie,* London, 1638, 127.
[342] The evocation of ideas with words seems for Du Bos "partly artificial," which makes words "only arbitrary signs:" "Those objects therefore, which are exhibited to us by pictures acting as natural signs, must certainly operate with greater expedition. The impression they make on us must be stronger and quicker, than that which can arise from verses." Abbé Du Bos, *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Music with the Inquiry of the Rise and Progress of the Theatrical Entertainment of the Ancients,* translated by Thomas Nugent, London, 1748, 323.
[343] Wien, *Joshua Reynolds*, 171-172.

Promoting art historical knowledge as the precondition for any artistic or cultural production secured a shared pictorial language between the artist – trained at the new Royal Academy – and the educated English public.[344] Reynolds' efforts to reconcile art's visual and verbal qualities in his second *Discourse* arrives three years after Gotthold Ephraim Lessing had already negated any similarity between painting and writing in his *Laokoon* (1766). Questioning Horace's 'dictum' of *ut pictura poesis* and the "organic analogy between painting and writing,"[345] Lessing thought of text being "sequential, and painting spatial."[346] Isabelle Gradoin argued in her essay, "Re-reading of Lessing's Laocoon," that while he might have admitted that image and text may well have "similar effects, yet their very modes of expression differ radically"[347]

1.3.2. Unlearning as Emancipation from Education

The Royal Academy's established three-stage model of education refers to a practical pedagogy that Reynolds found in the works of Quintilian.[348] In his *Institutio Oratoria,* Quintilian describes a pedagogy that can be used to school the "orator" in the tradition of Cicero "ab infantia" (from childhood). This education method not only teaches the *ars rhetorica* but also strengthens the skills of eloquence. In this way, Quintilian's form of pedagogy was at once practical and theoretical. This duality can be found in Cicero's *De Oratore*, which is structured according to the triad of *ars, natura,* and *exercitatio*. In his pragmatic pedagogical model, Reynolds emphasized *exercitatio* (practice).

Let us suppose that Reynolds' description of the first stage of education was concerned with the linguistic quality of painting. Then, his account of the second stage of education – becoming an artist within the institution – naturally referred to Cicero and Quintilian. In the second stage, the

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[344] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 37.
[345] Isabelle Gadoin, "Re-reading Lessing's Laocoon: for and against the 'ut pictura poesis' Theory," *Études britanniques contemporaines,* vol. 31, 2006, 1.
[346] Gadoin, "Re-reading Lessing's Laocoon," 25.
[347] Gadoin, "Re-reading Lessing's Laocoon," 13.
[348] For more on Reynolds' "cicéronisme" see Colette Nativel, "Académie et pédagogie de l'art en Angleterre: le cicéronisme de Reynolds." *Les Académies (Antiquité – XIXe siècle): Sixièmes "Entretiens" de La Garenne Lemot*, edited by Jean-Paul Barbe and Jackie Pigeaud, 151–68. Université Laval: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005.

student must express himself in the artistic language he has learned. He must learn how to combine and diversify the stock of ideas he has accumulated using the powers of his imagination:

> Having hitherto received instructions from a particular master, he is now to consider the art itself as his master. He must extend his capacity to more sublime and general instructions. Those perfections which lie scattered among various masters, are one united in one general idea, which is henceforth to regulate his taste, and enlarge his imagination.[349]

The education of the artist-to-be is focused upon recognizing the ideal beauty in the works of other artists – not just one, but many – across time and space. Wien writes that "art history was crucial to teach art students and the general public the language of art. A sound knowledge of the tradition of art was particularly important for artists wanting to transcend conventional practice and innovate."[350] As an English artist and art theorist at the end of the eighteenth century, Reynolds felt a certain distance from the traditions he so highly praised. And his recommendation that art students study and imitate the Old Masters must be seen against the backdrop of a disrupted tradition.

However, it also became clear to Reynolds that an artist could not bridge this divide intuitively and required intellectual reflection to proceed. These theoretical statements thus represent a critical pedagogical imperative Reynolds followed in his pedagogy, looking to ensure his students' "commercial and intellectual success in the present and their legacy in the future."[351] This self-consciousness about the historic importance of one's artistic production is a clear indicator of social privilege and belonging to the group of academicians. Looking at art history, those excluded from it, like women, people of colour, and artisans, are twice marginalized in modern society and art history.

The third and final stage in the art education of the Royal Academy was meant to emancipate the student from all kinds of authority, including his master and even nature:

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[349] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 26.
[350] On the historical phenomena of art, see the seventh *Discourse*. This discourse can at the same time be seen as a rational justification for the canon of art and an anthropological foundation of art and culture at large. Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 39.
[351] Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 42.

> He is from this time to regard himself as holding the same rank with those masters whom he before obeyed as teachers and as exercising a sort of sovereignty over those rules which have hitherto restrained him. Comparing now no longer the performances of art with each other, but examining the Art itself by the standard of nature, he corrects what is erroneous, supplies what is scanty, and adds by his own observation what the industry of his predecessors may have left wanting to perfection. Having well established his judgment, and stored his memory, he may now without fear try the power of his imagination.[352]

Following Cicero's argument in *De Oratore,* Reynolds argues that "language" – whether in painting or poetry – is just an instrument, it is not the art itself. It is no guarantee for the expression or the content of art. The goal of mastering the language of art would be ultimately to develop one's own style because "style in painting is the same as in writing, a power over materials [...] by which conceptions or sentiments are conveyed".[353] Such "power over materials" can only be gained through practice until a state of excellence is achieved.

Conclusion – Removing the Veil: Unlearning as a Recovering of the Origins in Art

Even if Reynolds did not, in his *Discourses,* express a preference for "primitive" artists like Van Eyck or Masaccio[354], he did promote the exercise of "unlearning" on a pragmatic level by prescribing a return to the "infancy of art" and its language:

> In pursuing this great Art, it must be acknowledged that we labour under greater difficulties than those who were born in the age of its discovery, and whose minds from their infancy were habituated to this style; who learnt it as their mother tongue. They had no mean taste to unlearn; they needed no persuasive discourse to allure them to a favourable reception of it, no abstruse investigation of its principles to convince them of the great latent truths on which it is founded. We are constrained, in these later days, to

352 Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 27.
353 Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 32.
354 Reynolds saw the Brancacci Chapel painted by Masaccio at the church of Santa Maria del Carmine (Florence, Italy) during his grand tour in May–June of 1752.

> have recourse to a sort of Grammar and Dictionary, as the only means of recovering a dead language. It was by them learned by rote, and perhaps better learned that way than by precept.[355]

The advantage of the English artists over peers from other nations was that they had "nothing to unlearn" (the missing of an art tradition). Contemporary art with a long tradition would have a "mean taste" to unlearn—hinting to the inevitable decline of taste and the arts while becoming more sophisticated.

The precept in ancient times was learning. Reynolds' idea of unlearning is developed through the concept of art as a *second language* and points to the mechanisms of learning a language despite a lack of structural foundations to build upon, like that of a mother tongue. Unlearning, either understood as a recovering the universal *mother tongue* of art and learning art, or understood as a second language, therefore presents two facets of the same aim of artistic advancement. And yet, the way both languages are learned is diametrally opposite: the mother language by experience, the second language through transmission by a teacher. The question of learning art as a language evokes more extensive reflections on authority and knowledge as addressed by Jacques Rancière in *The ignorant schoolmaster*[356]. Taking on the power structures that make the "ignorant" believe he is powerless is a posture that questions the "capacity of those who know how to know."[357] The inequality between the learned and the unlearned is a temporal distance between learning, knowing, and teaching.[358] In 2016, Jacques Rancière returned to the ignorant schoolmaster and the pedagogy of Joseph Jacotot to reflect on "the pedagogics of unlearning"[359] and came to a conclusion that echoes Reynolds idea of unlearning almost 250 years earlier:

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[355] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 278.

[356] Jacques Rancière, *The ignorant Schoolmaster,* translated by Kristin Ross, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991. For an indepth analysis of Rancière's key text, see Yves Citton, "'The ignorant schoolmaster': knowledge and authority," In *Jacques Rancière: Key Concepts*, edited by Jean-Philippe Deranty, London: Routledge, 2014, 26-37.

[357] Jacques Rancière, "Un-what?," In *The Pedagogics of Unlearning*, edited by Aidan Seery and Éamonn Dunne, Earth, Milky Way: Punctum books, 2016, 25-46, 27.

[358] Rancière, "Un-what?," 42.

[359] The conference entitles "The Pedagogics of Unlearning" was held at Trinity College Dublin in September 2014. The conference proceedings were published in 2016.

> ‘Un-learning’ can also mean this: the dissociation between the acts of teaching and learning; the fact that you learn from somebody or something that never taught you. This means in turn that you don’t teach what you have learnt. You can just tell it, invent a manner of telling out of which possibly others will learn from you something else, something that you don’t know.[360]

In Reynolds’ understanding, ancient art was learned *unconsciously* – like every mother language – because the ancients were born into it. In contrast, any relearning/unlearning following them demanded pedagogical strategies like those required for learning grammar and establishing a dictionary. As a result, unlearning became a rhetorical practice with a poetic goal. In the endeavour of unlearning, the construction of meaning (to create images) by rules and free play of associations to achieve autonomy are brought together.

In his last *Discourse*, Reynolds returns to a crucial passage of his pedagogy from the third *Discourse*, in which he explained how the painter might “speak” in his artistic “mother tongue”:

> [The painter] must divest himself of all prejudices in favour of his age or country; he must disregard all local and temporary ornaments, and look only on those general habits which are everywhere and always the same; he addresses his works to the people of every country and every age […] To prevent artists from any kind of mannerism or even ‘mechanic and ornamental arts’ of the early industrialization, short fashion, it is his duty to distinguish ‘genuine habits of nature’ with all its imperfections from ‘fashion’ to attain a certain authenticity.[361]

The challenge for the artist-to-be is to learn to distinguish between “natural” and “cultural” forms: while the true simplicity of nature could only be found in the ancients, so Reynolds believed, culture was the result of education or conscious learning. In his account,

> the ancients had an easier task than the moderns. They probably had little or nothing to unlearn, as their manners were closely approaching this desirable simplicity. The

[360] Rancière, “Un-what?,” 41.
[361] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 47-49.

> modern artist, on the other hand, before he can see the truth of things, is obliged to remove a veil, with which the fashion of the times has thought proper to cover her.[362]

Here, by mythologizing the past, Joshua Reynolds provides his concept of unlearning a way to return to a primordial state of ideal beauty and simplicity, and thus, ultimate authenticity. Considered "lost," this authentic language has to be relearned since what was learned in the first place was most often learned unknowingly. This plea for authenticity is a thread we can use to connect the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a call for a return to a moment in time considered simpler and more authentic than in European societies of the late eighteenth century.

The exact "moment" of authentic beginnings constantly changed over the long nineteenth century, migrating from Greek Antiquity to early Renaissance Italy, the prehistoric past and exotic present. Reynolds introduces unlearning in his *Discourses* with the metaphor of removing a veil to discover something that had previously been covered. He speaks of unveiling something that had been covered by fashions and described it as a process of becoming aware and getting to "the truth of things." Removing a veil always also describes a process and method of becoming conscious of an historic process.

Discussions around unlearning practices reached a height in the eighteenth-century art theory of England and France. Such discussions centred on the veil[363] as used by the Greek painter Timanthes. Timanthes, a contemporary of Zeuxis, is best known for his (lost) painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia. Antique literature and during the Renaissance, Leon Battista Alberti, in his *De pictura* (1435), discuss the veil as a tool to preserve likeness and at the same time preserve "modesty and decency."[364] The veil is used to cover up "defect of form."[365] In art writing, the veil of Agamemnon became a symbol for the problem of whether or not to show extreme emotions in art.[366] Hidden from the spectator, in the general antique consensus, the absence of emotions could make them even more palpable. G.E. Lessing's interpretation of Timanthes' painting, famously

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[362] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 49.

[363] Rocco Sinisgalli ed., *On Painting. A New Translation and Critical Edition*, By Leon Battista Alberti. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 61.

[364] Sinisgalli, *On Painting*, 61.

[365] Sinisgalli, *On Painting*, 61.

[366] For an insightful comparison on the adaption of *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* in eighteenth-century French painting, see Proulx, *Le Sacrifice d'Iphigénie*, 2015.

immortalized by Plinius' writings, points to the lucidity of Timanthes in knowing the limits of his art. Lessing calls the veiling of Agamemnon's pain-ridden face a "sacrifice which the artist made to beauty:"[367]

> He [Thimantes] knew that the grief which overcame Agamemnon as a father found expression in distortion, which are always hideous… What he might not paint he left to conjecture. […] It is an example not how an artist can force expression beyond the limits of Art, but how an artist should subject it to the first law of Art – the law of beauty.[368,]

As much as the painter is bound by convention in representing any given subject matter, he is equally freer since painting is not an art based on time but space.[369] Similar to the theatre tradition, the artist who does not show the sacrifice engages the spectator and his imagination. Lessing's argument is a pragmatic one, pointing to the shared production of the image together with the spectator who is completing the scene with his imagination: "This, if Laocoon sighs, the imagination can hear him shriek; but if he shrieks, it can neither rise above nor descend below this representation, without seeing him in a condition which, as it will be more endurable, becomes less interesting."[370]

In her book *Joshua Reynolds: Mythos und Methaper*, in the chapter on "Painting as universal language and Reynolds' poetic understanding of art" ["Die Malerei als universelle Sprache und Reynolds' poetisches Verständnis der Kunst"], Wien takes up the eighteenth-century discussion of "Timanthes' veil" to connect it to Reynolds' understanding of the *ut pictura poesis* paradigm: although visual art is disadvantaged when compared to poetry. By not showing the face of the father and therefore not expressing his emotions immediately, Timanthes could create suspense and an even better understanding of the horrors of this scene.[371] Wien reminds us that Reynolds expresses his skepticism about the faculty of imagination in painting in his *Discourse*

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[367] Gotthold E. Lessing, *Laocoon*, London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1905, 68.
[368] Lessing, *Laocoon,* 68. For the fortune critique of The Sacrifice of Iphigenia in the eighteenth century, see Jennifer Montagu, "Interpretations of Timanthes' Sacrifice of Iphigenia," ed. Onians, *Sight & Insight,* 305; Fullenwider, "'The Sacrifice of Iphigenia' in French and German Art Criticism 1755-1757," *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 52, no. 4 (1989): 539–549.
[369] Marie-Michèle Proulx, "Le Sacrifice d'Iphigénie: l'interartialité spectaculaire dans la peinture française au 18e siècle," Master thesis, Université de Montréal : 2015, 37.
[370] Lessing, *Laocoon*, 17.
[371] Wien, *Joshua Reynolds*, 229.

when he compared drawing to the powers of the imagination. For example, Timanthes' invention of not representing the father's face overcome by grief would evoke "pleasure" in the viewer, who would thereby be forced to imagine it. A sort of co-creation between artist and spectator might ensue.

Reynolds agrees with Edmund Burke[372] that sketches may have the same potential as poetry. Still, the final painting needs to possess a definite form that awakens the imagination of the spectator. And yet, Reynolds knew about the seductive qualities of a non-concrete painting style. He warns his students in his 8th *Discourse*:

> This notion, therefore, of leaving any thing to the imagination, opposes a very fixed and indispensable rule in our art, – that every thing shall be carefully and distinctly expressed, as if the painter knew, with correctness and precision, the exact form and character of whatever is introduced in to the picture. This is what with us is called Science and Learning; which must not be sacrificed and given up for an uncertain and doubtful beauty, which not naturally belonging to our Art, will probably be sought for without success.[373]

When Reynolds criticizes Timanthes for using a genuine invention that might only have worked once, he equally criticizes the contemporary promoters of the same idea, for example, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. I see this passage from the eighth *Discourse* as highly revealing concerning his ideas of learning and unlearning. The veil covering the painter's chance to learn, once removed, becomes the metaphor for Reynolds' unlearning. Removing a veil means removing the vagueness of a second language and replacing it with exact visual forms. Those forms are associated with simplicity, authenticity, and a sense of truth. Reynolds was convinced that "the ancients" lived amongst the unity of art and life at a time when ideal and reality were still one. The Greeks of the mythological past, as described in the writings of Homer, were the "primitives" of Reynolds' age, possessing a childlike state of mind, directly expressing feelings, and experiencing the world

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[372] Influenced by Burke's concept of poetry, as presented in *A philosophical Enquiry into the origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014 (1757, first revised in 1759), Reynolds saw in painting as well as poetry a "sense of congruity, coherence, and consistency" see Wien, "Naturalising Tradition: Why Learn from the Masters?," 38.
[373] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 164.

through a gaze that saw every object as though for the first time; they stood for the infancy of man.[374]

Writing in the late eighteenth century, Reynolds discussed a concept that would become a central concern of modern art: "the need to find the right way in which to express truth, immediacy and authenticity."[375] His solution was an artistic turnaround, a return to the mother tongue – in short, to the state of infancy.[376] It is important to note that his notion of unlearning was already highly exclusionary. It was implied that only individuals who were (white, Western, and male) adults were able to return to a state of infancy. Everyone who was supposedly stuck in this early stage of development was excluded from unlearning; who was not part of (intellectual) society due to their gender, race, or class. Reflections on race are only implicit in Reynolds' writings. However, like Rousseau, Reynolds was writing at the emergence of anthropology. The German ethnographer Gottfried Korff convincingly argues that the discovery of the "savage other" fostered reflections on Westerners' status within their societies.[377] Discussing the condition of "savage people" helped thinkers criticize conditions at home more easily. When Rousseau praised the child or the "*homme naturel*," with the "*bon sauvage*" in mind, he was attacking the deformations of French society compared to those primordial states.[378] His call for a return to nature was less an expression of a

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[374] On the eighteenth-century reception of Greek mythology by Thomas Blackwell and others, see Wien, J*oshua Reynolds,* 44–53.
[375] Hofmann, "The Art of Unlearning," 6.
[376] At first glance, Reynolds was not influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's 1762 treatise *Émile ou De l´éducation*, even if the *Discourses* relay similar convictions on how the child should not learn by copying the Great Masters. The "infancy of art" is a common philosophical principle of the eighteenth century. One must be careful not to confuse Reynolds' advocacy for a relearning of the "mother tongue of art" with contemporary pedagogical theories on child education, since architecture could also serve as a model. As the architectural historian Joseph Rykwert showed in his 1972 work *On Adam's House in Paradise, The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History,* the "primitive" hut, which Adam supposedly built in Paradise, served architects throughout the centuries as the archetype of the first house. Corbusier's or Frank Lloyd Wright's quest for a "naturalness" in architecture can be already found in the eighteenth century, as architectural theory (e.g., Antoine Laugier) also presented the first hut as a "natural object" and at the same time a model for architecture imitating "nature."
[377] Gottfried Korff, "Volkskunst und Primitivismus. Bemerkungen zu einer kulturellen Wahrnehmungsform um 1900," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 48, no. 97 (1994): 373–394.
[378] Rousseau presented his myth of a savage people (Rousseau is speaking about the "Hottentots," a term used in the eighteenth century to denote all black people, especially from South Africa) supposedly still living in this desired simplicity, innocence, freedom, equality, and ignorance as formulated in his essays *Discours sur les origines et les fondements de l'inégalité des hommes*(1755) and *Essai sur l'origine des langues* (published posthumously in 1781).

preference for the primitive than it was a plea for the virtue of "self-sufficiency" and a warning against corruption of any kind, which he also applied to the arts.[379] This might have influenced Reynolds to demand that his students take the uncorrupted, truthful artist of ancient times as a model to learn and develop from in view of meeting the needs of their own age.

Reynolds and Rousseau were not the only ones to use the "savage" as a motif for critical discourse in the epoch Korff called "anthropologische Verdichtungszeit."[380] In the second half of the eighteenth century, European thinkers were reflecting on a period that was rich in philosophical and literary writing: it was the era of Immanuel Kant's *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht* (1798), Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1794)[381], and above all Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* (1796). In the latter work, Humboldt argued that contact with new cultures and "savage peoples" ("Naturvölker"), which had been discovered and studied throughout the eighteenth century, would help Western society and culture to grow and progress. However, since neither the "savage" nor his art had yet made their way into the Western aesthetic discourse, the unlearned child was elected to function as the "savage" in the discourse on art education. While this chapter advanced the question of unlearning in English art and art writing of the eighteenth century inside the institution of the Royal Academy, the following chapter takes the question of unlearning out of the institution and observes its metabolization through the nineteenth century.

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[379]Arthur O Lovejoy, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's 'Discourse on Inequality'," *Modern Philology* 21, no. 2 (Nov. 1923): 165–86.
[380] For more on this concept of an "age of anthropological densification" see Korff, "Volkskunst und Primitivismus," 375.
[381]Nicolas De Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain,* Paris: Agasse, 1794. Immanuel Kant, *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht,* Königsberg: Friedrich Nicolovius, 1798.

Chapter 2. Phenomena of Unlearning During the Nineteenth Century

> Improvement makes straight roads; but the crooked roads without improvement are roads of genius.[382]

> Blake's art indeed is a test case for our theories of aesthetics.[383]

The second chapter of this thesis describes how the aesthetic discourse established by the first president of the Royal Academy was received by his successors and transformed throughout the nineteenth century. Sometimes in stark contrast and opposition to Reynolds' positions, this criticism should not be mistaken for a definite rejection of him but rather a twofold argument in the Hegelian tradition of a dialectical sublating[384]. The subchapters that follow concentrate on the prominent voices of English art and art writing in the nineteenth century, bridging the gap between eighteenth-century aesthetics and twentieth-century ones. Here I focus on the critical reception of Joshua Reynolds' doctrines by artists, writers, and art historians like William Blake, members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (the Rossetti brothers), John Ruskin, William Morris and eventually Roger Fry.

While the term "unlearning" got lost during the nineteenth century, its fundamental ideas were metabolized by the modern art discourse. Outside the academic curriculum, unlearning became an alternative strategy to search for the origins of art in contrast to the continental aesthetic mainstream. If unlearning was, at the moment of the foundation of the English academy, a means

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382 William Blake, "Marriage of Heaven and Hell." In *Life of William Blake,“ Pictor Ignotus with Selections from His Poems and Other Writings*, edited by Alexander Gilchrist, London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1863, 81.

383 Roger Fry, "Three pictures in tempera by William Blake," *Burlington Magazine* 4, no. 12 (March 1904).

384 For more in Hegel's notion of "Aufhebung" see Julie E. Maybee, "Hegel's Dialectics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2020, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/hegel-dialectics/, accessed 20 September 2021.

to make up for lack of tradition, decades later, it became an emancipatory strategy to fight the canon developed by continental art history and established an English alternative to French Modernism. The idea of unlearning as learning from art other than the Italian High Renaissance (i.e., artists North of the Alps such as Dürer and Van Eyck) described in chapter 1 resurged again in the nineteenth century in the wake of industrialization and the age of new Imperialism. Since the late eighteenth-century medieval art was identified as only one art in "a series of image traditions identified and appropriated as 'primitive'."[385] As Europe's own historical "primitives," Gothic art preceded African and Oceanic art. Frances Connelly's research on nineteenth-century primitivizing practices from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century could prove that Gothic art remained within the mix of different, so-called primitive styles.[386] In the second part of this thesis, I will come back to this observation when talking about Gabriele Münter's and Wassily Kandinsky's shared fascination for the German medieval tradition of woodcuts. In the almanac, *Der Blaue Reiter,* published in 1912, Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc integrated medieval art seamlessly into a larger conception of universal art together with arts and images from a multitude of historic and contemporary, European and non-European sources.[387]

During the long nineteenth century, ancient cultures of Egypt, Babylon, and Japan and ethnographic collections of prehistoric, African, Oceanic and folk art were promoted as more authentic, simple and closer to the true nature of art. The young disciplines of art history and anthropology became interested in the same object of study simultaneously: human culture. As Frances Connelly argues, unable to see each other, both disciplines investigated the verbal and visual expressions of humanity separate from each other.[388] Anthropology questioned for the first time the predominance of text over image and qualified the Western alphabet as a medium specific to European culture. In documenting non-European cultures, visual modes of representation became more and more important and gained scientific status, as they were thought of as more

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[385] Frances S. Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," *Journal of Art Historiography* 12, 2015, 1-16, 1, https://arthist.net/archive/10573, accessed Sept. 25, 2021.
[386] Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 2.
[387] This will be further explored in chapter 6.4.2.
[388] Frances S. Connelly, "Authentic Irony. Primitivism and Its Aftermath," *Critical Interventions*, vol. 7, Fall 2010, 15-25.

objective than earlier written travel accounts. The idea of a universal and transcultural visual language united both disciplines, whereas art history created a hierarchy of styles.[389]

To call non-European cultures and their artistic expression "primitive" is a cultural construct in contrast to academic classicism, as Frances Connelly could show in her 1995 *Sleep of Reason. Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1725-1907*:

> If it was the classical tradition that framed the initial construction of 'primitive' art, it follows that it was that same tradition which set the limits and defined the shape of primitivism to a large extent. Although modernist appropriations of 'primitive' art have been characterized as a precious appreciation of non-Western imagery, modern artists borrowed only those elements identified as 'primitive,' so that their primitivism might better be understood as the construction of an anticlassical aesthetic, the antithesis of the classical thesis.[390]

In Connelly's understanding, the avant-garde did "not so much break from the aesthetic norms as to turn them inside out, because the center of academic classicism determined the ways in which they rebelled against it."[391] Therefore, primitivizing artists attempting to overthrow classicism were still operating within the same system: European, white, and male. This marks the significant difference between male and female primitivizing artists, the latter not being part of the system. Their primitivizing practices will be discussed in part II of this thesis.

In the following chapter, I will offer case studies in the aftermath of Reynolds' death that provide ideas of unlearning not as opposed to learning but "potential histories"[392] of unlearning

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[389] Sven Werkmeister, *Kulturen jenseits der Schrift. Zur Figur des Primitiven in Ethnologie, Kulturtheorie und Literatur um 1900*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2010, 13-17.
[390] Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason. Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics*, 1725-1907, University Par, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 1995, 112.
[391] Frances S. Connelly, "Primitivism," in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199747108.001.0001/acref-9780199747108-e-594?rskey=Dnq6gj&result=596, accessed 15 September 2021.
[392] Potential histories are a different way of experiencing time while questioning the temporal restraints of history developed bz Arielle Aïsha Azoulay. In 2019 book, *Potential History. Unlearning Imperialism*, Azoulay stated that history would not be neutral but a "modality and a symptom of imperial violence." Azoulay formulated her idea of unlearning as a way to tend to institutional forms of imperial violence, including history. Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *Potential History. Unlearning Imperialism*, London: Verso, 2019, 286-287.

other than learning – unlearning served now a different purpose than at the moment of the Royal Academy's founding. Expressing a preference for historic non-academic arts had now the purpose of emancipating the English Academy from its Continental sisters. Those comments on and critical re-editions of Reynolds' *Discourse*s function as a means of affiliation and delimitation.

To disucss historical case studies together with the idea of art as unlearning is confronting because it questions the chronological model of history and additive models of learning simultaneously. The potentiality of the concept of unlearning from a historical perspective is an attempt to "engage with the world from a nonprogressive approach."[393] In the following, I will focus first on the work of William Blake. He became the antithesis of Joshua Reynolds to nineteenth-century artists and art criticism, inducing the pastoral as a genuine English form of neo-Romanticism. John Ruskin is included in our discussion with his writing on Gothic art. The European construction of modern primitivism takes on a different tone in his writings. Still primitivizing in its content, Ruskin goes beyond the promotion of stylistic borrowing by incorporating social and political questions of his day and age. Similar to his social motif, William Morris' manifesto for "the lesser arts," namely decorative or "peasant art," opposes the results of industrial labour on a pragmatic level. In his talk "The lesser arts," held in 1877, Morris foreshadows the discussion on folk art in the context of international primitivism at the turn of the century.[394]

2.1. Reynolds' Critical Heritage at the Turn of the Century

2.1.1. The End of an Era: English Academy after Reynolds' Death

English art and art writing throughout the nineteenth century are one example of the coming of age of a new school of art. After the death of its founding president, the Royal Academy, in particular and English art writing, in general, tried to fill the void that Joshua Reynolds left behind and, at the

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[393] Azoulay, *Unlearning Imperialism*, 287.
[394] This discussion was especially fruitful in Austrian art history with Alois Riegl and Adolf Loos as the main voices on this topic.

same time, protect his legacy.[395] In 1792, when Joshua Reynolds died, the French Revolution – followed by a war between France and Britain in 1794 – came to its bloody end, and both Europe and England were in a state of shock. The "Enlightenment" movement that fostered and promoted individualization (especially for the new *bourgeois* class on the rise) forever changed the artistic and social conditions throughout Europe.[396] This political revolution could be felt in all aspects of society.

An internal institutional revolution took place in English academia during its quarrels around the succession of Joshua Reynolds.[397] Until his death, Reynolds dominated the institution of the Royal Academy for over 25 years. His persona as the president of the RA and his *Discourses* held every year at the prize-giving ceremony were considered the official organs of English art writing. The *Discourses* had the task of discussing the relatively marginal position of English art at the moment of the Academy's foundation. At the moment of his departure, what gets negotiated is his heritage and the succession of the intellectual property of the *Discourses*. In what follows, I will propose a reading of English art writing throughout the nineteenth century concerning Reynolds' intellectual and artistic heritage, here, especially texts commenting on Reynolds' *Discourses*. To position oneself in relation to the *Discourses* secured the attention of the English intelligentsia and ensured an inscription into the filiation of English Art Writing. Publishing a

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[395] Reynolds' artistic and intellectual legacy consists of the elevation of the genre of portraiture to the dominant English art production. His success stands for the cultural progress England's art made by inserting historical ideas into the minor genre of portrait painting. More subtle attempts to liberate the pictorial strategies of English Art was offered by Alexander Cozens and his *A New Method of Assisting the Invention in Drawing Original Compositions of Landscape* (1784). He promotes the use of blots in order to "liberate the mind from specific objects so that it would explain the general rather than the particular was in fact parallel to Reynolds' teaching about high art." Wilton, *Five Centuries,* 100.

[396] The period starting from Joshua Reynolds' death up to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was called by Hobsbawm the "Age of Revolution" or the age of "dual revolution," framed on the one side by the French Revolution and the other the Industrial Revolution.

[397] Following Reynolds as the Academy's second President was Benjamin West (1738-1820). The American West was appointed "History Painter" of the crown prior to his election. As an artist from the colonies, he combined his fresh seeing with artistic training in Italy not unlike John Singleton Copley, who West brought to London from Boston in 1775. It is remarkable that England imported two Americans to introduce history painting to English art history, most notably through West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (1770) held at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa and John Singleton Copley's *The Death of Major Peirson*, *6 January 1781* (1783).

commentary on the *Discourses* meant establishing a relationship with the originator of the English School of Art.

There are different intellectual strategies for dealing with intellectual heritage. One is to tell the story in one's own words to add to the praise or criticism of the author; another is to re-edit the texts to prevent the legacy from falling into oblivion or adding commentaries to the theory in question. As Camilla Murgia has already pointed out, it does not matter if Reynolds was praised or scorned by his followers. Both actions indicate the creation of a lineage of English art writing throughout the nineteenth century.[398] I cannot and do not wish to offer a complete history of Reynolds' critical reception but to single out certain critics – sample excavations that reveal a fragmented history, opinions, and definitions that resonate with the idea of unlearning as formulated in chapter 1.

2.1.2. Reynolds' Heritage

The reception history and the topics evoked in Reynolds' *Discourses* emphasize the unique role they played in English art writing and history. Richard Wendorf qualifies Reynolds' last will as the first document in this history.[399] Reynolds' funerals were one of the most important events of the late eighteenth century, marking a turning point in English Art. Reynolds was not only mourned as the most prolific portrait painter of his time but also "as a head of a household, as a man of letters, and as a public figure who had presided over—and often dominated – the artistic life of the nation for almost thirty years."[400] The most important figure in the aftermath of Reynolds' death was undoubtedly Edmond Malone. As Reynolds' legal executor, he was "gathering Reynolds' principal writings together for a collected edition in 1797, writing the first substantial memoir of his friend, and deciding to suppress a portion of the painter's *Nachlaß* [estate]."[401] Already at this early stage, a successor of Reynolds – even with the best of intentions – is effectively censoring Reynolds'

[398] Camilla Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua': Joshua Reynolds' Perception in the Victorian Era," *Studies in Visual Arts and Communication* 2, no. 2 (2015): 1–8.
[399] Richard Wendorf, *After Sir Joshua: Essays on British Art and Cultural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, 3.
[400] Wendorf, *After Sir Joshua*, 3.
[401] Wendorf, *After Sir Joshua,* 5.

writings and thereby putting forth a particular image of the man. This phenomenon would be repeated several times over the following decades.

The second person to have a hand in shaping Reynolds' image after his death was James Northcote, Reynolds' apprentice and early biographer. He is but the last of the English tradition of creating affiliation through the apprenticeship system – from John Riley to Northcote via Jonathan Richardson, Thomas Hudson, and Reynolds.[402] Yet, the fate of Reynolds' afterlife – since Reynolds died unmarried and childless – was ultimately put into the hands of the executors of his will: Edmund Burke, Edmond Malone, and Philip Metcalf.[403]

As should have become clear by now, the legacy of a thinker/writer is always also a question of editing.[404] As Camilla Murgia shows in her article "From Academy to 'Sloshua'[405]: Joshua Reynolds' Perception in the Victorian Era," Reynolds' successors would shape his nineteenth-century reception either by picking up from the somewhat positive and celebratory accounts of his first biographers such as Edmond Malone[406] (1741–1812) and James Northcote[407] (1746–1831) or by using their weak spots (especially concerning theoretical questions) and turning them into critiques – for example, in the form of critical editions of Reynolds' *Discourses*, a strategy that continued into the twentieth century. Roger Fry's critical edition of the *Discourses* will be further explored in chapter 3 of this thesis.

The nature of such early literature on the first president of the Royal Academy was a binding of biographical and theoretical material to celebrate Reynolds, much like his first biographers Malone and Northcote did. However, those celebratory accounts made shortly after Reynolds'

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[402] Wendorf, *After Sir Joshua*, 5.
[403] Wendorf, *After Sir Joshua*, 3.
[404] As has already been shown by Michael Millgate and Ian Hamilton, it is not uncommon to rewrite the text and life of a writer at the moment of his death or shortly after. On the role and importance of literary executors and custodians and how they sometimes tried to shape their own posterities with their work, see Ian Hamilton, *Keepers of the flame: literary estates and the rise of biography*, London: Hutchinson, 1992. Ensuring their privacy through preserving personal papers, revising their work and publishing collected editions of their life's work, writers who are equally destroy unwanted works, Michael Millgates calls, "conscious career conclusion." For more on writers' and thinkers' strategies of securing their after-life, see Michael Millgate, *Testamentary Acts: Browning, Tennyson, James, Hardy,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
[405] Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua,"1–8.
[406] Malone, *The works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1797.
[407] Northcote, *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1813.

death would turn into critiques in the first half of the nineteenth century. Critics collected adverse reports of Reynolds to establish him as the anti-model one ought not to follow. For example, when Dante Gabriel Rossetti bought William Blake's annotated copy of Reynolds' *Discourses,* the so-called *Rossetti papers,* in 1847, he was less interested in Blake's thoughts but more so in his critique of Reynolds.[408]

2.2. Unlearning as an Artistic Vision

2.2.1. William Blake and the Model of an Independently-minded Artist

William Blake leads this chapter about the "crooked roads" of unlearning on two very distinct levels: first, not unlike Reynolds, Blake was professing in both art and art writing, understanding himself in the succession of Joshua Reynolds. Second, he represented a way of thinking outside the discursive mainstream through his creative use of visual language tools that seemed "primitive" or "mad" to his contemporaries but proved to be visionary in their twentieth-century expressivity and twenty-first-century sensibility. In the field of English art history today, Blake is, together with William Turner and John Constable, one of the three established figures of British Romanticism. In his fifth national retrospective in 2019 – the first one was held in 1913 at the then National Gallery of British Art – Blake is presented as the maker of visual images and poetry, as an independent and imaginative visionary, deeply rooted in his own time while proposing a model for generations of "independently-minded people."[409] In the last 150 years, Blake's diverse and often contradictory body of work has attracted scholars from various fields. For the last 40 years,[410] Blake's oeuvre has not been exclusively discussed in English literary studies or art history but understood as one body of work that has to be treated as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Contemporary literature on Blake covers cultural studies, biopolitics, epigenetics, the environmental justice

[408] Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua'," 3.
[409]Martin Myrone and Amy Concannon, *William Blake*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019.
[410] Important in Blake's "rediscovery" certainly is W.J.T. Mitchell's *Blake's Composite Art: A Study of the Illuminated Poetry* (1978).

movement, Romantic bio poetics, studies on industrial cultures (e.g., the arts and crafts movement), and Imperialism.[411]

Today, Blake is known as an artist who promoted constant self-transformation as well as truly "British values" – as claimed by the curator of the most recent national retrospective, Martin Myrone – of "resistance," "creativity," and "freedom." The curator's claim that "[Blake's] famed self-sacrifice, imaginative independence and creative ambition have come to symbolize the very idea of authenticity, in art, life, and politics"[412] may be more telling about the artist's function and role in today's English art writing than during his lifetime. The idea of William Blake as an ambitious, original, yet an artist "scarcely understood or appreciated by his contemporaries" is the common ground upon which the myth of the modern artist was built. Over the last 150 years, Blake criticism oscillated between the extremes of literary and art historical connoisseurship, focusing on a profound analysis of his poems and symbolism on the one hand and a "Blake for all" appropriation of the iconic figure. Current research on Blake takes the form of historical approaches which locate the artist within his socio-economic and artistic context, much as the last retrospective did. What makes Blake seem so "modern" today and suited for revisiting art historical discourse is his departure from the "dominant [artistic] values of his own time"[413] and the understanding of him as a visual artist and inspired autonomous creator.[414]

It is important to distinguish between the two major periods of Blake's critical reception: before and after[415] the publication of Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake, "Pictor Ignotus"* in 1868—40 years after Blake's death. During his lifetime, Blake was known more for his art and character than his poetry. Contemporaries judged him as "an engraver who might do tolerably well, if he was not mad."[416] This remark can be read in two different ways: as a judgment of his aesthetics – as would be done in the late nineteenth century by Rossetti and Yeats – meaning

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[411] For an enlarged bibliography on William Blake, see Joseph P. Natoli, *Twentieth-Century Blake Criticism*, London: Routledge, 2017.
[412] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake*, 9.
[413] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake*, 17.
[414] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake*, 18.
[415] Bentley is probably the most distinguished Blake scholar who laid the groundwork for generations of Blake scholars to come by re-editing Blake's writings (*Blake Records*) and publishing extensively on his reception. See Gerald E. Bentley, *Blake Records*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969.
[416] Malkin, *A father's Memoire of his Child* (1806), as cited in Gerard E. Bentley Gerald E. *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002, xvii.

unique, expressive, yet child-like and untrained, or as mad in the sense of one being mentally ill. For those who knew him, this "madness" came from his mystical visions, an indispensable source of his creative power. Sometimes he even reported visions of his late younger brother (who is said to have inspired his *Songs of Innocence*) or the arch-angel Gabriel. At the time, the word "mad" was used to qualify his "creative," "pagan," and "melancholic" designs done in "somber colours." [417]At the beginning of the twentieth century, similar "mad" designs, shown in the Post-impressionist exhibitions in 1910/11, were deemed expressive, avant-garde, and genuinely modern.[418]

Before joining the Royal Academy[419] in 1779 to be trained in the art of drawing, Blake had been the apprentice (1772–79) of the London Engraver James Basire. During his lifetime, Blake received the most praise for his reproductive engravings. Contemporaries like John Flaxman admired Blake's prints for their "faithfulness" and mastery of outline. But unlike Joshua Reynolds, Blake's position is far from being a central one in British art history. Despite his fourth national retrospective at the Tate Britain in London in 2019, Blake is still underrated, especially in art history. His illustrations of classic ancient texts and the texts of other authors aroused the interest of his contemporaries in the late 1790s. In contrast, his poetry[420] was only discovered after his death in 1827.[421]

2.2.2. Dialectics of the Unlearning: Blake's Comments on Reynolds' *Discourses*

About 30 years into his career, when, in 1808, Blake began commenting on Reynolds' *Discourses*, his unique, albeit comfortable, economic situation as an engraver and original artist had changed, and his constant effort to find a broader public turned out to be more and more difficult. Blake's prophetic books could hardly find buyers in the aftermath of the French Revolution.[422] The personal frustration that transpires in his introductory notes and annotations to Reynolds' first eight

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[417] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 40–41.
[418] This will be further explored in chapter 3.
[419] Blake exhibited a few pictures at the RA in the years 1780, 1784, 1785, 1799, 1800 and 1808, the year he would comment on Reynolds' *Discourses*. See Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 35.
[420] As a poet of spiritual and visionary lyrics, he was totally self-trained.
[421] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 1; Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake*, 25.
[422] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake,* 62.

Discourses surprises as they provide a blunt critique of the Academy and its first president. Blake used the *Discourses* as a pretext to formulate his critique of the English art scene and market in general, the influence of the art market, and the neglect of every artist who did not please aristocratic tastes and institutions.[423]

Blake's negative and, at times, violent remarks about Reynolds have been used constantly in the critical reception of Blake to depict Reynolds and Blake as antagonists and to illustrate Blake as the misunderstood, poor artist, far ahead of his time and to suffer at the hands of the establishment. Blake's annotations in his copy of the *Discourses* are intriguing because they show how artists negotiate aesthetic discourses in their visual production and reading and writing, as documented in books from their private collections.[424] In the second part of this thesis, I will insist on the importance of analyzing women artists' libraries as a means to investigate their praxicological thinking in a free, authentic, and self-conscious manner. While even an artist as marginalized by his contemporaries as William Blake could gain importance through his critique of the aesthetic establishment, women artists' occupation with art writing had been left unnoticed due to preconceptions about their intellectual capacities.[425]

Blake's annotations imitate a dialogue between him and Reynolds and seem to have had a third party and later reader in mind. At the beginning of the edited "Annotations to Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses* London MDCCXCVIII," Blake justifies his disapproval of Reynolds:

> Having spent the Vigour of my Youth & Genius under the Opression of Sr Joshua & his Gang of Cuning Hired Knaves Without Employment & as much as could possibly be Without Bread, The Reader must Expect to Read in all my Remarks on these Books Nothing but Indignation & Resentment. While Sr Joshua was rolling in Riches, Barry was Poor & Unemply'd except by his own Energy; Mortimer was call'd a Madman, & only Portrait Painting applauded & rewarded by the Rich & Great. Reynolds &

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[423] Blake quoted in Geoffrey Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings: with Variant Readings*, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, 452-453.
[424] In the second part of this thesis, the analysis of Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's private libraries is showcasing the importance of artists' dialogue with aesthetic writing. The commentaries (including underlining, marks, etc.) demonstrate not a way of learning, but an unlearning of the hierarchies established between author and reader. An artist commenting on other artists or art theories represents a special case. For more on Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's libraries see part II of this thesis.
[425] This will be further explored in the interlude of part II of this thesis.

> Gainsborough Blotted & Blurred on against the other & Divided all the English World between them. Fuseli, Indignant, almost hid himself. I am hid.[426]

There is no doubt that any critical position – even an oppositional one – is always a way to affiliate oneself with the one who came before. This annotated book has value as a historic document and has its very own history intimately connected to the writing of English art history. Blake's copy of *The works of Joshua Reynolds* is today held at the British Library. The title page is inscribed by Blake himself and is proof of his confidence: "This Man [Reynolds] was Hired to Depress Art. This is the opinion of Will Blake. My Proofs of this Opinion are given in the following Notes."[427] **[Fig. 2].** Closely linked and often confused with Blake's annotations in the *Discourses* is the so-called *Rossetti Manuscript*,[428] Blake's notebook, which was bought by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who helped publish *The Life of William Blake: 'Pictor Ignotus'* after the death of its author, Alexander Gilchrist. On the blank page of the *Blake Notebook* today archived at the British Library, Dante Gabriel Rossetti wrote:

> I purchased this original M. S. of Palmer, an attendant in the Antique Gallery at the British Museum, on the 30th April 1847. Palmer knew Blake personally. and it was from the artist's wife that he had the present M.S. which he sold me for 10 s. Among the sketches there are one or two profiles of Blake himself. Illustrated div [? indecipherable text] is by Robt. Blake but with neither his brother's ease and vigour nor his heavenly Spirit.[429]

These two documents, the annotated copy of Reynolds' *Discourses* and Blake's notebook, were central to Blake's promotion and instrumentalization by the Rossetti brothers and, subsequently, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. In their aim to reject neo-classicism and academic art and institutions, the championing of Blake was, in fact, a critique of Joshua Reynolds by proxy.

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[426] Blake annotated his own copy of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, his discourses, idlers, a journey to Flanders and Holland, and his commentary on Du Fresnoy's art of painting*, London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1798, second corrected edition with "Some account of the life and writings of Sir Joshua Reynolds" by Edward Malone, held at the British Library, BLL01003083754, reprinted in Keynes, *Blake: Complete Writings with Variant Readings*, 445–479.
[427] Held in the British Library, C.45.e.18–20.
[428] In 1847, Rossetti purchased Blake's notebook, which was afterwards called "the Rossetti manuscript" from Samuel Palmer. For more on the history of the Rossetti manuscript see Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua'," 2–3.
[429] Transcribed by the Rossetti Archive, the manuscript is held at The British Library, Add MS 49460.

Generally, one gets the impression from only glancing at Blake's comments on the *Discourses* that he rarely agreed with Reynolds. In his annotations, Blake often calls Reynolds "ignorant," "foolish," or just a "knave," pointing to the paradoxes within the *Discourses* but also to the contradictions between Reynolds' art and his art writing. Moreover, Blake remarks in the notes that the *Discourses* seem to serve more of a political and economic purpose than an artistic one. Next to the table of contents, he writes: "The Enquiry in England is not whether a Man has Talents & Genius, But whether he is Passive & Polite & a Virtuous Ass & obedient to Noblemen's Opinions in Art & Science. If he is, he is a Good Man. If Not, he must be Starved".[430]

At the center of Blake's criticism lie questions about general and individual character, imitation and criticism, and the differences between, on the one hand, imitation and imagination, and on the other, "genius" and "taste." But Blake assures the reader of his notes that "it is not in Terms that Reynolds & I disagree. Two Contrary Opinions can never by any Language be made alike. I say Taste & Genius are Not Teachable or Acquirable, but are born with us. Reynolds says the Contrary"[431]. As I have argued in the first chapter of this dissertation, Reynolds' model of education was built upon the idea of learning the language of art from its roots. Just as much as the students of the newly founded Royal Academy, the English public too had to be taught how to cultivate their taste for art "made in England," according to Reynolds. One generation later, however, Blake rejected Reynolds' model of academic art education. Despite having attended courses at the RA, he satisfied neither the requirements of Continental academic art (in the form of history painting) nor that of the young and lucrative tradition of English portrait painting founded by Joshua Reynolds. Where Reynolds wants genius to be a learned[432] faculty, Blake sees a "born" and "God-given" quality in genius. In his second *Discourse*, Reynolds gives hope to the less gifted but studious students: "Not to enter into the metaphysical discussions on the nature or essence of genius, I will venture to assert, that assiduity unabated by difficulty, and a disposition eagerly directed to the object of its pursuit, will produce effects similar to those which some call the result

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[430] Blake quoted in Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings,* 452-453.
[431] Blake quoted in Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings,* 474.
[432] "Knowledge of the Ideal Beauty is Not to be Acquired. It is Born with us. Innate Ideas are in Every Man, born with him; they are truly himself. The man who says that we have no innate ideas must be a fool & knave, having no con-science or innate science." Blake quoted in Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings,* 459.

of *natural powers*."[433] Reynolds repeats this conviction in his third *Discourse* by stressing experience or "laborious investigation" as the major criteria for the recognition of ideal beauty.[434]

I argue that William Blake had no other choice than to reject institutional art education. While the idea of learned genius was helpful for English art and art writing in making way from a marginalized position at the end of the eighteenth century, it created new forms of exclusion, this time within English art itself. In part II of this thesis, the controversy is expanded to the question of gender. Women artists of the *fin de siècle* had relative access to public and private art education. They were still excluded from a career within the academic institution and economic success.

2.3. Unlearning as a Search for the Origins of Art

2.3.1. Dürer and the Ancient Britons: In Search of an Authentic Englishness

Closely linked to the ideal of beauty is the question of excellence in art history. As discussed in chapter 1, Reynolds struggled to deviate from the standard of the Italian High Renaissance as the ultimate level of artistic excellence in his writings (see chapter 1). After having laid out his three-stage model of education on how to achieve the ideal beauty and make painting an art on the same level as poetry, Reynolds takes the art of Albrecht Dürer as an example of an artist who missed out on becoming a great master:

> Dürer, as Vasari has justly remarked, would, probably, have been one of the first painters of his age, (and he lived in an era of great artists,) had he been initiated into those great principles of the art, which were so well understood and practised by his contemporaries in Italy. But unluckily having never seen or heard of any other manner, he without doubt, considered his own as perfect.[435]

Reynolds assumed that Dürer had never been in direct contact with the art of Italy and, therefore, could never achieve the same level of excellence. Blake picks up on Reynolds' critique of Albrecht Dürer to criticize his pedagogical program. It is remarkable that Blake declares Dürer one of "the

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[433] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 35.
[434] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 45.
[435] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 51.

first painters of his Age" and adds: "Besides, let them look at Gothic Figures & Gothic Buildings & not talk of Dark Ages or of an Age. Ages are all Equal. But Genius is Always Above The Age."[436] Rejecting the idea of a dark age between antiquity and the renaissance of classic ideals, he even goes so far as to promote the inclusion of "the Germans in the Florentine School."[437] These annotations are noteworthy on different levels. Blake refuses any artistic hierarchies, may they be chronological or geographical; he also questions the idea of constant progress in art and the existence of only one hegemonic center of art, the Italian High Renaissance.[438] Today we know that Dürer had been to the North of Italy twice in his lifetime, in 1494-95 and 1505-07, and was well aware of Italian art through the dissemination of engravings North of the Alps.

Blake's fascination with Albrecht Dürer is well-documented. In a letter to Blake's biographer Alexander Gilchrist, the artist Samuel Palmer recalls in 1855 that Blake had been the greatest admirer of Dürer.[439] In his critique and preference for Dürer, Blake showcased independent views from general opinion since "he did not look out for the works of the purest ages, but for the purest works of every age and country – Athens or Rhodes, Tuscany or Britain; but no authority or popular consent could influence him against his deliberate judgment."[440] And if we needed more proof of Blake's admiration of Dürer, Palmer adds to his accounts that Blake kept Dürer's "Melancholy the Mother of Invention" close to his table at home. Dürer's mysterious and cryptic engraving *Melencolia* I (1514) is an allegory of artistic genius closely linked to the melancholic character. Ever since the work of German art historian Aby Warburg at the beginning of the twentieth century, this engraving stands for the peregrination of antique philosophical, astronomical, and artistic knowledge through the Italian Renaissance throughout Europe and especially in the North of the Alps.[441] Palmer also states that Blake was a lover of the "early

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[436] Blake quoted in Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings,* 461.
[437] Blake quoted in Keynes, *Blake Complete Writings,* 479.
[438] Art history writing had been compliant with this model of progress for most of its existence. See here Hazan, *Le mythe du progrès artistique,* 1999. Only recently are art historians deviating from these grand narratives in scholarship on the Italian High Renaissance. See, for example, Stephen J.Campbell, *The Endless Periphery, Toward a Geopolitics of Art in Lorenzo Lotto's Italy*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2019 2019.
[439] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 32.
[440] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 32.
[441] For more on the role of Dürer's *Melencolia I*, Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, Phillippe Despoix, And Georges Leroux. *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019.

Christian art" of Fra Angelico but also Michelangelo, whom he recognized as a master. Moreover, he has been aware of contemporary artists like Fuseli, whom he thought of as a genius. Blake considered it possible to appreciate art from all ages as long as they met his ideas of excellence and ingenuity.[442]

On a more general note, Blake's praise for Dürer can be read as a reflection on artistic genius and within the larger context of the English fascination with and reception of the Gothic in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century – the so-called Gothic Revival. The "return" of the "gothic" before the Victorian Age speaks to an appreciation of medieval art of Germany and Flanders as examples of a truthful yet considered primitive nature. It is important to note that Blake insisted on the quality of Albrecht Dürer before the arrival of the *Arnolfini Portrait* (1434) by Jan van Eyck at the National Gallery in 1816 (acquired in 1842), which ultimately changed the reception of Northern art in Britain. When German and Flemish art entered the English art discourse in the 1830s, they were praised for their "simplicity," "expressiveness," "pure colour," and "painstaking design."[443] Acquired by the National Gallery to be included in the collection for the students of the Royal Academy, the "primitives" were supposed to provide introductory lessons on the "artistic efforts prior to the achievements of Raphael."[444]

English art writing only slowly caught the broader public interest in art schools prior to the Italian High Renaissance. It began championing Albrecht Dürer only in the 1840s,[445] for example, Lord Lindsay in his *Sketches of the History of Christian Art* (1847). There, he praises the "'Teutonic' mind, as opposed to the graceful idealizing Italian spirit"[446] but saw in its products "… neglected relics of an earlier, a simpler, and a more believing age… Let a few such artists rise among us, and the nineteenth may yet rival the fifteenth century."[447] Lord Lindsay is gesturing here to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, whose aesthetics had been highly influenced by the acquisition of the *Arnolfini Portrait,* as Jane Langley already analyzed in 1995.[448] Samuel Palmer recalls that

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442 Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 33.
443 Jane Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or ante-Dürerites?" *Burlington Magazine* 137, no. 1109 (August 1995): 502.
444 Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or ante-Dürerites?," 502.
445 See for example John Ruskin's *Modern Painters,* Smith, Elder, and Co., 1846
446 Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or ante-Dürerites?," 503.
447 Alexander Lord Lindsay, *Sketches of History of Christian Art.* London: Murray, 1847, 421-422.
448 Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or ante-Dürerites?," 501–508.

Blake's spirituality would have resided in the Gothic cathedral of Westminster Abbey and amongst the ruins of ancient sanctuaries. He praises the "unintelligible" nature, "pastoral sweetness," "noble thoughts," and "terrible imagery"[449] of Blake's early prophetic book *Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1794), his later paintings (e.g., *Sir Jeffery Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims on their journey to Canterbury*, 1808), and woodcuts (*The pastorals of Virgil [...],* c. 1821).

Blake's illustrated books of prophetic content were laboured under the impression of the revolutions happening in Europe and overseas. Blake could hardly expect state patronage with his controversial content, but he did have the support of John Flaxman – a friend and colleague from the Academy – and Thomas Butts. These loyal patrons secured him an income from his original art and independence from the mainstream.[450] More importantly for investigating unlearning as an artistic practice is William Blake's unconventional technique of etching text and image together on one plate. At the same time, painter and poet Blake created illuminated books that were multiples and originals at the same time.[451] Conventional printing techniques separated text and imagery for practical and economic reasons, following a different logic for blocks of types and image plates.

During the 1780s and 1790s, Blake developed a remarkable body of work in his unique technique of relief etching, working the text and the illustrations on the same plate. This practice made his books multiples and originals at the same time. His most famous works in this technique are the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*[452] (1794) and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790–93). Blake's wife Catherine recalls his challenges in creating the *Songs of Innocence* because the text had to be written inversely. This reversed writing induced a broader unlearning of language and enhanced the "innocent," untrained nature of the illustrations accompanying the text. His friend John Linnell praised Blake's print technique explaining that his "… most extraordinary facility seems to have been attained … in writing backwards & that with a brush dipped in a glutinous liquid for the writing is in many instances highly ornamental & varied as may be seen in his Songs of Innocence."[453] This commentary addresses the effect the reversed writing might have

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[449] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 339.
[450] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake*, 105.
[451] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake,* 62.
[452] Myrone and Concannon, *William Blake,* 62.
[453] As cited in Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 52.

had on creating the *Songs of Innocence.* Being able to write inversely so perfectly made Blake a master of printmaking and, at the same time, protected him from any mannerism.

The enhanced technical difficulty forced him to think backwards while writing forward disturbed the transfer between words and the visual, between invisible thoughts and visible signs. These interferences into the process invite unlearning at the basis of modern design theory (*disegno*) – similar to artistic practices of using only the left, less trained hand to draw. In both cases, painting reversely or with the left hand, the artist intends to produce gauche images that are considered more genuine and authentic.[454] In the second part of this thesis, the idea of reverse painting facilitating unlearning will return to Gabriele Münter's use of reversed paintings on glass to renew her pictorial strategies.[455]

Around the same time that he was making his annotations to Reynolds' *Discourses,* Blake prepared his first solo show[456] of nine paintings and six watercolours in the rooms above his brother's haberdashery shop in Soho – Blake's childhood home. He presented himself as a painter of mythic and historic subject matter for the occasion. By looking into the *Descriptive Catalogue*[457] (1809) to the exhibition wherein Blake described the works on display, we can single out two major defining elements of his art: the poetic and historic. Blake managed to join these aspects in two of his biggest paintings ever produced in a technique he called "fresco," "a water-miscible opaque paint of Blake's invention."[458] The themes depicted were taken from medieval art and Gothic

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[454] For more on drawing as a cultural technology and aesthetic science of modernity including experimental drawing, see Werner Busch, Oliver Jehle, and Caroline Meister, eds., *Randgänge der Zeichnung*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2007.
[455] This will be further explored in chapter 6.4.2..
[456] For more on the exhibition of the Canterbury Pilgrims, see the online exhibition entitled "Archive Exhibition: William Blake's Canterbury Pilgrims (January 2019)" published by The William Blake Archive, 2021, http://www.blakearchive.org/exhibit/ canterburypilgrims, accessed 25 September 2021.
[457] William Blake, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures: Poetical and Historical Inventions Painted by William Blake in Water Colours, Being the Ancient Method of Fresco Painting Restored: And Drawings, for Public Inspection, and for Sale by Private Contract,* London: Printed by D.N. Shury for J. Blake, 1809.
[458] Blake, *A descriptive catalogue of pictures*, 1809.

culture and stressed the "value of drawing and strength of outline,"[459] as already proclaimed in his annotations one year earlier.

In developing a commercial exhibition of paintings "al fresco" of his original inventions, Blake wanted to present himself as "a serious painter of historical subjects."[460] The exhibition aimed to educate the general public and "reform and refine public taste so that they may appreciate real art." He must have had the English people in mind and a clear patriotic agenda when he painted his largest paintings ever: *The Ancient Britons* (3 × 4.25 m) (already lost by 1865) and *Sir Jeffery Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims on their journey to Canterbury*[461] (ca. 1808). The now lost painting of *The Ancient Britons* depicted the mystic story of King Arthur and his knights. During the nineteenth century, the origins of English national identity had been based on Anglo-Saxonism, sometimes called Teutonism of Gothicism. Arthur, the mythical figure from the Dark Ages, whose story survived through an oral history until it was written during the eighteenth century and fictionalized in the nineteenth century. The Celtic hero turned saviour of Britons functioned in Victorian England as a myth of national origin and an example of the nature of Englishness. As Inga Bryden argues in her analysis, *Reinventing King Arthur*[462], this Victorian Arthurian Revival did not only function as an imaginary origin story of a nation[463], but this particular strain of racial myth was facilitated by historiography and expressed by nationalism: King Arthur served Victorian writers as the foundational myth of modern England. During the eighteenth century, it had been the mythical figure of Ossian who had entered the consciousness of the English public through James Macpherson's "The Poems of Ossian," written in the 1760s. Thought of as a translation of an ancient Scottish Gaelic document, Macpherson's cycle of poems sparked interest in the study of folklore and ancient Celtic languages in his contemporaries, such as Samuel Johnson. He was convinced that the collection of poetry had been written entirely by

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[459] Amy Concannon, "Independence and Despair," In *William Blake*, edited by Martin Myrone, Amy Concannon and Alan Moore, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019, Exhibition catalogue, 133–155, 143.
[460] Concannon, "Independence and Despair," 144.
[461] In 1810, William Blake would pick this subject matter for his largest engraving, *Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims*.
[462] Inga Bryden, *Reinventing King Arthur. The Arthurian Legends in Victorian Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 2016.
[463] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, New York: Verso, 1983.

Macpherson. The function of Ossian and King Arthur years later was to help construct England's imagined community.[464]

The narrative of King Arthur as it was told in the nineteenth century, especially in the second half, served multiple purposes. On the one hand, it reflects what Homi Bhabha calls "the idea of the nation as a continuous narrative of national progress,"[465] ensuring a decent ancestry to reflect modern England. On the other hand, Victorian writers of the King Arthur Revival were not only concerned with the racial myth, as Gillian Beer argued, but also with the power of transgressing class, since both [race and class] would be concerned with descent, genealogy and transformation.[466] Besides the idea of national progress, to forge a national identity, it is indispensable to promote shared origins. This is true for England but also for Germany or Canada at their moment of becoming a nation. Both Canada (1867) and Germany (1871) unified only in the late nineteenth century. In the following decades and until WWI, the age of New Imperialism led to a competition for colonies in the case of the Prussian Empire and a suppression of Canada's First Nations through the so-called Indian Act passed in 1876 attempting to "generalize a vast and varied population of people and assimilate them into non-Indigenous society. It forbade First Nations peoples and communities from expressing their identities through governance and culture."[467] From this moment on First Nations were considered a "passing race" and fashioned into Canada's prehistory in the following decades. Blake's painting *Sir Jeffery Chaucer and the nine and twenty Pilgrims on their journey to Canterbury* is now housed in the Stirling Maxwell Collection in Glasgow. Dated 1808 and measuring 46.8 × 137 cm, it is among Blake's largest art works. Both paintings equally prove his ambition and vision. Blake consciously refused to paint in oil but used his tempera technique on canvas to imitate the opaque qualities of murals. On other occasions, he used gold leaf between layers of paint for his watercolours to increase shine –

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[464] For more on the political function of the myth of Ossian, see Leith Davis, "'Origins of the specious': James Macpherson's Ossian and the forging of the British Empire," *The Eighteenth Century*, Summer 1993, Vol. 34, no. 2, 132-150.

[465] Honi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge, 1990, 1.

[466] Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, London, Boston, Melbourne, and Henley: Routledge & Kégan Paul, 1983, 202.

[467] For more on the Indian Act, see https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/indian-act#:~:text=The%20Indian%20Act%20Comes%20to%20Power%2C%201876&text=The%20Indian%20Act%20attempted%20to,identities%20through%20governance%20and%20culture, accessed 15 September 2021.

imitating yet another ancient medieval technique typically used in illumination[468]. Blake would only exhibit once more in 1812 , picking up the subject of *Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims* (1810) **[Fig. 3]** again. Yet again, critics did not understand Blake's vision and judged the engraving as having a "repulsive appearance" and presenting "a backward step, imitating the arts in their degraded state."[469]

2.3.2. "Going native": William Blake and The Ancients

Though a group of young artists such as John Linnell and Samuel Palmer shared Blake's fascination for art before the Italian High Renaissance, his art inspired a group of young men, who called themselves "The Ancients" to form a movement running parallel to the French *Primitifs*[470] and the German artistic group called *Nazarener*. Samuel Palmer was first introduced to Blake by John Linell. In 1855, he recalled his first meeting with the artist in a letter to Alexander Gilchrist explaining Blake's general character and merits, comparing him to Dante, and describing him as "a man without a mask; his aim single, his path straight-forwards, and his wants few; so he was free, noble, and happy."[471] Palmer qualifies Blake here as the "noble savage" of English art who possessed a "natural dignity" and was "loving with children" in observing their play.[472] These remarks point to the idea of Blake as an artist uncorrupted by academia who learned from the Old Masters such as Dürer as much as he did from children. When they met him in the 1820s, the artists around Samuel Palmer found in Blake an ideal role model with whom they could identify; Blake met all their requirements: a "misunderstood genius" and, at the same time, heroic and visionary. The perfect mixture of relative poverty, marginality, and inspired genius was fascinating to them.

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[468] Concannon, "Independence and Despair," 154.
[469] Anonymous, *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, 1812, Accessed Sept. 25, 2021. http://www.regencyfashion.org/lmm/lmm4-12.html.
[470] Michela Passini, "Pour une histoire transnationale des expositions d'art ancien : les Primitifs exposés à Bruges, Sienne, Paris et Düsseldorf (1902-1904) ", *Intermédialités / Intermediality* nº 15 (2010) : 15–32. https://doi.org/10.7202/044672ar
[471] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage*, 31
[472] Bentley, *William Blake: The Critical Heritage,* 31

"The Ancients"[473] thought of Blake as the synonym of "a primal state of harmony and power, one that can be recovered through the agency of art."[474] Their name derived from an earlier project by William Blake and George Cumberland entitled *Outlines from the Ancients*, published in 1829 but first developed in *Thoughts on Outline* in 1796. Blake participated in this project with several plates of antique designs. Studying the ancients was promoted in this pamphlet as a necessary step for artistic excellence and development. In the introduction to *Outlines from the Ancients,* Cumberland states:

> Let us therefore be allowed to feel all the importance of these necessary studies, and by adding to them all the advantages to be procured from a strict examination of nature, we may hope, if not to surpass, at least to be able to move on the same plane with these learned ancients, with honour to ourselves and immortal reputation to our country.[475]

Projects like these were undertaken with the belief that by studying the art of the ancients, one could not only learn from them how to achieve the same excellency but how to return to the origins of art.

Samuel Palmer, a "lyrical conservative ruralist,"[476] was especially impressed by Blake's wood carvings accompanying a poem by Ambrose Philips "telling the story of two shepherds: old, wise Thenot, who counsels young, melancholic Colinet to appreciate his lot in life"[477] in Dr. Robert John Thornton's Latin textbook *The pastorals of Virgil, with a course of English reading adapted for schools* cut in 1821. The topic of "youth learning from age" spoke to the group of young artists around Samuel Palmer who chose to adopt Blake as their "father figure"[478]: "To these young idealists, Blake represented pure inspiration led by the spirit and unsullied by commerce, his marginal position in the art world was not a sign of failure but of misunderstood genius and an

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[473] Paley suggests that the name of the artist group hints to "a program of recuperation or renewal of an artistic golden age somewhere in the past." Morton D. Paley, "The Art of 'The Ancients'." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (Winter 1989): 97–124. https://doi.org/10.2307/3817553.," 99.

[474] Paley, "The Art of 'The Ancients'," 99.

[475] George Cumberland, *Outlines from the Ancients, Exhibiting Their Principles of Composition in Figures and Basso-relievos,* London: S. Prowett, 1829, xxiii.

[476] Tim Barringer, "'I am a native, rooted here': Benjamin Britten, Samuel Palmer and the Neo-Romantic Pastoral," *Art history: journal of the Association of Art Historians*, 34 (1), 126-165, 135.

[477] Amy Concannon, "'A New Kind of Man'," In *William Blake*, edited by Martin Myrone, Amy Concannon and Alan Moore, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019, 161–197, 164.

[478] Concannon, "'A New Kind of Man'," 164.

indictment of the modern, urbanized and industrial world."[479] A closer look at the illustrations in the textbook can further explain their fascination with the artist. The 16 images accompanying *The pastorals of Virgil* were the first (and only) woodcuts ever done by Blake, like in his 1821 *Thenot and Colinet Folding their Flocks together at Sunset* **[Fig. 4].** Taking up this medieval technique used by his idol Albrecht Dürer (e.g., the 15 woodcuts of *The Apocalypse* [1498]), he combined it with simplistic execution in form and composition. Essential elements like figures and trees always appear close to the picture frame in the foreground. The landscape surrounding the figures is represented by simple lines indicating the horizon, hills, fields, or grazing land in another illustration entitled *Colinet's 'Fond Desire Strange Lands to know'* **[Fig. 5]**. Blake seems to have created this two-dimensional world to give it the appearance of some "ancient" time when art was not as "developed" (i.e., without the usage of perspective, which was a distinct and novel feature of Renaissance art). The images are done in dark tones and show the pastoral scenes of ancient text. Overall, they have a melancholic, somber feel to them.

Deeply inspired by the rustic qualities of the British pastoral landscapes with their rolling hills, oak trees, and flocks of sheep, Blake's pastoral scenes are in stark contrast to the picturesque landscapes, for example, by Thomas Gainsborough.[480] Whereas Reynolds commented in the 14th *Discourse* on Gainsborough's "direct response to nature,"[481] scholars like Ann Bermingham have since shown that landscape painting should not be understood as an immediate image of nature but rather a cultural representation of social institutions in the context of the agrarian revolution since the late eighteenth century.[482] At this moment of "agricultural transformation," picturesque landscapes celebrated the "old order" and expressed a sentimental taste for what Bermingham calls "graveyard melancholy."[483] And yet there was a pathos at play that acted twofold: mourning the rural life lost to industrialization and transforming this desolate landscape into a more vital version

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[479] Concannon, "'A New Kind of Man'," 166.
[480] Gainsborough was the first artist who was identified with their "environmental origin" and "local attachment." It was also he who invented "preformalized, pictorial visualization of native scenes," which made him known as the "nature painter." Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740–1860*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, 61–62.
[481] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 45
[482] Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 1986.
[483] "The picturesque love of the ruined and the dilapidated was in keeping with the period's elegiac modd and graveyard melancholy." Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology,* 70.

of itself.[484] In the rustic landscapes of Blake's *Virgil* series or Samuel Palmer's *A Rustic Scene* (1825) **[Fig. 6]**, the artists wanted to reconcile man with nature or remind the spectator of a time when the two had still been one.

Originating in literary and classical traditions, over time, the pastoral became a genre with shepherds and their activity as its subject:

> The pastoral theme was subsequently taken up and modified in different times and places, and not only in poetry. In all its forms, the genre gains importance by establishing a series of contrasts, expressed or implied, that set the values of a 'simple life', close to nature, against the 'artificiality' of urban or court life.[485]

The antique utopian myth of Arcadia had been translated from literature to painting and ultimately to the art of gardening in eighteenth-century England. By the nineteenth century, the "pastoral ideal"[486] had migrated from England into the North American context and became a popular and sentimental notion describing industrialization's impact on the landscape. By 1780, the pastoral became the symptom of a rejection of the new factory system and its "ugliness" that "sharpened the taste, already strong, for images of rural felicity."[487] Until the beginning of the twentieth century – with artists' colonies as only one example – the "flight from the city" as a search for rural peace and simplicity conflated the ideas of eighteenth-century "noble savage" and the shepherd of the old pastorals of Ovid and Virgil. As Leo Marx already pointed out in 1964, in his inspiring book, *The Machine in the Garden*, the idea of the landscape is not the actual topography but an imagined realm that is distant in space and time. This brought Leo Marx to judge the anglo-Saxon pastoral as "the native variant of that international form of 'primitivism'."[488]

Palmer's *A Rustic Scene* demonstrates an aesthetic similar to Blake's designs but develops its vision of the represented landscape. Palmer had acquired a house in Shoreham, Kent, in 1825 and had been very keen to depict the landscapes as "archaic unities" with "dwellings and churches

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[484] Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 69.
[485] Alessandra Ponte, "Professional Pastoral: The writing on the lawn, 1850-1950," In *The house of light and entropy*, London: AA Publications, 2014, 5.
[486] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden. Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 12.
[487] Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 18.
[488] Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 7.

seeming to come out of the ground like organic growth, fields and hills suggesting the contours of the human body."[489] Palmer idealized the farmers working this land (scape), but such artists knew very little about such a lifestyle's actual difficulties and hardships. Their artistic vision of simple and idyllic country life in harmony with nature came to a brutal end in 1830 when the local farmers and workers of the region took radical actions to fight for living wages.[490] Samuel Palmer's rustic landscape is an excellent example of the naturalization of the pastoral while its origins and messages were forgotten, as John Dixon Hunt explained already in 1992:

> When pastoral painters in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century and in Britain during the eighteenth century gave local habitation and name to the pastoral myth, there were many who simply enjoyed the medium's power to represent their own local landscape without bothering about the conveyed message.[491]

I argue that Blake's landscapes served both local and mythological needs. He led English art back to its origin and linked it to a larger universal theme anchored in classical traditions.

After Blake's death, Frederick Tatham published a monograph entitled *Life of Blake* in 1832.[492] His critical strategy was to construct Blake's biography through his letters. Most prominently, he reinforced the myth surrounding the relationship between Reynolds and Blake. He tried to explain Blake's harsh criticism of Reynolds by guessing that Reynolds must have criticized Blake's early work and "recommended [to] him more precision and simplicity with regard to drawing's mastery."[493] This argumentation strategy included comparing Reynolds' artistic work with the doctrines formulated in his *Discourses.* He opposed the practice of portrait painting in Reynolds to the corpus of visionary art and poetry in Blake. Blake turned out to be the more complete and accomplished artist since he had been able to integrate and combine in his work both colour and outline.

As previously mentioned, the most significant contribution in establishing Blake as the anti-Reynolds was Alexander Gilchrist's monograph *The Life of William Blake* (1863), published

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[489] Paley, "The Art of 'The Ancients'," 106.
[490] Paley, "The Art of 'The Ancients'," 106-107.
[491] John Dixon Hunter, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992, 15.
[492] See Frederic, Tatham. *The Letters of William Blake: Together with a Life.* London: Methuen, 1906.
[493] Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua'," 4.

posthumously by Gilchrist's wife with the help of the Rossettis; the book turned Blake once and for all into Reynolds' harshest critic and showed him to be in favour of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (PRB) was founded in 1848 by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (a gifted poet and a painter), William Holman Hunt, and John Everett Millais. On the one hand, all of them were influenced by Italian prints of the fifteenth century and the German *Nazarener*, making them archaizing and modern.

In 1905, William Holman Hunt[494] and John Everett Millais repeated their critique in Hunt's *Pre-Raphaelism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,* which declared Joshua Reynolds an anti-model, an example not to be followed. The main point of criticism put forward by the Pre-Raphaelites was Reynolds' appreciation of Italian artists and his belief that these foreign artists represented the point of departure for British art students to learn from.[495] In this sense, for Hunt, Reynolds promoted only an *indirect* mastery through the imitation of the Italian masters. The brotherhood even mocked him as "Sloshua-Sosh," meaning something along the lines of "inaccurate, roughly and hastily made."[496] In contrast to Reynolds, the brotherhood promoted a national English school or, as Murgia calls it, a "national, humble apprenticeship of painting."[497]

2.4. Unlearning and its Relationship to Historic Primitivism

2.4.1. Shifting Paradigms: John Ruskin's Contribution to Historic Primitivism

Like the members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, John Ruskin, too, had an ambivalent relationship with Reynolds. Running parallel to the evolution in his judgement on Reynolds is Ruskin's art theory, which he established in myriads of writings over decades during the second half of the nineteenth century. Under the influence of his many travels across Britain and Europe

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[494] William Hunt was a promoter of the Pre-Raphaelites. Hunt was a Boston artist of the nineteenth century, a pupil of Thomas Couture, and a teacher of William James (although only briefly). See William Holman Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
[495] Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua'," 5.
[496] Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua'," 6.
[497] Murgia, "From Academy to 'Sloshua'," 5.

and the direct effect industrialization had on the life of rural peasants and visual culture, his art criticism turned into social criticism during the second half of the nineteenth century. Ruskin came to fame as an art critic, writer and philosopher and got rewarded with the first Slade professorship of Fine Arts at the University of Oxford in 1869. In the meantime, he had finished five volumes of *Modern Painters*, established the *Ruskin School of Drawing* in 1871 in Oxford, and travelled extensively through Italy, publishing travel guides on Florence, Amiens, and Venice.

Well-known for his art writing, Ruskin was influential in his art patronage and collecting of antique and contemporary art, the latter serving him to illustrate his numerous lectures. Most notably is his financial and intellectual support for the PRB and William Turner. Ruskin's lectures, published in 1859 as *The Two Paths,* must be read in context with establishing the first public School of Design in England in 1837, followed by local branches of design schools close to actual manufacturing sites. By the time of Ruskin's lectures, these design schools had already been declared a failure. Ruskin's lectures compiled in *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art, and Its Application to Decoration and Manufacture, Delivered in 1858-59,*[498] directly reacts to this evolution.

In his second lecture, held in Manchester on March 14th, 1859, Ruskin comes back to the question already asked by Joshua Reynolds, which model to learn from, and how to choose the model to learn from – by greatness or by preference: "Now the question is, whether as students, we are to study only these mightiest men, who unite all greatness, or whether we are to study the works of inferior men, who present us with the greatness which we particularly like?"[499]. Ruskin argues that English art education would be deficient, "because they have not fixed on this high principle what are the painters to whom to point."[500] The art critic wants to help out by providing a simple direction to the students and by helping them how to transfer the knowledge from continental painters to the English reality; for example, in Manchester: Ruskin offers two main distinctions when it comes to art and artists. Some put forth the formal conditions of art and seek aesthetic

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[498] John Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art, and its Application to Decoration and Manufacture*, Delivered in 1858-59, Cambridge University Press, ebook.
[499] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art,* 61.
[500] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art,* 54.

pleasure first, which Ruskin calls "Idealists." A second group he calls "Realists." They try to produce a truthful image of nature first without necessarily imitating it.[501]

At the basis of this distinction lies a "mental disposition" that Ruskin seems to find in distinct parts of the world (read, the English Empire) when he claims that "Arabians and Indians" search for "pleasure first and truth afterwards." In contrast, "Angelico and all other great European painters" put "truth first and pleasure afterwards."[502] In a further elaboration on the mental predisposition in different cultures, John Ruskin mixes in his argument psycho-social and moral judgement:

> You will find that the art whose end is pleasure only is preeminently the gift of cruel and savage nations, cruel in temper, savage in habits and conception; but that the art which is especially dedicated to natural facts always indicates a peculiar gentleness and tenderness of mind, and that all great and successful work of that kind will assuredly be the production of thoughtful, sensitive, earnest, kind men, large in their views of life and full of various intellectual power.[503]

As Daryl Odgen pointed out, John Ruskin wrote the lectures assembled in *Two Paths* only a few months after the beginning of the First War of Independence, the so-called Indian Mutiny. By trying to justify Britains's uncompromising military response to the mutineers and to defend its long-term imperial ambitions, Ruskin demonized Indians while "putting forward at least a putatively stable British national identity."[504] Being the founding father of English academic art, Reynolds, for Ruskin, is the "prince of portrait painter," who ascended to this rank despite "all the disadvantages of circumstances and education" and the "frightful conventionality of social habitude all around him." Reynold had achieved this despite "a northern climate, and with gray, and white, and black, as principal colors around him," and even though "Dutch painting and

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[501] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art*, 65, 66.
[502] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art,* 66.
[503] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art,* 66.
[504] Daryl Odgen, "The Architecture of Empire: 'Oriental' Gothic and the problem of British identity in Ruskin's Venice," *Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol. 25, no.1, 1997, 109-120, 110.

Dresden china" were the "prevailing types of art in the salons of his day." His "instinct for all that was true, pure, and noble."[505]

For Ruskin, Reynolds, despite his deficiencies and his art full of "feminine and childish loveliness,"[506] was still the superior artist when it came to the representation of nature:

> There are hundreds of other gifts of painting which are not at all involved with moral conditions, but this one, the perception of nature, is never given but under certain moral conditions. Therefore, now you have it in your choice; here are your two paths for you: it is required of you to produce conventional ornament, and you may approach the task as the Hindoo does, and as the Arab did, without nature at all, with the chance of approximating your disposition somewhat to that of the Hindoos and Arabs; or as Sir Joshua and Velasquez did, with, not the chance, but the certainty, of approximating your disposition, according to the sincerity of your effort, to the disposition of those great and good men.[507]

Thus presented as a moral question, Ruskin's distinction between "conventional ornament" and "sincere" effort to represent nature speaks of a biased judgement of non-European visual cultures.[508]

Only recently has John Ruskin's contribution to the historical phenomenon of primitivism been the subject of art historical research. Frances Connelly analyzed his way of relating to the "savage" Gothic as Europe's own historical "primitives" before the "discovery" of African and Oceanic.[509] Usually, John Ruskin is not associated with the modern art movement of Primitivism as Robert Goldwater, and William Rubin fashioned it. Goldwater and Rubin located the beginning

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[505] The second artist Ruskin presents in the same passage is Velasquez. Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art,* 69.
[506] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art*, 67.
[507] Ruskin, *Two Paths: Being Lectures on Art,* 21.
[508] Fifty years later, the Viennese architect and theorist Adolf Loos will come back to the question of ornament as representative of all applied arts and discuss its importance within a larger cultural framework. In his seminal talk *Ornament and Crime*, held in 1909, he formulates his "Critique of Applied Arts" (the original title of his conference). Besides Darwinian models of cultural evolution, Adolf Loos was developing his argument in the succession of Gottfried Semper and Adolf Riegl. While Semper and Riegl, both in their way, had discussed the development of ornament before, Loos links this discussion to cultural evolution.
[509] Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 2.

of Primitivism to Gauguin's first Tahitian journey of 1890 and Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon* of 1907. To include these two artists, but not the other, into the selective history of Primitivism effaced nineteenth-century debates on Europe's own historical "primitives" and England's contribution to it.

Goldwater and Rubin qualified "primitive" as a truly modern, twentieth-century notion that increased the disbalance among the primitive styles. Whether gothic, folklore or Indigenous, they considered some more authentic than others, hence "truly primitive." This is due to the fact that at some point, the so-called "primitives" from long ago and far away were treated as one. Frances Connelly has shown that art history's isolating of African and Oceanic art under the label "primitive art" does not refer to any specific art tradition but a European cultural construction.[510] Following Frances Connelly, nineteenth-century medievalism and twentieth-century modern primitivism have to be seen as two expressions of one modern primitivism, which she defines as an "artistic oxymoron, where white artists claim to go back as they strive to move forward into the vanguard of modern art."[511]

Instead of the imitation of foreign designs and their integration into European painting, Ruskin promotes an understanding of the mentality of the medieval creators. The medieval craftsman, thought of as close to nature and free, with imaginative freedom, served as the ideal of an artist who is "unencumbered by rules of design, or aesthetic judgement."[512] Ruskin's historic primitivism is a social critique of contemporary industrialization and the nineteenth-century worker who became the extension of the machine. Ruskin's "gothic revival" does not aim to replace classical with gothic forms but to emulate the spirit, "the power and life" (Ruskin) of the Gothic, its mental expression and inner spirit that produced "stern," "rude," "wild," and "rugged" art. The "inner spirit of the Gothic"[513] is its savageness; "savage" in Ruskian terms is not a judgement on the nature of the gothic artisan, nor its form but an inner quality. In his analysis of the Gothic, Ruskin is interested in the result of the Gothic workman's labour and his process. As Frances

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510 Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 3-4.
511 Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 12.
512 Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 5.
513 Ruskin, "The Nature of Gothic," 57.

Connelly convincingly argues, he even recreated the process of making the imagery he sought to understand in his writing *The Stones of Venice* (1851).[514]

Ruskin is not analyzing the Gothic as a historian of architecture; instead, his approach to the medieval is to reconstruct the process of its creation, thinking about the artisan's intentions and usage within their tradition. As a result, Ruskin concluded that nineteenth-century eyes would not be wise to judge medieval ornamentation as grotesque, like these "true and false" Griffins **[Fig. 7]** since their vision to see the spiritual foundation of Gothic art would be obstructed by classicist ways of seeing.[515] In Ruskin's era, the gothic artisan was excluded from the academic discourse that questioned the representational ability of Gothic art as a sign of analytical capacity. In his interpretation of the grotesque as an essential element of the Gothic, Ruskin sees "a series of symbols thrown together in bold and fearless connection, of truths which it would have taken a long time to express in any verbal way."[516] In contrast, Ruskin stresses the Gothic craftsman's intimate relationship with the material and the application of repetitive patterns on utilitarian objects. For Ruskin, primitivizing Gothic art is not escapism but a turn towards the everyday of a bygone era, a re-imagining of the relationship between nature and the public of the past and a means of communication.

2.4.2. William Morris: Handmade Art for the Mechanical Age

John Ruskin had developed a social vision in contrast and a reaction to contemporary industrial capitalism, which had already begun to show its destructive results on nature and man. During the so-called "mechanical age"[517] that was defined by the replacement of the "hand" (meaning the artisan) with the machine, industrialization affected not only the physical but also the spiritual as well as education. Instructions (monitors, maps, emblems, etc.) replaced wisdom and turned education "from a indefinable tentative process, requiring a study of individual aptitudes, and a

[514] Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 8.
[515] Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 11.
[516] John Ruskin as quoted in Connelly, "John Ruskin and the Savage Gothic," 11.
[517] In his 1829 work *Signs of the Times*, Thomas Carlyle published a chapter entitled "The Mechanical Age."

perpetual variation of means and methods … [into a] universal, straightforward business, to be conducted in the gross, by proper mechanism, with such intellect as comes to hand."[518]

As should have become apparent, Blake's appreciation of Early Modern German art and the medieval technique of woodcuts gained him followers who sought refuge from the anonymous and dehumanizing world of early industrialization.[519] The generation of artists and art theorists following William Blake viewed his creative spirit as belonging to "a community of creative manufacturers, [who] saw brotherhood as activism."[520] The nineteenth-century fascination for artisans is closely linked to this question of the independence of the producer of art. The Gothic revival and the promotion of Gothic art and architecture saw pre-industrial manual labour as a desirable state of creating art. A major player in the Arts and Crafts movement, Morris promoted the "independent manufacturer of handmade objects."[521]

The Mechanical Age was not only shaped by industrialization. The International Exhibitions also shaped the increasing competition between the major imperial forces. The first exhibition was held in London in 1851, but the fairs quickly spread across Europe, and by the end of the century, they had expanded to North America. There, however, the status of handmade objects was precarious. For example, stained-glass windows were exhibited incessantly at all the major art fairs of the second half of the nineteenth century.[522] This ancient technique originating in the medieval period was picked up by the Arts and Crafts movement. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the status of this ancient technique changed from fair to fair: In the fairs from 1851 to 1867, stained glass windows were exhibited first in the fine art in the department of manufacturers and as a decorative household item and applied art. In 1873 and 1876, stained glass was considered a decoration used in churches, and lastly, as an industrial product for private and

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[518] Thomas Carlyle, "The Mechanical Age," In *Industrialisation & Culture*, edited by Christopher Harvie, Graham Martin, and Aaron Scharf, London: Macmillan, 1976, 22.
[519] See supra the subchapter on *Dürer and the Ancient Britons*.
[520] Colin Trodd, *Visions of Blake: William Blake in the Art World 1830-1930*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1900. 82.
[521] Trodd, *Visions of Blake,* 84.
[522] London Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (1851), Paris Exposition Universelle (1855), London International Exhibition (1862), Paris Exposition Universelle (1867), Vienna Weltausstellung (1873), Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (1876), Paris Exposition Universelle (1878), Paris Exposition Universelle (1889), Paris Exposition Universelle (1900).

public usage at the end of the nineteenth century.[523] The changing status of stained-glass windows is just one example running parallel to the mechanization of traditional crafts that evoked anxieties about the loss of culture and cultural traditions.

With the industrial revolution underway and the mechanized mass production of goods by workers who left their rural communities to work in the industrial centers of big cities, the comparison between the plant worker and the enslaved person appeared. In 1881, in his speech entitled "The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization," William Morris stated that the workman had become enslaved by the machine and was threatened by the all-encompassing mechanism of industrialization dominating the work and life of the workman.[524] Already in his lecture, entitled "The Decorative Arts," given to the Trades Guild of Learning London in 1877 and later published as "The Lesser Arts,"[525] William Morris called for a return to a time when there was no hierarchy of arts and men before decorative arts became "the lesser arts."[526] During this "golden age," neither bound to any specific time in history nor geographic region, the "mystery and wonder of handicrafts was well acknowledged by the world, [when] imagination and fancy mingled with all things made by man; and [in those days] all handicraftsmen were *artists*, as we should now call them."[527] Morris hoped that men would "wake up" and reject the unbearable dullness of industrial production and "begin once more inventing, imitating, and imagining, as in earlier days."[528] What would still be left from this original "ancient art" would be unconscious and only alive in "half-civilized nations."[529] For Morris, to import this kind of art through European merchants is no solution. Only "a new art of conscious intelligence, the birth of wiser, simpler, freer ways of life than the world

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[523] See Allen's case study on "'Why are the painted windows in the Industrial department?' The classification of stained glass at the London and Paris International Exhibitions 1851-1900," In *Art versus Industry?,* edited by Kate Nichols, Rebecca Wade, and Gabriel William, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016, 62–79.
[524] William Morris , "'The Prospects of Architecture in Civilization'," *William Morris Archive*, edited by Norman Kelvin, 56–79. Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1999 https://morrisarchive.lib.uiowa.edu/items/show/2482, accessed 15 September 2021.
[525] William Morris, "The Lesser Arts," In *Useful Work v. Useless Toil*, 56–87. London: Penguin Books, 2008. 56-87.
[526] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 63.
[527] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 63.
[528] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 66-67.
[529] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 68.

leads now, than the world has ever led"[530] would mean emancipation from the constraints of the industrial age.

William Morris is proposing nothing short of a version of an unlearning envisaged as an emancipation from the rigid art historical and aesthetic frameworks that nullify decorative arts. In his plaidoyer for an "intelligent art" in front of the members of the Trades Guild of Learning, he urges: "Let us, therefore, study it [ancient art] wisely, be taught by it, kindled by it; all the while determining not to imitate or repeat it; to have either no art at all, or an art which we have made our own."[531] The place where to study this ancient art would be outside the City of London, on the countryside, where the "works of our fathers [are] yet alive amidst the very nature they were wrought into, and of which they are so completely apart."[532] Created in symbiosis with the land, the art created resembles England, "this little land… yet not foolish and blank" and best compared to "a decent home." The art of the peasants William Morris found was still alive – full of inventiveness and individuality – but had become scarce and on the verge of being destructed by industrial forces.[533] To restore "peasant art," one would need to bring back the simplicity of life, "most necessary for the birth of the new and better art we crave for."[534]

Morris' unlearning through the decorative arts is not only site-specific but also home-bound and based on the imitation of the simple life of England's ancestors. In the second part of this thesis, we will recognize this motif in the work of Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. They learned from the artists and artisans of their immediate environment through observation and immersion.[535]

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[530] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 68.
[531] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 72.
[532] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 74.
[533] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 75.
[534] Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 83.
[535] The opportunities and challenges of this artistic praxis will be further discussed in chapter 6.4.

Conclusion – A "potential history" of Historic Primitivism

In the nineteenth century, primitivizing theories went through major shifts. If primitivizing writings of the eighteenth century aimed to express a particular preference and exhibit sophistication in taste, they turned towards an urgent reaction to significant changes in European societies' economic, social, and cultural shifts. And yet, primitivizing writing of the nineteenth and twentieth century described the authentic artistic expression of a specific time and place. Authenticity was sometimes identified by simple, rude, feminine, child-like, ornamented, et al. elements that could be found far away (either North of the alps or in the south sea) or even within the modern city. In 1880, John Ruskin returned to his argument formulated in *The Two Paths*: "In the progress of national as well as individual mind, the first attempts at imitation are always abstract and incomplete…. All art is abstract in its beginnings… There is a resemblance between the work of a great nation, in this phase, and the work of childhood and ignorance."[536] At this point, in 1880, Ruskin links the idea of progress as such to progress in the arts. Yet this idea of seeing the development of a nation as that of a human being/child was still relatively new at this point. World's fairs since 1851, where the technological progress and colonial conquest of the Western powers met, had offered the opportunity to compare the artistic production of the supposedly civilized and so-called savage people, which was accounted for in the writings of John Ruskin but also Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. The confrontation of Western and Non-Western cultures parallels the triumph of archaeology, geography, ethnography, and ethnology and the founding of ethnographic museums such as the Trocadéro in 1878.[537]

Indeed, a significant influence on thinking about "primitive" arts was Charles Darwin's 1859 *Origin of Species*.[538] "Primitive" was used synonymously to denote the beginning of human civilization. The primary fallacy deriving from this, however, was the myth that cultural

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[536] Ruskin, *The two paths,* 172.
[537] The Palais du Trocadéro was built on the occasion of the *Exposition Universelle* in 1878 and equally used during the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900. From 1878 until 1935, the "Trocadéro" housed the *Muséum éthnographique des mission scientifique* and certainly the most important French collection of ethnographic objects. For more on the history of the ethnographic museum *Tracadéro,* see Nélia Dias, *Le musée d'éthnographie du Trocadéro (1878-1908). Anthropologie et Muséologie en France*, Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1991.
[538] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life,* London: John Murray, 1859.

developments (including artistic production) and biological evolution ran parallel, which assumed that members of more "primitive" societies also possessed more "primitive" minds. The development of an individual from childhood to maturity would just repeat the evolution of humankind.[539] This idea implied that the "primitive man" (e.g. the African Bushman) would inevitably resemble the European child in his skills and outlook.

In the wake of the *Exposition Universelle* of 1855, French critics such as Théophile Gautier and Delacroix commented on the similarity between the works of the pre-Raphaelites and the Flemish primitives. By the 1850s, this French judgement had found its way through translation into English discourse: Gautier stated that the works of Millais seemed to have nothing in common with the British school but more so with "the pious simplicity of Hemmeling, the glassy colour of Van Eyck, and the minute realism of Holbein."[540] British critics would soon join in and see "early Germanism" in the works of "Mr. Ruskin and his clients, the English pre-Raphaelites." Remarkable is the account of a critic on the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures show, where early Italian art was juxtaposed with early Northern art for the first time. This account proposed to name the "so-called pre-Raphaelites" instead "Ante-Dürerites or Memlingers" since they had "really nothing of the old Italians in them."[541] This sentiment elevates Dürer to the height of Raphael and accepts him as a Great Master while at the same time introducing "primitive" (Northern) art into British art discourse.

By the end of the nineteenth century, nationalism had joined Imperialism at the World Fairs, resulting in a promotion of folk art next to the arts from the colonies. The creation of the nation-states at the end of the nineteenth century needed to promote shared rural origins to create a national identity while allowing for local traditions to continue to exist. While industrialization eliminated many customs based on these traditions, they became elevated to society's folklore. The Swiss art historian Beat Wyss argues that the worldwide spreading of industrial capitalism led to a standardization of production processes. On this occasion, cultural differences were recognized

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[539] See here especially the writing of the German psychologist Wilhelm Wundt.
[540] Théophile Gautier, *Fraser's Magazine*, June 1856, 691 as cited in Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or ante-Dürerites?," 508.
[541] *Athenaeum*, 2 May 1857, 566 cited in Langley, "Pre-Raphaelites or ante-Dürerites?." 502.

and pointed out for the first time.[542] This example emphasizes Frances Connelly's argument that primitivisms are framed and controlled by broader aesthetic norms. A sophisticated critical theory had to be constructed to integrate the artists' desire to return to the vital origins of art by renouncing the rational and verbal into the art historical framework.[543] Modern art history ran parallel to imperial history and constituted an institutional form of imperial violence, as do archives and museums. Ariella Aïsha Azoulay argued in her 2019 *Potential History. Unlearning Imperialism,* since 1492, history writing has become a tool to erase or belittle existing diverse worlds to foster imperial progress. Therefore, history would not be neutral but a "modality and a symptom of imperial violence."[544] Linking unlearning and European historic primitivism through the trope of the Gothic helped to understand where aesthetics, art criticsm and artistic praxes overlapped during the nineteenth century. Moving forward, I will inquire about the mechanism at play linking historic primitivism with avant-garde movements at the turn of the century.

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[542] Beat Wyss, *Bilder von der Globalisierung. Die Weltausstellung von Paris 1889*, Berlin: Insel Verlag, 2010.
[543] Frances S. Connelly, "Primitivism," In *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199747108.001.0001/acref-9780199747108-e-594?rskey=Dnq6gj&result=596, accessed 15 September 2021.
[544] Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *Potential History. Unlearning Imperialism*, London: Verso, 2019, 287.

Chapter 3. In Search of Expression: Unlearning Enters Modern Art History

> After thus impartially considering the merits of the various existing schools, I came to the conclusion that I could not adopt any… Then a great idea struck me. What could be more satisfactory than to have one's own school – to be looked back upon by a long line of great painters as their founder. I accordingly founded a new school. It was an impressive ceremony. I had some difficulty in finding a name, but I bethought me of the Hegelian dialectic …, and called it the Impressionist-Pre-Raphaelite School. It consists, up to the time of going to press, of one member; but the strength of a school does not lie in its numbers. Its productions have not yet galvanized the art world; but that is not to be wondered at, because they have not been produced. But time will show.[545]

> All human relations have shifted – those between masters and servants, husbands and wives, parents and children. And when human relations change there is at the same time a change in religion, conduct, politics, and literature. Let us agree to place one of these changes about the year 1910. [546]

In one of his earliest articles ever written after he graduated from Cambridge and his decision to become an artist, Fry was asked by his friend Nathanial Wedd to write an article for the *Granta*, a student newspaper, on "Experiences in an Artist's Studio." Wedd asked Fry to make it "grotesque" and not "mind distorting facts." Instead of making fun of his recent decision to become an artist – with yet, an uncertain outcome – in his article "What men do when they go down. No. II.-Art.," Roger Fry reflected half-jokingly, half-seriously on "the pressure of genius to the square mile in London."[547] In the same article, he compares the Parisian École des Beaux-Arts with the English Royal Academy and the challenges for their students. Whereas in the French system, the competition between students would lead to the "survival of the fittest," in England, "the struggle for life is rendered severe, not by the fellow students, but by the authorities, who themselves peruse

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[545] Roger Fry as cited in Panthea Reid Broughton, "Impudence and Iconoclasm : The Early *Granta* and an Unknown Roger Fry Essay." *English Literature in Transition*, *1880–1920* 30, no. 1, 1987 " 73.
[546] Virginia Woolf, *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown*, London: Hogarth Press, 1924, 5.
[547] Broughton, "Impudence and Iconoclasm," 75

the method of exhaustion."[548] The students who would be able to stand the education through copying from plaster casts would be "a mental wreck"[549] but honoured by the academy. The situation in Chicago was not any better, and perhaps worse. In the following, Fry rejects any school, whether it be the "naturalists" or the "modern Pre-Raphaelite school," just to suggest his school.

Virginia Woolf considers the year of Roger Fry's first Post-Impressionism of 1910 in hindsight as an important shift in British society.[550] Seen from the perspective of the nostalgia of the Georgian age, the years preceding WWI seem pivotal in the societal change coinciding with England's avant-garde moment. After discovering the foundation of an English School of Art and with it a pedagogy centred around the concept of unlearning, as we have seen in chapter 1, we followed unlearning outside of the academy and into the writings of artists (Blake) and art critics (Ruskin and Morris) promoting alternative routes in search of a truthful artistic expression. As we have seen in chapter 2, during the nineteenth century, avenues for unlearning are running parallel with contemporary theories about the unlearned, may it be art from the north of the Alps, Gothic art in general or English folklore.

The following chapter takes Roger Fry's art criticism in the form of published and unpublished writing I consulted at the King's College Archives, Cambridge, to investigate his intellectual evolution from his re-edition of Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses* in 1905, his "An Essay in Aesthetics" of 1909 to his two post-Impressionist exhibitions in 1910 and 1911. In focusing on Roger Fry as the promoter of unlearning at the turn of the twentieth century, I am, laying the foundations from which Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter's praxis of unlearning could emerge. Roger Fry is an important figure to the female corpus because he stressed a formalism that was about to democratize[551] the art world by taking the focus of aesthetics away from the question of beauty and breaking it down into shape, line, and colour, with a clear purpose of expressing the

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[548] Broughton, "Impudence and Iconoclasm,“ 75.
[549] Broughton, "Impudence and Iconoclasm,“ 75.
[550] Woolf, *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown,* 5.
[551] In the decades to come and especially in Fry's succession, formalist modernism became identical to the modern canon itself . Considered misogynistic, modernism was fought by post-modernist and especially feminist art historians. David Holt sees in Fry's formalism a "different, less absolute, and ultimately more friendly [one] to the feminist agenda. While both men emphasized the abstract qualities of form and formal organization in their evaluations of artworks. Holt "Feminist Art Criticism, and the Prescriptions of Roger Fry." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 32, no. 3 (1998): 91–97, 94, https://doi.org/10.2307/3333309, accessed 21 Septembre 2021.

imaginative life of the artist. This thesis singles out Roger Fry as one of the leading proponents of unlearning at the beginning of the twentieth century. He is the contemporary theorist responsible for connecting European and Anglo-Saxon art/theories while at the same time renewing the tradition of English art writing.

3.1. The Return of Unlearning in Edwardian Art Criticism

3.1.1. Roger Fry and the Tradition of English Art Criticism

In his concept of post-Impressionism, formulated in 1910 with the preparation of the "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" exhibition, I recognize a revival of Joshua Reynolds' dictum of unlearning. In the catalogue to his exhibition, Fry introduced post-impressionism into twentieth-century art history as a "retrogressive movement." The retrogressive nature of the post-impressionists' unlearning consisted in a willed act of forgetting their academic training and emancipating themselves from their education. Their unlearning goes beyond a yearning for the origins of art, as described in chapter 2. Unlearning at the beginning of the twentieth century is more than just a means to emancipate oneself from the great masters of the past but to reach autonomy in and through art itself. In the second part of this thesis, it will become apparent that the praxis of unlearning needs to differ at this exact point when it comes to modern women artists. The "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino) necessary for a successful unlearning bears substantially more risks for women artists than for their male peers.[552]

This chapter will show how Fry found this new "retrogressive movement" by following him from his first vision of an "Impressionist-Pre-Raphaelite" movement, as formulated in his second article ever published for the Granta student newspaper, up to his 1910 exhibition of French Expressionism as post-Impressionism. Leading up to the 1910 exhibition of "Manet and the Post-Impressionists," the art critic and scholar was not only highly influenced by eighteenth – and nineteenth-century writing on art and aesthetics but also by contemporary psychological[553] and

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[552] This will be further explored in chapter 6.3.
[553] For a complete analysis of the role emerging psychological theories played in the formulation and expression of Fry's aesthetic theories, see Adrianne Rubin, *Roger Fry's 'Difficult and Uncertain Science':The Interpretation of Aesthetic Perception*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2013.

anthropological writing.[554] His aesthetic theory, formulated for the first time in 1909 in his "An Essay in Aesthetics,"[555] laid the groundwork for the appreciation of expressionist art. Fry's 1889 pamphlet on a new art school he was going to found shows great visionary potential. Fry's early manuscript speaks of a particular climate concerning the arts at the end of the Victorian age, especially during the so-called Edwardian era (1901–1910). This period is characterized by a certain fatigue of the decadence of the British Empire that, as I suggest, paved the way for not only a preference for the "primitive" but also made the post-Impressionist exhibition emblematic of the end of the Edwardian era. What was said to be the "golden age" of the British Empire with its most extensive expansion is a nostalgic image drawn from the literature of the 1920s (e.g., Virginia Woolf). We can think here, for example, of Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) or *To the Lighthouse* (1927), wherein Woolf criticized the Edwardians in contrast to the Georgians for their lack of "character."[556] She strongly insisted that, around 1910, human character changed: with the death of King Edward in 1910, the post-Victorian era turned into a pre-war period.

Fry's exhibition occurs at the same time as several other turbulent events in British society: namely, the British Empire falling apart, the uprising of the working class, and the Women's Suffrage movement. Even though universal suffrage was granted only in 1928, the campaign had already become an international movement that joined trade unions (Women's Labour League, 1906) and the art associations (Artists' Suffrage League, 1907). As the movement became more militant, the reaction of the government became more and more violent, which led to hunger strikes by imprisoned suffragettes in 1909 and culminated in an accident in 1913 when Emily Cadison threw herself in front of the King's horse at the Derby, dying four days later – her cortège was drawn through London. In this context, Roger Fry's Post-Impressionist exhibition is received by the press with the same startlement as the suffragette movement. Some journalists even drew a

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[554] Fry's notebook diaries, held in the King's College Archives (REF/5/2), are full of artworks appraised for purchase, book lists, personal loans, addresses from 1900 to 1911, as well as his diaries for appointments (1905-1911). They give an idea about Roger Fry's international network and mirror very well his intellectual horizon.
[555] Roger Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics, 1909." In *Art in Theory, 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, edited by Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, 75–93. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2003. First published in 1909 by New Quarterly. 75–93.
[556] Woolf, *Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown,* 5.

connection between the two, given the revolutionary nature of the artworks shown and the violent reactions they evoked by the public.

The opening of the Post-Impressionist Exhibition coincided with suffragettes marching on the House of Commons only a few days later, which escalated into a confrontation with the police and led to over a hundred arrests. The press recognized in both events movements of great vitality, commitment, and persistence. In the Daily Herald, one could read: "The Post-Impressionists are in the company of the Great Rebels of the World. In politics the only movements worth considering are Women Suffrage and Socialism. They are both Post-Impressionist in their desire to scrap old decaying forms and find for themselves a new working ideal."[557] Critics considered the Post-Impressionists not only a threat to the standards of (feminine) beauty but also the given social order. Quentin Bell remembers that by mounting the post-Impressionist exhibitions, Roger Fry "had destroyed the whole tissue of comfortable falsehood on which that age-based its views of beauty, propriety and decorum."[558] The year 1910 symbolized a crack in the wall of art and society for artists and individuals to break through who had previously been excluded from the myth of artistic progression, the cult of genius, and the elite.

The situation in late nineteenth-century Britain was not significantly different from that of continental Europe. Art critics were frustrated with the mediocrity of academic art, which they saw epitomized by what one called the "acres of rubbish" hanging on the walls of the Royal Academy in 1875.[559] Critical discourse in late nineteenth-century English art criticism was divided into two camps. The first was Oxonian, following the tradition of John Ruskin, while the second followed the Cambridge tradition of Sidney Colvin.[560] When Fry arrived at King's College, Cambridge, in the 1880s, he became acquainted with Colvin's formalism. In contrast to John Ruskin, Colvin

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[557] Daily Herald, 25 March 2013; cited after Spalding, *Roger Fry*, 139. For further information on the discussion around the Post-Impressionist exhibition, see Frances Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, 139–140; Ian Dunlop, *The Shock of the New*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972; William C.Wees, *Vorticism and the English Avant-Garde*, Manchester: University Press, 1972.

[558] Bell, *Roger Fry,* 33.

[559] For more on Fry and English art criticism, see Elisabeth Prettejohn, "Out of the nineteenth century," Roger Fry's Early Art Criticism, 1900–1906." In *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, edited by Christopher Green, 31–44. London: Merrell Holberton, 33.

[560] Sidney Colvin was Slade Professor at Cambridge, Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum.

considered the sensuous realm more critical than any spiritual or intellectual one in art. As expressed through forms and colours, he had placed beauty at the center of his art theory.[561] Even though Fry began as a student in the natural sciences,[562] his preoccupation with aesthetics started early on. His first lecture on art held in 1886 was entitled "William Blake"[563] and written for a college discussion society, which praised him as an example of someone appreciating "real" and "genuine" art by "overthrowing the artificial"[564]—dismissing Reynolds and Gainsborough as they "were unable to rise above their times and sank to mere painters of the inevitable portraits."[565]

Fry did not go so far as to say that Blake was the better artist or poet, but he appreciated his rejecting of everything "extravagant and artificial." In Blake's writings, he believed, "the thought is as simply expressed as possible."[566] Contrary to all "Classicalism"—as Fry called it then—, "where form is everything … not vital but antiquarian," Blake's art [poetry] is "vital and genuine," proven by his "fondness for children and his love of innocence," which Fry interpreted as Blake's protest against all artificiality.[567] At the moment of this commentary, Roger Fry is an amateur artist himself, stressing his preference for "genuine" art. Already at this early moment he had begun to link that with something childlike and innocent.

Fry's first confrontation with Reynolds' *Discourses* happened in 1889[568] as he was giving a lecture for the Apostles, a secret society at Cambridge. In a speech entitled "Are we compelled by the true and apostolic faith to regard the standard of beauty as relative?", Fry turns his skepticism about "ideal beauty" into a comparison between an "ideal type" among variations:

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561 For more on Sidney Colvin in the context of Victorian Art Criticism, see Elizabeth Prettejohn, "Aesthetic Value and the Professionalization of Victorian Art Criticism 1837-78," *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1997, 71-94.
562 Sir Edward Fry intended for his son to pursue a scientific career. While science and intellect ruled in the Fry household, art received only passing attention. Roger Fry's awareness of art as a child was confined to the annual visit to the Royal Academy, a visit to the National Gallery, and school lectures on Greek art." Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 11.
563 REF/1/5, manuscript held at the King's College Archive, Cambridge.
564 Fry, "William Blake," 1.
565 Fry, "William Blake," 4.
566 Fry, "William Blake," 5.
567 Fry, "William Blake," 6.
568 At the time of his talk, he had already completed his studies in natural science, taken private lessons with Slade Professor J.H. Middleton, and studied drawing from photographs, plaster casts, and male nudes. Fry, by then, had also become a member of the New English Art Club.

> This idea fits in remarkably with Sir Joshua Reynolds idea of beauty as the thing, which is not ugly that is to say. That form from which all individuality which consists in deviation [?] from the central type is removed. … He [Reynolds] compares it to a pendulum, which is swinging backwards and forwards and never returns on the same line as before but all the lines have a common point of intersection, which is the ideal of beauty. … What we wish to suggest is that beauty is only the way in which we must arrange sensations for them to stimulate satisfactorily our sense organs…[569]

At this point, just having finished his studies in biology and very much interested in phenomenology, Fry constructs beauty as a phenomenon and not as a question of taste that is dependent upon aesthetic norms, foreshadowing his 1891 fellowship dissertation on "Some problems of phenomenology and its application to Greek art: a dissertation."[570]

For the next two decades, Joshua Reynolds remained a point of reference for Fry before and after his re-edition of the *Discourses* in 1905. In the Archives of King's College, there are many preserved autograph manuscripts of Roger Fry's extensive lecturing. The lectures held in the late 1880s were written during his studies for the conversation societies like the Apostles. From 1894 until 1934, Fry lectured in front of Fine Arts Societies as a lecturer for the Cambridge University Extension Lectures and gave other lecture series across England and New York during his engagement for the Metropolitan Museum. The subjects of his lectures range from (early) Italian art (Venetian and Florentine painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth century) to Flemish art of the 1890s. In the first decade of the twentieth century, his lectures turned into a more structural art historical approach as he was developing and adding reflections on design, the emotions of expression and modern art, as well as bringing together child art, cave paintings of prehistoric people, and the bushmen of Africa and Australia. His extensive lecturing on the principles of design marked the years after the post-impressionist exhibitions.

Between his first talk on art theory and his edition of Reynolds' *Discourses*, Fry transformed from an art student into England's most prolific art critic and scholar. After he left Cambridge in 1889, Fry took on private painting lessons with Slade Professor J.H. Middleton,

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[569] Fry 1/10, 8–9.
[570] The manuscript of his dissertation is held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge, REF/1/13.

studying drawing from photographs, plaster casts, and male nudes.[571] Roger Fry began travelling to Italy, seeing all the great masters and learning to love the early Italian Renaissance. Having doubts about whether he would make it as an artist himself, he enrolled at the Académie Julian in Paris, where he studied for two months in 1892.[572] He did not mingle with the Parisian art scene during his time there. Virginia Woolf, his first biographer, wrote: "Paris and French painting, considering what both were to mean to him later, made very little impression upon him at first sight."[573] When Fry returned to England, he started to give lectures on the art of Piero Della Francesca, Masaccio, Mantegna, and other masters of the early Renaissance.

3.1.2. Roger Fry and his International Influences

From 1900 onwards, Fry began to work as an art critic for different art magazines until he co-founded the *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* in 1903. From 1886 until the end of his life, Fry published in journals such as *Athenaeum*, *Burlington Magazine,* and the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* among others. His work as a critic consisted first and foremost of reviews of exhibitions held at the Royal Academy, the Royal Society of British Artists, the New English Art Club, the Grafton Galleries, the New Gallery, and the White Chapel Gallery. His articles were on English, French, Dutch, and especially Italian art, focusing on artists as different as Bellini and Blake, Giotto and Rossetti, and Rubens and Turner. Fry was also reviewing books on the Italian Renaissance, nineteenth-century Dutch painting, English art, colour theory, and art movements such as Impressionism and the Pre-Raphaelites (e.g., William Holman Hunt's *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* [1905]).[574]

His work as an art critic allowed Roger Fry to refine his taste and position himself amongst fellow European critics and art historians. In his anonymous review of Wölfflin's 1899 "Die

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[571] For more information on Fry's life and work, see the two autobiographies of Virginia Woolf and Frances Spalding: Virginia Woolf, *Roger Fry*, London: Vintage, 2003; Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 1980.
[572] Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 41.
[573] Woolf, *Roger Fry*, 40.
[574] For a full account of Fry's extensive publishing see Donald Laing, *Roger Fry*, *an Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1979.

klassische Kunst," published in English in 1903,[575] Fry addresses the tension among Renaissance scholars regarding the relative merits of early and high Renaissance painting. Whereas Wölfflin promoted High Renaissance painting, Fry liked fifteenth-century art better. He used his critique of Wölfflin to make his point about preferring early Renaissance art and to announce a "revolution in taste," "a revolution which would bring us back almost to the point of view taken by Reynolds in his discourses."[576] He even "dared to say in print" that "Raphael was but a second-rate-artist."[577] This declaration foreshadows Fry's re-edition of Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses* two years later, where he criticizes that Reynolds had not voiced his preference for early Renaissance art in his public *Discourses.*

Yet, in 1903, Fry still stood alone in his admiration of the early Italians among art historians. His English (Bernhard Berenson), Italian (Giovanni Morelli), and German (Heinrich Wölfflin) colleagues most often promoted High Renaissance painting of the "great masters" Raphael and Michelangelo. When Fry and Berenson met in 1897, Berenson was an authority on Italian painting, a connoisseur and attributionist in the morphological method of the Italian doctor Giovanni Morelli.[578] Fry, who had just finished his studies in biology at Cambridge, was intrigued by Berenson's and Morelli's intention to establish a science of art. Fry's reviews of Berenson's 1901 book *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*[579] and especially his 1904 *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*[580]and later *North Italian Painters*[581] (1908) show his respect but also his growing critique of the methodology of connoisseurship.

By the end of 1904, the *Burlington Magazine* had insufficient capital to continue. This incited Fry to go to America to receive funds raised among American millionaires by the *Burlington*'s American agent.[582] While visiting New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, Fry also

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[575] Roger Fry, "Review of *The Art of the Italian Renaissance* by Heinrich Wölfflin," *Athenaeum*, 26 December 1903, 862–63. Unsigned.
[576] Fry, "Art of the Italian Renaissance", 862.
[577] Fry, "Art of the Italian Renaissance", 862.
[578] On Fry and Berenson's meeting, see Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1979, 316; Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life,* 58–60.
[579] Fry, "Review of *The Study and Criticism of Italian* Art by Bernard Berenson," 668–669. Unsigned.
[580] Fry, "Review of *Documents in the History and Appreciation of Tuscan Art*," 769–71. Unsigned.
[581] Fry, "The Painters of North Italy," *Burlington Magazine* 12, no. (March 1908): 347–49.
[582] For more on Fry's 1904 trip to America, see Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 80–107.

went to Boston to visit Harvard University. There he met Dr. Denman Waldo Ross. It must have been Bernhard Berenson who introduced Fry and Ross since Ross' relationship with Berenson went back to the 1890s. Like George Santayana and Roger Fry, Denman Ross shared with Berenson not only an interest in formal analysis but also a love of Italian Renaissance art. Ross and Berenson also met in their wish to render their studies of art more scientific.[583]

When Fry encountered Ross, the latter was a lecturer on the Theory of Design and was about to publish, one year later, his *Theory of Pure Design* which he had been working on since the 1890s. Ross developed terms and principles to address art as a practice and as a "form of language."[584] He writes: "in the practice of Pure Design we aim at Order and hope for Beauty."[585] After several chapters on the different elements of design, he concludes by advising "the study of order in nature and in works of art" as follows:

> The method of study should be a combination of analysis with synthetic reproduction… By a synthetic reproduction I mean a reproduction of the effect or design, whatever it is, following the images which we have in mind as the result of our analysis. The reproduction should be made without reference to the effect or design, which has been analyzed. There should be no direct imitation, no copying. … Analysis should precede; synthesis should follow.[586]

Fry must have appreciated this anti-mimetic theory combined with a phenomenological approach that could turn vision into design. Even though Fry admits in his "Essay in Aesthetics" being indebted to Ross for his "elementary considerations" on composition, the main difference between Ross and Fry is their ideas on the place of emotion in art: in the artwork (Fry) or with the artists (Ross). Reformulated in psychological terms by Marie Frank, "Ross retained an appreciation of beauty that had its basis in physiopsychological perception, combined with a rational order brought by the mind …, distinguished his approach from those of others drawn to physiological psychology,

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[583] Marie Frank, *Denman Ross and American Design Theory.* Hanover: University Press of New England, 2011, 128 -129.
[584] For more information on Ross' *Theory of Pure Design*, see Frank, "Denman Waldo Ross and the Theory of Pure Design," 72–89.
[585] Denman Ross, *A Theory of Pure Design: Harmony, Balance, Rhythm*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1907, 5.
[586] Ross, *A Theory of Pure Design*, 190–191.

such as Berenson or Fry."[587]In the years to come, Ross did not follow Fry toward a new aesthetic found in French painting of – what Fry would call in 1910 – the Post-impressionists. Ross rejected neither the idea of beauty completely nor that of the artistic genius:[588] "The key note of post-impressionists is self-expression with the will to be unprecedented and shocking. The result is disorder, lawlessness and possibly crime. Murder may be described as a shocking instance of self-expression. We see in post-impressionism the degradation not only of art but of life."[589] The choice of words here is remarkable: "shock," "disorder," "lawlessness," "crime," and "degradation." The Anglo-Saxon judgment of post-Impressionism goes way beyond the French verdict on the "fauves" but comments on the paradigm-shifting effect his expressionism potentially has on art history as a whole.

Besides Ross, Fry also met Matthew Prichard, a staff member of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, intending to discuss his system of aesthetics. Frances Spalding assumes that either Denman Ross or Matthew Prichard introduced Fry to George Santayana's book *The Sense of Beauty*[590] (1896). The author discusses the nature of beauty and the various ways in which form is perceived. *The Sense of Beauty* is considered the first significant work in aesthetics written in the United States.[591] George Santayana was a Hispano-American philosopher at Harvard University and was a pupil of William James. Ross and Santayana had a rational appreciation of beauty based on physiological psychology as it was taught in late nineteenth-century Germany by, for example, Herman Helmholtz (for optics) and Herman Ebbinghaus (for memory). Even if Roger Fry supported these scientific approaches to perception – as he did in his 1891 dissertation[592] on phenomenology, based on the work of Helmholtz – he fused theories developed by Ross and

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[587] Frank, *Denman Ross and American Design Theory*, 133–134.
[588] "The rarest thing in the world is creative genius, the faculty which creates great works." Ross, *A Theory of Pure Design*, 192.
[589] Denman Ross in a letter to Jahn Walker, June 4, 1929, as cited in Frank, *Denman Ross and American Design Theory,* 133.
[590] Reynolds and Fry, *Discourses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*, 1905. In the introduction to the 1905 edition of Reynolds' *Discourses*, Fry thanks Santayana for his study, which he asserts helped him understand Reynolds' theories.See George Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty*. New York: Scribner's, 1896.
[591] While George Santayana never renounced his Spanish citizenship, he asked that his literary corpus should be considered that of an American author. Herman J. Saatkamp, Jr., "Santayana: Hispanic-American Philosopher," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, Winter 1998, vol. 34, no., 1, 51-68, 52.
[592] An autograph manuscript of Roger Fry's dissertation is held in the King's College Archives, REF/1/13.

Santayana with those of Tolstoy, and he was also under the influence of Williams James and Henri Bergson.[593]

3.2. Roger Fry Unlearning Victorian Sentimentality

3.2.1. Roger Fry's Re-edition of Reynolds' *Discourses on Art* in 1905

Later in his life, Fry admits: "Looking back on my own work, my highest ambition would be to claim that I have striven to carry on his [Reynolds'] work in his spirit by bringing it into line with the artistic situation of our own day."[594] Roger Fry connected eighteenth-century academic discourse with contemporary aesthetic theories to develop his own idea of unlearning in the retrogressive movement of the post-Impressionists.

By publishing his edition of the *Discourses,* Fry aligned himself with the most prominent English art critic of all time. I argue that Fry's interest in Reynolds' *Discourses* was manifold. He certainly admired and appreciated Reynolds as an artist,[595] but he could also identify with Reynolds as a teacher, lecturer, and art critic. Moreover, the combination of practical knowledge and general aesthetic rules is a distinctive feature of Reynolds' and Fry's writings. Fry uses the introduction and commentaries in *Discourses on Art* to discuss Reynolds' aesthetics and position himself as a critic of Reynolds. Reynolds' *Discourse*s became not only the reference point of Fry's aesthetics but also the missing link between his art critical work and his art theory, which he would formulate some years later in 1909 as an "Essay in Aesthetics," and which he would put into practice in the form of the first post-Impressionist exhibition one year later. After he edited Reynolds *Discourses,* his lectures and writings became more ambitious and broader in focus. Fry began classifying and synthesizing art and artistic movements through his criteria across national schools and

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[593] In an analysis of Roger Fry's notebooks in the King's College archives, we found an entry on Henri Bergson's *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience,* first published in 1888. Unfortunately it is not known when Fry learned about Bergson's work. I found this entry during my research right after a note on H.M. Torgues' *Bushman Paintings* (1909) and argue that Fry did not come across Bergson's essay prior to 1909. Further, in Fry's autograph manuscript of his "New York Lectures" (1905-1907), he cites Henri Bergson on his "remarkable analysis of the comedic motions in life & art." REF 1/76/1, 10.
[594] Fry to W. Lafflan, 29 January 1906, as cited in Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 87.
[595] Prior to 1905, Fry had written on and about Reynolds' paintings in dozens of reviews for the *Burlington Magazine* and other art magazines and journals. See Laing, *Roger Fry,* 1979.

centuries.[596] After he visited Harvard and his meeting with Denman Ross, Roger Fry developed his own reflections on the emotional effect of pictures,[597] on principles of design,[598] and on expression and representation in the graphic arts.[599]

Further, I argue, we can see discursive parallels in English art history between the end of the eighteenth and the end of the nineteenth century. When Reynolds returned to England in 1753 after his studies in Italy, he found English art stagnant and took action to bring it to an international level. As we have already seen, these initiatives would eventually lead him to find the Royal Academy in 1769 and act as its first president. Returning from his first French sojourn in 1892, Fry must have had a similar impression of the state of English art. But to throw off Victorian sentimentality and lead English art into modernity, he would not promote painting after the example of French Neo-Impressionists. Instead, Fry turned to the "early primitives" of the Italian Renaissance. He searched for an appreciation of eighteenth-century primitive art in Reynolds' writings to support his primitivizing argumentation.[600] In his introduction to the 1905 edition, Fry expresses his disappointment that Reynolds missed the opportunity to open the door to a "new world of aesthetic speculation" by choosing beauty over the "ugly" or the "distorted."

Fry took a strong anti-academic position typical of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Europe. Anti-Academism is generally associated with the foundation of artists' societies like the *Salon des Indépendants* (1884) in France, which was the first initiative that inspired the foundation of the secessions[601] in Germany and Austria, first in Munich (1892), then in Vienna in

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[596] See for example lecture REF 1/76, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[597] Manuscript on the emotional effect of pictures, REF 1/81, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[598] Manuscript on principles of design, REF 1/84, REF 1/90; REF 1/91, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[599] Manuscript on expression and representation in the graphic arts, REF 1/86, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[600] It is not clear why Fry did not recognize and appreciate Reynolds' appreciation of Masaccio, as it is explained in the twelfth *Discourse*. He did however know Reynolds' writings well enough to recognize that Reynolds did not mention Jan van Eyck in his *Discourses* but only in his writings on *A journey to Flanders and Holland* in the year 1781.
[601] Today, the term *Secession* is used synonymously with Austrian Jugendstil. In general, and as the meaning of the term itself implies, secessions describe a "separation" from the artistic mainstream of historicism. The secessions in Germany and Austria were preparing for the avant-garde to enter the scene. Artists like Franz von Stuck, Adolf Hölzl, and Max Liebermann organized the Munich Secession and

1897, and a year later in Berlin. Around 1900 the term "academic" became the anti-term of anything "modern," as states Thomas Gaehtgens[602] in his article "De la fin du modèle académique dans les beaux-arts en Allemagne."[603] During the nineteenth century, the hierarchy of genres fell. History painting was taught alongside landscape painting and genre painting, which was considered as important in German academies. Whereas still life and applied arts were still waiting for their elevation into the status of Art. Up to the First World War, the academies were still the protector of an ideal of beauty as well as their own doctrines. Only after 1918 would the personal free artistic expression become a value to be transmitted by its own right to the students.[604]

Fry's remark that Reynolds had been "on the verge of making the discovery of primitive art" hints indirectly at this malaise.[605] In Fry's account, if only Reynolds had not "minimized his admiration for primitive artists" like Van Eyck[606] or the artists of the early Italian Renaissance "out of deference to contemporary opinion," he would have been a "pioneer in art criticism."[607] While Reynolds functions for Fry as the justification for his own "preference for the primitive" (Gombrich) this does not mean that he was not critical of Reynolds' theory as such. Fry's main point of critique was Reynolds' theory of a single "ideal of beauty." He expressed as much in his 1889 lecture for a Cambridge Conversation Society, entitled "Are we compelled by the true and

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exhibited together, first in Berlin and then in Munich. This put the city of Munich on the map as an international art center and attracted the next generation of modern artists, such as Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter.

[602] Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "De la fin du modèle académique dans les beaux-arts en Allemagne," Jean-Paul Barbe and Jackie Pigeaud, *Les Académies (Antiquité – XIXe siècle): Sixièmes "Entretiens" de La Garenne Lemot,* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2005, 169-190. On a more general note on the history of European academies, see Pevsner, *Academies of art, past and present*, 1940; Goldstein, *Teaching art, : Academies and Schools from Vasari to Albers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Perry, "Primitivism and the 'Modern'", 1993; Cunningham, *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

[603] Gaehtgens, "De la fin du modèle académique dans les beaux-arts en Allemagne," 179. See also, Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, 1986, 15-21.

[604] Gaehtgens, "De la fin du modèle académique dans les beaux-arts en Allemagne," 189.

[605] Fry, "Introduction.", xi.

[606] Fry knew Van Eyck's work very well. In several reviews, he praised him as the only Flemish master with sufficient feeling for design.

[607] Fry, "Introduction.", xi–xii.

Apostolic faith to regard the standard of beauty as relative?"[608] and in his fellowship dissertation of 1891 on phenomenology and Greek art.[609]

It is important to note that in 1906 Roger Fry became the official curator of European paintings at the Metropolitan Museum and held this title until 1910. This work highly influenced his thinking since, during this time, he travelled extensively, primarily to buy Old Masters for the museum. Through such travel, he became acquainted with the most important collectors and gallerists of Early Modern art and various other art critics and art historians all over Europe. His notebooks and calendars of this period reflect the network of Europe's intelligentsia before WWI.[610]

3.2.2. Widening the Concept: Unlearning as a Trans-Historic Phenomenon

In the years between his re-edition of Reynolds' *Discourses* (1905) and the first post-Impressionist Exhibition (1910), there are two major shifts in Fry's conception of "primitive" art which occur in his writings and lectures.[611] Through an analysis of Fry's publications in the *Athenaeum*, *Burlington Magazine,* and *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* a shift towards an appreciation of modern French artists transpires; Fry attributes to them qualities he had before only accorded to the "primitives" of the early Italian Renaissance, Byzantine art, and Early Islamic art. He gradually added the following to his conceptual roster of examples of "primitive" art: child art,[612] the art of people with a mental health condition, ancient Greek art, the art of "cavemen" and "Bushmen," "modern negro [art] of W. Africa," and finally, contemporary French painting. During the nineteenth century, primitivizing concepts expanded from a solely historical perspective to a

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[608] The manuscript on "Are we compelled by the true and Apostolic faith to regard the standard of beauty as relative?" is held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge, as REF/1/10.
[609] Manuscript on phenomenology and Greek art, REF/1/13, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[610] For more on Roger Fry's work for the Metropolitan Museum and his relationship with its president J.P. Morgan, see Molesworth, *The Capitalist and the Critic, J.P. Morgan, Roger Fry, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016.
[611] In this sub-chapter, I am referring especially to two autograph manuscripts held in the King's College Archives, REF/1/84 and REF/1/85, dated by the archivists to 1905.
[612] In 1917, Roger Fry would return to children's drawing by organizing an exhibition of drawings by children under the age of twelve in the Omega workshops. In an article published on this exhibition, he declares children the "genuine primitives," who directly express their wonder and delight in objects. Fry, "Children´s Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 30, no. 171 (June 1917): 225–231.

geographic, colonial one. At the turn of the twentieth century, the idiom "primitive" also described a mental and psychological condition. Wilhelm Wundt, a student of Herman Helmholtz, was the first to link the field of psychology with the new discipline of anthropology on all questions of Human nature, including art. His book "Völkerpsychologie. *Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythus und Sitte*" ["Psychology of peoples"], published between 1900 and 1917,[613] explains the evolution of humanity in definite stages, claiming that some people would be advanced in this process as others would remain in a primordial stage. During the same era, Siegmund Freud developed his own (psychoanalytical) theory, drawing a parallel between the psychology of Indigenous peoples and the mental state of neurotics in his *Totem and taboo: resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and neurotics* [*Totem und Tabu: einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker*] (1913)[614].

In his lecture "Some principles of design,"[615] Fry introduces child art into his reflections on design as the missing link between the modern artist and early primitives like Giotto.[616] He praised children's "outline drawings" for their "perfect sincerity [and], great intensity,"[617] which would be at risk of being lost by teaching them to draw – their drawings would lose their inherent "quality of harmony and freedom of line"[618] and become "gauche, hesitating [and], reserved."[619] To exemplify his point, he uses a child's drawing of a camel[620] which, despite still being "in a pure totematic

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[613] Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* is a cycles of tomes discussing the influence of art, myths, religion, language, society, law, culture, and history on the psychological state of people. See, Wilhelm Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie, Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythus und Sitte*, Vol. 1–5, Leipzig: Verlag Wilhelm Engelmann, 1900–1920.
[614] Sigmund Freud, Totem und Tabu: einige Übereinstimmungen im Seelenleben der Wilden und der Neurotiker. Boston: Beacon Press, 1913.
[615] The manuscript on, "Some principles of design," REF/1/84, is held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[616] Since the 1830s, the child was thought of as the ideal artist and Giotto as the ultimate child prodigy of art history. Having been discovered by Cimabue as a child, Giotto's child hood was synonymous with the childhood of Renaissance. For more on this narrative, see Johanne Lamoureux, "La mort de l'artiste et la naissance d'un genre," *Image de l'artiste – Künstlerbilder*, Bern: Peter Lang, 183-204, 184.
[617] Fry, "Some principles of design," 6.
[618] Fry, "Some principles of design," 6.
[619] Fry, "Some principles of design," 7.
[620] The King's College Archives is holding approximately 2200 glass slides of Fry's lectures. They have not yet been catalogued.

stage,"[621] was able to create a drawing of great sincerity.[622] The reason for this, says Fry, is that "a child is not really concerned with the appearances of things – he is concerned with things themselves … what he wants to draw is not the likeness of the appearance but the likeness of his mental image his concept of the thing."[623]

This childlike approach to drawing, but also of "the art that we call primitive,"[624] gets lost the more decadent art becomes. In a reaction against this decadence, Fry chose the child's attitude of drawing in symbols over mere imitation, which could hardly be understood as any "intellectual process"[625] but rather that of a "machine to register the chaotic flux of sensation."[626] Instead, the symbolism of things would require "a certain unconscious mental process of some value … the multiform [?] & fluctuating sensation of nature have been sifted out and those that are most significant most interesting & important have been chosen, then directly rendered."[627] Contrary to historical models of perception and the idea that perception can be and has to be trained and learned (for example, at the academy), Fry calls perception a very elaborate yet consciously unconscious mental process of filtering sensations and directly delivering them in the visual.

In this lecture, he compares child art for the first time to that of Giotto, who "managed because of the great intensity of his feeling & the absolute mastery of his hand to convey to us some of the profoundest truth of human life in the most exalted and impassioned manner."[628] At the beginning of the twentieth century, it would almost be impossible for a child not to be corrupted by a visual culture that was based upon representation: "the idea of correct drawing and the fear of incorrect will, unless he is a great genius … veil the sincerity of feeling."[629] Without explicitly referencing him, Fry is echoing here Reynolds' passage on art education and his call for unlearning

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[621] Fry, "Some principles of design," 10.
[622] Fry drawing "what he cared about … with a fine gusto" even if it showed "little truth to nature." REF/1/84, 10.
[623] Fry, "Some principles of design," 10a-10b.
[624] Fry, "Some principles of design," 10c.
[625] Fry, "Some principles of design," 10c.
[626] Fry, "Some principles of design," 10c.
[627] Fry, "Some principles of design," 10c.
[628] Fry, "Some principles of design," 11-12.
[629] Fry, "Some principles of design," 12-13.

in order to unveil.[630] We can safely assume that Fry had already been in the preparation stage of his re-edition of Reynolds' *Discourses* at this point. Fry concludes with some general comments on art: "the essence of a work of art is the desire to express some sincerely felt emotion and that the emotional condition in which the artist works itself brings about rhythmical & harmonious gesture."[631] It is unknown when Fry came across Tolstoy's *What is Art*? (1897), but to see the expression of emotions as the essence of art is an idea that he would further develop in his 1909 "Essay in Aesthetics."

In a second, untitled lecture, probably in 1905, held in the King's College Archives, Fry tried for the first time to link the modern artist, and his alter ego, the child, with ancient, "primitive," and "barbaric" art from the past and present to develop what he calls "decorative instinct,"[632] which is an indispensable step of cultural development. He further explains his hypothesis of the drawn line as "the record of a gesture inspired by a mental image."[633] To explain what he means by "mental image," he starts again with the drawing child and compares him to a neurological patient who has lost his sense of distance after a brain accident. The child draws in the same way that he learns to speak, and Fry binds those learning processes together: "When he [the child] draws he writes to express the concepts, he has no idea of the continuity of appearances he misses out all the articulation by which his concepts fit together in appearance."[634] Out of frustration with the contrast between the child's symbolic concepts and the appearances of nature, the child finally refines his symbols to convey the idea.[635]

Although the child might lack the motoric control over his hand to draw better, Fry recognizes the qualities of "ease and confidence of gesture [and], length of rhythm … which are most conspicuously lacking in most modern drawing in all so called correct or academic drawing."[636] "Children's drawings seem to have everything in their favor except accomplishment

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[630] Already in 1770, in the third of his *Discourses*, Reynolds asks the modern artist "to remove a veil, with which the fashion of the times has thought proper to cover her." Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 49.
[631] Fry, "Some principles of design," 14.
[632] Untitled manuscript, REF/1/85, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge, page 20.
[633] REF/1/85, 10.
[634] REF/1/85, 11.
[635] REF/1/85, 11–12.
[636] REF/1/85, 13.

& mental content."[637] Fry asserts that the solutions children produce when facing problems of perspective resemble ancient Greek art, as can be found in Greek pottery. What makes the images on Greek vases different from children's drawings is the "geometrical relation upon the mental images," which Fry calls "decorative instinct."[638] For example, the cave drawings found in Altamira[639] lack any geometric order. Instead, they accurately represent the "actual appearance of nature"[640] as it presented to Palaeolithic man.[641] Fry then compares Palaeolithic cave paintings to "Bushman's drawing"[642] from Australia as a stand-in for the first Neolithic man. For Fry, the history of art "passes a regular course from the singular decorations of Neolithic man down to the most modern times,"[643] only interrupted by "invasions [and] conquest of less advanced tribes."[644]

3.2.3. Byzantine and Modern

Fry was not the only art historian endeavouring to link modern and ancient art. Fry's critique was highly influenced by the German art historian Julius Meier-Graefe, who had proclaimed Cézanne one of the "pillars of Modern painting" together with Courbet, Manet, Degas, and Renoir as early as 1904.[645] Meier-Graefe had linked Cézanne's "primitivism" back to the early primitives of Greek antiquity. Indeed, looking at Cézanne's still-lifes, Meier-Graefe professed to feel as if he "had been looking at some amazing primitive, though he makes no effort to this end; primitive, insofar as [the paintings] give us that icy sense of grandeur which we enjoy in the contemplation of ancient

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637 REF/1/85, 13.
638 REF/1/85, 15.
639 For an analysis of Émile Catailhac's and Henri Breuil's 1903 publication of "Les peintures préhistoriques de la grotte Altamira à Satnillane (Espagne)," see Arnaud Hurel, "Les peintures préhistoriques de la grotte d'Altamira à Santillane (Espagne), *Bibnum* [Online], Sciences humaines et sociales, Online since 01 July 2013, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/bibnum/709, accessed 15 Septemebr 2021.
640 REF/1/85, 16b.
641 REF/1/85, 17.
642 REF/1/85, 17.
643 REF/1/85, 18.
644 REF/1/85, 18.
645 We know for sure that he read Meier-Graefe's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst* (1904) by 1908, when it was published in English under the title *Modern Art*. The evolutionist aspect of Meier-Graefe's theory, present in the German title, is absent in its English translation. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst. Vergleichende Betrachtung der bildenden Künste, als Beitrag zu einer neuen Aesthetik,* Stuttgart: Verlag Julius Hofmann, 1904.

masterpieces."[646] While Meier-Graefe draws a link between Cézanne and Greek antiquity. Already in his 1904 *Entwicklungsgechichte der modernen Kunst*, Meier-Graefe recognized in Byzantine mosaics a precursor to many art movements of the end of the nineteenth century. He singled out the Theodora mosaic from S. Vitale in Ravenna, Italy and the mosaics of the church of San Marco in Venice, Italy. While he described the first mosaic as a "rhythmic harmony of the simple,"[647] in San Marco he seemed to be "in the presence of something abnormal, impossible, gigantic, terrible."[648]

In March of 1908, Fry reacted in his letter[649] to the editor of the *Burlington Magazine* to a recent review of the annual exhibition of the International Society of Sculptors and Painters, which had been held at the New Gallery in London – a show dominated by Monet, Renoir, and Signac, who were gathered together by the curators under the label of "Impressionists." In his manuscript, Fry compared the nineteenth-century Impressionism of Monet to the "impressionisms" of Roman art. In Impressionism, the appearance dominates form, and the latter gets lost in the "whole continuum of sensation." To follow this analogy, the Neo-Impressionists could have appeared to be working in the tradition of the Byzantines. Byzantine art was, therefore, necessary, according to Fry, to overcome Impressionism, as it provided the means of recovering the "organs of expression,"[650] meaning line, mass, and contour, or as Fry put it: "the Neo-Impressionists are therefore the Byzantines of today."

In an article on an exhibition of the works of Signac, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Cézanne shown at the International Society in London, equally published in 1908, Fry commented on especially Cézanne and Gauguin as "proto-Byzantines rather than Neo-Impressionists:"[651] "They have already attained to the contour and assert its value with keen emphasis. They fill the contour with willful simplified and unmodulated masses, and rely for their whole effect upon a well-

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[646] Meier-Graefe marks his German tradition by choosing the vocabulary of German Neoclassicism à la Winckelmann to bind once and again the "modern primitives" back to the ancient masters—as Reynolds did. Julius Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art: Being a Contribution to a New System of Aesthetics*, translated by Florence Simmonds and Sir George William Chrystal, New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1908, 267–268.
[647] Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art,* 15-16.
[648] Meier-Graefe, *Modern Art*, 17.
[649] Roger Fry, "The Last Phase of Impressionism," *Burlington Magazine* 12, no. 60 (1908): 374.
[650] Fry, "The Last Phase of Impressionism," 374.
[651] Fry, "The Last Phase of Impressionism," 375.

considered co-ordination of the simplest elements."[652] But neither Cézanne nor Gauguin should be mistaken as "archaizers"[653] in his view because their designs are a result of a willful method to express the "imaginative truth"[654] of art. In 1908, Fry calls the generation of artists he would later coin as post-Impressionists, "proto-Byzantines," both standing for "an aesthetic and conceptual break with the naturalist tradition of representation."[655] It is unsure if Roger Fry used the "Byzantine" as a metaphor and historical analogy for modernism, or whether "he (mis)read Byzantine goals and aesthetics as anachronistically proto-modern."[656] Fry was understanding Post-Impressionism as a "recovery" of Byzantinism in a cyclical model of art history: as the Roman art of the Empire was succeeded by Byzantinism, Impressionism was followed by the Post-Impressionists.[657] To read Byzantine art through the lens and aesthetics of modernism might have been further influenced by Fry's encounter with the British art historian Mathew Prichard, assistant director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, who impressed him deeply with his knowledge of oriental art as they were touring the Louvre together in 1908.[658] Prichard, who would meet Henri Matisse in 1909 through his connections with the Stein family has left an important conversation with Matisse on Byzantine art (especially coins) in his letters to Isabella Stewart Gardner.[659]

The expression of an imaginative truth in favour of the imitation of nature became the core argument of Fry's aesthetic theory in 1909. He began to claim that only "graphic arts" could fulfill the "needs of the imaginative life" and give order and infinite variety to elements provided by

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[652] Fry, "The Last Phase of Impressionism," 375.
[653] Fry, "The Last Phase of Impressionism," 375.
[654] Fry, "The Last Phase of Impressionism," 375.
[655] Maria Taroutina, "Introduction: Byzantium and Modernism," *Byzantium/modernism: the Byzantine as method in modernity*, edited by Roland Betancourt and Maria Taroutina, Boston: Brill, 2015, 1-12. 2.
[656] Taroutina, "Introduction: Byzantium and Modernism," 3.
[657] Besides Roger Fry, the Russian art historian Alexander Benois made a similar observation two years later. Shortly thereafter, also Natalia Goncharova linked French avant-garde with ancient Russian painting. For more on "Modernism as Byzantinism" see, Maria Taroutina, "Introduction: Byzantium and Modernism," 2015.
[658] Hillary Spurling, *Matisse the Master: The Conquest of Colour 1909–1954*, New York: A.A. Knopf, 2005, 51.
[659] For more on this correspondence in the years 1913 and 1914, see Robert S. Nelson, "Modernism's Byzantium Byzantium's Modernism," *Byzantium/modernism: the Byzantine as method in modernity,* edited by Roland Betancourt and Maria Taroutina, Boston: Brill, 2015, 15-36, 24-28.

nature.[660] In his New York Lectures, dateable only tentatively by the handwriting to 1905–1907, Fry establishes his definition of an “imaginative life” with “a different set of values and a different kind of perception.”[661] The nature of this imaginative life Fry is talking about could be found in cinema as well as in child art: “Children if left to themselves never I believe copy what they see, never as we say draw from nature, but express with a delightful freedom and sincerity the mental images which make up their imaginative lives.”[662] To back up his argument, he refers to Ruskin and Tolstoy, but this time by rejecting the belief that art would need to serve a moral purpose and create a reaction in real life. Instead, Fry wants to establish art as an expression of emotions regarded as and in themselves an expression of the imaginative life.

Fry proposes—against a historical or archaeological classification of schools—a classification by style, which he borrows from Reynolds' *Discourses* and combines with his new readings on the arts of design as, for example, Denman Ross' *Theory of Pure Design*: “In editing his [Reynolds'] *Discourses* it inevitably freed itself upon my attention, I find that the more I apply it to the arts of design the more it clearly seems adapted to give method to our varying impressions.”[663] By paying tribute to Reynolds, he divides art into epic, dramatic, lyric, and comedic – similar to classifications in poetry “which has the most definite direction to the emotions it stimulates” representing “definite moods of imaginative life.”[664] Fry concludes his first New York lectures by stating:

> Art is the organ[665] of the imaginative life. The imaginative life is distinguished by clearness & disinterestedness of perception and freedom, purity of emotion. The clearness, disinterestedness of perception implies the sensuous beauty of works of art, their decorative aspect. The freedom, purity of emotion is aroused by the images of creative art which may or may not possess sensuous beauty in a high degree. These

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[660] Fry, “An Essay in Aesthetics, 1909.”, 82. He did not mention Byzantium explicitly in his art theory, unlike Wassily Kandinsky or Clive Bell, who illustrated *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912) and *Art* (1914) respectively with the Theodora mosaic from S. Vitale in Ravenna, Italy.
[661] Manuscript of the New York lecture, REF 1/76/1, 4, is held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[662] Fry REF 1/76/1, 8.
[663] Fry REF 1/76/1, 43.
[664] Fry REF 1/76/1, 44.
[665] Contrary to Fry, Tolstoy is talking about art as a “spiritual organ of human life.” Tolstoy, *What is Art?*, 197.

> images are derived from the appearances of actual life by a process of disengaging the emotional elements, giving them (their effect upon us) more definite and orderly. Their value of these images lie in their power of evoking emotion and not in their resemblance to nature.[666]

This opened the door to including a new generation of artists into his canon, such as Cézanne and later the artists he would call post-Impressionists.

In "An Essay in Aesthetics,"[667] Fry combines contemporary research in psychology with classical philosophy and contemporary aesthetics. He aimed to strengthen the role of visual art by declaring it "the chief organ of the imaginative life."[668] For Fry, it is the artist with his specialized "pure vision"[669] who is able to abstract from life. In comparison to other arts like music, visual arts would possess the particularity that they can create emotions, as humans are able to watch and feel at the same time – an idea Fry borrowed from Tolstoy (*What is Art?,* 1897). [670] Fry closes his essay by discarding "the idea of likeness of Nature, of correctness or incorrectness as a test, and consider only whether the emotional elements inherent in natural form are adequately discovered."[671]

3.3. Mental Images of Expressionist Impressionists

3.3.1. Roger Fry and French Avant-Garde: "Neo-Byzantine" or "Bushmen?"

After publishing "An Essay in Aesthetics" in April 1909, Fry went to Paris to visit Henri Matisse's studio.[672] After his visit, Fry wrote to his wife: "He is one of the neo, Neo-Impressionists, quite

[666] Fry REF 1/76/1, 46.
[667] Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics, 1909," 75–93.
[668] Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics, 1909," 77.
[669] The notion of a "pure vision" is borrowed from Denman Ross.
[670] Already in 1892, Walter Crane stated that "art in the highest sense is but the faculty of Expression." Walter Crane, *The Claims of Decorative Art*, London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892, 17. After Crane, Tolstoy emphasized in his pamphlet "What is Art?" the communicative qualities of art that are able to transmit feelings by means of movement, lines, colours, sounds, or forms expressed in words.
[671] Fry, "An Essay in Aesthetics, 1909," 82.
[672] Fry is said to have mentioned that only the reading of Tolstoy's "What is Art?" prepared him to fully appreciate Matisse's work. Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 110.

interesting and lots of talent but very queer. He does things very much like Pamela [Fry's seven-year-old daughter]"[673]. [674] In the light of this, Hilary Spurling, Matisse's biographer, claims that Fry put Matisse's work first on par with the drawings of his daughter and implies that he only changed his mind when showing Matisse's work in the 1910 post-Impressionist exhibition.[675]

I argue that Fry found precisely the qualities he was searching for in Matisse, which he would articulate one year later in an essay entitled "Bushman painting."[676] It seems to me that Fry's visit to Paris in 1909 was crucial for the development of his theory concerning "Bushman painting" and "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" (1910). Unfortunately, it is not clear how his interest in contemporary French art was aroused before he visited Matisse's studio—besides a large exhibition of French Impressionists imported to England by the gallerist Durand-Ruel and two Cézanne's he saw at the International Society exhibition in 1906.[677] Fry's biographer Frances Spalding convincingly argues that Fry must have had the chance to see Cézanne's work before 1905.[678] Nevertheless, more important is that he ignored Cézanne prior to this date. I argue that he had to go through the aesthetic development we sketched above before appreciating Cézanne's revolutionary force. We know from the calendars held in the King's College Archives that from 1906 to 1910, Fry went to Paris at least once a year, primarily in connection with his work for the Metropolitan Museum, where he would meet with collectors and gallerists to recommend artworks for acquisition.[679]

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[673] Green, "Expanding the Canon," 1990. Letter from Roger Fry to Helen Fry, held at King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[674] Through my research in the King's College Archives, I know that Roger Fry must have visited not only Henri Matisse but also Pablo Picasso in Paris. I found three entries of contact addresses in Roger Fry's notebooks. Nevertheless, in his published writings, Matisse remains the main proponent of Post-Impressionism. From Fry's published letters we know that Fry had visited Picasso in early 1914 and in 1916. Sutton , "Letters of Roger Fry." 377, 399. The first two visits are described by a short "I saw Picasso," and only in 1921 did he tell Vanessa Bell in a letter about what he saw in Picasso's studio: " … They're most impressive almost overwhelming things." Roger Fry to Vanessa Bell, 15 March 1921 as published in Sutton, *Letters of Roger Fry - Volume One & Two*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1972, 504.
[675] Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 51.
[676] But before that, in January 1910, Roger Fry translated Maurice Denis' article on Cézanne, which had been written after Cézanne´s death in 1907. It is very likely that Fry met Denis on his trip to Paris in 1909, but there is no mention in his calendar nor in his letters.
[677] Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 111, 116.
[678] Spalding, Roger Fry, Art and Life, 117-118.
[679] Spalding, *Roger Fry, Art and Life*, 94, 97.

It is not entirely clear whether Fry was aware of the "art revolution" going on since French avant-garde artists discovered African art in 1906. And yet, in an untitled manuscript (REF/1/85) of 1905, Fry already compares Corinthian Greek vases with "modern negro [art] of W. Africa."[680] In Fry's writings on art, his art criticism and his exhibition reviews, there is no critique of French contemporary art or art criticism before he translated Maurice Denis' 1907 article on Cézanne for the *Burlington Magazine* in January 1910. Instead of commenting on Denis' theories, Fry takes the chance in the introductory notes to his translation to comment on his aesthetic theory published one year earlier. He remarks that French avant-garde art might be the future of visual art because it would be able to express this "imagined state of consciousness," which for a long time had been only relegated to music and poetry.[681] According to Fry, Cézanne had started a movement, a "new conception of art" in which "the decorative elements preponderate at the expenses of the representative."[682] We see here a refutation of Reynolds' *Discourses*. The famed portraitist warned that artists should avoid any kind of mannerism or even the "mechanic and ornamental arts" of the early industrialization period. In Reynolds' own words, "[the painter] must divest himself of all prejudices in favour of his age or country; he must disregard all local and temporary ornaments and look only on those general habits which are everywhere and always the same; he addresses his works to the people of every country and every age…"[683]

Crucial to Fry's mindset during the preparation of his 1910 exhibition and to my hypothesis of a series of primitivisms leading Roger Fry to the discovery of French avant-garde art as the ultimate retrogressive movement is certainly his encounter with "Bushman Art," [684] which first entered his lectures in 1905 (REF/1/84, REF/1/85). It is unclear how he came to know of M. Helen

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[680] Manuscript, REF/1/85, 19, held at the King's College Archives, Cambridge.
[681] Roger Fry, Maurice Denis and Roger Fry, "Cézanne I," The *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs,* vol. 16, no. 82 (Jan. 1910), 207-209, 212-215, 219, here 207.
[682] Roger Fry, "Cézanne I," 207.
[683] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 48, 49.
[684] He was certainly very much interested in the topic since we found several entries of anthropological and psychological literature in his notebooks held in the King's College Archives, unfortunately undated: Yrjö Hirn, *Origins of Art, Origins of Art: A Psychological and Sociological Inquiry*. London: Macmillan, 1900; James Frazer, *Psyché's Task, : A Discourse Concerning Superstition on the Growth of Institutions*. London: Macmillan, 1909; Lévi-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieurs,* 1910; Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd *Specimens of Bushman folklore,* London: G. Allen, 1911. *Specimens of Bushman folklore* is actually a collection of tales that Wilhelm Bleek recorded during his trips to South Africa in the 1879s and 1880s including pencil drawings by Bushman children.

Tongues' 1909 book *Bushman Paintings*, which he would review for the March edition of the *Burlington Magazine* in 1910.[685] In this review, Fry develops the hypothesis that the artistic representation of nature is a visual-conceptual habit of mankind. Children's drawings are evidence of that "primitive" behaviour that consists of "think[ing] and then draw[ing] a line around that thought," an artistic strategy he would recognize a few months later during his visit to Henri Matisse's atelier. Fry's understanding of "Bushman Painting" shows a clear distinction between the "primitive" and the "barbaric"[686] within an evolutionary conceptual framework of art history.

In art history and anthropology, evolutionary theories required primitive stages to be followed by more developed ones. Fry and his contemporaries used the term "primitive" predominantly to talk about an earlier tradition of art, whereas "savage" and "barbaric" described a less advanced state of civilization. The term "savage" is closely linked to the form of exoticism as produced at world fairs, where "evolutionary thinking and racist stereotyping combined in the idea of the 'savage' or 'barbaric' as something 'other,' in the sense of uncivilized, something that was anterior to evolution and that carried a threat that many civilizations had known: the threat of barbaric invasion and the destruction of all evolved culture."[687] In his book *Les Invasion Barbares: Une généalogie de l'histoire de l'art*, Éric Michaud shows that these "barbaric invasions" are in fact myths which had been propagated throughout Western art history to maintain the predominance of the European nation-states over foreign peoples. Art and its historical narratives are closely linked to the sites and peoples that produced them, making art history a discipline receptive to ethnic and racial theories and prone to biases.[688]

For Fry's contemporary Herbert Spencer, barbaric art and society were closely related to each other and modern imperialism, the former manifesting the latter's power. According to Spencer, the "high-elaborated style of art" and the costliness of such a style became the expression of control over men. Spencer links the rise of "simple" high art to the industrialization of the nineteenth century and the distribution of capital. This argument comes very close to what Alois

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[685] Helene Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.
[686] For more on the "barbaric," see Spencer, "Barbaric Art," In *Facts and Comments*, edited by Herbert Spencer, 265–269. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1902. 265–269.
[687] Christopher Green, "Expanding the Canon. Roger Fry's Evaluations of the 'Civilized' and the 'Savage'." In *Art Made Modern: Roger Fry's Vision of Art*, edited by Christopher Green, 119–132. London: Merrel Holberton, 1999.122.
[688] Michaud, *Les invasion barbares*, 2015.

Riegl argued in his 1894 essay "Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie."[689] Riegl sees in contemporary art periodicals a "retrogressive" taste for the "ugly," the medieval, over and above a taste for the antique, the archaic, or even the barbaric. "Barbaric" is defined as something that is "malformed," "distorted," or "irregular," an abandonment of symmetry and proportion; the "irregular drawings of children and those of barbarians [are therefore] naturally akin."[690]

From Gothic art and early miniaturists to early Italian primitives and Byzantines, including oriental art and the art of children, all are "primitive" for Fry but "civilized." The "barbaric" or "real primitive" was never anything desirable, according to Fry, because, following the tenets of contemporary psychology, "barbaric" meant "pre-logical" and thus undesirable.[691] The notion of "pre-logical" stems from Lucien Lévi-Bruhl, who defined in 1910 "primitive mentality" as "pre-logical" in his oeuvre *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*. Whereas people with a mental health condition,[692] children, and primitives offer proof of the human capacity to reflect upon nature and represent it in "conceptual images," the Bushmen and other "barbarics," like the Impressionists with their "ultra-primitive directness of vision" (Fry), can only "see" form[693]. If Fry's lecture was indeed given in 1905, as stated by the King's College Archivist, it is astonishing how early Fry had laid out his framework on what would later be called "primitive art."[694] Whereas the untitled lecture of 1905 ends abruptly, in his 1910 review, Fry repeats the main threads of his talk but exchanges the "modern negro of W. Africa" for the Impressionists by attributing to them a "barbaric" way of seeing. He had been waiting for the post-impressionists as the missing link in his primitivizing art history. He thus binds his preference for truthful artistic expression with his interest in the aesthetic theory of design formulated in 1909.

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[689] Riegl, *Volkskunst und Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie*, 1978.
[690] Spencer, "Barbaric Art," 268. He also remarks on a "reversion" to the eighteenth-century appreciation of style. Exemplary of this is William Morris and his fascination for medieval and especially Gothic styles.
[691] Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 16, no. 81, 1910, 334–338.
[692] In a footnote, Fry quotes a medical report on hysteria that mentions patients who show a physical reaction to the mere thought of "conceptual images." Fry, "Bushman Paintings," 337. This is, for Fry, a sign of the deep intrinsic nature of images in the human mind.
[693] Fry, "Bushman Paintings," 338.
[694] The first attempt to define "primitive art" dates back to 1927: Franz Boas, *Primitive Art,* New York: Dover Publications, 1955.

3.3.2. "Manet and the Post-Impressionists:" Exhibition of a Retrogressive Movement

In November of 1910, Fry brought together almost three hundred works by modern French painters such as Manet, Cézanne, Matisse, Gauguin, and Van Gogh, who were all unknown to the London public, for the exhibition entitled "Manet and the Post-Impressionists." **[Fig. 8]** Although this movement was "widely spread," Fry chose to exhibit only French representatives of the post-Impressionist movement in his first post-Impressionist exhibition. Fry's exhibition was only the second show of French modern art organized in England, after Robert Dell's "Modern French Artists" exhibition organized in June 1910.[695] Fry famously introduced French avant-garde to the English public and coined the term post-Impressionism with this exhibition.

The exhibition "Manet and the Post-Impressionists" presented a new art movement, with Manet as its *spiritus rector* and Cézanne as its progenitor. Fry himself admitted, however, that the artists' connection to Impressionism might be "rather accidental than intrinsic."[696] He stated that "Expressionism" might have been the better choice since the common ground uniting all of the artists was their ability to "explore and express the emotional significance which lies in the things."[697] By doing so, Fry wanted to stress that the post-Impressionists—despite their prefix "post"—were not to be understood in the succession of the Impressionists, even though he did admit that Cézanne, Gauguin, and Van Gogh painted in a somewhat impressionistic manner. Instead, the post-Impressionist school[698] enabled more "the individuality of the artist to find complete self-expression in his work than is possible to those who have committed themselves to representing objects more literally. This indeed is the first source of their quarrel with the

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[695] Spalding, *Roger Fry. Art and Life*, 130.

[696] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," In *A Roger Fry Reader*, edited by Christopher Reed, 81–89. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996. First published in 1910 by *The Nation*, 81. To call them post-Impressionists was in fact an "accident," as Fry's assistant reported in the 1950s: "Roger first suggested various terms like 'expressionism,' which aimed at distinguishing these artists from the Impressionists," but the journalists didn't get it, so Roger lost patience and just said: Oh, let's just call them Post-Impressionists; at any rate, they came after the Impressionists." Martin Bailey, "The Van Goghs at the Grafton Galleries," *Burlington Magazine 152, no. 1293* (December 2010), 795.

[697] Roger Fry, "Manet and the Post-impressionists," *London, Grafton Galleries* 8 (1910): 7–13, 9.

[698] Finally, after 20 years, Fry's wish for an "Impressionist Pre-Raphaelite" school would come true. Even if he was not the founder of this artistic school and it chose another name. Nevertheless, Fry coined a term that was necessary and a catalysator in the art historical canon.

Impressionists: the Post-Impressionists consider the Impressionists too naturalistic."[699] Freeing this new grouping of artists from chronology or ideas of artistic generations following each other allowed Fry to construct the post-impressionists as a movement running parallel to the impressionist one which shared a common sense of how each artist should express their own temperament and to "permit contemporary ideals to dictate to him/her what was beautiful, significant, and worthy to be painted."[700] But what made the post-Impressionists "independent" and even "rebellious"[701] was the shock they brought upon their contemporaries through the simplified representation of nature in their art. This connects the post-Impressionists with earlier "primitive" artists who lacked skills in representing appearance.

Cézanne functions for Fry as the first post-Impressionist because he showed how it was possible to "pass from the complexity of the appearance of things to the geometrical simplicity which design demands."[702] This, says Fry, made Cézanne a role model for many designers after him. Cézanne was followed by Van Gogh and Gauguin, who, given their respective temperaments and character, drew on different aspects of the same pictorial challenges; Van Gogh, the "morbid"[703] one and Gauguin, the "decorative"[704] theorist had realized the effect of abstract form and colour could have on the imagination of the spectator. Fry's reading of Matisse allows him to connect his early lectures on child art and other "primitive" art with his aesthetic theory. Fry sees in Matisse's work "a return to the primitive, even perhaps to barbaric art," using "abstract design as the principle of expression."[705] Matisse, for Fry, is the rebellious post-Impressionist *par excellence*, going against the grain of social progress by returning to a childlike expression that

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[699] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," 81.
[700] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," 81-82.
[701] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," 82.
[702] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," 83.
[703] "Van Gogh's morbid temperament forced him to express in paint his strongest emotions, and in the methods of Cezanne he found a means of conveying the wildest and strangest visions conceived by any artist of time. Yet he, too, accepts in the main the general appearance of nature; only before every scene and every object he searches first for the quality which originally made it appeal so strangely to him: *that* he is determined to record at any sacrifice." Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," 83–84.
[704] "He deliberately chose, therefore, to become a decorative painter, believing that this was the most direct way of impressing upon the imagination the emotion he wished to perpetuate. In his Tahitian pictures by extreme simplification he endeavoured to bring back into modern painting the significance of gesture and movement characteristic of primitive art." Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.," 84.
[705] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.", 84.

does not strive so much towards the representation of what the eye perceives, but rather "[puts] a line around a mental conception of the object."[706]

The artists shown in the exhibition were ridiculed by the critics as "anarchists," "lunatics," "primitives," and were even deemed to be "barbaric."[707] During a lecture in the exhibition space, Fry was attacked by a prominent superintendent of an insane asylum. He condemned the art of the post-Impressionists as "mentally insane" as Henry Bateman's caricature "*Post-Impressions of the Post-Impressionists"* (1910) illustrates **[Fig. 9]**. Another critic wrote: " … the emotions of these artists, one of whom, Van Gogh, was a lunatic, are of no interest except to the student of pathology and the specialist in abnormality," [708] as Fry reported in one of the lectures he held during the exhibition. As if anticipating this harsh and uncomprehending reaction, Fry admitted in the catalogue to the exhibition that "the public, who [had] become accustomed to extremely plausible imitations of nature,"[709] were bound to be naturally against such a "retrogressive movement," as he himself called it. But it was nevertheless a movement he deemed necessary to restore expression in art and abolish the academic dogma of mimesis.

The artist thus faces the same fate as the child, whose "expressiveness" vanishes the more he learns. The child shows that an *unlearning* of the imitation of nature is closely linked to the learning of artistic skills:

> The development of primitive art is the gradual absorption of each newly observed detail into an already established system of design … wherein the artist feels uneasy, because it destroys the expressiveness of his design. He begins to try to unload, to simplify the drawing and painting, by which natural objects are evoked, on order to recover the lost expressiveness and life. He aims consciously at synthesis in design; But in this retrogressive movement he has the public, who have become accustomed to extremely

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[706] Fry, "The Grafton Gallery I.", 84.
[707] Fry, "The Post-Impressionists," 11.
[708] For an extensive analysis of the exhibition critique by Dr T. B. Hyslop, Physician Superintendent to the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bedlam, see Rubin, *Roger Fry's 'Difficult and Uncertain Science',* 87–90.
[709] Fry, "Manet and the Post-impressionists," 12.

> plausible imitations of nature, against him at every step; and what is more his own self-consciousness hampers him as well.[710]

Fry describes the motif of unlearning as an unloading and simplifying of design until the artist reaches the desired synthesis. The promise of this development, says Fry, would be freedom from the restrictive system of design that would hold the artist back from becoming as radical as needed. For Fry, the child became a model of free artistic expressiveness with the artist as its alter ego. Whereas the child learns to draw like an adult, the adult artist must learn to perceive as a child. And yet, the modern artist is "neither naïve nor primitive" as such:

> It is the work of highly civilized and modern men trying to find a pictorial language appropriate to the sensibilities of the modern outlook. (…) these artists do not seek to imitate form, but to create form; not to imitate life, but to find an equivalent for life. (…) In fact, they aim not at illusion but at reality. [711]

Likewise, a painter such as Matisse for example, "deprives the figure of all appearance to nature [and so] the general effect of his pictures is that of a return to primitive, even perhaps (…) barbaric, art."[712]

Fry chose "primitive art" to justify avant-garde art historically: "All our histories of art," he writes, "are tainted with this error, and for the simple reason that progress in representation can be described and taught, whereas progress in art cannot easily be handled," and especially when it is thought of as a regress. Fry followed here nothing other than the general historical principle whereby "periods of high naturalism created the conditions for a return to the simple, the hieratic, 'the primitive'."[713] With the elaboration of a science of representation—as Fry judged Impressionism—during the nineteenth century, emotional expression was diminished altogether. At any such moment, a return to "the primitive" was, according to Fry, imperative.

An essential question for this topic is whether this "return" is undertaken consciously or subconsciously. In a psychoanalytical reading of Picasso's childlike sketches for *Guernica* (1937),

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[710] Fry, "Manet and the Post-impressionists,"12.
[711] Fry, "The French Group," 26.
[712] Fry quoted in Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader,* 85.
[713] Green, "Expanding the Canon," 125.

Ernst Gombrich argues that regression is a conscious decision only to a certain degree. It is primarily a product of the unconscious[714]. For Gombrich, Pablo Picasso epitomizes this "Lure of Regression."[715] He is the only modern artist Gombrich included in his work on primitivism, published posthumously in 2002 as *The Preference for the Primitive*. According to the British art historian, deliberate regression happens at the will of the ego, be it that of William Hogarth, Baudelaire, or Picasso, all three of whom called for a willful return to the stage of the untutored child. When Picasso stated that when he was a child, he "drew like Raphael" and had been trying to draw like a child ever since he expressed his wish to unlearn the artistic training he had received early on.[716] Picasso's famous remark serves Gombrich as the paradigm and, at the same time, the "parable of the problem of primitivism in art."[717] Learning from the child meant for Picasso to learn from his method and not from the distortions of form he had already found in non-Western art. The result of this *unlearning*, indistinguishable from the "art of children," could only attract the viewer's (more certainly so the art critic's) interest if the latter knew it to be by Picasso or any other "great master." Or, as Gombrich puts it, "the joke rests on the comparison," [718] wherein one relaxes one's standards to return to more "primitive ways."[719]

Understanding primitivism as an intellectual joke among connoisseurs and masters excludes every person who has not gone through the same learning experience. Gombrich's parable demonstrates the problem of primitivism in art, as he suggested, and the starting point for my investigation of women artists' primitivizing praxes as a "willed forgetfulness" (Baldacchino). Picasso's famous statement about him drawing like Raphael already at a young age and without any artistic training and trying to become a child again is a vital remark for my argument on several levels: first of all, it speaks of Picasso's consciousness of his historic position within art history

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[714] Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*. *Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art*. New York: Phaidon, 2002, 235. The author refers here to Freud's *The Ego and the Id*, first published in 1923 in German, *Das Ich und das Es.* Vienna: Internationaler Psycho-analytischer Verlag, W. W. Norton and Company, 1923.
[715] See Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, 235–241.
[716] Picasso's talent had been discovered by his father, himself an artist and art teacher, who taught him from the age of seven. For more information on Picasso's education, see the 2002 exhibition catalogue *Picasso Joven: Young Picasso*. María Teresa Ocaña, *Picasso Joven/Young Picasso*. A Coruña: Fundación Barrié, 2002, Exhibition catalogue.
[717] Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, 241.
[718] Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive,* 241.
[719] Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, 241.

and of taking willful action to regress towards an unconscious, childlike state that is unknown to him. The impossibility of this undertaking can be illustrated by Picasso's *Le Jeune Peintre* (1971), a picture he completed only one year before his death at the age of 90. Since the first exhibition of this painting shortly after his death, the work was thought of as a nostalgic self-portrait.[720] But as Nathalie Leleu convincingly argues, the painting of a young painter functions less as a commentary on his exceptional talent at an early age but as Picasso's *oeuvre testamentaire* preparing his posteriority.[721]

Conclusion – On the "Post" in Post-Impressionism

Two years after the first exhibition, Roger Fry returned to the Grafton Galleries to mount – together with Clive Bell and Boris von Anrep – the "Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition" (October 5 until December 31, 1912) **[Fig. 10]**. In his catalogue essay on the French group of post-Impressionists, Fry comments on the initial resistance of the public towards this new movement in art, "which was the more disconcerting in that it has no mere variation upon accepted themes but implied a reconsideration of the very purpose and aim as well as the methods of pictorial and plastic art."[722] The public, used to illusionistic representations, had been irritated by the "direct expression of feeling."[723] In 1910, Fry had been reflecting on the correct term to subsume the selected group of artists under. "Expressionists" had been one option, which would emphasize a distinction from the Impressionists. Still, as mentioned in this chapter, he finally opted for a title describing their chronological placement in art history. The "Post-Impressionist Label,"[724] as Adrienne Rubin calls it, provoked contemporary critics to doubt the accuracy and innovatory power of Fry's grouping. As a term, post-Impressionism was used in England to describe French avant-garde art before 1910, subsuming several distinct art movements that had been "labelled" differently in France prior to

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[720] As for example by Rafael Alberti and René Char in the catalogue to Picasso's first posthumous exhibition in may 1973 in Avignon. See *Exposition Picasso, 1970-1972*, 23 May – 30 September 1973, Palais des Papes Avignon, Avignon : Rullière-Libeccio, 1973.
[721] See Nathalie Leleu, *Picasso's Le Jeune Peintre*, Musée Picasso, Paris. (online publication)
[722] Fry, "The French Group." In *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition. British, French and Russian Artists*, edited by Grafton Galleries, 25–29. London: Ballantyne & Company, 1912.
[723] Fry, *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition*, 25.
[724] See Rubin's Chapter with the same title: Rubin, "Post-Impressionist Label", 92–93.

the exhibition.[725] Although Fry had first called the French group, later known as Post-Impressionists, "Expressionist Impressionists," he had a paradoxical relationship to the term, and the artists called Expressionists, especially German Expressionists.[726]

There is no evidence that Roger Fry was aware of German Expressionism (e.g. the artists of *Die Brücke* or *Der Blaue Reiter*) before the Post-Impressionist exhibitions. Nevertheless, Fry endorsed the work of Kandinsky during his 1913 participation at the Allied Artists' salon in a review of the exhibition.[727] Fry's review of Kandinsky's work points to his knowledge of the artist's aesthetic theory as outlined in his book *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*.[728] Michael T. Sadler introduced Fry to Kandinsky's work in 1913 before the Allied Artists exhibition after Michael T. Sadler and his father, Michael E. Sadler, had visited Kandinsky in Murnau in 1912 and brought some works back to London. After the initial idea to bring the exhibition of the artists' group Blauer Reiter, which had premiered in Munich in December of 1911,[729] to London had failed, Fry arranged for Sadler's works by Kandinsky to be shown instead in 1913.

Fry appreciated Kandinsky's ability to create emotions through the most reduced means, calling the Russian's composition "visual music." And yet he never followed him into pure geometric abstraction. For Fry, abstraction always meant "abstractions from a recognizable subject rather than pure abstractions."[730] It is very likely that Fry had read *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* by 1914, perhaps already in the German original prior to this review of Kandinsky's work. However, there is no evidence that Fry took note of the Blaue Reiter Almanac of 1912, where Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc tried to prove that all art possesses an "inner necessity" in both abstract and representational forms. Kandinsky and Marc consciously included foreign arts and

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[725] The strongest critique came from Walter Sickert, E.T. Hulme, and Frank Rutter. For their full arguments see, Sickert, "Post-Impressionists," *Fortnightly Review*, last modified January 2, 1911; Hulme, "Modern Art.- I. The Grafton Group," *New Age*, XIV (15 January 1914, 341-342; Rutter, "An Art Causerie," *Sunday Times*, 10 November 1912.
[726] For more on Fry's "Trouble with Expressionism," see Rubin, *Roger Fry's 'Difficult and Uncertain Science'*, 117–120.
[727] See Fry, "The Allied Artists," *Nation*, XIII (2 August 1913), 677.
[728] Published for the first time in German in 1911 before being translated into English in 1914 by Michael T. Sadler, a patron of Kandinsky and acquaintance of Fry. Rubin, *Roger Fry's 'Difficult and Uncertain Science'*, 112.
[729] "Der Blaue Reiter. Die Erste Ausstellung der Redaction," December 18 – January 3, 1912, Moderne Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser, Munich, Munich: Verlagsanstalt F. Bruckmann, 1911.
[730] Fry, "The Allied Artists,", 677.

stylistic diversity in their almanac. They aimed to show that art would know no national limits or artistic genre barriers and also to emphasize inner expression instead of outer form. Kandinsky and Marc grouped folk art, the art of children, African and Polynesian carvings, Bavarian reversed glass paintings, European older masters, and contemporary avant-garde art of the members of the Blue Rider and also of France and Russia.

Although Roger Fry did not subscribe to the spiritual over the material in art as Kandinsky, both did partake in a shared vision of art as an all-embracing force that crosses national borders, hierarchies of genres and art histories. Fry was convinced that the post-Impressionists borrowed the principles of primitive design but not their design directly. This is the most significant difference between Fry's aesthetic theory and the idea of twentieth century primitivism as formulated by Robert Goldwater or William Rubin where "primitivism is characterized as a stylistic influence from so-called primitive styles, particularly African and Oceanic, leading to overthrow of the classical hegemony in Western art."[731] In the same year, Wassily Kandinsky formulated a similar idea of the universality of art, including the necessity of a return to primitive art in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*, published in 1911 but officially dated to 1912.[732] Today, those positions are recognized for what they are, cultural appropriation, however, at the time they expressed a critical perspective of the generalized assumption of constant artistic progress.

In the first part of this thesis, I argued that the retrogressive nature of Fry's post-impressionists' unlearning consisted in a willed act of forgetting their academic training and emancipating themselves from their education. Their unlearning went beyond a yearning for the origins of art, as described in chapter 2. Unlearning at the beginning of the twentieth century was more than just a means to emancipate oneself from the great masters of the past but to reach autonomy in and through art itself. Making Roger Fry the theorist of unlearning at the beginning of the twentieth century turns my argument from a national into a trans-national one: this geo-esthetic reading of the avant-garde guided by Roger Fry's critical writing connects ultimately London to Paris and English art writing to modern women art praxes. And yet, Emily Carr and

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[731] Frances Connelly, "Primitivism,", 2014
[732] Reed, *A Roger Fry Reader*, 86–89. Fry became aware of Kandinsky and his work in 1913 through Michael E. Sadler, a London patron of Kandinsky. His son, Michael T. Sadler would publish Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1911) in 1914. For more on Fry's fascination with Kandinsky's art and theoretical work, see Rubin, *Roger Fry's 'Difficult and Uncertain Science'*, 110–116.

Gabriele Münter do not come to Paris to learn about modern art but to learn how to unlearn. This unlearning, as it turn out, bears substantially more risks for women artists than for their male peers of the European avant-garde. Instead of an appropriation of design, unlearning asks Carr and Münter to get familiar with the subjects and techniques that would change their artistic praxes long-lasting.

Part 2 – Unlearning as a Woman Artist Praxis at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

The second part of this thesis puts education into the focus of the discussion on women artists' unlearning. At the beginning of the 1970s, feminist art historians like Linda Nochlin recognized "women's education to aesthetic form" (Nesbit) and the lack thereof as the major impediment for women to succeed in becoming professional artists. Those reflections ran parallel to critical pedagogy theorists such as the Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (1921-1997), who questioned systems of knowledge production in his *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968). During the last ten years, and under the influence of the financial crisis of 2008 and social movements like Occupy wall street, scholars from a broad range of disciplines became interested in the idea of unlearning to describe a willingness to flatten hierarchies and produce inclusive decision-making. Scholars working in queer theory, post and decolonial theory and art pedagogy use the concept of unlearning to represent a necessary paradigm shift to change ways of knowledge production within their disciplines. In art history, unlearning cannot only concern the praxis of history writing asking for "potential histories" (Azoulay) but needs to take into consideration the conditions of participating in art history through academic education. Similar to the situation of English art described in part one of this thesis, having "nothing to unlearn" becomes a starting point for reflection and action about one's position within art history. Paralleling the fate of English art writing throughout the long nineteenth century and the challenges of women artists at the turn of the twentieth century is combining two marginal subject matters in art history writing, offering an alternative to a modern art history told through French avant-garde and the œuvre of one of its hereos, e.g. Henri Matisse or Pablo Picasso.

In the second part of this thesis, I extend my reflection to the case of modern women artists. I understand unlearning as artistic praxis women exercised to negotiate their disadvantages. Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's privileged access to education made authors overlook their "critical consciousness"[733] towards their education and privileges. Understood as a free, authentic and self-

[733] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 35.

conscious action, unlearning becomes a praxis in the Marxist tradition: it joins early feminist authors who demanded that women take responsibility for their role within the systemic oppression under patriarchy. Both Carr and Münter were equally confronted with the impossible reconciliation of their professional and artistic ambitions. The case studies assembled in the second part of this thesis serve to prove how their failure to become part of the academic art world became a catalyst for unlearning. This "learning to unlearn" was supported by technology, mobility and humour. All three served them to transgress social and gender norms and ultimately helped them undiscipline themselves from the art education they thought suitable for women of their generation.

Unlearning as a women artists' praxis runs parallel to the modern artist's quest for originality.[734] The need to distinguish oneself from other artists is a symptom of the modern era. According to Nathalie Heinich, the dictum of "singularité" in the modern era equals the artisanal regiment of the medieval ages or the predominance of academic professionalism of the classical era.[735] In her analysis of Lucien Arréat's 1892 *Psychologie des peintres*, Heinich explains that since Romanticism, the artist's vocation was defined by individuality, singularity and authenticity—without monetary motivation and in touch with ("à la proximité") his internal and instinctive experience of making art.[736] By the end of the nineteenth century, talent and genius were considered prerequisites of artistic singularity. Once again and for the first time after the Renaissance, the idea of being born an artist is promoted.[737] The price the genius artist has to pay is to be considered boarderline abnormal: "Femmes, enfant, primitifs, voire fous ou idiots: le peintre [du fin de 19ieme siècl] ainsi representé se trouve systématiquement mis en relation avec des états-limites, sur la frontière labile entre normal et anormal."[738] Women artists of the end of the nineteenth century had to face the impossibility of satisfying neither the regime of professionalism nor that of singularity—this is the reason why they started to unlearn.

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[734] On the dogma of originality, see Michael Zimmermann, "Künstlerische Selbstfindung jenseits von Einflüssen. Manet und Vélazquez, 'Maler der Maler'," In *Einfluss, Strömung, Quelle. Aquatische Metaphern der Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Ulrich Pfisterer and Christine Tauber, Bielefeld: transcript Image, 2018, 97-137, 104.
[735] Nathalie Heinich, "Le muséum des muses. Catégorisation scientifique et singularité artistique à la fin du XIXe siècle," *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines*, no.13, 2005, 209-226, 217.
[736] Heinich, "Le muséum des muses," 219.
[737] Heinich, "Le muséum des muses," 215.
[738] Heinich, "Le muséum des muses," 222.

Analyzing Carr's and Münter's private collections of books for the first time, I am questioning the idea of knowledge production as an additive model of constant progress and, at the same time, rethinking the "myth of artistic progress" (Hazan) that had been promoted in art history for centuries and that lies at the basis of modern art. A close reading of the artists' annotations and traces they left behind inside their books shows how both reflected and acted upon their immediate environment while unlearning the limitations imposed on them due to their gender and class. The case study on the private libraries of Carr and Münter presented as an interlude aims to establish both women as "thinking artists" and, simultaneously, introduce the concept of unlearning to their artistic praxes. Within the protected space of their private libraries, they could engage with the books deliberately and free from the limitations at play within institutions of higher education. In the last chapter of part two, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter negotiate the subjective and objective world, not through their books but through their art. Confronted with the avant-garde paradigm, each in their way, needed to negotiate their personal unlearning within modern aesthetics.

Here the case studies on both women's oeuvres before WWI follow signs of unlearning that exemplify the transformational force of this concept within the body of work of an artist. Understood as a travelling concept, unlearning becomes only palpable in action. The last chapter of this thesis follows Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter on travels. Their first contact with their subject matter happened as tourists. However, they gained awareness of the importance of their respective "ethno-artistic" project when they were confronted with European avant-garde's "primitivist revolution" (Restillini). In contrast to the myth of an aesthetic revolution by shock, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter integrated their ethnographic motifs into their existing artistic praxes through a form of "creative dissociation" (Pasi). In contrast to their male contemporaries, Carr and Münter did not connect their motifs to the far away and long ago but identified with cultures of their immediate environment and artistic techniques on the verge of disappearing.

Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's unlearning is a process in several steps: Carr's and Münter's Paris sojourn is not judged by the direct contact with the French avant-garde but only by analyzing their selective adoption of techniques, perspective and choice of subject matter. Their Paris sojourn brought both artists closer to their subject matter found years before their arrival. In a series of willed acts of forgetfulness in the months and years following their Parisian stay, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter metabolize their avant-garde experience through their subject matter.

Paris is not the beginning for their modern journey but one vital step in their process of unlearning—as it had been for Roger Fry in developing his idea of a retrogressive Post-Impressionism.

Emily Carr in Brittany and Gabriele Münter, on her settling in Murnau, recognized in the local folklore traditions motifs they had singled out before arriving in France. Both are fascinated with monumental sculptures in the actual landscape that get translated into their landscape and still life conceptions. During their French sojourn, they unlearned outdated ways of making art by learning about the Fauve palette and usage of the brush. Instead of tracing the direct influences of French avant-garde painting within their oeuvre, I am looking out for an unlearning understood as the recognition of one's ability to unlearn in the form of a surprising recollection of something initially thought of as lost. This kind of unlearning is facilitated not through the foreign and exotic, as in modern primitivism, but the familiar.

Emily Carr's "awakening," as she called it, is due neither to the "shock" of having looked at Phelan Gibb's distorted bodies and his Fauve style of painting nor to the "primitive" culture and lifestyle of the Brittons that had served modern artists like Paul Gauguin as a subject before, but to the realization that the subject matter she had chosen for herself in 1907 was, in fact, a valid modern art project. For her part, when she moved to Murnau in 1909, Gabriele Münter made a home in a region of Germany that was steeped in popular folklore practices and religious monuments. During her travels in Tunis and South Tyrol, Münter developed a fascination for this kind of historical monument. As she engaged in traditional folk art, reversed glass painting, she reconnected with the modern design conceptions she had explored while training with Steinlen in Paris. The production of multi-coloured wood prints in Paris and the reversed painting process facilitated her revision of landscape painting and ultimately led her to integrate the folklore object and the avant-garde aesthetics into her still lifes.

Emily Carr established her artistic agenda and fostered her stylistic development towards modern art by deliberately choosing British Columbia's totem poles as her subject matter while identifying with the Indigenous carver. In comparison, Gabriele Münter engaged in the domestic tradition of her immediate environment by learning the ancient folk art practice of *Hinterglasmalerei* from the supposedly last painter behind glass and collected folk art. Both artists created collections of pictures that integrated ethnographic objects from their immediate

surroundings: Emily Carr selected totem poles in their original setting while she was travelling through the Northwest coast of her home province, British Columbia and Gabriele Münter invested into her collection of folk art displayed in her Munich flat.

The familiar becomes a primary factor and condition of unlearning while sustaining an uncanny[739] quality. Freud's "uncanny" ("*unheimlich*") stands in the German language for the "non-familiar" and, literally, the "unhomely"—the German root "-heimlich" meaning "home" and at the same time the socio-spatial notion of *Heimat*, the German word for homeland. In his 1919 essay, "The Uncanny", Sigmund Freud introduced that term into the psycho-analytical discourse as a "subject of aesthetics."[740] I argue that Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter chose First Nations and folklore art not for their exotic nature but for their potential to reshape their artistic project. Furthermore, I claim that these two women artists consciously chose objects from their respective homelands and their immediate environment. Finally, I will further dive into what exactly gets unlearned in their art production and how this "art of unlearning" created by Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter was received by modern art history.

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[739] For more on the "uncanny" in Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's work in chaper 6.4.
[740] Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny'," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XVII (1917-1919): An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works*, edited by James Strachey, 217-256, 219. https://pep-web.org/browse/document/SE.017.0000A?page=PR0004, accessed 15 September 2021.

Chapter 4. Institutions and ambitions: On becoming a professional woman artist

> Amy had some claim to the divine attribute [patience], for she persevered in spite of all obstacles, failures, and discouragements, firmly believing that in time she should do something worthy called "high art." She was learning, doing, and enjoying other things, meanwhile, for she had resolved to be an attractive and accomplished woman, even if she never became a great artist.[741]

> The objection that women have not brought forth geniuses is neither verified nor conclusive. Geniuses do not fall from heaven, they need the opportunity for education and development, and this is what women were lacking until now.[742]

> Besides the practical advantages that academic studies offer, one big inner motif speaks in favor of the opening of the academies, which is at the basis of the women's movement: Demanding moral justice that the state cannot deny. We are working and striving humans. We want our fair share, we want to take part in the richness of our people, by learning, teaching and creating! Art is, if not the highest, for sure the most beautiful possession of a people, and we want to work together to increase this valuable good, for our own sake and for our people.[743]

Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's generation had one goal: being a full member of the art world through "learning, teaching and creating" as Henni Lehmann summarized it in her 1913 talk. What had been discussed as a question of genius and talent for centuries turned into a question of social justice on the verge of WWI. Women were asking for equal opportunities for education. But these

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[741] Louisa May Alcott. *Little Women*. Boston, MA: Roberts Brothers, 1869, 264.
[742] August Bebel, *Woman and Socialism*, New York: Socialist Literature Co., 1910, 240. The German original, "Die Frau und der Sozialismus" was published for the first time in 1879.
[743] Henni Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen. Ein Vortrag von Henni Lehmann, gehalten zu Frankfurt a.M., Mai 1913*, edited by Verein Frauenbildung-Frauenstudium, Darmstadt: Alexander Koch, 1913, 24-5.

opportunities were curated by a misogynist society where women were systematically excluded from places of higher learning. Women artists at the turn of the twentieth century might have had one thing in common with eighteenth-century English art and artists, which is "nothing to unlearn." Having been excluded from places of learning for centuries, women had consequentially been robbed of their chances for unlearning. This chapter concentrates on the ways Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter faced this impossibility. In this chapter we will explore the context of art education and artistic professionalization on an international level, focusing on conditions in Canada and Germany, with Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter as a point of comparison, unique and yet emblematic in its significance.

Artistic education and training available for women at the end of the nineteenth century were closely linked to the general "woman question" of that time. During the nineteenth century, women's role in society changed under the influence of industrialization and urbanization. By the end of the century, the commodification of culture and, most notably, the women's rights movement had started to touch every aspect of life. Economic and social changes drove women into the workforce and out of the home. Formerly the place of domestic labour and bearing and rearing of the next generation, the domestic space started to lose its importance. Furthermore, many working-class women had to contribute to the family's earnings, which required adequate training. By the 1860s, this need had also reached middle-class and bourgeois societies.[744]

For example: in the 1890s, approximately 12.8% of German women had a recognized cash income, often unequal to their husband's income, which they earned in the field of handicrafts, education, and labour. As soon as new workspaces opened, they were immediately gendered and with it the profession: producing was considered "male," care-work "female." Women's work under capitalist terms was often invisible, even for critics of capitalism like Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The domestic industry, as Alois Riegl called it,[745] still a notable part of the overall economy in Germanic countries, became increasingly feminized as men started to work in more

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[744] On the socio-economic changes between 1875 and 1914 in general and "The New Woman", see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914*, London: Abacus, 2012 (1st edition 1987),192-218.
[745] What Alois Riegl called "Hausindustrie" is an umbrella term for a manufacturing industry in the domestic space engaging the whole family to work in. In the 1890s, domestic industry was occupying substantial labour in Germany (7%), Switzerland (20%) and Austria (34 %) was still very much existent, but mostly underpaid and exploited. Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 197.

large-scale manufacturing outside the family home.[746] As men left home for work, the former family-operated enterprises became female, run by their unpaid and exploited labour, under the guise of women's pastime. The rural population was untouched by industrialization at this time, and men and women still worked together with their children to secure their standard of living. Here domestic and work life were still one.[747] Almost simultaneously, this unity of life and work and the authentic lifestyle of rural areas became the nostalgic ideal of avant-garde artists who settled in groups in the European countryside like for example the *Blaue Reiter* in the South of Munich.[748]

While women began taking on more income-earning responsibilities, they were still excluded from society and confined to the domestic sphere. Moral, biological, or psychological arguments declared women unfit and incapable of doing anything more than fulfilling their roles as mothers and wives. Taking up a profession was considered unnatural since it competed with the role of a mother; women risked failing at both. After introducing compulsory education and admitting young women to secondary school education, universities, throughout the Western world and some of its colonies, reluctantly began to open their doors to women. Each university decided for itself whether to admit women, and such a decision was not only predicated on their gender, but also on class and financial capacity.[749] Access to secondary education and, subsequently, to university progressed enormously from 1880 up to WWI.[750] Russia, Switzerland, and the U.S. can be considered exceptionally advanced in this regard, and yet, access to higher learning institutions

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[746] Already in 1894 does the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl made domestic art production an object of art historic study. Alois Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie*, Berlin: Georg Siemens, 1894.
[747] At the turn of the twentieth century, avant-garde artists grouped in the countryside and revived this nostalgic ideal of unity between life and work, working together in groups and couples. Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter are just examples of a modern artist couple. In 1908, they moved to the countryside to live and work together. Their artistic practice developed at the same time avant-garde and folkloric, meeting with fellow artists at home to practice the ancient technique of reversed glass painting, a traditional domestic industry of the region around Murnau, their new place of residence.
[748] Nina Lübren, *Rural artists' colonies in Europe 1870-1910*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
[749] Already in the 1840s, the Swiss University of Zurich admitted women – first as visiting students, later full-time – especially in faculties of medicine and law. France (1863), Sweden (1870), Denmark (1875) and Belgium (1883) followed shortly after. In the German Reich women were not admitted to universities prior to 1909, whereas some German kingdoms had opened their universities already before, like Bavaria in 1903.
[750] For further statistics and the exact numbers of girls attending secondary education see Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire,* 203-204.

did not mean that the same level of education was received by women and young men. For progress, admission needed to go hand in hand with an adequate education system; still, this system mirrored society's class and gender divisions. This explains why the earliest women's rights movements focused on the right to work and equality through education.

Art academies were the last places of higher education to open their doors to women. Their case is distinct, engaged in the convergence of many issues: equality in education, the right to partake in society through a chosen profession, as well as the moral issues that touched on the role of women in society, including questions about women's intellectual faculties.[751] In the public discourse around opening academies to women, the above-mentioned questions were discussed in an often violent and misogynistic manner that paralleled the discussion around the "New Woman" initiated in the 1890s. As young women did not content themselves anymore with becoming "accomplished" women and were aiming to become professional artists, the case of the woman artist at the turn of the century is a special one: they faced enormous scrutiny since their ambitions were twofold, professional as well as artistic.

4.1. Women, Art, and Education: Inhibitions and Opportunities

4.1.1. From Accomplishments to Ambitions via Professionalization

From the end of the eighteenth century up to the beginning of the twentieth century, the expectations for women's achievements in the arts drastically changed. In the late eighteenth century, visual arts education for women consisted of acquiring drawing and painting skills,

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[751] Gender biases against women's capacities are still present, in the art world as well as places of higher education and society at large, as recent research could show. Gerog Baselitz' infamous commentary "Women don't paint very well, it's a fact," lead Helen Gørrill to revisit Linda Nochlin's question "Why have there been no great women artists?" to expose gender pay gaps and institutionalized sexism. Helen Gørrill, *Women Can't Paint. Gender, the Glass Ceiling and Values in Contemporary Art*, London: Bloomsbury Visual Art, 2020. The evidence of "gender bias" against women and girls and their intellectual ability and especially "brilliance" is studied today in psychology and annex disciplines. See here especially Lin Bian's work. Lin Bian, Andrei Cimpian, Sarah-Jane Leslie, "Evidence of Bias Against Girls and Women in Contexts that Emphasize Intellectual Ability," *American Psychlogist,* vol. 73, no. 9, 2018, 1139-1153. https://www.princeton.edu/~sjleslie/Evidence%20of%20Bias.pdf, accessed 15 September 2021.

whereas men were taught to judge others' drawing and painting. In her 1993 article, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance,"[752] Ann Bermingham contrasts what she calls "the accomplished woman" with the gentleman connoisseur of eighteenth-century England. I interpret the accomplished woman as a precursor to the new woman,[753] but where the accomplished woman performed her role within the domestic space, the new woman of the nineteenth century needed to leave to pursue her ambitions.[754]

The first women confronted with a significant shift in their own and society's way of looking at and judging their femininity were not women artists but women working as domestic servants:[755] flower girls and women working at factories or in sweated labour. As Kristina Huneault pointed out in her 2002 study, *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture, Britain 1880–1914*, women workers faced competition and anxieties about their presence in the workforce and were considered dangerous and disrupters of the social order. The shift from accomplishments to ambitions that I want to underline in this chapter is nothing short of a revolution and it accompanied the professionalization of women as artists throughout the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, women's accomplishments were social attributes for women to possess in order to distinguish themselves from other women during courtship. In the nineteenth century, ambitions were developed by the women themselves and mostly against social order. At this time, as Bermingham puts it, "women were positioned in relation to all the cultural sites and practices from which they were excluded by virtue of their sex – by being positioned in relation to certain specific constructions of masculine subjectivity – the artist, the critic, the artisan, the connoisseur, to name but a few."[756] The accomplished woman was versed in the kind of arts appropriate for her sex, like needle work, flower still lifes et.al.. The goal was thereby not to

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[752] Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance," 1993.
[753] On the phenomenon of "the new woman", see Mary Louise Robert, *Disruptive acts: the new woman in fin-de-siècle France*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002; Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, *The New Woman in Fiction and in Fact: Fin-De-siècle Feminism,* New York: Palgrave, 2002.
[754] For a collection of contemporary texts about women at the end of the nineteenth century driving the societal change about women's role, see Angelique Richardson, ed., *Women Who Did*, London: Penguin, 2005.
[755] Kristina Huneault, *Difficult Subjects: Working Women and Visual Culture*, Britain 1880-1914, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002, 5.
[756] Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance," 5.

become a perfect artist, but a perfect woman.[757] Being an accomplished woman meant living up to society's (read: men's) expectations, a seemingly unattainable and impossible goal. This difficulty in becoming an accomplished woman was mirrored by the impossibility of becoming a professional woman artist. By describing this process of becoming a woman artist as "impossible," I am not arguing that there were not successful examples of women achieving such a goal; Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter are two notable examples. Instead, I want to emphasize the difficulties, setbacks, and, ultimately, the price that these women had to pay for transgressing the limitations of social and gender norms. Yearning for artistic education and a professional artistic career forced these women to constantly risk failure, not to mention their reputation. While their male contemporaries might have been risking failure to succeed as well when going off the well-trodden path, their risk was lying elsewhere: while the modern male artist was risking being perceived as "feminine" in his expression to stick out as an original artist, female contemporaries were thought of as incapable of singularity and doomed to be average, or worse, an amateur.[758] I will argue that Carr and Münter were conscious about this risk and doing it anyway modified the way they approached their learning experience. This will become comprehensible in my analysis of their private documention of their art training in sketchbooks and drawings.

Since the eighteenth century, the fate of an accomplished woman was directly linked to her role in a capitalist society, where her worth was measured by her ability to attract and keep a husband. Seen as unable to abstract themselves from nature, women artists were nevertheless able to represent nature in their art, as Bermingham demonstrates through Maria Cosway's *Progress of Female Virtue and The Progress of Female Dissipation* (c. 1800) **[Fig. 11]**. Cosway's work shows a female artist looking out a window and sketching the landscape. Next to her, placed on an easel, is a finished work showing a mother bending over her child's cradle. As Bermingham reads Cosway's image: the accomplished woman artist is unaware of becoming the art/object herself. By becoming an artist, she has automatically defied her nature.

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[757] Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance," 7.

[758] For more on this dilemma, see Nathalie Heinich's reading of Max Nordau's General types of superioir men. A philosophico-psychological study of genius, talent and Philistinism in their bearings upon human society, published for the first time in its French translation from the German in 1897, In Heinich, "Le muséum des muses," 224.

One hundred years later, women who wanted to become artists were still challenging social and gender norms. It needs mentioning that, Victorian society—as much as in Prussian—was shaped by social codes and behavioural norms. In this era, a woman could challenge social and gendered norms by "reading too much, wanting an education, not wanting to marry or otherwise demanding more freedoms and forms of mobility then those allocated to her gender and class."[759] While the transgression of social and gender norms could happen easily for women independent of their class and race, the consequences were certainly not the same. Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter come from white, upper middle-class families that could finance their daughters' artistic education. Since public art academies remained closed to women for most of the nineteenth century and, in some countries, up until WWI (or longer), women were forced to train in private art institutions. For a complete and comparative chart of Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's biographies and historic events in art, education and politics concerning the women's rights, see Annex A.

In 2012, Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson observed the problematic nature of the "professional paradigm." They explain that the judgement on women making art was solely based on the art-world professionalism, promoted since the mid-nineteenth century, which only took into account the art genres and media considered High Art. This paradigm was "reinforcing the dominance of painting and continuing to overlook those, like Aboriginal women, whose stories are just not effectively framed by the professional paradigm. To tell a story of professionalism is to reinforce a narrative of margins and peripheries."[760] This is equally true for transatlantic comparisons of female professionals escaping the idea of "belated" modernities. While comparing Carr and Münter, I will not try to "match" their professional development in parallel steps towards becoming modern artists, but work on distilling internal preconditions inherent in each biography that resonate with each other. Huneault showed that classed and gendered expectations regarding

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[759] Kat Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers: Victorian Women Inventors and Their Extraordinary Cycle Wear*, Brussels: Goldsmith Press, 2018, 32.
[760] Kristina, Huneault and Janice Anderson. *Rethinking Professionalism : Women and Art in Canada, 1850-1970*. Mcgill-Queen's/Beaverbrook Canadian Foundation Studies in Art History. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012, 43.

appropriate feminine behaviour structured women's professionalism in relation to the dominant paradigm of "art-world professionalism."[761]

4.1.2. Art Education for Women from an International Perspective

The longer a country's academic tradition had lasted, the longer it took to render the public art institutions available to women. Each country developed different strategies during the nineteenth century to hinder women's professional ambitions in the arts and also prevent them from settling into the art world.[762] By the turn of the twentieth century, the professionalization of women artists was highly affected by aesthetic and social reorganizations that opened the door for artistic careers, like those of Carr and Münter. I do not intend to present a complete study on women's art education in the nineteenth century: I rather aim to illustrate the educational situation in the countries where Carr and Münter studied in order to understand the obstacles and opportunities that they faced to reconcile their professional and artistic ambitions. For a general overview of the most important dates and events in women's education running parallel to the feminist movement of the nineteenth century, see **Annex A** of this thesis.[763]

Prior to the Weimar Republic, in most of Germany's kingdoms and principalities, women artists' professional ambitions depended on patronage, as art education was available through

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[761] See Kristina Huneault, "Professionalism as Critical Concept and Historical Process for Women and Art in Canada," In *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada, 1850–1970*, edited by Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson, 3–52. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012, 43.
[762]The history of women's inclusion in the academy is not a linear progression. On the contrary, many newly found academies, like the Royal Academy of London and the Canadian Royal Academy, had women as their founding members. And yet, this does not mean that women's admission could have been taken for granted. For example, the Bavarian Royal Academy had since its foundation in 1808 female members, but only in 1838 did the academy decide to officially exclude women artists (with one exception) from the institution until their inclusion was granted by law in 1920. https://www.adbk.de/en/akademie-en/archive/chronicle.html, accessed 15 September 2021. Akademie der bildenden Künste München
[763] Concerning art education in the wake of industrialization, see John Swift, "Women and Art Education at Birmingham's Art Schools 1880-1920: Social Class, Opportunity and Aspiration," *Journal of Art & Design Education* 18, no. 3, 2002, 317-326. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5949.00189, accessed 15 September 2021; For a more general perspective on women's art education at the turn of the century, see J. Diane Radycki, "The Life of Lady Art Students: Changing Art Education at the Turn of the Century," *Art Journal*, 42, no. 1, (Spring 1982): 9-13; For a comparative international perspective on the same topic, see Delia Gaze, ed. *Dictionary of Women Artists*, *Volume 1, Introductory Surveys, Artists, A-I,* London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997.

private lessons or, exceptionally, at one of the public academies. For women who were not members of artist families, artistic ambitions were not only costly, but also implied putting these women at risk of losing their "good reputation." Caught between having no access to education and being excluded from academies due to a lack of education, women artists who could afford to went to work in Paris or Rome. By the midnineteenth- century and after the unsuccessful revolution of 1848 in Germany that provoked a huge emigration wave to the U.S. (e.g., Gabriele Münter's parents and grandparents), many women were forced to take up work outside the home to sustain their living. In the second half of the nineteenth-century, applied arts and design schools designated for women were founded to protect them from poverty or prostitution, but were by no means intended to prepare them for a career as a professional artist. As part of Germany's overall hostile climate towards working women, middle – and upper-middle-class women who pursued professions in the arts presented their choice as a hobby to keep it from looking like ambition. As a particularity of the overall hostile attitutude towards working women in German, middle-class and upper-middle-class women who chose the arts as a profession presented their choice as leisure. Constantly accused of amateurism, art education was very much a question of class and fortune. This is certainly true for Gabriele Münter. In 1901, when she made her decision to continue studying in Munich, she casually writes about her decision: "I was tired of music, dancing, singing, biking, …, why not Munich."[764] In later years, when her inheritance was all gone, she would never teach, even though from the 1920's, she had trouble making ends meet.[765]

The beginning of the German women's movement can be dated to 1865 with the foundation of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein* (General German Women Association). Two years later, the first association of women artists was founded in Berlin (*Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen 1867 e.V.*). It promoted the arts made by women with regular exhibitions, the foundation of an art school on an academic level (1868), and easier access to credit

[764] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 87.

[765] For an English biography of Münter with ample information of majour life events see **Annex A**, and Annegret Hoberg and Shulamith Behr, *Gabriele Münter. The Search for Expression 1906-1917*, London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 2005, 12-17; Reinhold Heller, *Gabriele Münter: The Years of Expressionism 1903-1920*, Munich: Prestel, 1997.

institutions (since 1868) and pension funds (since 1884).[766] Following Berlin's example, the Association of Women Artists Munich (*Künstlerinnen-Verein München*) was founded in 1882, bringing together women artists as well as patrons from Munich's upper class – wives, daughters or sisters of Munich's most important families – who promoted women artists on the art market.[767]

Supporting the professionalization of women, the Association of Women Artists Munich aimed to elevate the image of women artists in society and better their artistic training by opening their own art school called the Ladies' Academy of the Women Artists Association (*Damen-Akademie des Künstlerinnen-Vereins München,* 1884–1920),[768] which attracted women artists from all over Germany, including members of the associations of Berlin,[769] Karlsruhe, and Vienna. The curriculum of the Munich Ladies Academy tried to replace the women's missing academic training and differentiate itself from the new schools of design that attracted many artistic women.[770] To support women's professional as well as artistic ambitions, they offered classes in drawing and painting, including nude lifeclasses. The students chose their teachers freely, had access to studios, and received feedback several times a week. Mandatory courses included, perspective, painting techniques, art history, and anatomy. Additionally, students could select between different preparatory courses: portraits, still life (drawing and painting), lifeclass (drawing and painting), design and illustration, or sculpture. During the summer, these women took part in excursions to the countryside around Munich to paint *en plein air.*[771]

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[766] Famous members of the Berlin association were Paula Modersohn-Becker, Käthe Kollwitz, Charlotte Berend-Corinth, Lotte Laserstein, Renée Sintenis, or Käthe Lassen. In 1920, Käthe Kollwith becomes the first female Professor at the *Prussian Academy of Arts,* Berlin until 1933. The Archive of the *Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen 1867 e.V.* is housed today at the Berlin Academy (*Akademie der Künste Berlin*). Online accessable through https://archiv.adk.de/objekt/2938282, accessed 15 September 2021.

[767] On the foundation of the Künstlerinnen-Verein München, see Yvette Deseyve, *Der Künstlerinnen-Verein München e.V. und seine Damen-Akdemie. Eine Studie zur Ausbildungssituation von Künstlerinnen im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert,* Munich: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2005, 35-38.

[768] Gabriele Münter was officially enroled from May 1901 until 1904. For a complete list of former members of the *Künstlerinnen-Verein München,* see Deseyve, *Der Künstlerinnen-Verein München,*141-196.

[769] Käthe Kollwitz is usually associated with the Berlin Women Art Association but was also studying painting and etching at the Ladies Academy Munich around 1890.

[770] Since 1872, the Munich Academy for Applied Arts (*Kunstgewerbeschule),* opened a department exclusively for women, training them in the applied arts but also in design and technical drawing to qualify as drawing teachers. Deseyve, *Der Künstlerinnen-Verein München,* 20-24.

[771] Deseyve, *Der Künstlerinnen-Verein München*,74-79.

The introduction of art education in Canada, as well as the U.S., followed a different path and was closely intertwined with the settler colonial project that first introduced the European artistic tradition to the Eastern settlements of Québec and the Maritimes, and later to other provinces in Western Canada. The first art school in Canada, the Ontario School of Art, was founded in 1876 with a few women students and one woman teacher, Charlotte Schreiber. Schreiber, who later became a founding member of the Royal Canadian Academy (1880), remained the only woman teacher until 1933. By the end of the nineteenth century, the growth of women's engagement in private art initiatives led to the formation of art schools in Toronto (1886), Halifax (1887), and Montreal (1891). These schools were modelled after the English South Kensington School of Art that already had the applied and industrial arts in their curriculum. Still, female students who wanted access to life drawing were forced to study abroad in London, Paris, or New York. While London offered decent training for Canadians eager to return to the "homeland," Paris presented opportunities be part of an artistic movement.[772]

The more women artists studied abroad; the more U.S. schools were under pressure to open admission to a women consumer base. By the nineteenth century, several art centers had been established in the U.S. in places like Philadelphia (Academy Fine Arts, 1805) and New York,[773] as well as in Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and San Francisco. After the Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Fall, NY in 1848, the women's movement found new followers among women artists. This led to the creation of multiple art schools for industrial and decorative art all over the country. The second major socio-political event that fostered women's professionalization in the U.S. was the end of the Civil War.

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[772] For a study on the educational journey taken by English-Canadian women artists, Laura Muntz (1860-1930), Florence McGillivray (1860-1938), HelenMcNicoll (1879-1915) and Prudence Heward (1896-1947), see Lori Beavis, *An Educational Journey: Women's Art Training in Canada and Abroad, 1880-1929*, Master thesis, Montréal: Concordia University, 2006. https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/id/eprint/9279/1/MR20791.pdf, accessed 15 Septeber 2021; For a study on Canadians' participation in the Paris Salon, see Sylvain Allaire, "Les Artistes Canadiens Aux Salons De Paris, De 1870 À 1914 : (Salons Des Artistes Vivants - Des Artistes Français. Salons De La Nationale Des Beaux-Arts. Salons Des Artistes Indépendants. Salons D'automne)," Dissertation, Université de Montréal, 1985.

[773] On women's art education in Northern America during the long 19th century see, Nancy Mowll Mathews, "North America, 19th century" in *Dictionary of Women Artists*, *ed.* Delia Gaze, London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997, 132-136; Natalie Luckyj, "Canada," in *Dictionary of Women Artists, ed.* Delia Gaze, 136-137. London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997, 136-137.

After the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, American women artists received a second chance to shine at the Word's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. The Woman's Building exhibition hall's motto was "women gathering fruits from the tree of knowledge," which was congenially illustrated by Mary Cassatt's now-lost monumental panel painting, *Modern Woman* **[Fig. 12]** where a group of young girls and women are picking apples together, using ladders where they might not reach. The event, and Cassatt's painting, stressed the role of newly improved educational opportunities in aiding women to become an effective force in modern society. At the World's Fair, Cassatt's panel was juxtaposed with Mary MacMonnies's *Primitive Woman.* As extant photographs of the event show, the mural portrayed different classical female stereotypes of women "working": working the ground, carrying water, washing children, and serving men.[774] By the end of the nineteenth century, women were gathering knowledge, the "forbidden fruit" of Victorian society. In the eyes of Mary Cassatt and Mary MacMonnies, women thriving for education and training were thought of as "modern" whereas accepting traditional role models was deemed "primitive." Due to their own professional and artistic ambitions, both Carr and Münter were part of the group of "modern women."

When it comes to women in the work force – inside and outside the art world – Britain stands at the beginning of women's professionalization – in the arts and in general.[775] With the help of emancipated middle-class women, art practice spread from the exclusive upper-class to the middle-class by the middle of the century. Accepted by society as a pastime, more began to take their "hobby" seriously and tried to earn an income or, at least, gain some independence from family dynamics. In their attempt to leave behind their prescribed roles as wives and mothers, women turned to a profession that involved no form of care (as opposed to nursing, teaching, and housekeeping). The intellectual debate about "the woman question" that was intended to nullify women's attempts to leave the place assigned to them by patriarchal society covered topics including, "woman's innate abilities, her proper or desired roles in society generally and culture in

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[774] For more on the lost panels of the Chicago woman house, see Wanda M. Corn, *Women Building History. Public Art at the 1893 Columbian Exposition*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2011, 113-127; Carolyne Kinder Carr and Sally Webster, "Mary Cassatt and Mary Fairchild MacMonnies: The Search for Their 1893 Murals," *American Art* 8, no. 1, (Winter 1994): 52-69; John Hutton, "Picking fruit: Mary Cassatt's Modern Woman and the woman's building of 1893," *Feminist Studies* 20, no. 2, (Summer 1994): 318;

[775] Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 199.

particular, her moral probity and her intellectual worth."[776] The "woman question" remained active well into the second half of the twentieth century and was only interrupted by two world wars, where women took over men's job without question or hesitation, only to be sent back to the margins of the professional sphere afterwards.[777]

Until women were accepted under certain conditions to the Royal Academy in 1861, women artists had to search for acknowledgement of their artistic production elsewhere. They found it, for example, in Pre-Raphaelitism, which highly valued the genres traditionally executed by women painters: still lifes, landscapes, and domestic scenes. In the subsequent years, the arts and crafts movement offered new avenues for artistic professionalism in the applied arts.[778] And yet, women's involvement in the arts and crafts movement did not solve the problem of academic training in the fine arts for women. Besides a lack of training possibilities, exhibition opportunities also were scarce since it required membership in an exhibiting institution. In contrast to France, England did not have a tradition of private ateliers or art lessons, where professional artists mentored female students in their spare time. This situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century forced women to take their art education into their own hands with the help of instruction manuals, copying art works from private or public art collections, or organizing excursions and life-drawing classes together with fellow artists. By 1871 though, a "change in climate,"[779] as Pamela Gerrish Nunn calls it, had taken place with the founding of the Slade School of Fine Art, London, where women made up 75% of the student body. Even though more women were admitted to art institutions, e.g., between 1901–1914, 25% of the students at the Royal Academy were female, this did not mean full equality of opportunity, mostly due to prejudices about the seriousness of women's commitment to their artistic professions, their class, or their financial background.[780]

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[776] Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Britain and Ireland." In *Dictionary of Women Artists*, edited by Delia Gaze, London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997, 68.
[777] For more on the "woman question," see Christina Crosby, *The Ends of History. Victorians and "The Woman Question",* New York: Routledge, 2013.
[778] For the connection between Pre-Raphaelitism and its influence on the professionalization of women artists, see, Irene V. Cockroft, *New Dawn Women, Women in the Arts & Crafts and Suffrage Movements at the Dawn of the 20th Century. Compton: Watts Gallery,* 2005.
[779] Nunn, "Britain and Ireland,", 83.
[780] Nunn, "Britain and Ireland.", 83.

Mary Erle, Ella Hepworth Dixon's heroine in her 1894 novel *The Story of a Modern Woman*,[781] comes to London, recently orphaned after the death of her father, to study art at the Central London School of Art. Failure in Erle's attempts to become a visual artist led her to become a journalist, writing short stories (with happy endings!) for the general public. The London School of Art is described as a "disillusioning place to the youthful aspirant to fame."[782] Dixon's female protagonist shares reports of her fellow students working towards admission to the Royal Academy by making plaster casts of antique sculptures (e.g., Laocoön, Venus of Milo, Apollo Belvedere) for months on end. Life classes were held only on two afternoons a week at the school and were "looked upon as a kind of frivolous extra which should not be allowed to occupy the mind of the serious student to the detriment of the stippled Laocoön."[783] The women students from the "lower middle class" – as Dixon remarks – were co-educated with their men students, as in Paris, and yet "[a]n English artschool- has none of the boisterous, contagious hilarity of a French *atelier*. Decent silence reigned…"[784] But after months spent copying the Laocoön, Mary Erle realizes that the studio critic was all too exuberant and not critical at all. Instead, she wishes that her artistic qualities might be put to a real test, unlike in Paris: "There were no tears, such as water the upward path of the student in a Parisian *atelier,* there were no ambitions, no heart-burns, no rivalries. No one at the Central London had ever been known to have a theory to express, or, if he had, it remained locked in his own breast."[785] There was an undeniable rivalry between London and Paris, and Paris had a clear advantage since, in the latter city, female students were not distracted with copying antiquities and could "work" in a "serious French studio", as Dixon's heroine remarks.

Dixon's autobiographical story is remarkable in its universal nature: only five years after the publication of *The Story of a Modern Woman* in 1894, Emily Carr arrives in England to continue her studies at the Westminster School of Art. After over four years of hard work, she falls ill in 1903 and enters a sanatorium to be treated with a rest cure for eighteen months. In retrospect, Emily Carr views her London sojourn as a failure. However, in contrast to Dixon's protagonist, Emily

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[781] Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, edited by Steve Farmer, Peterborough: broad view press, 2004.
[782] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, 84.
[783] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, 85.
[784] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, 85.
[785] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman,* 88.

Carr did not change career, but later underwent a third artistic training in Paris, at the Académie Colarossi.

Education in France was slightly different; however, as elsewhere, women's main obstacle in participating in the art world was their exclusion from the French Academy, the École des Beaux-Art and the annual prize for a year of study at the French Academy in Rome. Only under the pressure of the *Union des Femmes Peintres*, founded in 1881, did the École open to women in 1897. Before then, women could take private lessons in the studios of the most important artists and exhibit in the Salon. From the 1860s onwards, women could choose between one of the so-called *Écoles Professionnelles*, schools of decorative art, or take classes at the *Académie Julian* (1868), which during its first ten years practiced co-education of the sexes, even though the classes had to be split to protect women from insults from their male colleagues, especially during life classes.[786] Although women paid higher fees, they could be sure of the competitive level of professional training. Declining governmental and institutional funding for the arts led to the creation of new private art schools to satisfy the masses of female students from France and abroad. It ensued that men continued their artistic training in the public academies while women had to pay for their training many times over. New ways of dealing with art in private galleries and exhibiting it in newly found *salons* and associations made Paris unique in Europe, which then attracted women artists from all over Europe, North America, and even New Zealand (e.g., Frances Hodgkin[787]). The opportunities were so numerous and the approaches so diverse, that many artists came to Paris to train in the exemplary classes. Having exhibited in Paris before returning home gave every woman a competitive advantage upon her return, either as artist or art teacher.[788]

Between 1900 and 1914, Paris offered women an art education as never seen before. In his article "Lady Art Students' Life in Paris" published in 1903 in *The Studio*, Clive Holland remarks that, "lady art students of the present day are going to Paris in increasing numbers. That the life

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[786] For the academic and professional prospects for women at the fin de siècle France, see Nancy Mowll Mathews, "France, 19th century" in *Dictionary of Women Artists,* edited by Delia Gaze, London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997, 88-92.
[787] On Frances Hodgkin's art training in France, see Catherine Hammond, Mary Kisler, eds., *Frances Hodgkins: European Journeys,* Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2019.
[788] For the academic and professional prospects for women at the beginning of the 20th century France, see Gill Perry, "France, 20th century," in *Dictionary of Women Artists, ed.* Delia Gaze, London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997, 92-94.

they lead differs from that led by their male companions, both as regards its freedom and its strenuousness, goes without saying; but it is sufficiently Bohemian for the most enterprising feminine searcher of novelty."[789] Many more private academies run by modern artists opened their doors to the multitude of women and international students who came to Paris to learn about modern art. Many women artists, including Carr and Münter, but also the Swedish artist Tyra Kleen,[790] came to Paris having already trained in their home countries or elsewhere. Their desire was not to receive the basics "anew," but to unlearn the insufficient training that prevented them from joining "modern art."[791]

Among the multiple opportunities women artists could explore in Paris: life drawing (female models only) and croquis (male and female models) at the *Académie Colarossi*; anatomy lectures at the *École de Beaux-Arts*; sketching at the Louvre; visits to modern art galleries at the Palais du Luxembourg, the Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, and the World Exhibition; meeting fellow women artists in Parisian cafés, etc. In fact, Paula Modersohn-Becker's packed program during her first stay in Paris from September to June 1900 included all of these opportunities.[792] Like Modersohn-Becker, most women visitors participated in one or more of these activities during their stay. The scope of possibilities, however, was determined by French language skills, a local network, and private funds, all of which determined the wished-for success of a Parisian stay. During her stay in Paris, Gabriele Münter took only one course at the *Académie de la Grande Chaumière* with Théophile Steinlen to work on the graphic design of her wood and linoleum cuts. The rest of the time she spent working with her partner Wassily Kandinsky in Sèvres. In comparison, Emily Carr yearned for the Parisian art student experience, taking lessons at the *Académie Colarossi* and painting in *plein air* with her British teacher and mentor Phelan Gibb.

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[789] Clive Holland, "Lady Art Students' Life in Paris." *International Studio* 12 (1904): 225-33, 225. For more on the life of female art students around 1900, see Radycki, "The life of lady art students", 9-13.
[790] For more information in Tyra Kleen, and the only article in English, see Per Faxneld, "'Mirages and visions in the air', Tyra Kleen and the paradoxes of esoteric art," *Approaching Religion*, vol. 11, no.1, March 2021, 63-76, https://doi.org/10.30664/ar. 98199, accessed 15 September 2021.
[791] This be further explored in chapter 6.
[792] In 1900, Paula Becker arrived in Paris to study at the Académie Colarossi, joining her friend Clara Westhoff, the Rodin pupil. Much has been written about the importance of Modersohn-Becker's Paris sojourns and their role in developing her avant-garde language in the representation of the female bodies and her revolutionary self-portraits. For a detailed account of Modersohn-Becker's Parisian stay, see Diane Radycki, *Paula Modersohn-Becker. The First Modern Woman Artist,* 63-83, 225.

As for exhibition opportunities for women artists, the yearly *Salon* had already been an established venue by the end of the eighteenth century, followed a hundred years later by the Salon des Indépendants, which was inaugurated in 1884 and presented more progressive academic positions. The third important exhibition space in Paris for women and foreign artists was the *Salon d'Automne* (founded in 1903), where both Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter exhibited during and after (Münter) their Parisian sojourns.[793] This is important to mention since in 1905 and 1906, the artists known today as the Fauves had had their first exhibition here, and the *Salon* thereafter was affiliated with the avant-garde movement. Even without any proof of interaction or proximity to that artistic circle, simply appearing at this venue labeled foreign artists avant-garde upon their return to their home communities.

4.2. Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter Developing Professional and Artistic Ambitions

4.2.1. The Socio-Geography of Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's Families

Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's earliest education echoes the education and art training available to girls and young women of the late nineteenth century as delineated in the previous section. I argue that professional and artistic ambitions were deeply influenced by upbringing and class and developed in combination with a multitude of conditions. As we will see, the status of art in society, the valorization of education in the family, and the growing acceptance of art as a profession for women all heavily influenced professional choices. I argue that ambitions, first professional and later artistic, are the result of external conditions in favor of individual expression rather than innate character traits linked to the artist's gender. Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter shared a desire to become an artist and the opportunity to seek artistic training. Their upper middle-class background and their financial freedom, thanks to the inheritance each received after her parents' early death, were certainly determinants for their desire to continue their art education, their engagement in a long professional life as a visual artist, and their ability to turn their personal

[793] Emily Carr exhibited at the Salon d'Automne in 1911, Gabriele Münter in 1907, 1909, 1910, 1912 and 1911 and 1912 at the Salon des Indépendants.

ambition into success.[794] Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's artistic talent was recognized by their families and welcomed as a sign of an accomplished woman at the end of the nineteenth century. After the death of their parents, their siblings and legal guardians did not prevent them from attending art school. Both Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's early childhoods were idyllic and protected.[795] Both were the youngest girls in their families with relatively older parents, which gave them more freedom and left most of the social education to their older siblings.

There is an important distinction to be made between talent and ambition. Even an exceptional talent is no guarantee for artistic success; talent needs the right socio-economic conditions to flourish, as Linda Nochlin argued in her seminal 1971 article "Why have there been no great women artists?"[796] Ambition, by definition, relates to "a desire for achievement, advancement, or success,"[797] including a "strong desire for something advantageous, high valued, or indicative of success or achievement."[798] In Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's cases, being ambitious meant acting on the desire to acquire the skillset needed to become an artist. This drive is expressed by a decades-long journey seeking artistic training at different private art schools. Both women owe the resilience and pragmatism needed for this arduous path to their upbringing

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[794] Emily Carr was a full orphan at 14, Gabriele Münter at 20.
[795] Emily Carr writes about her childhood in her *Book of Small,* published in; for more information on her childhood see, Paula Blanchard, " Cow Yard Child," In *The Life of Emily Carr,* Vancouver et Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987, 37-43; on Gabriele Münter's child hood, see Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky,* 17-36.
[796] Linda Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?" In *Art and Sexual Politics. Women's Liberation, Women Artists, and Art History*, edited by Thomas B. Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker, New York: Collier Books, 1973, 1- 39.
[797] As defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2021. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6161?rskey=7JIhuD&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid, accessed 15 September 2021.
[798] As defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary,* 2021. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6161?rskey=7JIhuD&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid, accessed 15 September 2021.

in families that were shaped by migration between Europe and Northern America. As children of migrants, they developed transnational identities[799] that are multiple, flexible, and inventive.[800]

Both families had a history of migration (emigration, immigration, and re-immigration). Carr's and Münter's fathers immigrated to the U.S. from England and Germany, respectively: Richard Carr out of economic aspirations and Carl Friedrich Münter for political reasons. Both self-made men, they changed careers often, following the opportunities. As Paula Blanchard, Carr's biographer, said: "making one's way in America did not depend on book learning as much as on a cool head and an eye for the main chance."[801] And Richard Carr took many chances for adventure in his first years travelling through the Americas, eager to explore new lands (as far south as Peru) and cultures. [802]

It was in San Francisco, California that Richard Carr met his wife, the English woman Emily Saunders, who also came from Oxfordshire. He returned home to England to marry in 1855 but was deeply disappointed by his homeland after 25 years abroad. Despite his taste for adventure, he always held his home country in high regards, idealizing and imagining a better life over there while abroad. By 1863, the Carr family settled for good in Victoria, [803] the capital of the new colony of British Columbia, where Victorian society's colonial and imperial attitudes and values seemed more intact to Richard Carr than on the English main island.[804] Here, Emily Carr was born in 1871, the fourth daughter in an upper middle-class family, which included a Chinese servant.

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[799] The first author to discuss Gabriele Münter as a transnational biography is Suzanne Bode, "Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky: A Reassessment of Transnational Identities and Abstraction Through Biography" In *Transnational Perspectives on Artists' Lives*, edited by Marleen Rensen, Christopher Wiley, Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 43-60. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-45200-1_3, accessed 15 September 2021.
[800] For Gabriele Münter's family history, see Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 17-36.
[801] Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr,* 13.
[802] As Paula Blanchard reports, Richard Carr was learning about many different cultures and living amongst First Nations (Ojibwa and Chippewa) people upon a stay on the territory of the state of Alabama in 1839. Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, 13-18.
[803] Victoria was founded as a trading post of the Hudson Bay Company in 1842, a symbol of British National accomplishments against the aggressive American settlement politics became in rapid succession first a Crown Colony and, by the time of Emily Carr's birth, a Canadian Province. The gold rush in the Cariboo attracted British but also German, Chinese or Jewish settlers that stayed well after the rush was over.
[804] Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, 18.

Despite his humble background and poor education, Richard Carr cultivated an English middle-class decorum, especially settling down in the new Crown colony of British Columbia.[805] Emily Carr's account of her father in her *Book of Small* draws a picture of a man idealizing and reimagining an English lifestyle that did not exist anymore in the motherland if it ever had. Richard Carr's settler colonial reality was modeled after an imagined place called home.[806] For his generation of settler-colonial Canadians, the Old Country (England) from their past continued to exist in the New World, which was fatally linked to colonial history. Emily Carr was born into the paradox between the orderly Victorian world planted onto a supposedly untouched territory steeped in First Nations culture and presence. Having been born into this colonial world, Emily Carr thought of Victoria and Canada's West as her *Heimat*. [807]As Peter Blickle formulated it in his 2002 critical theory on *The German Idea of Homeland*,

> the idea of Heimat is based on an imaginary space of innocence projected onto real geographical sites. Whether this innocence is religious, sexual, sociological, psychological, philosophical, or historical in character, in every case we find imageries of innocence laid over geographies of Heimat.[808]

In the colonial context of the British Empire, "home" designates the domestic home as well as the colonial homeland, whereas *Heimat* is an idiomatic German concept that refers to the identification of the individual with their geographic homeland. I am consciously using the German term *Heimat* here instead of the Anglo-Saxon term of "home" to do justice to Emily Carr's complex relationship

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[805] Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr,* 27.
[806] The German term Heimat means precisely this: the idea and a physical place of home at the same time. Yet, immigrants like Emily Carr's parents, tend to show signs of a "psychic split, separated from their homeland and not fully identifying as Canadians either. For more on a psychoanalytical reading of Emily Carr's biography and her family history, see Phyllis Marie Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the Spirit of the Land. A Jungian Portrait*, New York: Routledge, 2016.
[807] It took Emily Carr decades and several displacements (studying in the U.S. and England) to fully identify with her birthland Canada.
[808] Peter Blickle, *Heimat a critical theory of the German idea of homeland*, Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002, 130.

with her place of origin and her conviction that she could reconcile the settler colonial and native world within herself.[809]

The Münter family was equally shaped by migration, from Germany to the U.S. and back. Already as a child, Gabriele Münter's mother had immigrated to the U.S. with her family in 1845. Münter's father arrived in the U.S. two years later after his own father had judged his temperament too political and bought him a passage to leave Germany. Carl Friedrich Münter opened a drugstore in Tennessee where he would see clients as a Doctor of Dental Surgery. Due to the Civil War, Münter's parents returned to Germany in 1864. The Münter family lived in Berlin's best neighborhood, Unter den Linden, where Carl Friedrich Münter earned a good living for his wife and four children as an 'American Dentist' and where Gabriele Münter was born, the youngest of four. As Gabriele Münter's biographer, Gisela Kleine, puts it: the settler background of her parents had a direct effect on her education that would have been more pragmatic than expected by their class.[810]

Two months after Münter's ninth birthday, her father died at the age of fifty-nine. Gabriele stayed with her mother and received the typical education for a girl of a high social class – e.g., learning to play an instrument, to dance, and to draw. After the early death of Münter's father and oldest brother, her brother Charly became the legal guardian and custodian of his sisters, Gabriele and Emmy. Kleine describes Wilhelmine Münter's educational style as follows: "She did not hinder her children when they followed their inclinations, but neither did she encourage their likes and talents."[811] It was her older brother Charly who felt responsible for her education and who gave her books to read that were adequate for a girl of her time and age. No particular interest and knowledge of the visual arts was fostered by her family, as Münter recalled in an interview in 1958: "The cultural interest of my relatives were rather in the fields of theology, philosophy, literature

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[809]In psychoanalysis, this complexity is due to the "migration trauma" of Carr's parents that passed on to their children. Only once she got confronted with the "psychic split" her parents had experienced leaving their homeland could she identify with her birthland. Phyllis Marie Jensen argues that Emily Carr's bond and kinship formed through her art helped her develop a sense of belonging and a relationship with the land. For more on the Emily Carr's connection to the "land" and the influence of migration, see Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the Spirit of the Land,* 178-192.

[810] Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 24.

[811] "Sie behinderte ihre Kinder nicht, wenn sie ihren Neigungen folgten, aber sie förderte auch nicht deren Vorlieben und Talente." Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 25.

and music than in that of art."[812] This might be the reason why Gabriele Münter's earliest attempts to draw went unnoticed, but her wish to take drawing lessons was, nevertheless, granted.

4.2.2. "Humdrum" and "uninspiring": Carr's and Münter's Earliest Art Education

Münter proving her "natural talent" in Düsseldorf

Taking drawing lessons was nothing out of the ordinary for girls in 1890s Germany. As a teenager, Münter's family recognized her talent depicting portraits of family members or strangers on vacation and granted her drawing lessons. Drawing was considered one of many pastimes alongside music, reading, dancing, hiking, and biking (since 1896) for Gabriele Münter growing up in the city of Koblenz (a small town in the Prussian province where the family had moved in1884). The young woman had been encouraged by her family to continue her artistic training on the basis of the portraits that she had jotted down from a young age of her family and environment – with only a few quick strokes and great ease. After her father's death, her older brother Carl was responsible for the education of his sisters and the managing of their trust fund. As Münter aged, her brother became more nervous, since neither she nor her sister made any attempts to get married or pick up a profession. At the end of the nineteenth century, in German middle-class and upper middle-class circles, women were not supposed to work. Gabriele Münter herself, at 19 years-old, had no thought of a professional career,[813] the sole reason that would justify a more systematic education for her and her guardians. Her mother, now a widow with two adult daughters to marry off, was concerned about the image of her family to others. The inheritance bequeathed by her late husband had offered some freedom[814] to her daughters, but it had also kept Gabriele Münter away from developing any professional ambitions at a young age. Moreover, if her daughters had indeed taken on a profession or job, it would have given the impression that the family suffered financial problems and deter potential suitors. It was her brother Carl, who knew about his sister's innate

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[812] Edouard Roditi, *Dialoge über Kunst*. Wiesbaden: Insel Verlag, 1960, 153-4.
[813] Gabriele Münter sold only few works during her life time, the first sale took place in 1910, after the first exhibition of the Neue Künstlervereinigung.
[814] Gabriele Münter received a monthly allowance until 1914.

drawing talent, who suggested that she could receive private lessons with a Professor from the Düsseldorf Academy, and her mother agreed in Spring 1897.[815]

Since Düsseldorf did not have an art school for women, Münter took private lessons with Ernst Bosch (1834–1917), a painter and illustrator who also worked with etchings and lithographs.[816] Bosch was the pupil of Theodor Hildebrandt and Wilhelm von Schadow and the main proponent of ideal-realistic and narrative painting at the Düsseldorf Academy. His paintings reveal scenes of bourgeois and rustic life as they integrate themes from Grimm's fairytales.[817] While his style was indebted to the *Nazarener*[818] movement, in his execution of landscapes and portraits he embraced the idyllic and quaint motifs of German *Biedermeier,*[819] as in his *Am Kartoffelfeuer* (1879) **[Fig. 13].** This was very far from the images Münter had seen and drawn so far.

Gabriele Münter's private lessons with Professor Bosch did not follow any precise curriculum but included life classes. The goal was to train students in the modelling of masses and shadows. In letters to her family, Münter reports from the "happy prison"[820] ("fiedeles Gefängnis"), as she called the art studio, describing endless hours of copying with more or less success. Despite her doubts, Münter returned to Düsseldorf after summer break, but to another teacher, Willy Spatz[821] (1861–1931) who had just become a professor at the Akademie Düsseldorf. Spatz was a

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[815] Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 46.
[816] More on Ernst Bosch in Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 47.
[817]Known today as fairy tales, the collection of ancient German tales told for centuries in an oral tradition were collected, transcribed and published by the Grimm brother. The often dark and grim stories tell of the hardship of the rural population and turned only later into moral tales for young readers. Since 2015, the complete first edition of the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm are translated into English: Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *The Original Folk and Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm,* translated by Jack D. Zipes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.
[818] On the influence of the Nazarener on the Düsseldorf school, see Norbert Suhr and Nico Kirchberger, *Die Nazarener – vom Tiber an den Rhein. Drei Malerschulen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg : Schnell & Steiner, 2012, exhibition eatalogue.
[819] The term Biedermeier describes the period between 1815 and 1848 and, in art terms, a transitory style after Neoclassicism and before Romanticism in central Europe, particularly in Germany, Austria and northern Italy. Biedermeier describes middle-class comfort, celebrating family life in the home while reading, writing letters and poetry, playing the piano and following other hobbies. Gabriele Münter's parents had grown up in this era and seemed to have cultivated a particular Biedermeier idea of domesticity despite their migration to and from the U.S.
[820] Münter as cited in Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*,47.
[821] For more information on Willy Spatz, see Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 54.

Düsseldorf history and portrait painter, who had decorated several official buildings, such as town halls and court rooms, with historic scenes from the Germanic past. Like many other academic teachers of that era, Willy Spatz ran a private atelier outside the academy where he took on women students rejected from the Düsseldorf Academy. Münter had hoped to receive a more didactic training from an academy professor, who would teach her the basic skills of drawing and painting, but the reality of Spatz's training was more dreadful and boring than she had anticipated. Her training consisted of copying of plaster casts and ornaments, as well as portrait studies that had to be repeated, again and again. Even the opportunity to attend life classes with a nude model did not excite Münter. In fact, she was afraid of the teacher's feedback, as she admits to her mother, and skipped the life classes every now and then.[822]

To better understand her earliest learning experiences, I consulted Gabriele Münter's sketchbooks of her Düsseldorf studies.[823] They contain charcoal, ink, and graphite drawings of cityscapes, landscapes, still lifes, and portraits in a conservative manner. These sketchbooks contain motifs typical for the art practice of a young woman of her time. They are filled with flower still lifes and female head models from the drawing classes. The sketchbooks are dominated by portraits of family members and acquaintances (always with a date added), her sister as her favourite model. Münter shows her sleeping, reading, making music, writing or drawing – a showcase of the popular pastimes of an upper-middle class girl – immersed, serious, and absorbed in the moment, unaware of being drawn. Looking at Münter's remaining studies and at drawings and sketches in her sketchbooks of that time, one can recognize her efforts in learning how to modulate masses and shadows with hatchings, like in this portrait of her sister, *Emmy* **[Fig. 14]**.

As her art educated was interrupted by the death of her mother in November 1897, Münter returned for the spring semester of 1898 to Spatz's class, but left Düsseldorf shortly after, resigned and frustrated. At this exact moment, she received an invitation from her aunt to come and live for some time with her American family in the U.S.; she gladly accepted. In 1958, she remembered her studies in Düsseldorf:

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822 Gabriele Münter to Minna (Wilhelmine) Münter, 18 June 1897, as cited in Kleine, *Münter und Kandinsky*, 55.

823 Gabriele Münter's sketchbooks are exclusively held at the Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung, München. [Kon36_2, Kon37_2, Kon37_3, Kon46_2]

> I had taken some drawing lessons, as many girls did in those days, but I had also attended an art class for a couple of months in Düsseldorf, which still had a great reputation as an art center. I found the teaching of its Academy, however, very uninspiring, still dominated by the ideas and tastes of the late Romantics; besides, nobody seemed to take seriously the artistic ambitions of a mere girl.[824]

To downplay early education before their "modern moment" is common in modern women artists' recollections. By the 1920s and 1930s, the history of the avant-garde had been written by male artists, gallerist, critics, and art historians with seemingly nothing to add from a female perspective.[825] When Gabriele Münter sat down with the American critic Edouard Roditi in 1960, she was the last surviving member of the Blue Rider and one of the last representatives of German Expressionism. Her role in those movements led to the neglect of Münter's art education before joining Kandinsky's class in 1902. Münter does not even mention her studies at the art school in Munich *Künstlerinnen-Verein*.

Carr "printing alphabet letters" in San Francisco

Emily Carr also judged her early training by the modern art standards of the twentieth century, dismissing it in retrospect as "uninspiring"[826] and "printing alphabet letters"[827] like a child. In her autobiography, she judges her earliest art training harshly:

> The type of work I brought home from San Francisco was humdrum and unemotional – objects honestly portrayed nothing more. As yet I had not considered what was

[824] Münter as quoted in Edouard Roditi, *Dialoge über Kunst*. Wiesbaden: Insel-Verlag, 1991, 153. At the moment of her interview with Roditi in the late 1950s (between 1958 and 1960) most of her avant-garde contemporaries were already dead. Most of Roditi's questions are about Kandinsky but also about the history of the *Blaue Reiter*. Roditi only briefly asks Münter about her own artistic development. Roditi interviewed at the same time, Carlo Carra, Hannah Höch, Oskar Kokoschka, Marino Marini, et al..

[825] The fortune critique of the *Blaue Reiter* and its artists prior to WWII, had been fashioned mainly by Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee. Franz Marc and August Macke were killed in WWI.

[826] Münter as quoted in Roditi, *Dialoge über Kunst*, 153.

[827] Carr, *Growing Pains: The Autobiography of Emily Carr,* 103.

underneath surfaces, nor had I considered the inside of myself. I was like a child printing alphabet letters. I had not begun to make words with the letters.[828]

Fifty years after her studies, these recollections should be read less as an accurate account of her studies, and more as an overall judgment of her artistic development from the perspective of a decorated national modern artist and writer. Indeed, by the standards of the day, the students at the California School of Design received a sound and fundamental education in drawing and painting comparable to that received by their counterparts in New York, Paris, and Munich.

In his foundational article "The First Art School in the West: The San Francisco Art Association's California School of Design,"[829] Raymond L. Wilson explains Virgil Williams's vision as the school's founder.[830] Focusing on his skill and imagination as a teacher, Wilson explains that Williams's pupils were not bound to certain subject matters, such as portraiture or still life, or to compositional formulas.[831] And yet, we do not clearly know what Emily Carr learned during her early studies since most of those works she destroyed or allowed the trustees of her last will, Ira Dilworth and Lawren Harris, to do so.

Unlike her girlfriends, Sophie Pemberton and Theresa Wylde, Carr preferred San Francisco over London for her first art training. Carr's choice may seem odd but becomes more comprehensible if one remembers the city's significance for the Carr family. San Francisco was the city where her mother arrived in the U.S. and where she met Mr. Carr, who had made a good fortune there.[832] Besides, the San Francisco Art Association's California School of Design was known as the "first art school in the West" with an excellent reputation. Opened in 1874, the California School of Design was the first to train fine and commercial artists as well as art teachers on the west coast. As with many private art schools, its curriculum was limited to drawing and painting classes, with an art library and collection of antique plaster casts. The plaster cast

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828 Emily Carr, *Growing Pains*, 103.
829 Raymond L. Wilson, "The First Art School in the West: The San Francisco Art Association's California School of Design," *The American Art Journal* 14, no. 1, (Winter 1982): 42-55.
830 Information about the curriculum at the opening of the California School of Design depend greatly on the recollections of former students and teachers of the institution since the archive of the school was destroyed in the great fire of 1906.
831 Wilson, "The First Art School in the West," 55.
832 For the family's immigration dates, see **Annex A**.

collection consisting of 55 pieces, including eight life-size statues (e.g., a Venus de Milo and an Apollo Belvedere), selected pieces of the Parthenon frieze relief, and various busts had been a gift from the French government to the San Francisco Art Association. The California School of Design, together with its archive, library, and collection, were destroyed in the aftermath of the 1906 earthquake, making it difficult to gather any information other than accounts by former teachers or students. Wilson's article from the 1980s is one rare case study focusing on the California School of Design that studied its educational resources, pedagogical methods, and artistic values of the school and its staff.

A former student of Williams published his correspondence after the teacher's death, and it provides some insights into the theories and educational model that were taught at the California School of Design. With truthfulness, history, and the classics at its centre, Williams saw the goal of education as developing awareness within the student that "whatever might be done in the present had to be done with knowledge of and sensitivity toward the developments of the past."[833] In Williams's own words, the student has to "learn something of the technique to handle his materials and learn certain canons of beauty and proportion. This is best done from the antique; then when he can do something and has the power to represent what he sees, it is time for him to look around."[834] This model recalls the ideas Joshua Reynolds had already offered to his students (see chapter 1). As reported in the *Overland Monthly* in February 1874, the school's curriculum included from the beginning, "Instruction in drawing, for modelling and for instruction in art as applied to architecture, mechanics, and manufactures"[835]. Thanks to the contemporary account, we are given a detailed description of the room where painting classes were held:

> The painting class is occupied with objects which afford good drill in light and shade, and color such as pottery and still life. Some Mexican ware, which recalls Aztec types in its form and style of decorative marking, has proved admirable for this purpose. The pithy lecturers of the director with illustrations on the board, go to the principles of the subjects he discusses, and enforce a method grounded on elemental thoroughness.[836]

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[833] Wilson, "The First Art School in the West," 53.
[834] Williams as quoted in Wilson, "The First Art School in the West," 53.
[835]Wilson, "The First Art School in the West," 47.
[836] Wilson, "The First Art School in the West," 47-48.

By the time Emily Carr arrived at the School in 1890, 60 to 70 students of both sexes and multiple nationalities studied together, drawing from the plaster cast and from the life model, portraiture, still life, and landscape painting. The "elemental thoroughness" of the early curriculum was complemented with new French influences. The new director, Arthur F. Mathews, had just returned from his sojourn at the *Académie Julian*. Carr's later judgement that she had only learned "printing alphabet letters" while in San Francisco might be owed to the monotony of her earliest education, which consisted mainly in copying and doing the exercises repeatedly. The French teacher, Amédée Joullin, especially, had forced her to repeat her still lifes if he deemed them not good enough, as Carr recounts in her journals and autobiography.[837] I argue that it is no coincidence that one of the only works that has survived from this period is a ca.1890 still life with melons done under French tutelage. **[Fig. 15]**.

This still life, together with some early drawings of animals and drawings of her immediate environment, like the barn of the family house **[Fig. 16]**, are the only remaining works of Carr's earliest years. Beginning with the establishment of the Emily Carr Trust in 1941, the artist started to conserve her life's work for posterity. She took stock and sorted through her works, belongings, letters, and personal items—"leaving things as straight as I can."[838] She burned letters that she felt would shed a bad light on either herself or the addressee. In her testament addressed to Ira Dilworth, she writes:

> … Don't hesitate to burn. It is a clean satisfactory way of disposal. Alice knows what I want done with my things, but she can't see to do it & she knows nothing of my material either. I know you & Lawren will help to clean up after me – my Trustees – I should hate my failures looked upon with curious smiles & wondered at. You will recognize them as the inevitable stepping-stones and try-outs.[839]

As with her personal library, Emily Carr, together with her trustees, selected works and documents deemed important enough to survive her death. Similar to her autobiographical writing, her last will might be considered a form of self-fashioning of Emily Carr, the only difference being that it

837 Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, 63.
838 Emily Carr's Last Will and Testament quoted in Linda M. Morra, ed., *Corresponding Influence. Selected Letters of Emily Carr & Ira Dilworth*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 301.
839 Morra, *Corresponding Influence,* 301.

includes the voices of her executors: Ira Dilworth and Lawren Harris. The influence of both men on Carr's after life cannot be overstated: Lawren Harris curated her first national retrospective[840] only a few months after her death and Ira Dilworth edited all her writings, the majority of which were published posthumously.

Conclusion – Defying Critics with Ambition

Professional ambitions aimed at inclusion and integration – into the workforce, but also into society at large – whereas artistic ambitions demanded a relative rejection of the artistic mainstream to distinguish oneself from other artists in order to develop one's own voice, according to the credo of modern art. This is the paradox at the base of unlearning as a woman artist's praxis at the turn of the twentieth century. Formerly excluded, women artists were finally included in the process of learning and building professional careers; yet, at the same time they must engage in unlearning to gain an artistic reputation. The question remains: how can one unlearn something that has not yet been learned?

The inhibitions and opportunities in women's artistic training presented above can be measured by two levels of institutionalized discrimination, class and gender. Women artists' biggest threats to emancipation and artistic autonomy were marriage and dilettantism. The first threat, shared with the new woman, was society's idea of women's intended role as a wife and mother as it stood in direct conflict with any professional ambitions a woman might have. The second threat was based on long-lasting aesthetic discussions that questioned women artists' talent and rejected the idea of female genius, which was used to keep academies closed to women for as long as possible. Dilettantism was also loathed by women artists, since it questioned the seriousness of their artistic ambitions. They fought any accusation of dilettantism from the outside, but also from within. The impossibility that the new woman artist faced existed in the incompatibility of both concepts: that of woman and of artist.

This incompatibility, internalized by women artists, becomes clear through Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's accounts of their first trainings. As if in anticipation of the critique on their earliest art education as un-modern or not serious enough for a modern art icon, both women

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[840] Lawren Harris, *The paintings and drawings of Emily Carr*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1945.

downplayed their early experiences as well as its influence on their artistic development later on in lives. And yet, it is the unconventionality and imperfect nature of their training that opened the door for them to learn how to unlearn. In the next chapter, I will turn my focus to those moments during their artistic training that facilitated, through experimentation, humour, and experiences outside the studio "other than learning", the process of what I call "learning to unlearn."

Chapter 5. Learning to Unlearn: Agency through Technology, Mobility, and Irony

The nineteenth century was unprecedented in the professionalization of women artists. Private and public schools offering artistic training in decorative and fine arts to women answered their professional ambitions while at the same time hindering their artistic ambitions by excluding them from academies. This situation would persist in most European countries until WWI and would only change with the granting of general suffrage. What started as a call for professional equality turned into a quest for legal equality, securing equal access to places of higher education for men and women alike. While chapter 4 celebrated the advancements and opportunities offered to women – of a particular class and nationality — by the end of the nineteenth century, chapter 5 addresses the inhibitions women artists faced. My aim as a result of this is to leave the dialectics of inclusion/exclusion and to open up the space between them. I understand unlearning not as the opposite of learning but as an experience other than learning and as a negotiation of freedom from institutional and artistic authorities. This learning to unlearn is facilitated by the appearance of the bike and the camera, but also through irony and humour in the perception of their situation. This allowed them to continue their paths despite ever-present scrutiny and the risk of failure.

As I argue, these negotiations happened inside and outside places of artistic education and took on many different forms for both Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. These trials were encouraged by new technologies available to women, enhancing their mobility. I follow Gilbert Simondon's definition of technology, that it is always present even in the simplest of machines, like, for example, the wheel. Consequently, understanding the bicycle or the camera as machines makes each, as Simondon believed, a medium that acts between the operator and the natural material. The particularity of Simondon's machines is that their tools are both operated and operator–"nature-object" and at the same time "subject-operator."[841] As the bike was a means for

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[841] Simondon speaks precisely of the machine as "un *médium* entre l'opérateur et la matière naturelle. Dans une machine, il existe un chaînement d'opérations d'outils agissant les uns sur les autres, ce qui fait que dans cette chaîne transductive chacun des outils élémentaires est à la fois opéré et opérateur, nature-

women artists to travel to their motifs, the machine is the missing link between their artistic practice and the image they created. Additionally, the bike and camera accelerated a change of perspective that led to an enhanced self-reflection in Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's artistic practices and their role as women artists. "Learning to unlearn" connotes precisely that: becoming aware of your lack of skills and learning experience and turning this disadvantage into a chance to deviate from the predestined path of linear progress in learning.

At the core of her self-understanding, the "new woman" did not accept the "natural" limitations of her gender. The "new woman" was born in the 1890s and seen as a figure constantly transgressing the given social and gender norms of Western society. As a result, she was being scrutinized and no longer considered a decent woman. The modern woman artist, on her account, was equally at risk in transgressing her given limitations by admitting and pursuing artistic ambitions (while professional artistic ambitions were more readily accepted, especially in the decorative arts or photography). She constantly needed to prove the seriousness of her artistic ambitions and her conviction to become an artist. The biggest threat for the modern woman artist was dilettantism, as it was for their eighteenth-century female predecessors. Women artists were regularly accused of being dilettantes and amateurs by art critics and male colleagues but also showed signs of internalized fear of being a dilettante.

The "new woman artist," as I will call Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter, was well aware of her limits and transgression. She was aware of the constant threat of failure in meeting society's and her expectations. In the case of the "new woman artist," the threat was both social and aesthetic. In regards to society, wanting to be an artist (thereby rejecting the role of wife and mother) was a threat to marriage, the primary institution that aimed to control women. Hence, the new woman artist had two options: to flee or to save herself.[842] The first option only gave momentary relief, for example, on travels; the latter decided the destiny of the woman artist, who often suffered consequences by living single, childless, and at the margins of society. The absolute freedom that privileged white upper-middle class Western women found in travelling the world were fought

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objet et sujet-opérant." This citation is taken from Gilbert Simondon, "Naissance de la technologe (1970)" In *Sur la technique (1953-1983)*, Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2014, 131-178, 131.

[842] For Catherine Blais, the new woman is the fugitive of modernity with only two options, *fuir* or *fuguer*. For more on the fugitive, see Catherine Blais, "Penser la *fugitive*", *Une route à soi. Cyclistes, automobilistes et aviatrices (1890-1940)*, Montréal: Les presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2020, 29-87.

against, as we will further see, with the “immobility treatment”[843] of the rest-cure that Victorian society had developed to stop the triumph of the “new woman”[844] who had appeared on the scene in 1890. The goal of both experiences — marriage and rest-cure — is isolation. To fight this, the new woman artist negotiated her situation with the help of strategies such as humour, irony and experimentation. The risk of failure turned into more creativity and an opportunity to develop new benchmarks for their artistic career, such as non-academic art. Concerning the aesthetic threat, this weighed more heavily for modern women artists because it seemed impossible to reach the excellence and mastery needed before being able to purposefully reject those skills in favour of individual expression – as the modern art paradigm demanded. Consequently, the new woman artist searched for new authorities outside the academy, such as the visual traditions excluded from the European art canon.[845]

5.1. The “modern woman artist”

5.1.1. The “new woman” Transgressing Social and Gender Norms

The “new woman,” similar to the “modern woman,”[846] was the heroine of nineteenth century literature, magazines, and advertising, a woman, so different from the early nineteenth century ideal of the pious wife, pragmatic manager of the household and devoted mother. At the end of the century, she appeared as a figure from the future. Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer described the “new woman” as,

> in control, self-assured, capable, aggressive, adventurous, independent. As a figure in transit and in transition, she traveled unescorted, distancing herself from her national

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[843] For more on the mobility of nineteenth century female cyclists and how society had tried to stop them with “immobility treatements” like the rest-cure, see Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers*, 33.
[844] The first article ever mentioning the “new woman” in its title was published in the feminist journal *Woman Herald* entitled “The Social Standing of the New Woman” on August 17, 1893.
[845] This be further explored in chapter 6.
[846] As an example may serve again Ella Hepworth Dixon’s *The story of a Modern Woman* (1894).

> and/or familial points of origin to migrate or immigrate to cultural capitals like Paris, where she pursued her independence via new vocations.[847]

She is urban, upper middle class, financially secure, and has access to all the technological developments nineteenth century Western cities have to offer, from early consumerism to transportation. The new woman was considered a threat by the general public as soon as she transgressed her limits on a spatial, moral, and professional level as it feared the advent of the new woman was partly a symptom of nineteenth-century faith in progress and partly an expression of a general anxiety voiced by the press and stereotyped in New Drama. In her dissertation, Christine A. Anderson argued that "[t]here appeared to be a significant anxiety about working class values polluting the middle class as more middle-class women participated in public, urban life more often."[848] This anxiety was lived out through the popular press that "illustrated this modern tug of war between old and new, man and woman, public and private, and progress and destruction throughout the 1890s in their articles and caricatures about New Woman."[849]

As a term, the "new woman" first appeared in the 1890s.[850] In reaction to critics of the suffrage movement, Sarah Grand (alias Frances Elizabeth McFall) published in 1894 in *The North American Review* her article on "The New Aspect of the Woman Question."[851] In it, Grand responded to anti suffragette voices that criticized women who had rejected the traditional role as wife and mother and asked for civic and political equality. Grand's new woman thought of herself as independent from her relationship to men, risking being called hard, unfeminine, and anti-maternal and voluntarily unsexing herself.[852] Grand's article fights the voices labelling the suffrage movement as "continental decadism." With her the "new woman" who was, first and foremost, a thinking woman Grand challenged the dictum of the "House-is-the woman's-Sphere."[853] She

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[847] Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer, *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003, 3.
[848] Christine A. Anderson, "(Per)Forming female politics: The making of the 'modern woman' in London, 1890–1914," PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2008, 74.
[849] Anderson, "(Per)Forming Female Politics," 78.
[850] The first article ever mentioning the "new woman" in its title was published in the feminist journal *Woman Herald* entitled "The Social Standing of the New Woman" on August 17, 1893.
[851] Sarah Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," *The North American Review* 158, no. 448, (March 1894): 270-76.
[852] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 270.
[853] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 271.

admitted that women's centuries-long complicity had made her "domestic cattle,"[854] but that she was now "awakening from apathy,"[855] getting ready to step out of the domestic sphere. Grand presented the new woman as self-sufficient and self-supporting by definition and therefore — as I will argue — with professional ambitions. This new woman voluntarily risked not getting married, but as Grand jokingly noted, with her "short hair, coarse skin, unsymmetrical figure, loud voice, tastelessness in dress" she might as well be afflicted with an "unattractive appearance and character,"[856] as they protected her from any advances. Marriage was the biggest threat to the "new woman," closely followed by a designation as "fallen women" for those who ended up as prostitutes.[857]

Also, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter "took the risk" to not get married – although for different reasons. Carr's choice to remain unmarried and childless is well documented in her autobiography. During her studies, she briefly lived with an artist who was the mother of two children; there she learned how difficult it may be to feed a family from art. In reaction to this, Carr claims to have said: "Art I hate you, I hate you! You steal from babies!"[858] Carr's decision to remain single throughout her life was likely based — in part — on the presumption that marriage would interfere with her artistic ambition. Since a wife's duties would keep her away from undertaking travels, further education abroad, and — in short — her art.[859]

Gabriele Münter stayed "Fräulein Münter" — as she was called by friends and colleagues — for all of her life. Two relationships shaped her artistic and professional life: the first with her teacher and fellow artist Wassily Kandinsky and the second with the German art historian and her first biographer Johannes Eichner. Both unions were childless. As she had realized very

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[854] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 271.
[855] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 271.
[856] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 274.
[857] Anderson, "(Per)Forming Female Politics," 75.
[858] Emily Carr as cited in , *The Life of Emily Carr*, 66.
[859] Indeed, an examination of other women artists throughout history indicates that this has usually been the case. More often than not, when professional women artists married, their artistic production dramatically declined or was obliterated altogether. A wife's' duties included the care of husband and children and increased domestic responsibilities, which ultimately deprived them of the privacy and time required for creativity, as Sonia Halpern demonstrated in 2001. For more, see Sonia Halpern, "The Unmarried Woman Artist: Emily Carr," in Sharon Anne, Cook, Lorna R., McLean, Kate, O'Rourke, *Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, 45-47.

early on in her relationship with Wassily Kandinsky, engaging with a—at that time – still married man, she gave up on her idea of happiness and of "domensticity as cozy and harmonious… & someone who wholly & always belongs to me."[860] But even when he finally divorced in 1911, Kandinsky did not keep his promise to marry her.[861] In retrospect, this might have been a stroke of good fortune, as the wives of other male *Blaue Reiter* artists stepped back in their own careers to promote those of their husbands.[862] Only recently have those women of the Blue Rider received heightened attention; besides Marianne von Werefkin, there was also Maria Franck (later Marc) and Elisabeth Epstein who had been active in the artistic community and participated in exhibitions.[863]

5.1.2. The "modern woman artist" : defying Dilettantism prior to WWI

For the *fin-de-siècle* Victorian society, the new woman was at first "the embodiment of modernity,"[864] but as she started to induce anxiety by transgressing her limitations, this created a

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[860] Gabriele Münter writes in a letter to Wassily Kandinsky what she is willing to give up for being with him. Gabriele Münter to Wassily Kandinsky, Munich, October 10, 1902, as cited in Annegret Hoberg*, Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter: Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914. Munich: Prestel, 2005*, 37-38.

[861] Shortly after Gabriele Münter's and Wassily Kandinsky's separation in 1917, he married his second wife, Nina. During WWI, Gabriele Münter protected Kandinsky's early works from destruction. In the 1920s, Kandinsky demanded that she would send him his belongings, which she denied. A four-year legal battle ensued. At its core: Kandinsky's promise to marry Münter, which he did not keep. On April 2, 1926, Kandinsky relinquishes his rights of all his works to "Mrs Gabriele Münter-Kandinsky." Except for three paintings that he judged mile stones in his oeuvre: *Mit dem schwarzen Bogen* (Avec l'arc noir) (1912), *Improvisation 3* (1909), and *Impression 5* (Park) (1911), all held today at the Centre Pompidou, Paris.

[862] Most prominently, Marianne von Werefkin put her career on hold to concentrate on supporting her husband, Alexej Jawkensky. Werefkin and Jawlensky met in 1892 while both were mentored by the Russian artist Ilja Repin. After years of working and travelling together, they moved to Munich in 1896. From this moment on, she would postpone her artistic career in favour of her partner. Instead, she would be the center of the Russian expatriate community in Munich with a regular salon held in her Schwabing apartment. Roman Zieglgänsberger, Annegret Hoberg and Matthias Mühling, eds., *Lebensmenschen – Alexej von Jawlensky und Marianne von Werefkin,* Exhibition catalogue, Munich: Prestel, 2019, 23.

[863] For more on the women artists associated with the artist group Blauer Reiter, see Brigit Poppe, *"Ich bin Ich." Die Frauen des Blauen Reiter*, Cologne: DuMont, 2011. Only in recent years, the Lenbachhaus Munich, which possesses the biggest collection of works by the Blaue Reiter collective, has bought several works by women formerly overlooked by critics and art historians. For more information on new acquisition of art by the women of the Blaue Reiter, see https://www.lenbachhaus.de/en/visit/exhibitions/details/mehr-moderne-fuer-das-lenbachhaus, accessed 15 September 2021.

[864] Anderson, "(Per)Forming Female Politics," 73.

collective and public backlash. The "new woman" turned from a socio-political phenomenon into a fictional character, who could be fashioned at will. This led to a new genre of literature, so called "New Woman Fiction,"[865] in which the new woman, after having tried to disobey society's gender norms, returns to "polite society by returning to patterns of gendered behaviour,"[866] restoring old ideas of femininity and female sexuality.[867]

The figure of the woman artist shares a similar destiny with the "new woman." After generations of women looked up to exceptional artists such as Rosa Bonheur, the generation of women artists active since the 1870s enjoyed the support of fellow artists organized in art associations especially for women. The professional union of women artists could soften the professional marginalisation of women while they were still excluded from academies and led to an enhanced exhibition practice. Taking 1890s Germany as an example, the increased presence of German women artists in private art galleries and at international[868] exhibitions provoked a stark reaction in the national press and art critics.[869] While some critics praised[870] women artists' success, despite their limited possibilities in education, and celebrated their capacities to produce exceptional art,[871] others wholly rejected women artists and blamed them for the decline of society

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[865] See for example Grant Allen's 1895 novel *The woman who did.* For a collection of contemporary texts on and by "new women," see Richardson, *Women Who Did*, 2005

[866] Anderson, "(Per)Forming Female Politics," 76.

[867] Anderson, "(Per)Forming Female Politics," 76.

[868] German women artists sent 50 works to the 1893 Columbian exhibition in Chicago, which were exhibited at the main hall of the Woman's Building together with art from Austria, England, France, Spain and America. For a floor plan of the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, see Maud Howe Elliott, ed., *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894. http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/elliott/art/art.html, accessed 15 September 2021.

[869] For a short history and reception of the "profession 'woman artist'" in fin de siècle Germany, see Carola Muysers, "'In der Hand der Künstlerinnen fast allein liegt es fortan...' Zur Geschichte und Rezeption des Berufsbildes bildender Künstlerinnen von der Gründerzeit bis zur Weimarer Republik," *Feministische Studien*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1996, 50-65. https://doi.org/10.1515/fs-1996-0106, accessed 15 September 2021.

[870] See for example, Georg Voss, "Die Frauen in der Kunst," In *Der Existenzkampf der Frau im modernen Leben – Seine Ziele und Aussichten,* edited by Gustav Dahms, Berlin: R. Taendler, 1895-1896, 213-244.

[871] As in this special issue of the German magazine *Moderne Kunst*, dedicated exclusively to women artists in 1901. Jarno Jessen, "Meistermalerinnen der Gegenwart, Moderne Kunst," *Illustrierte Zeitschrift*, vol.14, no. 25,1901/02, 49-68. Jessen's article on the best contemporary women artists of his time is published in a special issue of the magazine "modern art" dedicated exclusively to women artists.

at large. Similar to criticism of the new woman, women artists were thought of by some as disturbing the relationship and respective roles of men and women in society.[872]

While many women artists at the fin-de-siècle were supportive of the suffrage movement, modern women artists of the avant-garde started to distance themselves from feminist agendas. Carola Muyser analysed the journals and writing by avant-garde women artists on their self-understanding as artists in her article on the history and reception of women artists from the fin-de-siècle up to the Weimar Republic. She came to the conclusion that Carr and Münter's generation was conscious of their individual career path and work. For this generation, it did not suffice to belong to a collective group of woman artists. To develop one's own distinct style was a sign of professionalism.[873] At the beginning of the twentieth century, women artists' newly found self-confidence was applauded by art critics and fed the debate on the inclusion of women into the academy.[874]

While the number and visibility of women artists had grown during the last third of the nineteenth century, their image changed drastically at the turn of the century. By the 1890s, women artists were judged as a collective in the public discussion. Their perception in public opinion slowly changed from lady sketchers to women artists.[875] The more women artists took part in modern and avant-garde movements, in this case German expressionism, the more art critics changed their opinion and started to question women's participation in this avant-garde movement. In 1908, one year after Paula Modersohn's early death, two years after Marianne von Werefkin starts to work again, and the very year that Gabriele Münter settles in Munich and Murnau where she would develop her distinctive style, the Berlin art critic Karl Scheffler published his book *Woman and Art: a case study* [*Die Frau und die Kunst: Eine Studie*]. This book is nothing short of a backlash into the dialectics of women/nature and men/culture that determined the roles both sexes needed to play in society.[876] The image that Scheffler draws of the woman artist is quintessentially

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[872] As an example for negative criticism of an exhibition of women artists at the Salon Gurlitt in 1895, see Johannes Rodberg, "Internationale Ausstellung von Werken bildender Künstlerinnen (Salon Gurlitt), *Das Atelier, Organ für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe,* December 1895, 4-5.
[873] Muysers, "'In der Hand der Künstlerinnen fast allein liegt es fortan...'", 57.
[874] Muysers, "'In der Hand der Künstlerinnen fast allein liegt es fortan...'," 58-59.
[875] Muysers, "'In der Hand der Künstlerinnen fast allein liegt es fortan...'," 56.
[876] Karl Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst: Eine Studie*, Berlin: J. Bard, 1900, 20.

negative and misogynistic: she is the symptom of a new art distancing itself from the optical paradigm of nineteenth-century Impressionism. In Scheffler's book, women artists are portrayed as incapable of renouncing their instinct when representing appearances, unable to think in spatial as well as chronological terms. Their art always mixes the poetic with the painterly. This, according to Scheffler, is why women prefer the narrative ("das Erzählende") in painting and the picturesque ("das Landschaftliche") in poetry.[877] His second argument is even harsher and makes it technically impossible for women to become modern artists: even if women were to confine themselves to the represent the visible — unable to grasp composition, unable of spatial awareness and a sense for picture planes, in short abstraction — they are still incapable of producing optical images.[878] Inept to produce original creations, women artists need to rely on what could be taught and learned — to copy the works of their male colleagues — and are ultimately defined by "naturalism, dilettantism and formalism."[879]

This example of contemporary art criticism illustrates that the modern woman artist was not only constrained by social limitations, also by professional voices that doubted the seriousness of her artistic enterprise. In response to the ever-growing criticism, the German Jewish artist and art historian Henni Lehmann presented the first complete study of the condition of women's artistic training in 1913. The work turned the focus away from women's capacities and towards her training possibilities. In her talk, "Women's art studies" ("Das Kunststudium der Frauen"),[880] held at a women conference organized by the German Association of Women Education and Women Studies ("Verein Frauenbildung-Frauenstudium"), Lehmann offered a complete study about women's art education in Germany together with a position paper directed to the German Parliament, asking for legal rights of equality in the admission to academies all over the German Empire.[881] Lehmann's 26-page manuscript is crucial to this thesis, because not only is it the first empiric study on the topic of women's art education in pre-WWI Germany, but it also stands as the first analysis and discussion of the content, character, and conditions of women's art studies.

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[877] Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst,* 43.
[878] Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst,* 58.
[879] Scheffler, *Die Frau und die Kunst*, 59.
[880] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen*, 7.
[881] Only since 1949 are men and women equal by law, as written into the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

This is important in order to understand the origins of women artists' alledged "incapacities" to become modern artists. It considers, from a female perspective, women artists' career options after their studies in private ateliers and art schools, ladies academies and the few remote academies admitting women at that time.

In its makeup and political nature, Lehmann's study is not only of historical importance, but it defies contemporaneous arguments against women's admission to public academies and gives insights into the contemporaneous debate around the inclusion of women to academies: Firstly, opponents of women's inclusion into the academy argued that women's demands to be admitted would not be justified anymore, since multiple alternative artistic trainings were already available to women; and secondly, women's yearning for academic training were incomprehensible since academies had already lost their importance. Lehmann replies to those critics that the admission to academies remains a necessary step in the artistic training and professional development of every artist. Judging academies as obsolete could clearly be done only from inside of the institution. Only after professional equality could be attained, a fair judgement of the creative abilities of women artists would be ensured. If equal access to academies did not exist, how could the admission processes be called objective, asks Lehmann.[882]

As an appendix to her presentation, Lehmann presented a position paper to the Prussian parliament [**Annex B**].[883] This document described the current situation for aspiring women artists and demanded that academies be opened for women. This paper was intended as a petition to decide over this matter, but the process was interrupted by the beginning of the First World War. By the end of the war, the world order and society had changed such that the long fight for civic and public equality in the democratic Weimar Republic had been attained; women received the right to vote and had legal access to all places of higher education, including art academies.[884] In Lehmann's essay, the artist criticized the common practice of accepting women to academies based on exceptions and excellency. Women who had pursued an artistic education prior to WWI were not expected to aim for professionalism or to become economically independent. Since the goal of their training was not to make them self-sufficient, as it was for their male colleagues, unsurprisingly,

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[882] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen,* 7.
[883] For a transcript and my translation of Lehmann's test, only published in German so far, see **Annex B.**
[884] Berlin opened in 1919, Munich in 1921, and Düsseldorf in 1922 their academies to women.

women artists were unable to attain financial security and deprived of public grants offered to students at academies. In fact, female artists were still dependent on their families, which made an artistic career available only to middle- and upper-middle class women.[885] Lehmann, an artist herself, emphasized that the request for inclusion should not be a question of artistic genius or talent, but a question of "justice." "Taking part … by learning, teaching, and creating"[886] on an equal footing to men was Lehmann's request in 1913. The success of private art schools, that targeted women for expensive art training without providing any quality control, deceived women about their real talent or possible success as a professional artist.[887]

In 1913, there were three art schools for women, also known as ladies' academies, in the German Empire in Berlin, Munich, and Karlsruhe. Lehmann concedes that they were an important and indispensable part of women's education, but that they were not equipped to replace academies, since their curriculum was less complete and comprehensive in regard to the content and duration of Academic education. Moreover, ladies' academies were more expensive (up to six times) than public academies.[888] Their size, lack of importance, and remote locations outside of art centers like Berlin and Munich, would negatively impact the teaching women received, and, often, the very goal of the ladies' academies was different than at the academies. What weighs even heavier for Lehmann is the fact that these few art academies were in cities that did not have any important historical or contemporary art collections to educate the female students' gaze.[889] And, I would add, to be able to visit art collections was indispensable for the art student not only to train the eye, but to familiarize oneself with art history and to develop a sense of the aesthetic and historical consciousness towards their own work, which was essential for recognizing and then declaring one's own "modern moment."

While critiquing the exclusion of women from art academies, Lehmann was nevertheless worried that the admission of women to academies would lower the overall quality of art

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[885] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen*, 4.
[886] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen,* 24-25.
[887] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen,* 4.
[888] Henni Lehmann is providing a detailed cost breakdown for women's expenses for studying art in Berlin per year. Only the study fees for 9 months of training at the Berlin Ladies Academy cost 765 Mark, which is 3978 EURO (=4644 CAD) today. Men payed six times less, since state academies were state funded. Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen*, 11.
[889] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen,* 26.

students.[890] Indeed, Lehmann shared a fear of dilettantism with critics of women artists. In 1900, Karl Scheffler stated in his book *Woman and Art: a case study* [*Die Frau und die Kunst: Eine Studie*]:

> She hopes for a new culture by participating in the work force and yet she only contributes to the victory of modern mediocrity. Her work has a leveling effect and immeasurably enlarges the army of the artistic proletariat. To the professional dilettantism of the modern artist comes that of the woman artist; the majority thereby becomes more and more compact and the extraordinary and great can hardly pierce through.[891]

Where Scheffler feared that an art world with women artists would turn art "proletarian" ("Künstlerproletariat*"*), Lehman's main concern was that women would not be able to be fairly judged by an academic jury. Behind Lehman's worry stands a structural argument criticizing the admission process of art academies at the time, whereas Scheffler does not hide his blatant misogyny by repeating common prejudices towards women artists of his time.

To discredit women artists as dilettantes had a long and successful history.[892] The word originates from the Latin verb *delectare* and the Italian *dilettare*, meaning "to delight." To show delight in front of art or one's own artistic production unites the dilettante and the amateur, the French "art lover." The dilettantes enter the English language and culture in the 1730s when a Society of Dilettanti is founded for English gentlemen after their return from their Grand Tour. Including some painters and architects that had also travelled to the art centers of Italy, the Society created a space for "friendly and social intercourse",[893] with discussions on art and art objects from Italy as its core occupation. The society's motto *seria ludo* speaks to the paradox uniting professional artists, such as Sir Joshua Reynolds who became the Societies' president in 1769 (one

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[890] Lehmann, *Das Kunst-Studium der Frauen*, 4.
[891] "Sie erhofft eine neue Kultur, wenn sie an der Arbeit teilnimmt und macht doch den Sieg der modernen Mittelmäßigkeit nur um so vollständiger. Ihre Arbeit wirkt nivellierend und vergrößert das Heer des Künstlerproletariats ins Unermeßliche. Zum Berufsdilettantismus des modernen Künstlers kommt das der Künstlerin; die Majorität wird dadurch immer kompakter und das Außerordentliche und Große vermag kaum noch durchzudringen." Scheffler, *Die Frau*, 109.
[892] For a thorough introduction to the Society of Dillentanti and its history, see Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti : The Antic and the Antique in 18th-Century England*. Los Angeles : The Getty Research Institute, 2008, 1-3.
[893] Redford, *Dilettanti* , 3.

year after becoming the president of the newly found Royal Academy) with wealthy aristocrats-turned--connoisseurs such as Sir William Hamilton[894] or Richard Payne Knight. To cultivate an attitude of serious play around art, what Bruce Redford called the "amateur moment,"[895] was over by the end of the Napoleonic wars. From this moment onwards, dilettantes were considered dabblers in art and the opposite of a professional artist.

In summary, the "new woman artist" was feared and criticized for her professional ambitions, loathed and discredited for her artistic ambitions, judged incompetent to be a modern artist and deprived of serious play in art. In reaction to the insufficient artistic training available to them, modern women artists sought to realize their professional ambitions through multiples paths: continued international training certainly played a major part in their artistic development. Additionally, as we will now see, they took advantage of new technologies such as the bike and the camera. Finally, they developed an ironic and humourous view on their personal situation that allowed them to continue their paths despite ever-present scrutiny and risk of failure.

5.2. Modernity's "fugitive": Modern Women Artists' Use of New Technologies

This case study aims to demonstrate how the experience of technology — here specifically riding the bike and using a camera — contributed to the artistic training already available to women at the end of the nineteenth century while confronting them with the shortcomings of their assigned curriculum. I limit myself here to an analysis of both artists' earliest sketchbooks from their travels in the 1890s. They function as a record of what they might have learned during their studies and testify to their ambitions to become artists and their openness to transgressing the realm of the learned and to start experimenting. In a close reading of their drawings and sketches I identify their artistic strategies — at the same time recording their environment and conquering artistic spaces — examining the effect of travel on their ambitions.

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[894] On Sir William Hamilton's connection to the Society of Dilettanti, see Ersy Contogouris, "The Acme of Sir William's Delights," *Emma Hamilton and Late Eighteenth-Century European Art. Agency, Performance, and Representation*, New York: Routledge, 2018, 37-65, here 42-43.
[895] Redford, *Dilettanti* , 1.

5.2.1. "A bicycle trip along the Cowichan": Emily Carr Fleeing Victorian Society

In the case of the bicycle, there are two aspects to consider: mobility, the act of leaving one's immediate and familiar environment, and technology, with its ability to change the relationship between the traveller and her surroundings. The new woman had been the subject of mobility theories before, for example Rosi Braidotti's "nomadic subject,"[896] Nathalie Heinich's "femme non liée,"[897] or Janet Wolff's "flâneuse."[898] And yet, the "new woman artist" of the fin-desiècle- demands a conceptualization that includes contemporary access to technologies of mobility, such as the bicycle, just as Catherine Blais's "fugitive."[899] The "fugitive" is at the center of Blais's 2021 study on the new woman and mobility, with case studies on the bike, the car, and the airplane. According to Blais, the "fugitive" uses the mode of transportation of her choice not only to experience modernity firsthand, but also to reinvent herself and experiment on the road. Blais developed her idea from Marcel Proust's figure of Albertine from his cycle *In Search of Lost Time*, specifically the volume *In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower* (1919). For Proust, the bike is an attribute of the young unmarried girl, not the "new woman" as such, but in Blais' reading of

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[896] By "nomad" I think not only of art historians or works of art travelling the globe, but also of concepts. For more on Braidotti's "nomadism" see Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

[897] Nathalie Heinich, *Les ambivalences de l'émancipation féminine*, Paris: Albin Michel, 2003, 304. The "mobility" of women had always been a sign of emancipation, freed from any obligations – economically, sexually or hierarchically. In hindsight to the collective imaginary and symbolic structures of female stereotypes in nineteenth-century French literature, Nathalie Heinich developed the notion of a woman without attachment, "la femme non liée," who possesses geographical and social identity together with affective mobility. Though emancipated, like also "la vagabonde," "la femme non liée" had also been condemned from society – and automatically became "the other."

[898] Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneuse. Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture, Society* 2, no. 37 (November 1985): 37–46, 47. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276485002003005, accessed 15 September 2021.

[899] Catherine Blais, *Une route à soi : Cyclistes, automobilistes et aviatrices (1890-1940).* Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2020*,* 31. Here, Blais defines the fugitive as "contemporaine de la 'femme moderne' et de ses deux principaux avatars, la *New Woman* et la garçonne, elle émerge à la fin du XIXe siècle dans les grands centres urbains du monde occidental et son influence, tant sur le discours social que sur l'imaginaire collectif, se prolonge jusqu'au milieu du XXe siècle. Reconnue pour son usage des moyens de transport individualisés tels la bicyclette, l'automobile et l'avion, instruments de transport d'un genre nouveau qui soulèvent tant la critique que les éloges dans la société, elle vit au rythme de son époque. Propulsée par la vitesse de la machine qu'elle maîtrise, elle fait non seulement l''expérience de la modernité' d'une manière directe, mais elle offre également la possibilité de réinventer, voire de réécrire sa vie sur les route de la terre et du ciel, qui lui servent alors de terrains d'expérimentation."

Proust's description of Albertine on her bicycle as inaccessible, fast-paced, unattainable, and beyond-reach, she becomes Blais' prototype of the fugitive modern woman.[900] Yet, Proust constructs Albertine the "fugitive" in contrast to Albertine the "prisoner."[901]

While the impact of the bicycle on women's emancipation and the suffragette movement has been the topic of scholarly work,[902] its importance for modern art and women artists has been neglected so far. Understood as a technology, the bicycle mediates "relationships between the body, other technologies, public space and society."[903] In her 2018 research study on Victorian women inventors of bicycle clothes, Kat Jungnickel endorsed the hypothesis that women at the end of the nineteenth century were "actively driving change"[904] by riding a bicycle. In this, the lady cyclist, the new woman, and the modern woman artist share a similar fate and ambitions. Jungnickel develops her argument on the "mobile woman" in the Victorian era in contrast to the "immobile characteristics of womanhood"[905] proclaimed at the end of the nineteenth century and the punishment society had reserved for those who were not complying to those rules. A woman had to fulfill her "natural role" at home in a graceful, neat, sensible, dignified, and modest manner.[906] What was presented as a moral argument against the Lady Cyclist — as one popular magazine was called — was in fact a reaction to women entering into masculine spaces, whether by simply wearing trousers, as Jungnickel argues, or by wanting to enter the modern art world.

The divisions of gender, prominent in nineteenth century society, were also palpable among cyclists: men had dominated the cycling world of the 1870s and 1880s but since the arrival of the so-called "safety bicycle" in 1890, the bicycle became the "domestic vehicle for ladies"[907] while

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[900] Blais, *Une route à soi*, 62-70.
[901] Prisoner in her Paris apartment, Albertine seems to feel free only when in Balbec and while driving her bicycle. Blais, *Une route à soi*, 67.
[902] See Sue Macy, *Wheels of Change: How Women Rode the Bicycle to Freedom (With a Few Flat Tires Along the Way),* Washington D.C.: National Geographic, 2011; Julie Wosk, *Women and the Machine: Representations from the Spinning Wheel to the Electronic Age,* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001.
[903] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers*, 5.
[904] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers,* 28.
[905] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers,* 44.
[906] Jungnickel, *Bikes and Bloomers*, 40-44.
[907] Phill Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliff, "Men, Women and the Bicycle: Gender and Social Geography of Cycling in the Late Nineteenth-Century," In *Cycling and Society*, edited by Dave Horton, Pau Rosen, and Peter Cox, London and New York: Routledge, 2016, 153-178, 153

man moved on to highwheel bicycles and in the following to the car that better expressed "cavalier masculinity,"[908] according to Phil Gordon Machintosh and Glen Norcliff. The interest of artists in the bicycle as both a topic and motif focused mostly on the elements of motion, energy, and speed—in short, the fourth dimension. In the literature and visual arts of the early twentieth century, especially in the movement of futurism, speed, motion and the kinetic dimension had its entrance into the visual arts in the works of artists from Lyonel Feininger (1871-1956) to Natalia Gontscharova (1881-1962) and especially in the work of Italian futurist Umberto Boccioni (1882-1916).[909] Looking at Emily Carr's sketchbook "A bicycle ride along the Cowichan" I was less interested in how the young artist represented herself and the bicycle but rather in the role the bicycle played at the turn of the twentieth century in mediating the relationship between her, woman artist, nature, and image. Besides a change of perspective — drawing outside the studio and under the open sky — I argue that the bike changed Carr's self-understanding as an artist (as the camera will do for Gabriele Münter).

In her seminal study on the spaces dedicated to nineteenth century women/painters, Griselda Pollock identified a few as suitable for women of a certain class, such as the domestic space or the park, and for "ladies" and "lady painters," the theatre (front stage) was the only accessible public spaces.[910] "Ladies" were excluded from cafés, brothels, folies, and the backstage of theatres in order to distinguish them from the "fallen women" who frequented those establishments. This separation happens under a regime Pollock called "the sexual politics of looking," which divides into "binary position, activity/passivity, looking/being seen, voyeur/exhibitionist, subject/object"[911]. Looking at the spaces that male artists painted in Paris of the second half of the nineteenth century (e.g. by Éduard Manet), Pollock states that women artists of that same generation, like Berthe Morisot (1841-1896) or Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) who were active in the 1870s and 1880s were excluded from theatres, bars, and brothels—not only because

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908 Phill Gordon Mackintosh and Glen Norcliff, "Men, Women and the Bicycle," 153.

909 Paintings featuring the bicycle include Lyonel Feining, *The Bicycle Race*, 1912 [National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.]; Umberto Boccioni, *Dinamismo di un ciclista* (*Dynamism of a Cyclist*), 1912 [Peggy Guggenheim Collection]; Natalia Gonscharova, *Cylist*, 1913 [The Russian Museum, St Petersburg]. For more information on the relationship between futurism and the bicycle, see Erasmuus Weddigen, Cycling, Cubo-Futurism and the Fourth Dimension

910 Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity ," Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, *The Expanding Discourse. Feminism and Art History*, New York: Routledge, 245-268, 256.

911 Pollock, "Spaces of Femininity," 263.

of their gender, but also because of their social class. In the 1890s, Emily Carr was still living in Victoria and had no access to the spaces of modernity but felt equally stifled by Victorian society. Her bicycle ride along Cowichan River is the first chance she could get to escape society's stern look, if only for a weekend.

The following case study stems from a desire to see the effect of the bicycle in Carr's drawings after her return from San Francisco. Specifically, I examined Carr's sketchbook *A bicycle trip along the Cowichan*,[912] housed in the National Gallery of Canada. In July 1895, Carr took the train from Victoria to Duncan together with her two friends Edna Green and Nellie McCormick, whom she had met during her art studies at the California School of Design, two years before. The three young women set off on a bicycle excursion on Vancouver Island along the Cowichan River over rough roads, since the region around Duncan[913] had been settled no earlier than the 1860s. Far away from the restrictive Victorian society and against all odds they set off for an adventure through the British Columbian forest — facing steep hills, fashion mal functions, accidents, earaches, and local peasants — all the while, enjoying picnics and contemplating the picturesque riverside. In a 12-page drawing book, Carr tells a complete short story in prose and art.

This sketchbook is not only important as an historic document of early tourism in this region, but also of women's lives at the end of the nineteenth century and particularly the "craze" about the bicycle. This case study is the first time that Emily Carr's earliest complete sketchbook narrative is subject to any in-depth analysis. Emily Carr kept this sketchbook all these years before she gave it to her foster-daughter Carol William in 1926. In the 1960s Carol Pearson sold it to a private Canadian collector. Out of this private collection it found its way into the National Gallery of Canada in 2008. [accession number 42433.1-12] It is the only of Emily Carr's sketchbooks that

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912 The single pages of this sketchbook can be viewed on the website of the National Gallery of Canada: https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artwork/a-bicycle-trip-along-the-cowichan, accessed 15 September 2021.

913 Since completing the transcontinental railway in 1885, British Columbia has become attractive for all sorts of tourism. Thanks to the E&N Railway, the little town Duncan had been linked to Victoria, which secured this rural area's infrastructure and positively affected the proliferation of landscape representation. For more on early tourism in this region, see John O'Brian, *Capitalizing the Scenery: Landscape, Leisure and Tourism in British Columbia, 1880s-1950s,* Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, UBC, 1996. Exhibition Catalogue.

is still bound and has never been exhibited nor published in its entirety.[914] It is one of her most complex works of the period between Emily Carr's studies in San Francisco (1890–1893) until she left for her London sojourn 1899,[915] and it is her earliest known book of "caricature narratives." Later, Emily Carr will create several other "funny books" — as she called them — to record her travels to Alaska in 1907[916] as well as for a last time in 1910,[917] telling the story of her way to Europe with the final destination Paris.[918] *A Bicycle Trip along the Cowichan* uniquely documents the artistic skills of a 23-year-old Emily Carr after her studies in San Francisco, when she is trying to establish herself as an artist.

Carr's landscapes around the same year reveal the classical training she received in San Francisco. She subsequently preserved only what had claims as a historical record and importance for her identity as a local artist, like a ink drawing of Victoria harbour in the style of popular travel magazine illustrations entitled *Rock Bay Bridge, Victoria,* 1895 **[Fig. 17]**[919] It shows the same composition as contemporary photographs of the location, here by Carr's contemporary Hannah Maynard (1834–1918) **[Fig. 18]**. Due to her artistic training and as her watercolors show, Carr was familiar with the modes of painting considered suitable for women.[920] The artist consciously named a watercolour *View in Victoria Harbour* **[Fig. 19]**, which is not only descriptive, but also programmatic, as she keeps her distance from the scenery she is depicting. Carr's artistic production during these years seems emblematic of the artistic training of her generation. In her highly ambitious article "The language of industry," Molly Nesbit concludes that nineteenth

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[914] I had the chance to study the sketchbook during my fellowship in Canadian Art at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa in 2013.

[915] Between 1893 and 1899 Emily Carr taught drawing and painting classes for children in her own studio in a barn on the family property to earn her living and safe some money for further training in England. For more on Carr's English sojourn, see Kathryn Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, Victoria: Royal BC Museum, 2014.

[916] Emily Carr, *Sister and I in Alaska: An Illustrated Diary of a Trip to Alert Bay, Skagway, Juneau, and Sitka in 1907,* Vancouver: Figure 1, 2014.

[917] Emily Carr, *Sister and I from Victoria to London*, Foreword by Kathryn Bridge, Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2011.

[918] The importance of Carr's caricatures had been already high lightened in the last national retrospective by Charlie Hill, Johanne Lamoureux, and Ian Thom, *Emily Carr : New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2006. Exhibition Catalogue.

[919] Emily Carr, *Rock Bay Bridge, Victoria, 1895*; pen and ink 6 1/8 x 9 1/8 inch; Newcombe Collection, B.C. Archives, Victoria, British-Columbia, Canada.

[920] Emily Carr, *View in Victoria Harbour*, c. 1895.

century art education did not teach women how to penetrate any kind of object, not even landscape, since “femininity of the 19th century had no space or look of its own, [but (it was identified by the limitation to perspective…”[921] Even though Carr’s drawings show vast deficits in the handling of perspective and the rendering of the human body in space, they prove her artistic ambition by the way she is experimenting with her drawing.

A bicycle ride along the Cowichan is the visual account of her first immediate contact with British Columbia’s hinterlands and bears witness of how Carr is testing the limitations of her gender, art and image. Emblematic of this undertaking is the sheet [“a camera, a billy and a holland bag” (v4)] **[Fig. 20]** where Emily Carr tells of how the three women shared “duties” while on tour: one carried the lunch while the others brought their equipment to depict the impressive British Columbian forest. There is a camera for Nellie McCormick and a sketching gear for Emily Carr. In an ironic tone, Emily Carr presents three possible “career options” for women in 1895: photographer, housewife, and painter, each symbolized by the technologies of camera, “billy pot”[922], and bicycle, respectively. In 1895, Emily Carr’s ambition to become a painter is literally tied to the “technology” of the bicycle. And what binds the two together is the drawing itself. If we remember Simondon’s definition of technology as a “hybrid” between operator and operated, not only the bike, but also drawing itself becomes a machine with which to transgress the nature/object divide. This changes the way women artists should be judged as they free themselves from the need to imitate either nature or male artists, triggering the accusation Karl Scheffler was to prove against them. With the help of the bicycle, Emily Carr’s drawing acts as Simondon’s “sujet-opérant.”[923]

In 1895, Emily Carr made a clear statement against photography. Although available to her as a medium to use, she had never considered photography as a career option as it had always been

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[921] Molly Nesbit, “The Language of Industry” in *The Definitely Unfinished Marcel Duchamp*, edited by Thierry de Duve, Cambridge: University Press, 1991, 366.
[922] Billy pots, also called billy tins, are light traditional Canadian outdoor equipment for transporting food and cooking over an open fire.
[923] Simondon, “Naissance de la technologie”, 131.

closely linked to tourism for her,[924] as the watercolor[925] *Northern Tour* **[Fig. 21]** shows. Emily Carr despised tourists, calling them "beastly" in her later years. In later excursions, first in 1912 — after her return from France – and especially in the late 1920s, she replaced the bike with a ship, canoe, and even horseback, to reach even more remote sites — leaving behind the restrictive world of domestic duties in the city and entering the male space of the landscape painter and especially the ethnographer. She wanted to travel and to work "off the beaten track."[926] This might have been for several reasons: first, her father had been interested in daguerreotype photography in the 1830s and learned it in New Orleans, and second, at the end of the nineteenth century, photography became the tool of anthropologists, because it was deemed to possess the highest veracity of all forms of documentation. But Emily Carr wanted to be an artist, and with her inheritance she had the financial resources to pursue her studies.

After her return from San Francisco, Emily Carr was confident in her approach to drawing and playful in her documentation of the trip. Next to some scribbles in her sketchbook, Carr writes, "… and she [E.C.] that slept not comes puffing behind; Looking weary and not at all happy in mind/on the front of her bike is a holland bag strapped/ponds lemons, and sketching gear…," . making fun of herself in an amused, yet annoyed manner. In a style so typical of her funny books, she shows herself as clumsy, unfortunate, or the one left behind. This is seen in the caricature of the three young women walking their bikes uphill **[Fig. 22]**, where she presents to the reader the lemons and sketching gear in her holland bag as the basic kit of every art student. With the pencil, Carr explores different levels of significance between language and image in a playful manner, such as when the letters of the "bold trees" clash with their visual representation in the drawing **[Fig. 23]**. Where Emily Carr's limited poetic capacities come to an end, her drawing takes over

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[924] For more on Emily Carr's use of photography see, Charles Hill, "Blunden Harbour: Between Photography and Painting," In *From the Forest to the Sea: Emily Carr in British Columbia*, edited by Sarah Milroy and Ian Dejardin, Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2014, exhibition eatalogue, 171–174; Maria Tippett, "Emily Carr's Blunden Harbour," *Bulletin* 25, Digital Collections, Library and Archives National Gallery Ottawa, 1975, https://www.gallery.ca/bulletin/num25/tippett1.html, accessed 29 September, 2021. Both authors agree that Emily Carr used photographs from C.F. Newcombe's collection only once in 1930 for a view on Blunden Harbour for her painting *Blunden Harbour,* 1928-1930, held at the National Gallery Ottawa.
[925] Emily Carr, *Northern Tour*, 1907-09.
[926] Emily Carr, "Modern and Indian Art of the West Coast," In *Supplement to the McGill News*, June 1929, 18-22.

and the visuals accelerate with the story: when her friend called "Mac" is "flying" down the hill, we do not see her, but the pot flying through the air and lemons spread over the scene. The former icon "billy pot" becomes a cartoon showing the effect of the action in "*Up rises the sun; Off flies the billy the lemons do spill*" **[Fig. 24]**.[927] In her drawings, Carr reduces all objects to their essential lines. A closer look at the originals reveals that the outlines are sketched with a pencil to define the overall composition before they were fixed in ink. Crosshatchings modulate faces, shadow bodies, and suggest grass. Emily Carr revisits all that she learned during her training in San Francisco and more. Analogous to the bike accelerating down hill, Carr's drawing goes beyond the polite copying of the motifs presented to her in San Francisco. On the bike, Emily Carr becomes a "fugitive" of her time. As a lady cyclist she is not only undoubtably modern, but also inventing what it means for her to be an artist: having immediate contact with her motifs, taking risks, and experimenting with her medium – on the road.

5.2.2. Women on Trees: Gabriele Münter is Travelling the U.S

When Gabriele Münter changed her beloved bike across the Atlantic to the U.S. in October 1898 she was independent like never before. Orphaned in 1897, she and her sister Emmy enjoyed a certain inherited[928] wealth, which allowed Gabriele and her sister to travel for over two years through Arkansas, Missouri, and Texas, before returning to Germany in 1900 to study art at the art school of the *Künstlerinnen-Verein* Munich. Similar to Emily Carr, Münter traveled after her first experience in art education. Through studying their private notebooks documenting the time that the women spent travelling inbetween their art studies I am especially interested in what they did differently before, during and after their travels.

When she left Germany in September 1898, Münter brought her bike— as shown in a scribble I found in one of her earliest sketchbooks: it shows a female figure between a boat and a bike **[Fig. 25]**. In a letter, her aunt advised her to leave her bike at home: "It is one thing, however,

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[927] The official title of this page is *Up rises the sun; Off flies the billy the lemons do spill* (no. 42433.5r), NGC, Ottawa.

[928] Often an inheritance laid the foundations of many women artists' careers. That shows how crucial financial independency was to pursue an artistic education. If there was no inheritance, there were only two options: either to teach on the side or to marry.

to go a-touring, another to go a-globetrotting! The places you may visit, are not within the compass of a day's journey. Nor can you flit from capital to capital as you can in Europe in a few hours by boat or by rail. Please think of the vastness of our country!"[929] As we know, she did not listen to her aunt and brought her bike with her, only to give it to one of her cousins. A double portrait from 1901**[Fig. 26]** showing Gabriele Münter and her bicycle signals the importance for her of this cherished possession she had received in July 1897 from her brother. But this anecdote is also about the impact that the U.S. trip must have had on her. Having grown up in the German city of Koblenz, she experienced for the first the vastness of U.S. landscapes.The difference, between "a-touring" and "a-globetrotting" Münter's aunt is alluding to, describes very well the distinction between the journey Gabriele Münter undertook for educational purposes and for pleasure – with her bike (1900-1903) – and the international travelling she did with Wassily Kandinsky (1904-1908)[930].

From 1897 onward, riding her new *Sirius* bike was one of Gabriele Münter's most adored activities and a way to take part in the craze that had taken the women's world by storm. As Münter's biographer Gisela Kleine argues, the bike fundamentally changed Münter's life. As the youngest sibling still living with her widowed mother, she had been isolated, but as she became more active, she roamed around Koblenz, even wearing the new bloomers,[931] which prevented the tragic accidents more likely to occur while wearing a dress.

The relationship with the bicycle is important at two different moments in Gabriele Münter's life. The first time, as already mentioned, in 1897, the same year she started private art lessons in Düsseldorf, and the second time in 1901, when she arrived in Munich to study at the art school *Künstlerinnen-Verein*. The city of Munich was a "stronghold of cycling" at that time and

[929] Caroline Schreiber to Gabriele Münter, Summer 1898, cited in Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 17. Both terms, "touring" and "globetrotting" are used in the nineteenth century for travels. While touring is widely understood as "a journey for business, pleasure, or education often involving a series of stops and ending at the start point," "globe-trotting" is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "The action of travelling extensively around the world, originally typically in a hurried manner, esp. for the purpose of sightseeing."
[930] For a full itinerary of Gabriele Münter's and Wassily Kandinsky's travels from 1904 to 1908, see **Annex A** of this thesis.
[931] "Bloomers" is the just another word for wide-cut culottes, are "Radbux" (bike trousers) as they were called in German.

"at least in the English garden, women on bicycles were no longer unusual."[932] More importantly, the bike allowed Münter to partake in numerous excursions with her fellow art students and teachers, reaching further onto the rural countryside than would have been possible by the places connected through the railroad network of the Royal Bavarian State Railway, as on an excursion in Fürstenfeldbruck in 1901. Or, as Mathias Mühling recently remarked, "by expanding her radius of movement her relationship to painting also expanded."[933] In between those two crucial moments in her biography sits Münter's trip to the U.S. In contrast to Emily Carr, both the bike and the camera can be considered equally important in Münter's artistic development.

Today, the U.S. trip is considered the beginning of Münter's artistic production. In 2017, Isabelle Jansen argued that Gabriele Münter had trained her eye while travelling through the U.S. with her Kodak Bull's Eye N° 2 camera and came to painting in 1902 with a "photo-optical gaze"[934] ("photographischer Blick").[935] The sheer number of photographs taken during this trip, 400,[936] is as impressive as the quality, given that Gabriele Münter had been a novice photographer. The challenge in taking photographs with a Kodak Bull's Eye was that the camera needed to be held in front of the body and pressed against the chest; the photographer then looked from above through the view finder to see the later-reproduced image *en miniature*.[937] With her camera, the young artist took hundreds of photographs in the U.S., mostly of her relatives' rural lifestyle, social

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[932] Matthias Mühling, "Bicycle and reform dress," In *Unter freiem Himmel/Under the Open Sky: Unterwegs mit Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky,* edited by Sarah Louisa Henn and Matthias Mühling, 220-221, Munich: Lenbachhaus, 2020, Exhibition Catalogue, 220.
[933] Mühling, Under the open sky, 220.
[934] Isabelle Jansen, "'Augenlust'. Das Werk vor der Malerei", *Gabriele Münter 1877-1962. Malen ohne Umschweife*, Munich: Lenbachhaus, 2017, exhibition catalogue, 15-19, 16.
[935] At Gabriele Münter's last retrospective in 2018, Gabriele Münter's photographic body of work had been exhibited for the very first time together with her painting at the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.
[936] Gabriele Münter's photographic body of work is divided into two bodies of work. The first being her U.S. travels, the second her years with Wassily Kandinsky, 2002-2016. Both have been published for the first time in 2006 and 2007.
[937] For more technical information on Gabriele Münter's camera and her usage of it, see Daniel Oggenfuss, "Kamera- und Verfahrenstechnik der Amerika-Photographien Gabriele Münters*," Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika. Photographien 1899-1900*, edited by Helmut Friedel, Munich: Schrimer /Mosel, 2007, 189-201.

events, urban sceneries, and local folks.[938] Today, these photographs are perceived as a preparatory "sketch," a way for her to spontaneously document motifs.[939]

I became interested in Gabriele Münter's photographs through her sketchbooks, where I recognized some motifs from her photo album. During her U.S. trip, she drew portraits of most of her relatives, young and old, adding names, dates, and places where the drawing was done. Later on, Münter would call these portraits "factual and without any artistic composition."[940] That might be true for some of them, but not for the untitled and undated sketches of little children and young girls. There, Gabriele Münter is experimenting with postures, gestures, and movements. They are the more dynamic and unconventional motifs of these early sketchbooks, especially since drawing to capture the mere appearance became less important for Gabriele Münter as she started to take photographs in the summer of 1899. It is remarkable that even with the camera at hand, Gabriele Münter did not stop drawing. Initially, she used the photographs as models for further studies, but even more interesting is that, with the pencil, she was developing motifs, which she had taken first with the camera.

Especially interested in moving objects, Münter, in her snapshots, delivered astonishing results: while the technology of the camera is freezing the posture of a figure in motion, the pencil is bringing it back to life as seen in several sketches preserved in her sketchbook. Like the drawings of a little girl **[Fig. 27]** that correspond with photographs of the same motif, **[Fig. 28]** comparing drawing and photograph allowed me to understand how Gabriele Münter sought the potential of drawing and its limits. The sketchbooks and photo series of the years 1899–1900 illustrate how she experimented not only with motif, but also with medium, all in a playful manner. Take the drawing of two little girls holding hands that is repeated on two consecutive pages in one sketchbook: by flipping the page of the sketchbook, the young artist is turning her models around, showing them

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[938] The physical prints of Gabriele Münter's photographs are held in the Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, Munich. Whereas the digital collection of Gabriele Münter's photographs are stored together with the photographs of Wassily Kandinsky's collection in a data base at the Bibliothèque Kandinsky, where they were made available to me during a research stay. A selection of photographs had been published in Helmut Friedel, *Gabriele Münter: die Reise nach Amerika ; Photographien 1899-1900*, Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 2006. Exhibition Catalogue.
[939] Jansen, "'Augenlust',“ 17.
[940] Gabriele Münter as cited by Annegret Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter in Amerika," In *Gabriele Münter – Die Reise nach Amerika : Photographien 1899–1900*, edited by Helmut Friedel. Munich: Schirmer Mosel, 2006, 15.

on one double page from the front and from the back on the next page **[Fig. 29, Fig. 30]**. Here, Münter is actually imitating the dynamic of the movement in the static medium of drawing, not unlike children's flipbooks, the first and most intuitive form of animation.[941]

The objects of Münter's "animation" were female figures in a given space. She was freeing her drawing, while expanding her subject matter: here for example, she depicts young women bathing in a river **[Fig. 31]**. While the camera keeps a respectful distance, the drawing of the same motif moves closer, showing the female body floating in the water **[Fig. 32]**. Covered in hatchings, the bare body is protected from the eyes of the spectator. Against all later declarations, from this moment on Gabriele Münter showed more than just the likeness of the model in contrast to her photography. Several pages in her sketchbooks are devoted to a young female figure, whom she drew again and again from different angles—coming closer, following the figure climbing up and reaching out into the branches of a tree **[Fig. 33]**. The motif of women in trees has been a curious phenomenon since the late nineteenth century and most prominently until the 1950s.[942] Whole collections have been established with women photographed sitting or standing in the branches of a tree alone, but also in a group. It is partly rebellion and partly a joke on a twisted allegory: Eve climbing the tree of knowledge is as absurd as it is liberating, but in any case, truly modern – as already Mary Cassatt taught us **[Fig. 12]**.

How different from the social expectations of a German girl or young woman, who were taught piano lessons, dancing, and domestic skills in order to become a devoted mother and respected wife must have appeared to Münter the unrestricted life of her American female cousins. In her drwaings she depicts them closer to nature, active and unconstrained, with time for contemplation and relaxation, as this portrait of her aunt in a hammock shows **[Fig. 34]**. Reduced to its essential lines, the female body is spread out all over the paper, resting in harmony with her environment, very much like this similar scene in Emily Carr's 1895 sketchbook, which catches a moment of leisure in female company while on a joint bicycle trip **[Fig. 35]**.

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[941] It is a well-known fact that Gabriele Münter had been an avid lover of cinema. For a list of the movies that she had seen from 1914 to 1957, see Jansen, *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Malen ohne Umschweife*, 262-263.
[942] Jochen Raiß, ed., *Frauen auf Bäumen. Sammlung Jochen Raiß,* Berlin : Hantje Cantz, 2016; Jochen Raiß, ed., *Mehr Frauen auf Bäumen. Sammlung Jochen Raiß*, Berlin : Hantje Cantz 2017.

In the respective sketchbooks of Münter and Carr, their female figures gain an unknown freedom of expression procured. Mobility clearly played a crucial role in Carr and Münter's artistic education, not only by allowing them to leave their homes before their studies abroad, but also by exploring their environment outside the classroom and without supervision. This mobility weakens the "starched tyranny" of nineteenth century society Emily Carr was talking about and also served as a means to get closer to their subject matter and their goal of becoming professional artists. The bicycle as well as the camera are technologies that had the power to open up perspectives and spaces that their artistic training had not offered them.

When Emily Carr writes in her 1895 sketchbook "Three of us start in sweet July/Looking for rest and relief/Leaving behind all disturbance of mind/ All sorrow and care and grief," she seems to echo German Romantic travel literature where the hero knows himself happiest while on travels, having left "his confined home in order like a bird to test his wings and sway on unfamiliar, beautiful branches."[943] Male artists had already had the liberty to wander and travel for studies or in search for new motifs and perspectives for a long time when new technologies like the train or later the bicycle opened these opportunities up to women for the first time. For example, during German Romanticism, artists traveled "for self-development and self-knowledge," according to Mitchell B. Frank. The artist traveler by foot, the so-called "wanderer", was a "recurring theme"[944] in the travel imagery of the 1830s. In his analysis of German Romantic prints, Frank underlined the cultural importance of travel for artists as a moment of artistic but also individual development. To wander through the rural landscapes gave the Romantic artists not only the opportunity to sketch out of doors, but "to gain knowledge of their natural surroundings."[945] While Gabriele Münter used the bicycle still at the beginning of the twentieth century to travel to her motif on the Bavarian countryside, Emily Carr would later change the bicycle for the horse back or canoe.

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[943] Ludwig Tieck, *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen*, edited by Alfred Gerz, Potsdam: Rütten & Loening, 1942, 31 quoted in Mitchell B. Frank, "The Wanderer: Travel Imagery in German Romantic prints," In *The Enchanted World of German Romantic Prints 1770-1850*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017, 125-139, 137.
[944] Frank, "The Wanderer," 125.
[945] Frank, "The Wanderer," 126.

5.3. Serious and Play: Humour and Irony as a Means of Self-Reflection

After Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter experienced some artistic training and enjoyed the advantages of modern technology offered to women of their class, both were encouraged to continue their artistic training in the art centers of London (1888–1904) and Munich (1901–1904) respectively. As they pursued their studies, the modern technologies available to them continued to play an important role, complemented by the amenities and conveniences of studying in a major city. Both joined different schools and had different teachers during their sojourns, and both also experienced a feeling of community as well as isolation. At the end of their respective stays, Carr and Münter proved the seriousness of their professional and artistic ambition and recognized the ever-constant risk of failure on Carr's part and Münter's challenge to emancipate herself from her teacher and life partner Wassily Kandinsky. The challenges they faced were indeed multiple: finding the right school and teacher for their artistic ambitions while at the same time coping with constant criticism and scrutiny from those teachers and the general public that questioned their artistic abilities. This chapter closes at the moment when both women had to interrupt their studies: for Münter, it had become impossible to stay in Munich and continue to study under her lover Wassily Kandinsky, so they decided to go on travels for four years; for Carr, the constant "struggle" to live up to her ambitions became too much to bear, which led her to undergo a "rest-cure." The time-period leading up to this is characterized by an avid "documentation" of their experience in drawing, caricature (especially for Carr), and photographs (for Münter) that show in both women a great sense of humour. Through analyzing their sketchbooks I discovered that, humour (irony and self-mockery) became not only a tool for self-reflection, but also a playful way to remind themselves of the seriousness of their artistic ambitions, since "laughter … makes it possible for our intellect to regain access to seriousness from another dimension,"[946] as Marie Luise Knott reminds us. And yet their perspective was, at that time, not very valued.[947]

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[946] Marie Luise Knott, *Unlearning with Hannah Arendt,* translated by David Dollenmayer. New York: Other Press, 2014, 15.

[947] Laughter as a form of resistance for women is at the center of Hélène Cixous's essay "The Laugh of the Medusa", published for the first time in French in 1975. "There's no room for her if she's not a he. If she's a her-she, it's in order to smash everything, to shatter the framework of institutions, to blowing the law, to

5.3.1. Truth and Irony: Gabriele Münter Arrives in Munich

After her return from the U.S., Gabriele Münter picked up her studies once more, but this time in Munich. In search of a more "modern" approach than the one she had studied in Düsseldorf, she settled in the bohemian district of Schwabing. In retrospect, she very briefly summed up her studies in Munich: "I only began my actual art studies at the age of twenty-four in Munich around Easter 1901. At the time, the Academy of Art was closed to women. They had an alternative at the school of the ladies' artist association, where competent teachers taught."[948] At first, she enrolled in the art school of the Munich *Künstlerinnen-Verein*.[949] The official curriculum included drawing from plaster casts, partially-clothed nude and nudes, shading, landscape, still lifes, perspective, and art history. Gabriele Münter first enrolled in Angelo Jank's (1868–1940) portrait class and Maximilian Dasio's (1865–1954) open-air landscape class. Less than one year later, in January 1902, she changed schools to attend the private art school *Phalanx*, chaired by Wassily Kandinsky and Wilhelm Hüsgen.[950]

At Münter's arrival, Munich was a modern, bohemian, "shining"[951] city of 500,000 inhabitants. Her installation in Schwabing meant living in a artistic neighbourhood close to the

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break up the 'truth' with laughter." Hélène Cixous, "Laugh of Medusa," In *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol.1, no.4, 1976, 875-893, 888.

[948] "Mein eigentliches Kunststudium begann ich erst mit 24 Jahren in München, Ostern 1901. Den Frauen war damals die Hochschule für Kunst verschlossen. Sie hatten einen Ersatz in der Schule des Künstlerinnenvereins, an der tüchtige Lehrer unterrichteten," translated into English in Henn and Mühling, *Under the open sky*, 2016.

[949] Besides paying the membership to the women artists association of Munich (*Künstlerinnen-Verein München*), Gabriele Münter must have shown some works to the association's jury before being admitted as the association's statutes demand. See Vereinstatuten 1998, §11, Absatz 1, as quoted in Christina Mahn, *Käte Lassen 1880-1956. Grenzgängerin der Moderne,* Heide: Boyens Buchverlag, 2007, 19.

[950] Wassily Kandinsky came to Munich to paint in the studio of Anton Azbè and attended the classes of Franz von Stuck at the Royal Bavarian Academy of Art. When Münter meets Kandinsky he paints rather traditionally – still with the palette knife. Hoberg and Behr, *Expression*, 54-55.

[951] In his famous 1902 novel *Gladius Dei*, Thomas Mann wrote about Munich, comparing it to a quattro-cento Florence and celebrating its genius loci, beginning with the famous phrase, "München leuchtete. Über den festlichen Plätzen und weißen Säulentempeln, den antikisierenden Monumenten und Barockkirchen, den springenden Brunnen, Palästen und Gartenanlagen der Residenz spannte sich strahlend ein Himmel von blauer Seide, und ihre breiten und lichten, umgrünten und wohlberechneten Perspektiven lagen in dem Sonnendunst eines ersten, schönen Junitags. [...]," and ending it with the commentary "Die Kunst blüht, die Kunst ist an der Herrschaft, die Kunst streckt ihr rosenumwundenes Zepter über die Stadt hin und lächelt. Eine allseitige respektvolle Anteilnahme an ihrem Gedeihen, eine

university, where a new generation of artists and intellectuals mingled in cafés, beer gardens, and at the legendary costume balls.[952] Equally, Munich was a stronghold of the German women's rights movement promoted by the local Association of Women's Interests (*Verein für Fraueninteressen 1894*) and the cyclist movement.[953] In Munich, the lady cyclist was considered a representative of the "new woman," as seen in this caricature, published in the local magazine *Jugend* in 1896, which showcases women's emancipation as running parallel with her usage of the "wheel," *The woman, in front of the wheel, behind the wheel, on top of the wheel* ("Die Frau, vor dem Rad, hinter dem Rad und auf dem Rad") **[Fig. 36]**. Mocking the "evolution" of women, once in front of the spinning wheel, then behind the wheeled plough and finally on top of a bicycle.

With its museums, royal palaces, and a strong artistic tradition, as well as modern transportation, *Jugendstil* architecture, and its own "Crystal Palace" ("Glaspalast"), Munich was a truly modern city of international significance.[954] And yet, only a few miles outside the inner city, students were confronted with a picturesque landscape from a pre-industrial age, inhabited by an ultra-catholic peasant population. In 1952, Gabriele commented on her impression of Munich when she arrived in 1901:

> It was a great time of artistic renewal when I came to Munich in 1901 to study. The Art Nouveau [*Jugendstil*] began to overthrow the old naturalism in its own way and to

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allseitige, fleißige und hingebungsvolle Übung und Propaganda in ihrem Dienste, ein treuherziger Kultus der Linie, des Schmuckes, der Form, der Sinne, der Schönheit obwaltet ... München leuchtete." Thomas Mann, *Death in Venice and Other Stories*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel, London: Penguin Classics, 1999, 85, 88; for an interpretation of Mann's text, see Ernst Fedor Hoffmann, Thomas Mann's "Gladius Dei", *PMLA*, Vol. 83, No. 5 (Oct., 1968), 1353-1361, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1261308, accessed 15 September 2021.

[952] Schwabing was equally the home of contemporary literary magazines like *Jugend* or the polticial satire magazine *Simplicissimus*, featuring authors like Stefan George, Ludwig Thoma or Thomas Mann. This was also the moment of Munich Jugendstil and the celebration of decorative arts through its most prolific promoter Hermann Obrist whom Gabriele Münter met at the *Künstlerinnen-Verein* during a conference. Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 100.

[953] While Nürnberg was the German centre for bicycle production, Munich was the city of bicycle races. By 1897, Munich had already 70 cyclists associations and 7 velodromes. As Münter's biographer Gisela Kleine remarks, her choice to come to Munich in 1901 was already influenced by the city's known fascination for this new sport.

[954] For more information on the cultural importance of Munich at the fin de siècle, see Metzger, Rainer, and Brandstätter Christian. *München - Die Große Zeit Um 1900: Kunst, Leben Und Kultur 1890 - 1920 ; Architektur, Malerei, Design, Theater, Musik, Cabaret, Literatur, Buchkunst,* Munich: Dt. Taschenbuch Verlag, 2010.

> promote the pure line. But my inclination, which I had already brought with me, to grasp reality with a sparse outline in the outline of things, did not receive much approval and stimulation yet. I did not even care about the "modern" trends. I never sat at the debates in artists' cafes, nor did I study magazines and browse exhibitions to find out what was up-to-date. Only occasionally did I see drawings by Gulbransson and Th.[omas] Th.[eodor] Heine, their streak were to my liking. The art schools, however, were still governed by a lot by old practice. When I had made a simple outline, they said that some shading was also needed, and every time I gave in to that, I no longer liked my drawing.[955]

Fifty years later, Gabriele Münter would still not acknowledge any positive influence from the vibrant Munich art scene on her artistic development. At the time, Munich's official art world was dominated by figures such as Franz von Lenbach (1836–1904) and Franz von Stuck (1863–1928), both professors at the Bavarian Royal Academy and Wassily Kandinsky's teachers, whom Münter might have had in mind when she was talking about "old practice." In 1952, for a publication of her portraits in drawing, Gabriele Münter was invited to reflect on her relationship to this medium.[956] She stated that she had always understood herself as a draughtsman since her early childhood. And yet, she needed to learn how to paint. This was why she had gone to Munich: "I've been so used to drawing from childhood that later, when I got into painting – it was in my twenties – I had the impression that it was innate ['angeboren'] to me, while I had to learn to paint first."[957]

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[955] "Es war eine große Zeit der künstlerischen Erneuerung, als ich 1901 nach München zum Studium kam. Der Jugendstil begann, in seiner Art den alten Naturalismus zu stürzen und die reine Linie zu pflegen. Doch unmittelbar konnte meine schon mitgebrachte Neigung, die Wirklichkeit mit sparsamem Abriß, im Umriß der Dinge zu fassen, noch nicht viel Bestätigung und Anregung empfangen. Bekümmerte ich mich doch auch gar nicht um die 'modernen' Strömungen. Nie saß ich bei den Debatten in Künstlercafes, studierte ich Zeitschriften und graste ich Ausstellungen ab, um zu erfahren, was aktuell sei. Bloß sah ich gelegentlich Zeichnungen von Gulbransson und Th. Heine, deren Strich nach meinem Geschmack war. In den Kunstschulen aber herrschte noch viel alte Gewohnheit. Wenn ich schlichten Umriß gemacht hatte, hieß es, nun gehöre auch noch Schattierung hinein, und wenn ich dem nachgab, gefiel mir meine Zeichnung nicht mehr." Gabriele Münter,"Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen." In *Gabriele Münter: Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen*: *20 Lichtdrucktafeln*, edited by Gustav Hartlaub and Gabriele Münter, Berlin: Konrad Lemur Verlag, 1952, 23-24.

[956] Hartlaub and Münter, *Gabriele Münter, Mennschenbilder in Zeichnungen: 20 Lichtdrucktafeln*, 1952.

[957] "Ich bin von Kindheit auf so ans Zeichnen gewöhnt, daß ich später, als ich zum Malen kam — es war in meinen zwanziger Jahren —, den Eindruck hatte, es sei mir angeboren, während ich das Malen erst lernen mußte." Münter as cited in Hartlaub and Münter, *Gabriele Münter, Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen*, 23.

At the time, she was well aware of the discourses surrounding the idea that painting might be learned, while the talent to grasp visual ideas and bring them into paper could not. She was echoing the apocryphal story by Pablo Picasso who is said to have shared: "It took me four years to paint like Raphael, but a lifetime to paint like a child." The quote hints to a form of unlearning that was only reserved for male artists of his generation, which consisted in unskilling one's artistic practice – an undoing of their academic training of sorts.

Gabriele Münter's quote has two important aspects to it: firstly, it shows appreciation for her teacher, Wassily Kandinsky, and the influence of avant-garde painting; secondly, it takes into account the importance of conceptual visualization for modern art, which also diminishes the significance of the period prior to her joining the Phalanx school. Münter's biographer Gisela Kleine notes that her classes with Maximilian Dasio and Angelo Jank were disappointing, boring, slow, and laborious.[958] Yet, a look into Gabriele Münter's sketchbooks say otherwise. They provide proof of a rich and diverse training and reveal continuous improvement during her studies at the *Künstlerinnenverein*.[959] At least ten sketchbooks [20 x 30 cm] have survived from her time in Munich from 1901–1903. They are full of poems, portraits and head studies in different techniques, flower still lifes, water colour studies, life models (draped and also female, male, and infant nudes), motion studies, and urban scenes and landscape drawings. In January and March 1902, Gabriele Münter filled two sketchbooks depicting her drawing class at the *Künstlerinnenverein*, with portraits of her fellow classmates as they drew, smoked, received corrections, and interacted with the life model. She integrated the exercise, for example, of drawing a male model, into a documentation of the same scene, showing herself drawing **[Fig. 37].** Similarly, Münter shows us how her fellow classmates served as models to each other **[Fig. 38].** This remarkable drawing documents a network of women's gaze drawing one another, along with the analyzing look that Münter directed towards her own drawing and, ultimately, herself. A comparison between the swift sketches of her drawing lessons and the memorable self-portrait found in the same sketch book of 1902, entitled "Self" ("Selbst") **[Fig. 39]** reveals how Gabriele Münter and her classmates were

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[958] Gisela Kleine based her judgement on letters that Gabriele Münter wrote to her brother Charly and her brother in law Georg Schroeter. Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 91, 117.

[959] For my research on Gabriele Münter's studies in Munich, I consulted the following sketchbooks held at the GMJE Foundation Munich: Kon 46/4, Kon 46/5, Kon 46/6, Kon 46/47, Kon 46/7, Kon 46/10, Kon 46/11, Kon 46/2, Kon 46/9, Kon 37/6.

ultimately confronted with themselves and the subject of their own gaze, while exploring who they were as artists and searching within themselves for a still missing subject matter.

Drawings and sketches as a means of self-reflection are not uncommon for women artists of Münter's generation. Käthe Lassen (1880–1956), a German artist who, only three years before Munter's arrival in Munich, had studied at the *Künstlerinnen-Verein* with the same teachers. In 1900, Käthe Lassen drew a caricature entitled "Just another quick study" ("Schnell noch eine Skizze") **[Fig. 40]** that shows a woman artist sitting on a box with her drawing pad on her knees; she looks at her drawing of a stick figure as if commenting on the difficulty women artists encountered in their search for their own subject matter and identity. The caricature is accompanied with a quote taken from von Goethe's poem "Prometheus," "Here I sit, forming men in my own image, a race who shall be like me." Lacking female role models, women artists such as Lassen and Münter had to search for their identity as an artist on their own. Society only mocked and loathed them, as this caricature published in the German magazine *Jugend* from 1897 suggests **[Fig. 41]**. Here, the students of an all-women art class are seen jumping and screaming, scared by a frog that entered their classroom. The women are drawn as old, wrinkled, and "hysterical." Aware of these critical images, women artists produced their own caricatures. Lassen's caricature of 1899, showing her reading the "studio rules" to her teacher Maximilian Dasio, has become emblematic. Lassen, in the image, turns academic logic on its head in a humorous manner **[Fig. 42]**. Although much smaller than the skinny, giant teacher, the woman artist warns him that it is forbidden to "marry your student," "to use the skeleton of the classroom for drawing exercises, since it was only bought for decorative reasons," "to dance, smoke, or yell in the classroom," or "to accept women artists in your private atelier before they turn 45," just to name the most telling examples.[960] While only the first rule is based on true events, since Dasio in fact married one of his students in 1899, the others should be read as commentaries on women's art studies seen as a useless pastime for badly behaved young women. Dasio, who worked not only as a painter but also a graphic artist and engraver, did encourage his female students to practice a quick line and humorous approach to drawing since he saw caricature as professional career option for women.[961]

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[960] For a complete transcript of the German original, see Mahn, *Käte Lassen*, 25-26.
[961] Mahn, *Käte Lassen*, 26.

This period offers no known caricatures from Gabriele Münter, but only one unsigned caricature attributed to Wassily Kandinsky, which presents a similar teacher-student set up **[Fig. 43]**. The 1905 caricature shows Kandinsky and Münter in front of an easel. Kandinsky is seen fixing his gaze on the painting and pointing his index finger towards it; his hands are drawn as actual claws. His severe look through his glasses is contrasted with the female figure standing behind his back, drawn slightly smaller and with no facial expression. It is interesting to note that the unsigned drawing had once been ascribed to Münter,[962] but was recently published, indicating Kandinsky as its creator.[963] In *The Search for Expression*, Shulamith Behr interpreted this caricature through a feminist art historical lens. Attributing this caricature to Gabriele Münter could turn her indifference to her teacher's critique into an emancipatory gesture. Whereas attributing this caricature to Kandinsky, speaks to his consciousness about the cliché-ridden relationship between male teacher and female student. Given the popularity of the German magazine *Simplicissimus*, it is very likely that Kandinsky was aware of Bruno Paul's caricature **[Fig. 44]**. In this emblematic caricature published in 1901, the male figure comments on the woman artist's painting, placed on an easel, while adding finishing touches on her canvas as she stands behind him. He tells her: "Look, Miss, there are only two kinds of women artists, the ones that want to get married, and then there are the others, who have no talent either" (Sehen Sie, Fräulein, es gibt zwei Arten von Malerinnen: die einen möchten heiraten und die anderen haben auch kein Talent). The notorious "Fräulein", the German unmarried woman, here epitomized by the woman artist, as the critic states, is neither successful as a woman (hence, unmarried) nor as an artist (hence, no talent). This shows how the woman artist is set up for certain failure.

If one assumes that Kandinsky knew Paul's caricature, the interpretation must be different. Today, this caricature is read as a proof of Kandinsky's self-irony, his ability to make fun of the male teacher, nit-picking his students' work, while the student passively receives his criticism. But, if one remembers, in 1905, Kandinsky and Münter left Munich out of respect for his then-wife, travelling and working all over Europe. Kandinsky literally stands between Münter and her work – she is unable to marry him, exposed to his criticism of her work, and *only* to his criticism. Whether,

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[962] Shulamith Behr, *"Beyond the Muse: Gariele Münter as Expressionistin,"* In *Gabriele Münter: the search for expression 1906-1917,* edited by Annegret Hoberg, Shulamith Behr, and Barnaby Wright, London: Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, 2005*,* 57-58.
[963] Henn and Mühling, *Under the open sky. Travelling with Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter*, 6.

the caricature was ultimately done by Münter or Kandinsky is secondary to my argument, but the different ways of reading this drawing speaks to the possibility of self-reflection, or even self-mockery, by women artists of this generation. The idea of women artists making fun of their already marginalized position in the art world is missing from art historical literature. Whereas irony may be a woman artist's means, as Lassen's caricatures have shown us, to hold "experience at arm's length."[964] In her impressive portrait of Hannah Arendt, Marie Luise Knott investigates Arendt's use of irony as a means to "bypass reason and potentially give momentum to freedom and sovereignty in the midst of constraints of this world and all its bottled-up social conventions."[965]

While in 1902, Münter's sketchbooks do not show caricatures, her photographs do document an ironic commentary on her drawing classes at the *Künstlerinnen-Verein*. The first photograph represents Münter among her fellow classmates together with their teacher Dasio, who is wearing a flower crown while all of the women are photographed with a cigarette and a bunch of white lilies **[Fig. 45]**. The lilies, a symbol of the chastity and purity of the Virgin Mary, are contrasted with the woman artists' "attribute" of the cigarette. This photograph comments on the impossibility to be a woman artist and comply with the moral expectations of society at the same time. A second photograph captures Münter with her classmates of the portrait class, with all of their heads turned to the side, in profile, as if for drawing purposes **[Fig. 46]**. On an easel to the right, one female head, resembling any one of the students, emblematizes the class's collective effort to portray each other and themselves. In 1901–02 the women of the *Künstlerinnen-Verein*, still understood themselves as a homogenous group with one professional goal, to become artists. None of these women had been encouraged to develop an individual style, yet.

It is unknown, if at this point in 1902, Gabriele Münter seriously thought of leaving drawing behind, but the reason Münter changed schools and went to the private Phalanx school was to pursue sculpture. Intending to become a sculptor, Münter signed up to Wilhelm Hüsgen's life model class, which she avidly photographed, including the nude model and her own clay sculpture next to it **[Fig. 47]**. Only by chance did she come to Kandinsky's evening class, as she remembers in retrospect:

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[964] Knott, *Unlearning*, 9.
[965] Knott, *Unlearning*, 10.

> When there was not much doing in the Hüsgen class because of no heating, no model, or the teacher Hüsgen being away, they told us the sculptors could sit in in the painting class. This was how I came to do the first still life in oils that K.[andinsky] set as an assignment. And it was at once noticed by K., judged to be fresh and colourful.[966]

Münter's reminiscences jotted down for her second life partner, the art historian Johannes Eichner, in preparation of his biography of the artist couple, idealize Kandinsky as the first person to recognize her talent and cultivate it. To Münter's recollection, Kandinsky had told her: "You are hopeless as a pupil. All I can do for you is guard your talent and nurture it like a good gardener, to let nothing false creep in—you can only do what has grown within you (yourself)."[967] Since the first biography, this verdict — as remembered by Münter late in life — made Kandinsky the one major influence on her artistic training, as he insisted there was nothing for her to learn. On the contrary, Kandinsky would only need to shepherd her talent so that it would not get corrupted. In fact, Kandinsky spoke about his role as that of the gardener. The metaphor belies the teacher/student relationship dynamic, and this points to an egalitarian union in work and life, as had been Kandinsky's vision for his relationship with Münter from the beginning. And yet, his commentary on Münter as somebody creating from within, qualifies her artistic creations as procreation ("grown within you"). According to his theory, formulated in 1911,[968] the "work of art is born of the artist … from him it gains life and being."[969] The idea of of creation as procreation was for Kandinsky—who, just like Gabriele Münter, had remained childless up to this point—the utmost compliment. And yet, with this commentary Kandinsky had shaped Münter's enduring critical reception when denying her any intellectual approach to her painting and constructed her as his counterpart.

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[966] Gabriele Münter as cited in Annegret Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscenes 1902-1914*, Munich: Prestel, 2005, 31.
[967] Gabriele Münter as cited in Hoberg, *Wasily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter*, 34-35.
[968] The manuscript of *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* was already finished in 1910, after ten years of preparations. It was published for the first time in December 1911 at the Munich edition house R. Piper & Co., dated to 1912. See, Max Bill, "Einführung," In Wassily Kandinsky, *Über das Geistige in der Kunst insbesondere der Malerei*, Bern: Benteli Verlag, 2006, 9.
[969] Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the spiritual in art,* translated with an introduction by M.T.H. Sadler, New York: Dover Publications, 1977, 53.

In Kandinsky, Münter had found a teacher that gave her the attention and guidance she had desired all those years. More importantly, he took her seriously as an artist:

> I dropped the evening nude I had been attending before, and made the most of the opportunity. And that was a new artistic experience, how K.[andinsky] quite unlike the other teachers – painstakingly comprehensively explained things and regarded me as a consciously striving person, capable of setting herself tasks and goals. This was something new for me, it impressed me.[970]

During the summer of open-air painting, from 24 June 1902–22 August 1902 in Kochel, a small town roughly 70 km to the South of Munich, Münter, together with Kandinsky and his international painting class, focused on the execution of small oil studies. Kandinsky asked the participants to spread out and search for their motifs among the rolling Alpine foothills. Throughout the day, Kandinsky would ride his bike from student to student to address his corrections. Münter was the only student who also possessed a bike. This was the beginning of their joint sketching trips by bike and the origin of their private relationship.

Gabriele Münter's training in landscape painting was suddenly interrupted when Kandinsky's wife, Anja Chimiakin, arrived in Kochel. Kandinsky was afraid that his wife would sense his infatuation with his student and asked Münter to leave immediately. Just as she had gotten "into the swing with painting,"[971] she traveled to Bonn to visit her sister's family. When Münter returned to Munich in October 1902 for the fall semester, she first took classes with Angelo Jank again at the art school of the Women Artists' Association, returning to Kandinsky's class only in December. The remaining letters between Münter and Kandinsky document that they had kept in contact and exchanged official letters as well as secretive notes.[972] By 10 October 1902 their

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[970] Gabriele Münter as cited in Hoberg, *Wasily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter*, 31.

[971] As Gabriele Münter remembered, "His wife moved in (with Fanny & housekeeper for him). He invited me to pay her a visit. Afterwards he said they had liked me & the ladies had spoken especially of my beautiful hands, which he himself had not noticed at all before. The next time he was correcting he told me it was embarrassing for him that we were still going on excursions & his wife could not join us as she couldn't ride a bicycle and was not a good walker. It would really be better for me to go home. I was just getting into the swing of painting, ... – but of course I packed my things and went to Bonn to visit my family." Gabriele Münter in 1957-59, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter*, 32.

[972] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 156-157.

relationship had crossed the conventional teacher-student relationship boundary as Münter's letter to Kandinsky illustrates:

> … what happened then you are responsible and my none-too-strong character and perhaps also my surprise & the unexpectedness – I couldn't help myself & even now I cannot really. [four lines deleted] My idea of happiness is a domesticity as cozy and harmonious as I could make it & someone who wholly & always belongs to me – but – it does not have to be that way at all – if it does not come about & if I do not find the right man – I am still very content & happy I intend now to find pleasure in work again – & if you are prepared to continue to help me in this I should be very glad – then we shall resume to the teacher-friendship-camaraderie relationship & read between the lines that we are & will continue to be fond of each other – this is what I wanted to convey to you back at Seeshaupt [near Kochel] – but I don't know if I made it clear enough. At any rate I have always so despised & hated any kind of lying & secrecy that I just could not lend myself to it. If we cannot be friends in the eyes of the world I must do without entirely – I want no more than I can be about Sees Haupt & I want to be responsible for what I do – otherwise I am unhappy…[973]

At this moment, Münter judged the importance of her work as bigger than her desire for cozy domesticity. Why she never sent this letter is unclear, but letters addressed to her by Kandinsky prove that they continued to cultivate their relationship by seeing each other at school and in secret.[974] This went on until the summer of 1903, when their private as well as artistic relationship strengthened and was sealed with their "engagement" during a second summer sketching trip with the *Phalanx* class to the mediaeval town of Kallmünz (150 km to the north of Munich). Gabriele Münter had taken a photograph of the small town of Kallmünz **[Fig. 48]** that, with its narrow cobble

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[973] Gabriele Münter to Wassily Kandinsky, Munich, October 10, 1902, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter*, 37-38.

[974] In a letter from December 11, 1902, held at the MES, Munich, Kandinsky writes to Gabriele Münter that they should try to be "... just good friends, no carrying-on in secret, when I visit you I will be good will not breath a word about love. And time will tell how things stand with us. But I do this for love of you, you must know that." As cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscenes* 1902-1914, 43.

stone streets and picturesque mediaeval ruin, was for Kandinsky the epitome of Germanness, only outdone by Rothenburg ob der Tauber, which the two visited together at the end of the summer.[975]

From 19 July 1903 until mid-August, they joined in excursions by bike, continuing their open-air studies of the surrounding landscapes and cityscapes, as well as painting each other in the same impressionist style, using the spatula and palette. Kandinsky had encouraged and taught Münter to paint fast enough to achieve the same immediacy and spontaneity as her drawings. In her 1958 interview with Edouard Roditi, Münter recalls,

> At first, I experienced great difficulty with my brushwork – I mean with what the French call la touche de pinceau. So Kandinsky taught me how to achieve the effects that I wanted with a palette knife… My pictures are all moments of life – I mean instantaneous visual experiences, generally noted very rapidly and spontaneously. When I paint, it's like leaping suddenly into deep waters, and I never know beforehand whether I will be able to swim. Well, it was Kandinsky, who taught me the technique of swimming. I mean that he taught me to work fast enough, and with enough self-assurance, to be able to achieve this kind of rapid and spontaneous recording of moments of life.[976]

One motif in particular invites comparisons of all the different techniques Münter used by 1903 and gives an account of her artistic training since she had arrived in Munich: the view on Kallmünz' *Vilsgasse* exists in drawing **[Fig. 49]**, painting **[Fig. 50]**, photography **[Fig. 48]**, and wood cut **[Fig. 51]**. The first three had certainly been done at the same time while still in Kallmünz, while the wood cut was done the following winter.[977] Unlike her first excursion to Kochel, here she worked in every medium in its own right, adding wood block printing, which marks the official beginning of her graphic oeuvre. Christina Schüler has argued that Münter had already done one other wood cut in 1902, a female head **[Fig. 52]**, while in a class with the graphic designer Ernst Naumann (1871–1954) and Heinrich Wolff (1875–1940).[978] Kandinsky had discovered woods cuts for himself during the spring of 1903 in Vienna during the XVII. Exhibition of the Vienna

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[975] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 184.
[976] Gabriele Münter in her 1958 interview with Edouard Roditi, as quoted in Edouard Roditi, *Dialogues. Conversations with European Artists at Mid-Century*, San Francisco: Bedford Arts, Publishers, 1990, 120.
[977] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*,192.
[978] Wolff and Naumann had worked for the Munich satire magazine *Simplicissimus*. For Christine Schüler's dating of *Female Head* (1902), see Helmut Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk*, Munich: Prestel, 2000, 60.

Secession. Enthusiastically, he encouraged her to pick up wood cuts, too. For Kandinsky, woodcuts were a genuine German technique, since it had reached its height in Albrecht Dürer's work.[979] Münter will pick up this technique again in Paris, during a work shop with Théophile Steinlen.

The importance of the Kallmünz trip for Münter's self-understanding as an artist is underlined by two photographs taken of her Munich studio in the winter of 1903/04, where she presents the Kallmünz xylograph surrounded by the artistic production of the last two years **[Fig. 53, Fig. 54]**. Münter displayed her craft not only in woodcuts and landscape paintings, but also in portraiture of the female nude. Placed around her piano, with the artist's palette on the piano stool, a skeleton and easel, Münter evokes her artistic training, her knowledge of anatomy, and the seriousness of her practice. The piano, a bookshelf, and the skull on the book hint to her upperclass education and complete the picture of a modern woman artist. While her own oil studies from the summer's excursion to Kallmünz- hang unframed on the opposite wall of her study, together with her family's pictures, two works gifted to Münter by Kandinsky from 1903 are framed and hung up on the wall behind the piano.[980] Münter moved into her own Schwabing studio apartment in the beginning of November 1903 and stayed there until March 1904, a productive, yet lonely period for her. Although Kandinsky and his wife had separated on amicable terms, Kandinsky had a constantly bad conscience when he and Münter were together in Munich where his wife still lived. As Annegret Hoberg fittingly considered: "Kandinsky wanted to get away from the difficulties of his private situation and insisted on a trial period together as far away from Munich and from his wife, to whom he felt bound in a way that went far beyond the conventional limits of propriety. For these purely private reasons, and not for any such purpose as artistic development, in May 1904 the couple now embarked on an unsettled itinerant life that was to continue for four years."[981]

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[979] Christina Schüler, "Nachahmung oder Autonomie? Überlegungen zur frühen Druckgraphik und Drucktechnik Gabriele Münters," In *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk*, edited by Helmut Friedel, Munich: Prestel, 2000, 27-38.
[980] Wassily Kandinsky, *Spazierende Dame*, 1903, Tempera on card board, 33,8 x 33,7 cm, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München; Wassily Kandinsky, Kallmünz – *Nature Study for the Yellow Mail Coach* (*Kallmünz – Naturstudie zur gelben Postkutsche*, Summer 1903, oil on canvas board, 23,4 x 32,8 cm, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München, Gabriele Münter Stiftung 1957, GMS 13.
[981] Annegret Hoberg,"The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter", In *Gabriele Münter: The Search of Expression 1906-1917*, exhibition catalogue, London: Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, 21-41, 23.

Münter was certainly conscious of the effect this relationship might have had on her artistic training and career as she was photographing a selection of works in her studio before leaving Munich. Waiting for their travels to begin, she wrote to Kandinsky in February 1904:

> If you want to ban me from Munich, I could at least go to the countryside in March. If I could at least learn something before I have to leave! … Will it always be the case that you won't let me stay anywhere for as long as I want? Just like as I had to leave Kochel and Kallmünz a little too early… Will it always be like that?[982]

This rhetorical question remained unanswered. Kandinsky insisted that they had to leave, since: "This pre-legitimate condition is least felt when travelling… Not living together until I am free? Why? What for? To what end? For the 'world'? As long as we are not spouses recognized by the state, we shall live outside the world."[983] They will live "outside the world" up to 1909. From this year on, Münter and Kandinsky divided their time between Münter's house in Murnau and Kandinsky's flat in Munich until the beginning of WWI. During these years, both artists lived off their family's money and were not supported by the sale of their work.[984] While for Kandinsky "living ouside the world" must have had the quality of an adventure to it, for Münter to engage in their relationship and to follow her partner meant to sign up for isolation and marginalisation – a feeling she was very well familiar with since she had started her journey to become an artist.

5.3.2. "A fat girl and her failure": Emily Carr's English Sojourn

While Gabriele Münter was forced to leave Munich and thereby interrupted her studies, Emily Carr, in the summer of 1899, continued the artistic training she had begun in San Francisco, this time in England. But soon also Carr's training would be interrupted by a fifteen-month stay in a

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[982] "Wenn du mich schon aus München verbannen willst, so könnte ich ja im März aufs Land gehen. Wenn ich doch wenigstens noch recht etwas lernte, ehe ich fortmuß! ... Ob es wohl immer so sein wird, daß Du mich nirgends so lange bleiben läßt wie ich möchte? Von Kochel und Kallmünz mußte ich gerade etwas zu früh weg ... Ob es immer wieder so ist ?" Gabriele Münter in a letter to Wassily Kandinsky in February 1904, as cited in Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 195.
[983] Letter from Wassily Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter, 14 August 1904, cited in Kleine, *Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky*, 234.
[984] Münter received a life annuity from her inheritance while Kandinsky had income from renting out his Moscow home. Gabriele Münter sold only a handful pictures during her life time. Hoberg, "The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter," 28-29.

sanatorium: exhausted and disillusioned by her efforts to become a professional artist in England, she will undergo a rest-cure. Nevertheless, these travels meant more than simply experiencing modern transportation, they offered a proper "exit" from their environment and roles.[985] What Michelle Perrot has called "voyage-action" is the re/action to either an unbearable situation to stay in or a mission that the woman must follow. Clearly, Carr's voyage-action belongs to the latter category: she taught children's art classes for five years in the barn of the family home to save up the travel money. The choice of London as her destination might have been influenced by fellow women artists from Victoria, such as Theresa Victoria Wylde (1870–1959) and Sophie Pemberton (1869–1959), who had studied in London before.[986] As I have argued earlier, the woman artist is one of modernity's fugitives. Similar to the "new woman" or the lady cyclist, the woman artist also has the urge to take action

"Five years and a half in London! What had I to show for it but struggle, just struggle which doesn't show, or does it, in the long run?"[987] is how Emily Carr summed up her English sojourn in her autobiography *Growing Pains.* From a critical perspective, her studies in London had been necessary and preparatory for her unlearning once she arrived in Paris. In fact, in 1904, Carr returned to Victoria already a "serious artist,"[988] as Kathryn Bridge suggested. In her extensive account of Carr's English sojourn, Bridge argued that London had "broadened the possibilities for financial support and networking for the furtherance of her career," establishing social networks and connections that she maintained for decades.[989] Despite her feelings about her time in London, immediately after her return to Canada, Carr soon began to save[990] for her next study trip.[991] The discrepancy between Carr's account and today's interpretations can be justified in many ways: certainly her stay in a sanatorium, undergoing a rest-cure and being too weak to work, influenced

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985 "Plus que le voyage de consommation culturelle, nous intéresse ici le voyage-action, celui par lequel les femmes tentent une véritable 'sortie' hors de leurs espaces et de leurs rôles. Pour cette transgression, il faut une volonté de fuite, une souffrance, le refus d'un avenir insupportable, une conviction, un esprit de découverte ou de mission." Michelle Perrot, "Sortir," *Femmes publiques*, Paris: Textuel, 1997, 484.
986 Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 16.
987 Carr, *Growing Pains*, 236.
988 Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 151.
989 Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 151.
990 By this time Emily Carr wished to earn her living as a cartoonist. After her return to Canada, Carr published political cartoons in *The Week*, the local Victoria newspaper.
991 Carr, *Growing Pains*, 258.

her judgement, but, at the same time, it was in England, after many years of enormous efforts that she was confronted with the impossibility of becoming an artist and faced the constant risk of failure on a personal, professional, and artistic level. The disappointment, frustration, and exhaustion she must have felt from years of trying to prove herself as an artist to a society that did not care about women's ambitions, led to a collection of caricatures, poems, and funny books that reveal her emotions more authentically than her old age- reminiscences ever could.[992] Once she will have found her subject, she will cease to create her funny books.[993]

Carr arrived for her training at the *Westminster School of Art* in September of 1899. The curriculum mainly consisted of instruction in design, anatomy, still life, and life classes from the female nude. Having already received the standard education in San Francisco, she enrolled in the life class,[994] painting from the nude in a segregated all women cohort.[995] Even though the training in London was closer to continental academic standards, it was not supposed to be used for any professional goals (e.g., to become an art teacher). The training was seen as a "hobby or recreational pursuit."[996] The overall learning atmosphere was rather conservative and traditional, as can be seen in this caricature *Westminster School of Art,* 1899–1900 **[Fig. 55].** Here, Carr comments on a scene taking place in her art class (Carr draws herself, second to the right, first row) while "a saucey Student" quarrels with the instructor "Mr Ford" and the other students keep quiet "as mice," being all "sweet and nice." Having to conform to the Victorian idea of femininity as sober, quiet, and decent was difficult for Carr, and it quickly made her feel that she did not belong.

As a first generation Canadian of English parents, who for as long as they lived had considered England their *home,* Carr was expected to feel at home even while abroad.[997] However,

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[992] Emily Carr's caricatures produced during her English sojourn have been published in Bridge, *Emily Carr in England,* 2014; Kathryn Bridge*, Unvarnished : autobiographical sketches by Emily Carr,* Victoria: Royal B.C. Museum, 2021.
[993] The last funny book created by Emily Carr, *Sister and I from Victoria to London,* documents trip to Paris in 1911. See, Emily Carr, *Sister and I from Victoria to London,* Victoria: Royal B.C. Museum, 2011.
[994] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 33, 35.
[995] Carr, Growing *Pains*, 130; for an indepth account of Emily Carr's London sojourn, see Bridge, *Emily Carr in England,* 2014. Here, Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 20.
[996] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 35.
[997] For an analysis on the complex relationship between first generation Canadian women and England see, Samantha Burton, "Canadian Girls in London: Negotiating Home and Away in the British World at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," Montreal: McGill University, 2012, Doctoral thesis,

this was not the case; London struck her as dirty, suffering from poverty, and having a rigid class system- that made her feel lonelier than she ever had before:[998]

> Always as I approached London the same feeling flooded over me. As we left the fields & streets and houses began to huddle closer & closer and the breath of the monstrous factories the grime & smut & smell of them came belching towards you by swift degrees you saw the creature solidify from the train window. Spots spread into a smear the smear solidified you slid into the station and were swallowed into the stomach of the fearful monster a grain of fodder to nourish its cruelty. No more you an individual but you lost in the whole, part of its cruelty, part of its life part of its wonderfulness part of its filth part of its sublimity & wonder though it was not aware of you any more than you are aware of a pore in your skin. [999]

Similar to Dixon's account, Carr draws London – despite its "sublimity & wonder" – as a gloomy, claustrophobic, urban environment.[1000] Indeed, the London of Dixon and Carr was not a very welcoming place for young women seeking work or training. Since 1851, the census counted a surplus of women in England, who were perceived as a potential threat and always at risk of losing their mores and social standing, and ultimately ending up in prostitution.[1001] But, in comparison, London seemed a "safer" place for women than Victoria, B.C., and offered more opportunities for the ambitious woman seeking work as well as cultural and artistic stimulation. And as Samantha Burton argued in her article "The boarders and borders of Emily Carr's *London Student Sojourn*", being "a white colonial tourist"[1002] gave Carr more freedom to wander in public spaces than her local female peers had.[1003] Carr's "funny book" *A London Student Sojourn* documents her experience living in a boarding home for unmarried working women in London. A private and public space at the same time, the accommodation was full of chaos, cosmopolitan in nature, and

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https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/canadian-girls-london-negotiating-home-away/docview/1243442670/se-2?accountid=12543, accessed 15 September 2021.

[998] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 23.

[999] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 54.

[1000] Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman*, 136.

[1001] On the "fallen women" see, George Watt, *The Fallen Woman in the 19th-Century English Novel*, Totowa: Barnes & Noble, 1984.

[1002] Samantha Burton, "The boarders and borders of Emily Carr's *London Student Sojourn*," In *Women, Femininity and Public Space in European Visual Culture, 1789-1914*, edited by Temma Balducci and Heather Belnap Jensen, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, 223-239, 236.

[1003] Burton, "The boarders and borders," 236.

questioned Carr's idea of a traditional "home,"[1004] but it also gave her a sense of community and belonging to an "informal network … smoothing the entrance of middle-class women in the profession."[1005] Yet, the young Canadian artist experienced discrimination because Canada was regarded as a "less-cultured provincial outpost of the Empire. In this way, their British-born peers positioned Canadian women as less feminine, less cultured and, ultimately, less white: a racist, but common European stereotype of North Americans and other colonials based on their perceived proximity to the black and Native residents of Britain's overseas territories and the threat to racial purity suggested by this proximity,"[1006] according to Burton. Despite her relatively privileged position in comparison to Black, First Nations, or French Canadian members of the Empire, Carr emphasized how others expected her to behave "savage" as a "colonial".

In her cartoons of this time, Carr regularly depicts herself with a massive figure, round face, and reddish skin, either from sickness, exhaustion, shame, or anger. In these depictions of herself, she appears demonstrably unable to hide her feelings about any given situation, as for example in *Imagine if every student brought a chaperone to class* **[Fig. 56]**. Carr drew this cartoon during one of her stays in Bushey, Hertfordshire in 1902,[1007] where she worked with John W. Whiteley. It was there, at a comfortable distance from London, that Carr was trained in plein air painting in oil, water colour, or pencils of landscapes and figure studies.[1008] "*Chaperone to class"* is an amusing commentary on a classmate, who brought a chaperone to "that meek and mild studio, with entirely clothed models, the most serious of Masters and students who were the hardest diggers I ever saw."[1009] Here, Carr imagines how the classroom would look if everybody brought a chaperone to class, making fun of the women students' exaggerated moral concerns.

Her first stay in Bushey introduced Carr to another artists' colony in St Ives, Cornwall, where she enrolled at the Cornish School of Landscape and Sea Painting, run by the marine painter Julius Olsson (1864–1942) and the landscape painter Algeron Talmage (1871–1934).[1010] St Ives

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[1004] Burton, "The boarders and borders," 225.
[1005] Burton, "The boarders and borders," 226.
[1006] Burton, "The boarders and borders," 232.
[1007] Emily Carr worked in Bushey three times, in spring 1901, spring 1902 and early 1904.
[1008] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 92-93, 96.
[1009] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 35.
[1010] Kathryn Bridge suggests that it was John Whiteley who had sent her to Algernon Talmage.

was an artists' colony "well established and reputable. It provided an English alternative to French studies"[1011] and proved to be a stimulating experience for Carr's professional and artistic development. There she trained with an international cohort and learned about current art trends in England and France.[1012] While she had problems with Olsson[1013] and painting seascapes, she deeply enjoyed Talmage's teachings: she connected to him through their affinity for forest scenery and appreciated his composed nature. Recalling a time when a bad-tempered Olsson had critiqued her and made her scrape her canvases, she commented:

> Olsson was supposed the big man not Talmage. Bye & Bye I got to thinking that even if he was big he was horrid. His sympathy always went to the boy students he was never to them than to the girls always telling them to drop in to his studio & discussing his pictures with them. Maybe part of his furious behaviour was because I was a girl student. I began to get angry, it did not seem right…[1014]

There is no cartoon mocking Olsson's bad temper, but Carr dedicated a cartoon to Talmage, depicting the teacher during one of his critiques *in situ*. In the drawing *Painting teacher Algeron Talmage visiting a student working* (1901/02) **[Fig. 57]**, the teacher stands beside a student sitting; with his hands in his pockets, he looks pleased about his student and displays no intention to interfere. How different from Carr's depictions of her teacher at Westminster or the caricature showing Kandinsky giving critiques to Münter. It might be Talmage's respect and support that Carr appreciated, as much as his help with setting lights and shadows or modulating masses in an otherwise flat landscape, all of which she learned during her stay in St Ives.[1015] At the end of the painting season, the students usually prepared their submissions to the Royal Academy or their contributions to other exhibitions, but since Carr could not afford the gilt frame needed for submission to the Royal Academy, she left St Ives in March 1902.[1016]

[1011] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 98.
[1012] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 101-102.
[1013] Julius Olsson insisted that his students were painting outdoors at all times. Furthermore he was famous for being a very critical teacher with a bad temper. Emily Carr remembers one of his critics where he asked her to scrape her painting and start over again. Carr, *Growing Pains*, 214-116.
[1014] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 47.
[1015] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England,* 100.
[1016] Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 134.

It is unclear what exactly caused her to enter a sanatorium for a rest-cure treatment at the end of 1902. What is certain is that, after her return from St Ives, she spent another spring in Bushey and travelled to Scotland with friends.[1017] It is well-known that, after her return to London, Carr became too weak to work, and her English friends call her sister Lizzie for help. But Carr did not want to leave England, and the doctors agreed. When her sister arrived in London, Carr was walking on a stick and was too weak to leave her bed. Hoping to help her sister, Lizzie stayed with Emily for several months, until, together with the family's trust fund manager, the sisters decided to consult a doctor, who prescribed Emily Carr a rest-cure treatment. The physician judged a return to Canada impossible given her "condition."

Carr's first biographer, Maria Tippett, blamed repressed anxieties as the reason for a "hysterical episode"[1018] that justified the rest-cure Carr underwent. In the first chapter of *Pause,* a book written in response to her stay at the East Anglian Santorium,[1019] Carr tries to deflect any suspicion of mental illness. She recalls meeting with the doctor who sent her to the sanatorium insisting that she had come to London to "study Art" and had "just worked too hard, that's all."[1020] The doctor ordered a rest-cure, where she would be "cared for" by nurses and doctors, like an infant, unable to eat by herself or even independently go for walks.

Developed in 1872 by the Philadelphia neurologist Silas Weir Mitchell to treat soldiers with battle fatigue, the "rest-cure" was used by Victorian physicians to treat "severe nervous symptoms"[1021] where no organic defects were detectable. The most harmless treatment for phenomena like hysteria or hypochondria (in comparison to electroshock therapy), it nevertheless took complete control of the woman's body, starting with six weeks to two months of complete

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[1017] For a chronology of events, see Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 174.
[1018] "Emily suffered from headaches, persistent vomiting, ennui, bouts of weeping, numbness, paralysis on one leg, and stuttered speech – typical symptoms of conversion reaction. Her 'hysterical' personality had manifested itself in other ways in keeping with this disease: in her sexual inhibitions with Mayo and others; in her obsession with taking revenge on those who did not think her up to their standard; in the insecurity she displayed among students and friends in London, St Ives, and Bushey; and finally in her occasional attention-getting behaviour." Maria Tippett, *Emily Carr. A Biography*, Toronto: Stoddart, 1979, 58.
[1019] Emily Carr, *Pause: A Sketchbook*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2007.
[1020] Carr, *Pause*, 17.
[1021] Ellen L. Bassuk, "The Rest Cure: Repetition or Resolution of Victorian Women's Conflict?" *Poetics Today*, vol.6, no. 1/2, 1985, 245-257, 245.

bed rest, and then different grades of lying, lounging, or walking. Mitchell insisted that the patient must not "sit up or sew or write or read or use the hands in any active way except to clean the teeth."[1022] The treatment required complete immobilization with the help of sleeping pills, isolation — separation from their families — breaking their will (most effectively by force feeding them), and finally, body shaming. Force feeding led to weight gain, which was encouraged since the ideal Victorian woman was obese, a sign of her capacity to produce healthy children.[1023]

Besides a complete loss of control over one's own body, the psychological aspects of the rest-cure were no less intrusive and were paired with a "moral reeducation."[1024] Carr's account is not the only one documenting time spent in a sanatorium. Charlotte Perkins Stetson's famous short story "The Yellow Wall-Paper," reveals the censure women faced in talking about their illness, expressing any feelings of sadness, or displaying any emotions. In her article on "The Rest Cure: Repetition or Resolution of Victorian Women's Conflict?" Ellen Bassuk argues that women undergoing a rest-cure were taught how to be appropriate women by being "less hysterical and more obsessed, less flamboyant, more rigid, less expressive, but more intellectual – in short, more like a man, but not equal to him."[1025] Carr's wish to become an artist—not a woman artist for that matter—and the difficulties to pursue her professional and artistic ambitions might have created a fear of failure in her. Paula Blanchard assumed that "she [Carr] felt that she had made almost no progress in her work, and she did not want to be dogged by a sense of failure,"[1026] which made her comply to the doctor's and her family's wishes. I argue that while the rest-cure might have temporarily brought her artistic production to a halt, the ignorance of her family and lack of female peers to model herself on, enhanced her doubt if she would ever become a professional artist even more.[1027] In its after-effect, this rest-cure would ultimately lead her back to her work and to

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[1022] Silas Weir Mitchell, *Fat and Blood: An Essay on the Treatment of Certain Forms of Neurasthenia and Hysteria,* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1900, 66.
[1023] Bassuk, "The Rest Cure," 248.
[1024] Bassuk, "The Rest Cure," 249.
[1025] Bassuk, "The Rest Cure," 280.
[1026] Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr,* 90.
[1027] This "old anxiety that she would not measure up" did overcome her a second time while studying in France with Phelan Gibb. Paula Blanchard described Carr's pervasive self doubt as a "frantic crescendo of work to overcome it, exhaustion, the sense of being trapped and stifled by the city. Illenss brought escape from the familiar cycle of weakness and ddspair, and from the stress of having to meet Gibb's criticism." Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, 116-117.

unlearning her training prior to her forced rest. Once robbed of the possibility to work — even to use their hands — women undergoing a rest-cure desired nothing more than to go back to work.

Remembering her stay at the sanatorium, Carr noted:

> In the sanatorium we lived by the rule disburdened of all responsibility even of the care of our own bodies… When I was first ill the fever of work obsessed me. The Dr forbad me to talk or think of it. I never had talked much about work. My own people were not particularly interested. They had never asked about it in their letters. They were totally indifferent except that studying from the nude was to them nakedness & scandalous. I doubt for the 3 months she was over my painting was never mentioned between Lizzie and I. The environment at the San was certainly not artistic. The whole thing lay dead in my soul.[1028]

What Carr describes here as a "fever of work" is paralleled in Perkins' account where the first-person narrator states: "…[I] am absolutely forbidden to 'work' until I am well again. Personally, I disagree with their ideas. Personally, I believe that congenial work, with excitement and change, would do me good."[1029] As Perkins' narrator continues with her therapy, she becomes more unsettled every day. She returns to the idea that work would hold her nervousness and reflects on how the lack of support for her work might actually be the reason for her nervous condition in the first place: "I think sometimes that if I were only well enough to write a little it would relieve the press of ideas and rest me. But I find I get pretty tired when I try. It is so discouraging not to have any advice and companionship about my work."[1030] Ten years after Perkins, Carr also mentions the effects of the rest-cure on her work ("dead in my soul") combined with the fact that not even her family saw any value in it.

Victorian women seeking equality to men by living out their professional or artistic ambitions were destined to fail,[1031] which did not leave them with many options: either to stop working and retreat into the role of mother and wife, or to admit their failure and seek help,

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[1028] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 61.
[1029] Charlotte Perkins-Stetson, "The yellow wall-paper," *New England Magazine. An illustrated monthly New Series*, vol.5, (Sept. 1891-Febr. 1892: 648-656), 648.
[1030] Perkins-Stetson, "The yellow wall-paper," 649
[1031] Bassuk, "The Rest Cure," 252.

submitting to a regressive and infantilizing rest-cure—both making the woman stop on her career path. Carr shows us that there was a third option: in an undated note, she recalls her stay and how she found her way back to work by turning her experience into the 1903 sketchbook later-published as *Pause*:

> I was in the San for 18 [actually 15] months. Every thing in me dormant. Then when all the ambition & work had been smothered out of me I was allowed to return to work, but ordered to keep away from cities, London in particular and I went down to Bushey again. Returning to work after the long dormant state was different to what I expected the shock of solitary independent life after the sheltered protection of the San nearly knocked me over… I got a book and in it wrote and illustrated a ridiculous skit on the San Treatment… Everyone thought it was very funny – they went into fits of laughter. All but the little Doctor. Afterwards she told me it made her cry. Anyhow it served the purpose of bringing me back to work & filling in ghastly two weeks before Mr Whiteley's studio re-opened.[1032]

While the rest cure might have interrupted her training in St Ives, it did not halt her ambitions. On the contrary, yet again, her funny book "Pause" gives proves that the treatment could not keep her from creating. The funny book "Pause" is proof of how Emily Carr used her "failure" to re-ignite her desire to return to her art training, reclaiming her agency after the rest-cure. For example by showing herself confined to bed **[Fig. 58]** or taking care of some birds she mothered until they were strong enough to take flight, was the only "thing" that she could care about. Three months after her release from the East Anglia Sanatorium, in Bushey, Carr was finally strong enough to travel. She left England for her very own "west-cure": "Sad I was about my failures, but deep down my heart sang: I was returning to Canada."[1033]

[1032] Carr nd. As cited in Bridge, *Emily Carr in England*, 144-145.
[1033] Emily Carr, *Growing Pains*, 237.

Conclusion – Of Art and Failure

Carr was faced with the humiliation of returning to Victoria without any measurable success after a five year sojourn, when she received an invitation to visit friends at the Cariboo Ranch: "Coming as the invitation did, a break between the beating London had given me and the humiliation of going home, to face the people of my own town, a failure, the Cariboo visit would be a flash of joy between two sombres. I got happier and happier every mile as we pushed West."[1034] Carr then underwent her own "west-cure" in Canada. A lesser-known part of the history of hysteria is that Mitchell also treated men, most prominently Walt Whitman,[1035] Thomas Eakins, Own Wister, and Theodore Roosevelt (by proxy). While these men shared with women the same medical condition, "neurasthenia," they were treated in the opposite way. While women had to rest, men were sent west: they had to exercise and engage in physical activity to re-enforce their masculinity, which was threatened by the illness and its feminizing effect. For example, the painter Thomas Eakins, sent on a "west-cure" in the Dakotas, had to herd cattle and sleep on the ground, like the average cowboy. These men, America's "brain workers"—a sign of America's superiority, successful in their business or profession – once succumbed to the illness or after a nervous breakdown were reeducated- by the west-cure to display "proper" sexual behaviours and gender expression.[1036]

Whether it was the rest- or west-cure, both treatments targeted the gendered order of society. Any digression from this was followed by a penalty that led either to submission or exclusion. Women artists at the end of the nineteenth century walked a fine line protecting society from chaos and decline. It was not enough that women artists had to constantly prove the seriousness of their professional and artistic ambition; more severe repercussions awaited those who were left unimpressed and amused by society's critique. While Münter was forced to live "outside the world" — travelling for four years through Europe — out of "piety" for her partner's wife, Carr gave in to a rest-cure treatment searching relief for her chronic exhaustion due to her struggle to find the teacher and training that met her personal ambitions. Both women were dragged out of

[1034] Emily Carr, *Growing Pains*, 241.
[1035] Walt Whitman's experience of his "west-cure" influenced his work *Specimen Days* (1892).
[1036] Anne Stiles, "Go rest, young man," *Monitor on Psychology*, vol. 43, no. 1, (January 2012). http://www.apa.org/monitor/2012/01/go-rest, accessed 15 September 2021.

their artistic training and forced to readjust, as Carr remembers: "There was a lot of re-adjusting to do in myself."[1037]

Carr's and Münter's training period in London and Munich, respectively, had taught them to emancipate themselves from a marginalized position, take advantage of newly-gained freedoms, and handle artistic and societal authorities controlling their professional and artistic expression. During this period and for the first time, both women experienced a sense of failure, which opened the door for their unlearning: as Jack Halberstam reminds us, failure is always a call to "undiscipline ourselves;" hence a freedom from training opens the door for new narratives to talk about life. One year after his successful book *The queer art of failure* in 2011,[1038] Halberstam formulated his idea about "unlearning," stating that unlearning requires to learn,

> how to break with some disciplinary legacies, learning to reform and reshape others and unlearning the many constraints that sometimes get in the way of our purpose, and our mission. Unlearning is an inevitable part of new knowledge paradigm if only because you cannot solve a problem using the same methods that created it in the first place.[1039]

Written over a hundred years after Carr's and Münter's unlearning process, the statement foreshadows their path to finding new authorities outside of the artistic academic world. Under the new paradigm of modern art, both women developed their own individual ethno-artistic projects based on their unique experiences that, in turn, have since reshaped our ideas of modern art history.[1040] So far, I have demonstrated Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's need to unlearn was born out of their incomplete artistic training. In the following interlude on their private collection of books I establish unlearning as a praxis and way of confronting models of knowledge production from a disadvantaged position. By establishing Carr and Münter as "thinking artists"(Shadbolt), I further argue for an unlearning as a conscious and willed act.

[1037] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 64.
[1038] Jack Halberstam, *The queer art of failure*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011.
[1039] Jack Halberstam, "Unlearning," *Profession,* 2012, 9-16, 10
[1040] This will be explored more in Chapter 6.

Interlude. From Theory to Praxis: Unlearning one Book at a Time

The second part of this thesis started with one idea, formulated by Henni Lehmann in 1913, which I consider representative of the generation of women artists like Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter: "learning, teaching, and creating" on equal terms with their male peers. By looking at the contemporary art training available to women like Carr and Münter, it has become clear that their goal to be accepted as full members of the modern art world was made impossible by the systemic misogyny within the patriarchal institution of the academy. Pursuing their professional and artistic ambitions put them at constant risk of failure and, subsequently, social isolation. However, failure did not stop them from continuing their artistic development at home and abroad. This interlude asks how a failed artistic education can become the opening for unlearning. Carr's and Münter's private collections of books are presented here as an interface for unlearning on two different levels: unlearning the preconceived notions of books as an exclusive means of learning, as well as unlearning the false assumptions perpetuated in art historical writing about Carr's and Münter's relationship with education and intellectualism in general.

The following case study on the private libraries of Carr and Münter aims to establish both women as "thinking artists" and, at the same time, introduce the concept of unlearning to their artistic praxes.[1041] I argue that Carr's and Münter's interactions with the books in their personal libraries describe precisely this: the relationship between the subjective and objective world at the center of praxicological thinking. At first, it may seem counter-intuitive to discuss libraries as tools for unlearning instead of learning. In doing so, I am questioning the idea of knowledge production as an additive model of constant progress and, at the same time, rethinking the "myth of artistic progress" (Hazan) that had been promoted in art history for centuries and that lies at the basis of modern art.

Only in the 1970s, did the discipline of art history become interested in "the age-old differences in women's education to aesthetic form"[1042]. In her essay *The Pragmatism in the*

[1041] Their visual practice will be discussed in chapter 6.
[1042] Molly Nesbit, *The Pragmatism in the History of Art*, Pittsburgh: Periscope Publishing, 2013, 81.

History of Art, Molly Nesbit reminds the reader that when Linda Nochlin, in 1971 posed her famous question "Why have there been no great women artists?", her quest was not specific to feminists alone. It echoed the new field of critical pedagogy, based on the work of educator and philosopher Paulo Freire. It questions systems of knowledge production and advocating for social change through critical thinking within the education system. At the end of her article, Nochlin demands:

> What is important is that women face up to the reality of their history and of their present situation, without making excuses or puffing mediocrity. Disadvantage may indeed be an excuse; it is not, however, an intellectual position. Rather, using as a vantage point their situation as underdogs in the realm of grandeur, and outsiders in that of ideology, women can reveal institutional and intellectual weaknesses in general.[1043]

Unlearning may not be an intellectual position either, but it is an artistic praxis women exercised to negotiate their disadvantages, as I will argue below.

As chapters 4 and 5 have shown, early on in their careers, Carr and Münter became aware of their disadvantaged position within the art world despite the privileges they enjoyed as daughters of white upper-middle class families. During their early studies, they tested their social and aesthetic limits with the help of new technologies like the bike and the camera. In addition, both women demonstrated humour and wit in their writing, photography, or caricature, using irony in their responses to critics, unveiling the "world of oppression" they faced within Victorian/Prussian society at the turn of the twentieth century.[1044] In 1968, Paolo Freire (1921–1997) formulated his theory of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.[1045] In this book he subsumed his research on what a truly liberating education could look like. In this pedagogy, "critical consciousness" or *conscientização*[1046] is fundamental and stands at the beginning of the emancipation of the oppressed. Freire states, "Only as they [the oppressed] discover themselves to be the 'host' of the oppressor can they contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy."[1047] Although Freire

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[1043] Linda Nochlin, "Why have there been no great women artists?", 39, 37.
[1044] Paolo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 39.
[1045] "This pedagogy makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation. And in the struggle this pedagogy will be made and remade." Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 48.
[1046] Freire defines *conscientização* as a "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 35.
[1047] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 48.

talks about the working and middle classes he interviewed for this study, I was reminded of an early feminist statement. In 1894, Sarah Grand addressed women's shared responsibility for their oppression by men in her text "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," which describes men's harsh reaction to the "sudden and violent upheaval of the suffering sex in all parts of the world."[1048] Grand thinks of women as complicit with "man," as

> ...we are not blameless in the matter ourselves. We have allowed him to arrange the whole social system and manage or mismanage it all these ages without ever seriously examining his work with a view to considering whether his abilities and his motives were sufficiently good to qualify him for the task… We have allowed him to exact all things of us, and have been content to accept the little he grudgingly gave us in return… Man deprived us of all proper education, and then jeered at us because we had no knowledge. He narrowed our outlook on life so that our view of it should be all distorted, and then declared that our mistaken impression of it proved us to be senseless creatures. He cramped our minds so that there was no room for reason in them, and then made merry at our want for logic.[1049]

Polemic in its tone, Grand nevertheless makes an important connection between the systemic oppression of women under patriarchy and the role education plays in supporting the system while at the same time disrupting it. Almost a hundred years after Grand, Freire states that the biggest obstacles that the oppressed[1050] who are willing to liberate themselves face "is that the oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings' consciousness. Functionally, oppression is domesticating," and can only be undone through "the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it."[1051] In Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's era, as it is still today, "reflecting" and "acting" upon the world is a class privilege that demands time, space, and ultimately, money.[1052]

[1048] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 205.
[1049] Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 206-207.
[1050] Freire is not talking explicitly about women's oppression, but "laborers (peasant or urban) and of middle-class persons" as he specified in the preface to his *Pedgagogy of the Oppressed*.
[1051] Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 51.
[1052] Virginia Woolf pointed to the principal importance of money when she famously claimed: "...a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction." Virginia Woolf, *A room of one's own*, Redditch: Read books Ltd., 2012, 8.

Undoing oppression by a praxis consisting of reflection and action echoes Karl Marx's (1818–1883) & Friedrich Engels' (1820–1895) idea of "praxis" as formulated first in *The Holy Family* (1844) or *The German Ideology* (1846), respectively. Nevertheless, only in 1852 did Marx test his theory of what is known today as historical materialism in his *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, which described the events of the French revolution of 1848 that led to Louis Bonaparte's *coup d'état* in 1851.[1053] As Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, Brian A. Brown and Peter McLaren have argued: "The power of historical materialism lies in its ability to reveal how all forms of social oppression under capitalism are mutually interconnected and linked to its central organizing principles."[1054] Marx's criticism of capitalism focuses on class oppression and leaves gender and race issues aside. In Marxist theory, women's oppression is equally explained by class oppression:

> In capitalism, workers receive wages, capitalists take the profit from their work, and those who reproduce daily and generational life receive no recognition for their labour, in wages or in social value. As subjects in capitalism, they are rendered invisible or a burden to the system… Women's subordination was neither biologically natural nor God-given; instead, the class relations of capitalism enforced the gender hierarchies that anchored women's oppression.[1055]

In capitalism, labour done in the domestic realm, e.g., women's work in and for the family, possesses no exchange value. Only by participating in industrial capitalism outside the domestic realm could women become visible to capitalism. As I have argued so far, the women who wanted to become artists had almost exclusively a middle or upper-middle-class background that allowed them to pay for the artistic training available to women. These women artists' class was used to argue for their amateur status, preventing them from becoming professional artists and,

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[1053] Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, translated by Daniel De Leon, 1869, https://www.sapili.org/livros/en/gu001346.pdf, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1054] Valerie Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, Brian A. Brown and Peter McLaren, "Marx and the Philosophy of Praxis," In *International Handbook of Philosophy of Education*, edited by Paul Smeyers, Cham: Springer, 2018, 553.
[1055] Elisabeth Armstrong, "Marxist and Socialist Feminism," In Companion to Feminist Studies, edited by Nancy A. Naples, online publication, John Wiley, 2020, 35-52, 36.

subsequently, financially independent. The exit from this impasse for women artists of Carr's and Münter's generation was to unlearn their limitations.

Running parallel to my efforts in developing unlearning as a women-artists praxis in the discipline of art history, I recognized an increased interest in the same concept in philosophical and pedagogical writing of the 2010s. Especially since the 2008 financial crisis and induced by the Occupy Wall Street movement, many scholars in the human sciences have rekindled their interest in Marxist theories and those of his successors like Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937)[1056] or Paulo Freire. They have been inspired to reflect on the revolutionary force of praxis anew. In contrast to theory, praxis focuses on the reflective human capacity to alter the natural and social worlds, sheds light on the historical specificity and structural foundations of that world, our ideological formation within it, and the conditions in which antagonisms take root. In so doing, it helps us to grasp the mutually constitutive relationship between subjectivity and objective, material world.[1057] Subsequently, knowledge is not a static "thing" that needs to be acquired and possessed but a dynamic "tool."[1058] Following Gramsci's and Freire's theories, critical pedagogy encourages individuals to develop "praxiological modes of thinking."[1059] Understanding thinking as a praxis turns it into a "genuinely free, self-conscious, authentic activity"[1060] with revolutionary potential.

I became interested in Carr's and Münter's private libraries because they show signs of interaction with their books with underlining, commentaries, and scribbles that were free, authentic, and self-conscious, all giving insights into their way of thinking – uncensored and unscripted. Understanding artists' libraries as an authoritative source and object of art historical research is relatively new, and there are three main ways to view them: the library as a network between artists and their colleagues, gallerists, and collectors; as a machine of knowledge production for the

[1056] Most important in this context are Gramsci's essays written in prison after being arrested by the fascist police as the head of the Italian Communist Party in 1926 where he stayed until 1934. A complete translation of the *Prison Notebooks* into English was published only in 1992.
[1057] Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, Brown and McLaren, "Marx and the Philosophy of Praxis", 550-551.
[1058] Paula Allman, *On Marx,* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2007, 61.
[1059] For an in-depth analysis of Marxism as education and Marx' "philosophy of praxis", see Scatamburlo-D'Annibale, Brown and McLaren, "Marx and the Philosophy of Praxis," 563.
[1060] For a philosophical definition of "praxis", see Simon Blackburn, "Praxis," *A Dictionary of Philosophy,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198735304.001.0001/acref-9780198735304-e-2470?rskey=HUZxeX&result=1, accessed 15 September 2021.

discipline of art history; or as an avatar of the artist, giving insights into his or her biography. I want to add a fourth one: the library as an interface,[1061] where learning and unlearning meet. Carr's and Münter's libraries are not solely to be understood as a means of learning more but as a way to unlearn the dynamics of knowledge production that excluded them.

Artists' Libraries as Objects of Research: Chances and Challenges

When Françoise Levaillant, Dario Gamboni, and Jean-Roch Bouiller edited *Les bibliothèques d'artistes, XXe-XXie siècle*[1062] in 2010, it was the first collection of research on artists' libraries. Today, *The Artist Libraries Project*, initiated by Ségolène le Men and based at the University of Nanterre, France, uses the tools of digital humanities (e.g., data mining) to analyze artists' creative processes through their complete collections of books, magazines, catalogues, and illustrations. The project includes digital inventories of library collections and methodological tools to better understand the resources offered.[1063] Questions researchers working on artists' libraries need to ask themselves are linked to the books as objects and the artists' relationship with them. For example: why was the artist interested in one book and not the other? Where did the book come from? Did the artist read the book? How would we know? Did the artist leave marks in the book?

Moreover, the ultimate question is, did the book influence the artist's visual production? If so, how much?[1064] This fundamental research can establish a network of befriended artists, gallerists, or collectors exchanging exhibition catalogues, literature or art theoretical texts; a chronology of acquisitions and entries might lead to rewriting some work's genesis. This approach

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[1061] As interface, I understand "the place or area at which things meet and communicate with or affect each other." https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/interface, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1062] Françoise Levaillant, Dario Gamboni et Jean-Roch Bouiller, eds., *Les bibliothèques d'artistes, XXe-XXie siècle,* Paris: PUPS, 2010.
[1063] The information on The Artist Libraries Project is taken from its website www.lesbibliothequesdartistes.org.
[1064] For more information on the methodology of The Artist Libraries Project, see Ségolène Le Men, Félicie Faizand de Maupeou, "The Artist Libraries Project in the Labex Les passés dans le présent," *Journal of Data Mining & Digital Humanities,* (2019). Open Access journal, https://jdmdh.episciences.org/5853/pdf, accessed 15 Septembre 2021.

to women artists' libraries raises some problems and may offer confirmation that women were, in fact, more isolated and marginal within the network of modern art.

A second way to think of libraries follows Georges Didi-Huberman's metaphor that a library is like the machine that invents knowledge. The library becomes a device to ignite ideas and, ultimately, the repository for many potential art histories.[1065] As Didi-Huberman reflected on the role of libraries in art history on the occasion of the re-opening of the Salle Labrouste, as the new library of the Institut national d'histoire de l'art, Paris, the very idea of libraries, public or private, create a confident expectation regarding the volumes collected and their overall scientific quality to serve as "machine du savoir."[1066] Didi-Huberman's perspective is influenced by his decades-long research and reflection on Aby Warburg and Walter Benjamin and their understanding and usage of libraries. Warburg redefined the way libraries can classify (apart from the Library of Congress's Classification standards).[1067] Warburg, as well as Benjamin, introduced elements of fragility[1068] and disorder[1069] into the *dispositif* of the library, which in turn influenced

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[1065] Georges Didi-Huberman speaks of libraries as an "ouvroir d'histoires de l'art potentielles" in Georges Didi-Huberman, *À livres ouverts*, Paris: INHA, 2017, 8.

[1066] Didi-Huberman states precisely: "Cela veut dire qu'une bibliothèque est bien plus que la somme de ses propres livres. C'est un dispositif d'engendrement d'idées. C'est une machine à inventer des savoirs." Didi-Huberman, *À livres ouverts*, 12.

[1067] In 1926, Aby Warburg opened the *Warburg Library of Cultural Studies* (Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg) in Hamburg that was housing his specialized collection. Warburg had developed his unique classification principle based on the "law of the good neighbor" that placed works on the history of natural sciences beside books on magic, divination, astrology or alchemy, following his unique way of thinking. The four sections dividing the library were "Orientation", "Image", "Word", and "Action." For more information on Warburg's "law of the good neighbor" see, Michael P. Steinberg, "The law of the good neighbor," *Common Knowledge*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2012: 128–133. doi: https://doi.org/10.1215/0961754X-1456926, accessed 15 September 2021 ; http://www.warburg-haus.de/en/the-kulturwissenschaftliche-bibliothek-warburg/, accessed 15 September 2021.

[1068] Didi-Huberman, *À livres ouverts*, 30.

[1069] Didi-Huberman talks about Benjamin as the "undisciplined" in general. Benjamin reflected while unpacking his library about the tension between "*Ordnung*" (order) and "*Unordung*" (chaos) the collector is constantly living in. "So ist das Dasein des Sammlers dialektisch gespannt zwischen den Polen der Unordnung und der Ordnung." Walter Benjamin, "Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus. Eine Rede über das Sammeln, " In *Walter Benjamin. Gesammelte Schriften vol. IV.1*, edited by Tillman Rexroth, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991, 388-396, 389.

their thinking about writing (art) history.[1070] What they shared was an identification of their persona with their libraries.[1071]

A critique of this approach is that it mainly focuses on published writers and thinkers that shaped a discipline through their writings. Firstly, this awards the person and his/her work historic importance and renders their libraries worthy of being conserved and studied. Secondly, this approach requires the library's owner to be sufficiently convinced of the importance of his/her library to save it, which in turn necessitates the creation of a foundation or the donation of the whole collection. This approach focuses on libraries with a significant number of titles, conserved as a whole and made accessible through a public or private foundation, tied to the estate of a woman artist: however, such collections are rare prior to the twentieth century, despite some exceptions (e.g., Georgia O'Keeffe[1072]). Although the ruling factor in this approach is the historic consciousness of the collecting artist about her historic importance and that of her library, this is heightened if the collector, like Warburg or Benjamin, but also Hannah Arendt, is part of an exiled community that secured the continuation of their work despite upheavals during periods of war and exile.[1073]

A third approach to treating books from artists' libraries comes precisely from the domain of exile research (*Exilforschung*). Since the 1960s, the domain of German *Exilforschung* has

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[1070] For a new understanding of art history as a science of books, see Michael Thimann, "Kunstgeschichte als Kunstgeschichte," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 66, 2021, 129-146.
[1071] For a meditation by Walter Benjamin on his relationship to his library, see Walter Benjamin, "Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus. Eine Rede über das Sammeln, " In *Walter Benjamin. Gesammelte Schriften vol. IV.1*, edited by Tillman Rexroth, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991, 388-396.
[1072] Georgia O'Keeffe's library is one rare example of a modern women artist's library conserved as whole and accessible to the public. O'Keeffe's personal library of more than 3000 titles is housed at her residences in Ghost Ranch and Abiquiú and managed by the Library and Archives of the Georgia OKeeffe Museum, Santa Fe. https://www.okeeffemuseum.org/okeeffes-personal-library/, accessed 15 September 2021. For more information on Georgia O'Keeffe's collection of books, see Ruth Fine, *The book room: Georgia O'Keeffe's Libary in Abiquiú*, Abiquiú, N.M. : The Georgia O'Keeffe Foundation, 1997.
[1073] From 2014 to 2019, I have been part of a research group directed by Philippe Despoix (UdeM) on the "Warburg Library Network" focussing on the time after the death of Aby Warburg with special consideration of Raymond Klibansky's merits in continuing the editing of the Warburg circle, which got dispersed over several continents due to WWII. For more information on the research project and the results of the 2015 conference "Raymond Klibansky and the Warburg Library Network" held at the Warburg Institute London, see Philippe Despoix, Jillian Tomm, eds., *Raymond Klibansky and the Warburg Library Network. Intellectual Peregrinations from Hamburg to London and Montreal*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.

focused on the lives of exiled German Jews, who found refuge mainly in the U.S. between 1933 and 1945. The research inventories contain roughly 10,000 biographies of literary or artistic emigration, including approximately 2,000 academics and 1,500 editors and publishers, some of whom were able to take their private libraries with them. Researchers in this field are especially interested in the transnational transfer of ideas and the acculturation of these ideas into a new intellectual and cultural context. In his 2008 article "Büchersammlungen als Lebenszeugnisse und Erinnerungsräume"[1074] ("Private collections of books as a life's testimony and spaces of remembrance"), Ernst Fischer suggests treating books as part of extended domestic space, part of the owner's *Umwelt*,[1075] that give proof of her values, knowledge, relationships, creativity, affiliation, successes, failures, hopes, and disappointments.[1076] In this understanding, books speak not only about the owner's self-conception but about his/her understanding of the world. Indeed, books can be part of a person's intellectual biography, for example, gifts from teachers, parents, or mentors. They also reveal family histories (religious affiliations, immigration history, et al.) and educational background. Following Fischer, a personal library can tell the story of a lifetime in a condensed manner. Books tell a story with notes, comments, drawings, underlining, or crossing out of words. It is a story of building community through collecting or gifting books and the inter-textual references between books since an intellectual biography is, first of all, a "reader biography."[1077] Books are equally a way of self-fashioning, paying tribute to the intellectual projects that have never been realized.

However, complete libraries are a rare find, turning research into archeology, as Fischer notes.[1078] This is even more so the case for women's libraries. The challenges occur when the

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[1074] Ernst Fischer, "Büchersammlungen als Lebenszeugnisse und Erinnerungsräume," in *Wie würde ich ohne Bücher leben und arbeiten können?,* edited by Karin Bürger and Ursula Wallmeier, Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2008.

[1075] My understanding and usage of the German term *Umwelt* alludes to Jakob Johann von Uexküll (1864-1944) as formulated in his work *Umwelt und die Innenwelt der Tiere* (*Environment and Inner World of Animals* (1909), describing the "surrounding-world" of any living being as an abstraction from its own subjectivity. For more on the concept of "umwelt," see Jui-Pi Chien, "Of Animals and Men: A Study of Umwelt in Uexküll, Cassirer, and Heidegger," *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies 32.1* January 2006: 57-79*,* 59.

[1076] Ernst Fischer, "Büchersammlungen als Lebenszeugnisse und Erinnerungsräume," 389.

[1077] Fischer, "Büchersammlungen als Lebenszeugnisse und Erinnerungsräume," 396. For more on the artist-as-reader, see Heiko Damm, Michael Thimann, and Claus Zittel. *The Artist as Reader: On Education and Non-Education of Early Modern Artists*, Leiden: Brill, 2012.

[1078] Fischer, "Büchersammlungen als Lebenszeugnisse und Erinnerungsräume," 393.

formation of women's libraries is both material and intellectual. There are few written works on women artists' libraries, because of the lack of preserved collections or because of a disinterest nourished by the preconceived idea that there would be no significant collection by women with important material.[1079] Only recently have fundamental studies on women's libraries been undertaken. In 2019, Dagmar Jank published *Bibliotheken von Frauen*,[1080] a lexicon of women's libraries in Germany from the 16th to the 20th century that assembles information on the volume, nature, history, and condition of 770 libraries collected by women. The women were only included in this lexicon under certain conditions: if they had a unique social, political, scientific, religious, cultural, or artistic role in German society or on an international level; if they had been known as the wife of an important man (e.g. Martin Luther); if their estates could be accessed in public or private archives or if a trace of the collection's existence could be found in archival material or literature.[1081] The lexicon includes aristocratic women, abbesses, scholars and academics, artists and architects, critics, journalists and editors, suffragettes, lawyers and politicians, teachers and educators, patrons of the arts, collectors and *salonnières*, actresses and writers (the biggest group of all), but also wives or widows. Jank not only focused on complete and catalogued libraries but especially included the libraries that are lost today or were assimilated into other collections or libraries.[1082]

Rarely can libraries be consulted as a whole (with exceptions like the library of writer Anna Seghers at the Akademie der Künste Berlin). Sometimes the books of a woman's collection have been preserved but their integrity has been lost in the process of being integrated into a public library and, therefore, cannot serve as study objects.[1083] Libraries constituted by couples pose another challenge: for example, Hannah Arendt, whose books are today held in the same collection

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[1079] More on collecting in general and feminine collecting in particular, see Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European tradition*, London: Routledge, 1995, 206-210.
[1080] Dagmar Jank, *Bibliotheken von Frauen : ein Lexikon*, Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz Verlag, 2019.
[1081] Jank, *Bibliotheken von Frauen,* 1-2.
[1082] Many libraries of twentieth century women fell victim to the censorship of the NS Regime (e.g. the Psychoanalyst Lou Andreas-Salomé) or the destruction of WWII (e.g. the artist Käthe Kollwitz) and were ultimately destroyed.
[1083] The anthropologist Princess Therese Bayern (1850-1925) prepared her 11.000 item library for being preserved after her death. Still, when the books entered the Bavarian State Library Munich, they were catalogued one book at a time and not as a collection and subsequently were "lost" in the general library.

than those of her husband, Günther Anders, at Bard College.[1084] Similarly, Münter's private library is often confused with an annex of Kandinsky's collection. The physical absence of books after the death of an artist can be explained by the heirs' negligence by either selling or destroying the books. Rarely did women artists of Carr's and Münter's generation take care of their collection to preserve them for subsequent generations. Carr's and Münter's libraries are today part of their estates, held at archives in Victoria, B.C. and Munich, respectively. Carr mentions her books in a testament addressed to her editor Ira Dilworth, who, together with Lawren Harris, was a trustee of Carr's estate. Dilworth was entrusted to

> ... clear away the inevitable personal trash and leaves where one has odds & ends half finished… Don't hesitate to burn. It is a clean satisfactory way of disposal. Alice [the sister] knows what I want done with my things but she can't see to do it & she knows nothing of my material either. I know you & Lawren will help her clean up after me – my Trustees… I'd like you to have any of my books you want. Pick them off my shelves, (they will only go to the auction-rooms [.] I'd like you to take the Whitman, Gitanjali, & your anthology that you gave me and any more you want.[1085]

Carr states that she does not want any work to survive that could harm her image as the most important modern artist from western Canada and the only woman with an iconic status. Trusting his judgment, Carr calls upon Dilworth to destroy unsatisfactory work but to save her books from the auction rooms, where she fears they would end up if he does not intervene. Of the three items mentioned above, only a copy of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of grass* **[Fig. 59]**, made it into the archives. One can speculate if it was indeed Dilworth who considered which books were worthy of being kept. The remaining collection in the archive is composed of poetry by J.W. von Goethe, Robert Browning, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. It includes three editions of Walt Whitman's *Leaves*

[1084] Jank, *Bibliothken von Frauen*, 12; even though Arendt's library was catalogued at her death, several books left the collection and ended up in the possession of friends and pupils or in other archives. For example, items linked to Arendt's teacher Martin Heidegger were transferred to his estate at the German Literatur Archiv Marbach.

[1085] I suppose Emily Carr is referring in this section to a collection of poems by Rabindranath Tagore, first published in 1910. In 1912, these poems were translated in English as *Gitanjali: Song Offerings* and introduced by William Butler Yeats. Carr's copy of Gitanjali did not end up in the Royal B.C. Archives. Its whereabouts are unknown to me. Emily Carr's Last Will and Testament quoted in Linda M. Morra, ed., *Corresponding Influence. Selected Letters of Emily Carr & Ira Dilworth*, Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 301.

of Grass; books on art and art theory by William Hunt (*Talks about art*) and Denman Ross (*A Theory of Pure Design*); art history, most prominently Katherine Dreier's *Western Art and the New Era* and F. B. Housser's *A Canadian Art Movement: the story of the Group of Seven* and is completed by monographs on the great masters of modernity, Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. (For a complete list of Carr's library, see **Annex C**.)

Fifty books in the Royal B.C. Archives have been identified as originating from Carr's private library. They come in equal parts from the *Parnall Collection* and the *Flora Burns Papers*[1086]. Edna Parnall and Flora Burns were two nieces and adopted daughters of Ira Dilworth. Three more books [*The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson vol. III*; *The Poetical Works of Goethe*; Samuel French's *Catalogue of Plays*] formerly owned by Emily Carr were accessioned by the B.C. Archives in 1987, and their history is unknown. Considering the trajectory of the remaining collection, it is unclear when, how, and by whom the collection was altered, but the collection is incomplete. It is unknown how much the collection changed while changing hands from Dilworth to his two heirs, but the remaining items are a fragmented collection of Carr's former personal library. The archive's logic further complicates the research on her library. Every item is classified by the origin(al) estate from which it came into the archive. These material conditions influence and reinforce the fragmented nature and understanding of the collection. This might also be the reason why Carr's private library has never been subjected to an in-depth analysis.

The private library of Gabriele Münter is housed today at the *Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung* that manages her estate. In 1957, on the occasion of her 80th birthday, Münter donated 25 of her own paintings and her complete collection of Kandinsky's early oeuvre and works by Franz Marc, Paul Klee, and Alfred Kubin to the municipal gallery Lenbachhaus in Munich.[1087] This donation made her the revered saviour of Munich's avant-garde but, at the same time, overshadowed her own participation in the modern movement. In the eyes of 1950s German society, she became the forever "almost-wife" of Kandinsky.[1088] After the death of her second life-

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[1086] More precisely MS-2763 box-6-8; MS 2827; MS-2786 box 1 file 16; MS-2064 microfilm; MS-2181, MS-3359.

[1087] In an instant, the municipal gallery becomes the most important collection of works by the artists of the Blaue Reiter. With alone more than 90 paintings, 330 watercolours, 29 sketchbooks by Wassily Kandinsky. Hoberg and Friedel, *Gabriele Münter 1877-1962*, 25.

[1088] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky,* 652-653

partner, Johannes Eichner, Münter signed a contract of inheritance with the city of Munich in July 1958, whereby the city became the sole heir of Münter's and Eichner's estates, including her house in Murnau,[1089] and they were obligated to create the *Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung*, founded in 1965.

Münter's collection of books is known and recognized as her personal library and figures in Jank's lexicon where "ca. 245 titles" are indicated. In the commentary on this library, Jank says: "In some cases, especially books published before 1914, it is unclear if they belonged to Gabriele Münter or Wassily Kandinsky."[1090] This brings us to another material question regarding attribution. In the past, scholars used the books at the *Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung* as a reservoir for books that Kandinsky might have abandoned when he rushed to leave Germany at the beginning of the First World War. Articles featuring the Munich stock of books represent Münter as the keeper of Kandinsky's early works and his library.[1091] From 1908 until 1914, Münter and Kandinsky lived and worked together in Murnau and Munich. In 1926, after four years of legal battles over the ownership of Kandinsky's estate, which Münter had protected during WWI, Münter kept most of his oeuvre but sent him 26 boxes of personal belongings. To my understanding, it seems unlikely that she would not have included a great part of his personal library, too. In contrast to Carr's books, which almost all contain signatures or dedications, very few in the Munich collection are signed or dedicated. Of all the signed books, only a few can be attributed with absolute certainty to Kandinsky; Münter signed some, but most inscriptions are by Münter's father and brother.

So far, commentaries and research on Münter's private libraries have been based on an inventory list established by the *Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung*. Researchers

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[1089] At the end of her life, Gabriele Münter tried to change her contract with the city of Munich in favour of her nieces, but without success. The original plan, developed together with Johannes Eichner, to hand over their estates undivided and immediately was executed after Münter's death. Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 663.

[1090] Jank, *Bibliotheken von Frauen*, 140.

[1091] The Munich library is featured for example in, Sixten Ringbom, "Art in 'The Epoche of the Great Spiritual': Occult Elements in the Early Theory of Abstract Painting" In *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 29 (1966), 386-418; or lately in Nadia Podzemskaia, "La bibliothèque personelle de Wassily Kandinsky à travers les fonds livresque de Paris et de Munich. Une réévaluation," In Françoise Levaillant, Dario Gamboni, Jean-Roch Bouiller, eds., *Les bibliothèques d'artistes XXe-XXIe siècles*, Paris : PUPS, 2010, 81-105.

interested in the books sought the philosophical inspiration that might have influenced Kandinsky's conception and writing of *Das Geistige in der Kunst* ("*The Spiritual in Art*") (1911/12) and focused on a dozen "mystical books" on the topics of animism and spiritism. The Munich library is featured, for example, in Sixten Ringbom's "Art in 'The Epoche of the Great Spiritual': Occult Elements in the Early Theory of Abstract Painting"[1092] In Appendix I, Ringbom lists 21 "mystical books" from the collection, admitting that "some works may come from the Münter family and that several titles mentioned by Kandinsky are lacking in the collection."[1093] Ringbom did not care to investigate whether these books had been collected by Kandinsky or not, since he assumed that they were of value only to Kandinsky. In this case, the material problem of attribution becomes an intellectual one: most of the time, books are attributed not because of physical evidence, but due to an assumption of women artists' anti-intellectualism or their intellectual capacities, in general.

Since Kandinsky's first texts on Münter (see **Annex E**) and her work, and later through the authors Johannes Eichner and Hans Konrad Röthel (director of Lenbachhaus Gallery, Munich), "she," Münter, was constructed as the counterpart to "him." Ultimately, Kandinsky was installed as the pioneer of abstract art and theory. At the same time, Münter was considered a natural talent, genuinely feminine, simple, silent, humble, and with a pure heart.[1094] Münter herself, when asked about the origin story of the *Blaue Reiter*, said: "Of course, there was a lot of discussion in our group before the book was actually ready for publication. I have now forgotten who was responsible for the original idea, perhaps because I have never been particularly interested in theory."[1095] Women artists of Carr's and Münter's generation rarely published aesthetic theories or texts reflecting on their art practice.[1096] They were not expected to produce intellectual work but to create from a creative force inherent in female artists. This prejudice was paired with a general

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[1092] Sixten Ringbom, "Art in 'The Epoche of the Great Spiritual': Occult Elements in the Early Theory of Abstract Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 29 (1966), 386-418; or lately in Nadia Podzemskaia, "La bibliothèque personelle de Wassily Kandinsky à travers les fonds livresque de Paris et de Munich. Une réévaluation," In Françoise Levaillant, Dario Gamboni, Jean-Roch Bouiller, eds., *Les bibliothèques d'artistes XXe-XXIe siècles*, Paris : PUPS, 2010, 81-105.
[1093] Ringbom, "The Epoch of the Great Spiritual," 416.
[1094] Especially telling are, Eichner, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter; von Ursprüngen moderner Kunst*, 1957; Hans Konrad Röthel, *Gabriele Münter*, München: F. Bruckmann, 1957.
[1095] Gabriele Münter in an interview 1960, as quoted in Roditi, *Dialogues. Conversations with European Artists at Mid-Century*, San Francisco: Bedford Arts Publishers, 1990, 117.
[1096] For example, Marie Bashkirtseff, whose *Journal of a Young Artist 1860*–1884 was translated from the French original in 1889.

anti-intellectualism.[1097] For Victorian women and their Prussian female contemporaries, reading was considered a pastime, not an intellectual activity.

In 1942, Carr had already published her collection of short stories *Klee Wyck* (1941) and was working on new writings with her editor Dilworth, whom she would trust to edit her writings. In the following excerpt taken from a letter of November 1942, Carr speaks about her difficulties writing and her relationship to knowledge in general:

> Oh Ira [,] you *know* my *ignorance*[.] when I *get* anything it's just *luck* not *planning*. I'm not even *well-read*. I have a *terrific* veneration for learned ones. Those who have toiled through years of steady application & learned the rules of the game. Painting laws I have studied (not such a great deal of class work & set routine). What little I know I got mostly by remembering a little & forgetting a lot of the grind & letting my *own* self 'go' and it was my painting that taught me the little I acquired of writing knowledge – just an innate longing to 'hit' – it so often seems to me unfair I should receive praise for my stuff when I see people who strive so painstakingly hard & long & I know they have far more knowledge than I have. I have terrific veneration trust confidence in your criticism.[1098]

For Carr, Dilworth is undoubtedly someone who has "toiled through years of steady application & learned the rules of the game," with his degree in French and English literature from McGill University and a Master of Arts from Harvard University. First an instructor and later the principal of Victoria High School, Dilworth became a professor of English at the University of British Columbia in 1934. He was then recruited by the CBC to be the head of the B.C. region and managed the radio station CBR when he met Carr.[1099]

A chronology of publication dates reveals that more than half of the books entered Carr's possession after 1927, the seminal year when she travelled to Ottawa for the opening of the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* at the National Gallery of Canada.

[1097] On Victorian anti-intellectualism, see Walter E. Houghton, "Victorian Anti-Intellectualism, " *Journal of the History of Ideas* 13, no. 3 (June 1952) : 291-313.
[1098] Emily Carr in a letter to Ira Dilworth on November 6, 1942, as cited in Linda M. Morra, *Corresponding Influence. Selected Letters of Emily Carr & Ira Dilworth*, Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2006, 164-165.
[1099] Morra, *Corresponding Influence*, 8.

This trip would change her life, as Carr was discovered by the Canadian art establishment and met the members of the Group of Seven; Lawren Harris would become a dear friend and mentor. This supports Doris Shadbolt's argument that the 1927 trip out East had been not only Carr's artistic but also intellectual renaissance. In meeting her fellow Canadian painters, Carr realized for the first time that they had a shared mission. In a talk held on June 30, 1990 at the National Gallery, Shadbolt argues that Carr possessed all necessary features of a "thinking artist," as an aware and knowledgeable painter and diligent researcher. As Sahdbolt argues, the thoughtful artist is consciously considering what she wants to say in her art and experimenting, searching for the means to convey it, open and ready to learn from others when appropriate opportunities come her way.[1100]

At the age of 57, her contemporaries finally acknowledged the seriousness of her work and spurred a renewal of her art through an intensified period of learning. Shadbolt argues that this period of intensified new learning had been initiated by Harris, a member of the Groupe of Seven; the American artist Mark Tobey; and books.[1101] In her talk, held in the context of Emily Carr's national retrospective, Shadbolt dates the "thinking" moment of Carr in 1928–1929, "when her life took a dramatic turn and her art … underwent a period of intense search and learning, and radical regrouping of her forces."[1102] Shadbolt argues that it would have been Tobey who introduced Carr to Ralph Pearson's *How to see modern pictures* (1928) so that she could finally recognize the connection between her paintings and contemporary modern art in a succession of modernist Cubism.[1103] Shadbolt's reading of Carr's library focuses on connecting biographical events with art historical currents and artistic development. For Shadbolt, books are to be read as an object that first and foremost connects two people, the giver and the recipient, through the handed-over text. Here, the book is understood as a means of communication and knowledge transfer. In this equation, Carr is the student being taught about art theory by a male colleague.

Approach and Findings

[1100] Shadbolt, "Emily Carr, The Thinking Artist," 3. Typoscript held at the National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives, Ottawa, Emily Carr Papers.
[1101] Shadbolt, "Emily Carr, The Thinking Artist," 9.
[1102] Shadbolt, "Emily Carr, The Thinking Artist," 3.
[1103] Only some years later Alfred Barr curated "Cubism and Abstract Art" at the MOMA (1936).

Conscious about the material challenges and intellectual pitfalls when writing about women artists' libraries, my approach in working on and with Carr's and Münter's books privileged a close physical examination paired with a documentation of signs of interaction between the artist and her books.[1104] The goal was not only to confirm that Carr and Münter were equally "thinking artists" in Shadbolt's terms but that they demonstrate praxicological modes of thinking. I argue that the women's interaction with their private libraries is characterized by free, authentic, and self-conscious activities. While one can be encouraged to read a book through gifts by family, friends, and colleagues, it is impossible to be forced to engage with it. A step further, I would argue that simply because a person has a book in their library does not mean they have read it. For example, when examining Ralph Pearson's *How to see modern pictures* (1928) from Carr's library, I could not find any signs of interaction, let alone heavy reading. Engagement with a book is private and intimate; marks, annotations, comments, and scribbles are not meant to be seen or read by anybody other than the owner, whether it is an approving "true!" or a dismissive "…" Annotations establish a dialogue between the author and the reader. On the pages, they meet at eye level. This is especially important when working with art theoretical texts written by significant thinkers like Denman W. Ross's *A Theory of Pure Design* (Carr) or Arthur Schopenhauer's *On Vision and Colours* (*Farbenlehre: 1. über das Sehn und die Farben; 2. Theoria colorum physiologica*) (Münter).

For my research in the Victoria's and Munich's archives, I developed a protocol considering the physical condition of a single book, the collection as a whole, as well as the nature of the artists' interaction with their private library. Every examination of the physical book started by holding the item in my hands, slowly opening it up to see where the pages would fall apart first. This technique reveals the pages that had been opened to the most, at times with book marks or dogears. This first check helps determine if a book was used and likely read. By looking out for stickers, stamps, and dedications, it is possible to reconstruct how the book came into the collection. Most importantly, it can determine if the artist bought the book herself or if it was gifted to her. The book's overall condition hints at its importance as a reference work or decoration versus its usage as a travel companion or beloved friend, for which I looked for signs of usage, drips of paint, fingerprints, and other stains.

[1104] I want to thank Dr. Jillian Tomm for her precious time and advice in preparation my research stay at the Royal B.C. Archives sharing her experience with rare books and personal libraries.

The physical examination concluded with a complete run-through of the book's pages to detect annotations, underlinings, check marks, or scribbles. Once the single books were viewed, and an overview of the collection was established, further analysis of the overall collection was undertaken, noting the different languages books were written in or the countries of their publication. There are some questions the researcher can ask herself: is the collection coherent? Are there affections for one author or topic in particular? Are there personal connections to the authors we know of? Are there books that do not fit into the overall collection? All of which can hint at the collection's significance. Lastly, why were some books kept while others are seemingly "missing" from the collection?

Both collections demanded slightly different strategies: in the case of Carr's estate, my goal was first to establish a complete inventory of her library, while I chose only the books from Münter's library published before or during the historical frame of this thesis. This balanced the otherwise stark difference in volumes of 50:250. Additionally, it is essential to judge these libraries in their respective context. As I have already mentioned before, in the German context, modern women artists' libraries rarely survived the two World wars, making Münter's collection even more important. In the Canadian context, and more precisely in Victoria, access to books prior to WWI was rare; between 1890 and 1913, the Victoria public library only had 185 titles, so Emily Carr's eight personal titles are not negligible.

Of the eight books published prior to WWI in Carr's collection, six are literary works, and two are theoretical. Half of this cluster had been bought by or gifted to Carr after 1904. Some of them are linked to biographical events, like her 1904 trip to Scotland or her stay in Paris in 1910/1911. A sticker I found in the back cover of Ross' *A Theory of Pure Design* indicates that Carr bought this book at the Librairie Américaine Brentano's. This tells us two things: first, that Carr was limited by her missing knowledge of French (without exception, all of the titles in Carr's collection are written in English), and second that she was indeed interested in art theory before meeting Harris and Tobey. My work with the physical books proves how freely Carr commented and annotated her texts. For example, in her 1872 copy of Robert Browning's *Poetical Work*, Carr annotated heavily: sometimes putting just a cross-check next to a poem's title, other times, underlining passages that spoke to her **[Fig. 60]**. In some cases, as in the poem entitled "Prospice," Carr makes her commentary in capital letters "LOVELY" with an even more enthusiastic sidebar

and underlining the majority of the text. In her annotations, Carr is not only affective and enthusiast but also critical. In her reading of theoretical texts, she equally underlines and parses through the text to better comprehend, as the following example demonstrates: Ross' principles on positions of design elements in drawing and painting caught her attention. Carr not only underlined passages vital to her but also enumerated the author's ideas, thereby structuring her ideas, giving an example of an analytical reading **[Fig. 61]**.

Through my close reading of Carr's annotations, I realized that she not only felt free to comment on theoretical texts but did so in a completely authentic way, unself-conscious of her role as an artist (and art teacher), as her interaction with William Hunt's *Talks about Art* reveals. Hunt's book of collected doctrines is largely annotated, and Carr reacted to passages on drawing and learning to draw. Hunt's statement on the deficiency of early art education sees Carr agreeing with a big "True" next to the passage: "We are all cursed by the nonsense of our early teachers. I took lessons, like the rest of you, with a pointed lead pencil and a measure; and to-day I feel the restraint which that way of beginning imposed upon me – so strong is the impression made by early lessons."[1105] As much the reading of Hunt influenced her thinking about her early art training is proven by this passage where Hunt repeats the dictum of learning art as a language: "Drawing should be considered not an accomplishment but a necessity. Anyone who can make the letter D can learn to draw. Learning to draw is learning the grammar of language. Anybody can learn the grammar, but whether you have *anything to say,* that is another thing."[1106] Following the *ut pictura poesis* paradigm, Hunt echoes Joshua Reynolds' conviction:

> The first degree of proficiency is, in painting, what grammar is in literature, a general preparation for whatever species of the art the student may afterwards choose for his more particular application. The power of drawing, modelling, and using colours, is very properly called the language of art.[1107]

Still in the late 1930s, when Carr started to compose her life's memories, she described her early training in similar terms. In her autobiography *Growing Pains*, published in 1946, she states, "The type of work I brought home from San Francisco was humdrum and unemotional – objects honestly

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[1105] William M. Hunt, *Talks about Art,* London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1898, 84.
[1106] Hunt, *Talks about Art*, 85.
[1107] Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 26.

portrayed, nothing more. As yet I had not considered the inside of myself. I was like a child printing alphabet letters. I had not begun to make words with letters."[1108]

The shared understanding between Hunt and Carr seems to have encouraged her to add some original advice. In a paragraph where Hunt recalls an exercise with his students where he asked them to draw from memory, Carr comments: "memory drawings are of the greatest value, in teaching and observation + also freedom + courage."[1109] Carr's awareness of her situation as a woman artist from Victoria, B.C., with international artistic ambitions is demonstrated in a drawing I found in Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1904), which was gifted to Carr in December 1904 upon her return from England **[Fig. 62]**. The half-title sketch shows two women reading the newspapers, one titled "The Province" and the other "The World." This drawing looks pretty revealing about Carr's self-consciousness about her personal situation as she returned to Victoria after five years abroad and the isolation from the (art)world she must have been worried about. Her books are where she could express these concerns before she was ready to write about them for others to read in the 1930s.

The liberty Carr took in her commentaries and interactions are unique and singular compared to Münter's behaviour in relation to her collection of books. This might be due to the larger number of titles and a different (taught) way of interacting with books. As I have already mentioned, a large part of the books held in Münter's estate is unsigned. Of all the titles published before WWI, only five were signed by Münter, one by Kandinsky, and two were gifted to them as a couple. At least 15% of the early titles came from her family's estate, including a mid-nineteenth-century lady's book that her mother imported to Germany upon her return. *Godey's Lady's Book and magazine* of 1861 is an excellent example of a publication deemed suitable for Münter's mother's generation, including exercises for drawing by copying plates printed in the magazine **[Fig. 63]**. Thirty percent of all pre-war volumes in the library collection are museum and exhibition catalogues and art magazines that display Münter's access to contemporary art currents and artistic training. In her edition of *The Studio: an illustrated magazine of Fine & Applied Art*, 1901, I did not find any annotations, but I noticed advertisements for art classes. In the back of this issue, the "St. Ives School of Landscape and Marine Painting" offered courses by Louis Grier, a medalist

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[1108] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 103.
[1109] Emily Carr's annotation on page 114 in Hunt, *Talks about art*, 1898.

from the Paris Salon, “Intended mainly for those adopting Painting as a Profession” as the ad specifies. This example shows how Carr’s and Münter’s worlds intersect, even though they never met personally. Gabriele Münter had been aware of the opportunities Emily Carr seized upon when she enrolled in the St. Ives School of Landscape and Marine Painting. It is unclear where this issue came from and where she might have bought it. Münter likely knew of *The Studio* from the library at the lady’s academy.

From 1908 to 1913, Gabriele Münter collected exhibition catalogues from the Berlin Secession that showed German and French avant-garde together from 1908 onwards. The remaining books in Münter’s library are, in fact, as international, multi-lingual, trans-disciplinary, and multi-facetted as Münter herself, reflecting her biography and family history. Books inherited from her parents, drawing manuals, books on flowers and cooking, Lebensreform lifestyle, yoga, and religion complete her library and make up a “multi-layered autobiography.”[1110] To draw this conclusion, no material examination is necessary. However, a close reading of the physical volumes is indispensable to refute the assumptions on the intellectual/intuitive dichotomy within the couple Münter/Kandinsky that had prevented scholars from studying her private library. By looking at them for her interactions with them, I garnered a more profound understanding of her engagement with these works, which refutes the idea that women were only interested in painting as a hobby and proves that they too were deeply engaged in thinking about art and its theory.

Having established Carr as a “thinking artist,” I am interested in Münter’s “modes of thinking,” wondering if she was engaging with the books in her library as freely, authentically, and self-consciously as Emily Carr. During my research stay in Munich, I focused on the titles prior to WWI. From the number of books published prior to WWI in the collection, only six books were signed by Münter: her literature school book, two English Cowboy novels brought home from her travels to the U.S., two theoretical volumes by Arthur Schopenhauer and Henri Bergson, and a 1911 work entitled *Yogi Philosophy and Oriental Occultism*. After the death of her parents, Münter’s brother “Charly” took care of her education and shared her love for reading. As Münter remembered in 1960: “The cultural interest of my relatives were rather in the fields of theology,

[1110] Alberto Manguel, *Packing My Library. An Elegy and Ten Digressions*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 10.

philosophy, literature and music than in that of art."[1111] In May 1898, Münter asked her brother to buy her Arthur Schopenhauer's *Farbenlehre,* which is still held at the GMJE-Stiftung.[1112] With Henri Bergson's *Introduction to Metaphysics* in its 1912 German translation, bought and dated by Münter in 1915, these are the only two theoretical texts she signed. One is signed before and the other shortly after her relationship with Kandinsky. It seems that his strong interest in theory and his ambitions to write his own had possibly stifled any intellectual ambitions she might have had; this may reveal the limited authors that Kandinsky approved. Nevertheless, it seems bizarre that the only title by Kandinsky in the Münter library is the first English translation of his *Über das geistige in der Kunst* dedicated to him by the translator.

Münter learned Arthur Schopenhauer's theories in between her two artistic trainings at the Düsseldorf Academy, which would satisfy neither her professional nor artistic ambitions nor any of her intellectual ones. Of the few annotations that come in the form of check marks or question marks next to the text, Münter was especially interested in one passage where Schopenhauer explains the physiological development of a child's vision. He argues that in the first weeks of life, the child sees with all her senses and that only as soon as she learns to use her mind and about time and space that she can go through the necessary development from emotions, via vision, to reason.[1113] Eighteen years later, Münter is still interested in the metaphor of the child and its intellectual force, as it is used in Bergson's *Instruction to Metaphysics*. In a passage annotated by Münter, Bergson speaks about science's effort to grasp an object through the analysis of its parts, which he judges as an endeavour similarly desperate to a child who wants to build a toy out of shadows on the wall.[1114]

With the child in Schopenhauer's example, Münter might still have identified and recognized her intellectual development when she read the passage in question in 1898, but by 1915, she had become an avid collector and connoisseur of child art together with Kandinsky. In his article "On the question of form," published in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*, Kandinsky wrote about the talent of the child to represent the objects as they are and included several drawings done

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[1111] Gabriele Münter cited in Roditi, *Dialogues*, 114.
[1112] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 42.
[1113] Arthur Schopenhauer, *Farbenlehre*, Leipzig : Philipp Reclam, 1854, 23-24.
[1114] Henri Bergson, *Einführung in die Metaphysik,* Jena: Diederichs, 1912, 20.

by children and teenagers in the publication.[1115] Münter's reading of Schopenhauer and Bergson is very selective and precise in its annotations. None of the comments or words in her books reveal Münter's intellectual position. The only time that I could identify commentaries by her was in the 1911 exhibition of the XXII. Berlin Secession.

Comparing personal sketchbooks by Münter with the 1911 Berlin Secession catalogue, I could identify it as Münter who was commenting on the exhibition, even though the small volume is not signed. Her commentaries are rather blunt and range from one-word judgements such as "good," "bad," "beautiful," or "interesting" to comments, "I do not like it" (about Ferdinand Hodler's, *Heilige Stunde*, 1911) **[Fig. 64]**, or judgements, "a little bit like Manet" (about Erich Büttner, *Der alte Garten)* or "purely modern" (about Lyonel Feininger).

These commentaries show that by 1911, Münter had acquired connoisseurship of modern art and was able to compare the works presented to her in the exhibition with the art historical canon (like Manet). At the same time, she executes her criticism completely freely on the artists and works that intrigued or disgusted her the most with annotations like "nä nä" or "du du" that more closely resemble Dada poetry than an informed critique. Remarkably, the exhibited French avant-garde receives no written comments,[1116] except for check marks next to Picasso's works. This catalogue is an invaluable source on Münter because it is the only time she places herself as a critic in relation to other contemporary painters outside the circle of the Neue Künstlervereiningung München and later the Blaue Reiter group. It is also a place where she can express her opinion in an authentic and uncensored way. Münter's interaction with her private library is very different in style and tone from Carr's but is equally authentic, free, and unself-conscious. In their interaction with their private libraries, both artists have fulfilled one condition of "praxis," as defined by Freire.

[1115] Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage", In *Der Blaue Reiter*, edited by Kandinsky und Frany Marc, München: Piper, 1912, 74-100.
[1116] At the XXIIth exhibition of the Berlin Secession, Van Dongen, Friesz, Giacometti, Pascin, Picasso et al. were shown.

Chapter 6. “Willed forgetfulness”—Carr’s and Münter’s Art of Unlearning

After having demonstrated women’s disadvantaged position in art education with little or nothing to unlearn, new technologies available for the “new woman artist” at the end of the nineteenth century opened the door to change the perspective on their situation. The humour that Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter displayed in their caricatures and photographs hinted at their awareness of their marginalized position within the art world and made them experiment with ways to overcome it, for example, in their sketchbooks. Their private libraries served as an uncensored space to rectify the hierarchies between students and teachers by confronting the author with their thoughts and opinions. In their interactions with their libraries, Carr and Münter displayed a praxicological way of thinking in a free, authentic and self-conscious manner. Within the protected space of their private libraries, they could engage with their books deliberately, freed from the limitations at play within institutions of higher education. In the following chapter, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter negotiate the subjective and objective world not through books but in their art. Confronted with the avant-garde paradigm, each needs to negotiate their personal unlearning with modern esthetics.

Oscillating between emancipation through education and autonomy through art,[1117] the concept of unlearning is also always a “travelling concept” (Bal) or, better, a “concept in motion” (Adorno). Following the concept of unlearning in a series of case studies to define “provisionally and partly” what unlearning may “*mean*” in the given context, to gain insight into “what it can *do*,”[1118] is the aim of this last chapter. What unlearning did for Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter can only be evaluated after having followed them on their search for autonomy in art, including deliberate choice of subject matter and technique, their search for authentic artistic expression often in connection with the same subject matter, and finally developing a conscious awareness about their singular roles within art history.

[1117] John Baldacchino has formulated the idea of art as unlearning for the first time in, John Baldacchino, “Willed forgetfulness: The arts, education and the case for unlearning,” *Studies in philosophy and education* 32, no. 4 (2013): 415-430. See also John Baldacchino, *Art of Unlearning. Towards a Mannerist Pedagogy,* London: Routledge, 2020.
[1118] Bal, *Travelling Concepts*, 11.

This continuous process of unlearning is echoed by Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's peregrinations over several years. This chapter follows Emily Carr on a popular tourist route to Alaska (1907), a study trip to Paris (1910) and Brittany (1911), and lastly, on her first sketching trip along the West coast of British Columbia (1912). Emily Carr's itinerary is contrasted to Gabriele Münter's trips during her four-year journey (1904-1908), focusing on a four-month stay in Tunisia (1904/1905), her extended stay in Paris (1906-1907) and two crucial sketching trips to South Tyrol, Italy, and Murnau, Bavaria, in the Summer of 1908.

In a first case study, taking "travelling" literally, I follow Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter on their trips to Alaska and Tunisia, contemporary travel destinations deemed "safe" for white bourgeois women at the beginning of the twentieth century. As tourists, both women discover cultural monuments *in situ* and are immediately drawn to depict and integrate them into their painting. Aware of the limitations of their artistic training, they become conscious of their need to unlearn. The city of Paris, known as the birthplace of the most recent artistic revolutions, seems the only place left to go for them. Carr and Münter come to the French capital as complete artists—as complete as possible for women in their time and age. As I argue, this last study trip to Paris (where both work with new teachers) was meant for unlearning rather than learning. While I have been focusing on the idea of emancipation through education so far, now is the moment for them to gain autonomy from this education through art. This necessary step of "learning to unlearn" is followed by an ultimate unlearning.

By the end of their respective French sojourns, Carr and Münter had understood the main contributions of the Fauve movement to avant-garde art: a simplification of form, the importance of design and the expressive qualities of colour. They had unlearned the last remnants of a romantic understanding of composition and recognized the need to switch from the spatula to the brush and from watercolour to painting in oil. Both women certainly have unlearned outdated ways of making art by learning anew, yet, instead of tracing the direct influences of French avant-garde painting within their oeuvre, I am looking out for an unlearning understood as recognizing one's ability to unlearn.

Decisive for a successful process of unlearning is the integration of familiar objects into their new conception of image and art. Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's artistic unlearning is facilitated through the choice of subject matter found in their immediate environment and its

integration into their artistic practice. While the objects chosen by them (native art from the Northwest coast and folklore from upper Bavaria) fall into the “primitive paradigm” by their ethnographic nature—judged from a Eurocentric academic perspective—these objects, as I argue, provided more than a contrast in design to traditional subject matters in offering a free, authentic and self-conscious artistic practice to model their own. This echoes Roger Fry’s definition of post-Impressionism, which is characterized by an “unloading”[1119]. In the catalogue of the first post-Impressionist exhibition, Fry describes unlearning as an esthetic challenge for “highly intellectual and skilled men” like Van Gogh, Cézanne or Matisse. Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter were equally measuring up to the art of these new masters by employing a pluralism in painting styles. Yet, their unlearning happens in the movement between the avant-garde styles and the women’s modern projects.

I understand their unlearning as the praxis of distinguishing between emancipation through learning avant-garde styles and, at the same time, gaining autonomy from them. What to remember and what to forget during this process is then a willed act of forgetfulness, echoing Joshua Reynolds’ unlearning metaphor as a removal of a veil of fashions that have covered the authentic artistic expression unlearning is hinting at. As a result, their collection of images at the end of their unlearning in 1913 has a very distinct “uncanny” quality to them, familiar and unfamiliar at the same time. Modern in their style, contemporary critics and colleagues had trouble classifying Carr and Münter into the existing movements of modern art and their respective national art histories. As I argue, this is due to the nature of unlearning itself since the art of unlearning aims to unlearn art itself.[1120]

[1119] Fry, “Manet and the Post-impressionists,"12.
[1120] Baldacchino, “Willed forgetfulness”, 426.

6.1. Unlearning as a "travelling concept" within the Tourism/Colonialism Paradigm

While the concept of unlearning has already been discussed in connection to mobility, the importance of travelling for unlearning remains to be defined. I use travelling to refer simultaneously to Carr and Münter's journeys towards their subject matter and to their chosen avenue to unlearn their limited and limiting art education. In contrast to the travels discussed in chapter four, this is not about mobility, about creating a distance from an oppressive society, but rather about travel to get closer: closer to the motifs and environments that promise new experiences. Both artists encountered their future subject matter as part of a tourist experience. This experience was set in place by imperialist and colonialist powers; using tourism as a form of colonialism makes the tourist complicit in a "non-occupational imperialism."[1121]

Travelling as a tourist, Emily Carr to Sitka, Alaska, and Gabriele Münter to Tunis, Tunisia, were presented with a tourist spectacle especially created for them. At the beginning of the twentieth century, tourism targeted women by promoting "safe" tourist experiences. As white and Western women, they enjoyed the privilege to roam around the tourist sites freely. The local cultures were presented as "exotic" but never dangerous. Travelling became a means in and of itself and an essential part of modern women artists' experience.[1122] It offered a way to glimpse into a pre-industrial society and find solace in the supposedly untouched landscape and genuine people.[1123] When we compare the itineraries of many women artists of this time, a certain nomadic lifestyle takes shape: they share time in the metropolis of London or Paris, paint in rural places around those cities and travel south in winter to take advantage of the warm light of the French,

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[1121] Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus*," *The Imperialist Imagination. German Colonialism and Its Legacy,* edited by Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox and Susanne Zantopp, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001, 51-68, 66.
[1122] Blais, *Une route à soi*, 2020.
[1123] During the nineteenth century, especially from 1870-to 1910, artists' colonies were founded all over Europe, from Barbizon to Dachau, St Ives to Worpswede. Those "colonies" celebrated the community of artists living close to nature, near rural peasant society. They produced images of the rural countryside to be sold in the cities, succeeding in turning those places into tourist attractions later on, e.g., Brittany.

Italian, Moroccan, or Tunisian Riviera. As there were anglophone and francophone artist circles, only rarely would artists be able to transgress language barriers.

Emily Carr and Gabriel Münter were aware of their tourist identity, as we know from Carr's funny book *Sister and I in Alaska* and Gabriele Münter's photographs taken while travelling across Tunisia. They both partake in typical tourist activities: Carr bought souvenirs and Gabriele Münter attended the local carnival. In the remaining watercolours, oil studies and sketchbooks from these two trips, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter acted at the same time inside and outside their tourist experience that is embedded in a larger colonial context. Their keen interest in the Alaskan "totem walk" or "Tunisian graveyard" tied into their artistic training in open-air landscape painting enjoyed in England and Germany, adding to them an element of novelty that challenged their landscape conception and marked the beginning of aesthetic ambitions in their oeuvre, which fostered their unlearning.

6.1.1. "In the land of the totem-pole:" Emily Carr encounters her subject

By the end of the nineteenth century, Alaska was a famous tourist region.[1124] Travel to the north was favoured by the completion of the transcontinental railways in the USA (1869) and Canada (1885). From the 1880s onwards, shipping companies promoted cruises along the west coast of British Columbia that could bring tourists to Alaska and back comfortably in a 10- or 12-day trip from Vancouver or Victoria. Women valued this way of travelling.[1125] The tour operators advertised the trips to abandoned villages of the Kaigani Haida nation and the Tlingit territory as exceptionally safe travel destinations. The Kaigani Haida and Tlingit nations were considered "more peaceful than others" but nevertheless promoted as "the strangest people on earth" in the

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[1124] Dorothy Blakey Smith, Lady Franklin visits the Pacific Northwest: being extracts from the letters of Miss Sophia Cracroft, Sir John Franklin's niece, Feb. to April 1861 and April to July 1870, Victoria: B.C. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1974, 129.

[1125] For a woman's account of a trip to Alaska at the end of the nineteenth century may serve, Septima Collis, *A Woman's Trip to Alaska: Being an Account of the Voyage through the Inland Seas of the Sitkan Archipelago in 1890*, New York: Cassell, 1890.

Northern Pacific Railway brochure.[1126] In 1907, such a trip included visits to picturesque coastal towns, walks ashore into the woods perceived as "wilderness,"[1127] and shopping for First Nations' handicrafts as travel souvenirs, an activity that Emily Carr responded to, as one of the 1907 caricature drawings from a travel diary indicates **[Fig. 65]** With this caricature, Emily Carr comments in a humorous way on typical, in this case, her own, tourist behaviour.

"Alaskan Native Art" had already been advertised in travel brochures and at the world fairs of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and served the organizers as a tourist attraction.[1128] Even though Alaska had been colonized originally by the Russian Empire, tourists using their privilege to travel the region took part in a "non-occupational imperialism,"[1129] according to Nina Berman. The tourists were supposed to experience the "native art" *in situ*. To this end, from 1900 onwards, the then governor of Alaska, John G. Brady, started collecting totem poles[1130] from remote regions of Alaska. He finally set them up in the "Indian River Park" in Sitka in 1906 after they had been shown at expositions in St. Louis and Portland in 1904.[1131] The totem poles Emily Carr saw in 1907 were from the Haida and Tlingit Nations, heavily restored and coloured, first displaced and then installed along the so-called "Totem Walk." These were the only totem poles in all of Sitka and the only ones that Emily Carr painted on her trip to Alaska, as she reported in her travel diary: "We are immediately adopted, and straightway taken for our initiation trip to the totem poles; and thereafter bourn thither twice daily, for the rest of our sojourn in Sitka, be the climatic conditions

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[1126] "But in the T'linkit towns, we have no such hesitation, for the curiosities to be seen in their houses and surroundings, they are certainly one of the strangest people on earth." *Northern Pacific Railway brochure*, 1911, 22-3, as cited in Hill, Lamoureux and Thom, *New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, 283n12.

[1127] On the trope of "wilderness" in Canadian art of the twentieth century, see O'Brian, John, and Peter White, eds. *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*. Vol. 7. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2017.

[1128] For the contemporary context of the collecting and presenting of ethnographic object at world fairs and museums, see Gerta Moray, "Among Ethnographers and Indian Agents," *Unsettling Encounters. First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006, 52-72.

[1129] Nina Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus*." In *The Imperialist Imagination: Colonialism and Its Legacy*, edited by Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999, 51-68, 66.

[1130] For more on the history of "totem pole parks" as tourist sites in the North West Coast region, see Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, "Totems for tourists. On Salvage and Salvation," In Aldona Jonaitis and Aaron Glass, *The totem pole: an intercultural history*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2010, 78- 94; as an informative guide to totem poles in B.C. outdoor locations, see Hilary Stewart, *Looking at totem poles*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1993.

[1131] See Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 82.

favorable or unfavorable."[1132] The "initiation" is only complete with the drawing that Emily Carr did of her first encounter with the totem pole in her travel journal *Sister and I in Alaska* **[Fig. 66].** Carr is standing directly in front of one of the totem poles that reach several feet over her head. She appears with her sister and a fellow tourist who points to single elements on the carved pole. Carr has put her neck way back to glance way to the top. Where there is usually a sense of annoyance, boredom, or anger in her face, now, Emily Carr is staring at these monumental carvings with her eyes and mouth wide open, full of awe and silent admiration.

Emily Carr's self-portrait is a rare example of a modern artist documenting the discovery of her ethno-artistic project that she described in her notebook as follows:

> It was in Sitka I first conceived the idea of painting Indians & totem poles. I made a few slight sketches, an artist by the name of Richardson who was summering in Sitka saw them & praised them highly. He said his were not so good as mine and he sold them in New York. I had always love[d] the Indians. I said to myself: 'I shall come up every summer among the villages of B.C. and I shall do all the totem poles & villages I can before they are a thing of the past.' That was exactly what I did in the years that followed. Every year in the summer holidays I went north. It cost a lot of money but I felt it was worth while & worked very hard.[1133]

The affective quality of the experience draws her to paint the totem walk, as two watercolours show: *Totem Pole, Sitka*, 1907 **[Fig. 67]** and *Totem Walk at Sitka,* 1907 **[Fig. 68]**. This affect is integrated with her professional ambition: Emily Carr describes her hope to be able to sell her totem pole pictures, comparing herself in quality and originality to a fellow artist working in Sitka, who encouraged her to pursue her project by travelling along the Northwest coast to paint native sites.

According to Stewart and Macnair, Emily Carr was only able to see totem poles in two places during her trip in 1907 – namely in Sitka and 'Ya̲lis.[1134] When Emily Carr visits Sitka, the

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[1132] Emily Carr, *Sister and I in Alaska: An Illustrated Diary of a Trip to Alert Bay, Skagway, Juneau, and Sitka in 1907,* Vancouver: Figure 1, 2014. 18.
[1133] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 74.
[1134] Still 30 years later, Emily Carr remembers her first encounter with native art vividly : "We passed many Indian villages on our way down the coast. The Indian people and their art touched me deeply. Perhaps that was what had given my sketch the "Indian flavor". By the time I reached home my mind was made up. I was going to picture totem poles in their own village settings, as complete a collection of them as I could." See Carr, *Growing Pains*, 257.

"Totem Walk" is not only a magnet for tourists but also artists. The settlement on Baranof Island had been a popular destination for landscape painters, especially in the summer months, since the end of the 18th century. In Emily Carr's time, women painters from the local upper class were joined by professional artists on site. Emily Carr likely felt encouraged by her encounters with other artists to focus her painting on the representation of the northern native sites. In Sitka, she also may have seen that she could encounter commercial success doing this, as Gerta Moray has convincingly argued.[1135] Stewart and Macnair deny that the work created on the Alaskan trip had any artistic claim since the trip was originally intended for recreational purposes. The question should rather be whether Emily Carr could have represented the monumental sculptures adequately, given her artistic training up until this moment. The vignettes[1136] of Victoria's cityscape or single watercolour portraits certainly did not prepare her to depict monumental-sized objects within the picture frame. In 1899, in Hiitats'uu (Ucluelet, also Ukee), Vancouver Island, Emily Carr had already visited a friend of her sister "Lizzie" who taught at the Mission School[1137] of the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) Reserve.[1138] She mainly made drawings of village scenes (e.g. the drawing *Indian Village, Ucluelet,* 1899 **[Fig. 69]**) and portraits of community members, mostly of children, like this drawing entitled *Indian Girl*, 1899. **[Fig. 70]** The drawings indeed show an interest in the inhabitants of the reserve and their living conditions but still have the character of travel illustrations.

Especially during her time in the artists' colony St. Ives in Cornwall, Emily Carr enjoyed painting landscapes *en plein air*. According to Ian Thom's analysis, Emily Carr gained a greater understanding of the landscape in the medium of the watercolour and that entailed a fundamental shift in her perception.[1139] *Totem Pole, Sitka* **[Fig. 67]** can be qualified as a classical landscape watercolour. As Emily Carr must have quickly realized, watercolour as a medium does not do justice to the plasticity of the expressive carvings on the totem pole. They appear flattened and as

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[1135] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 81.
[1136] A postcard-sized watercolors created around 1895 thus showed picturesque scenes, which were, however, too small to contain ethnographic details such as the exact design of the canoes. See Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 76.
[1137] As early as 1874, the Catholic Church, then in 1894, the Presbyterians, were trying to missionize the residents of Vancouver Island. For more information, see August Brabant, *Mission to the Nootka, 1874-1900: Reminiscences of the West Coast of Vancouver Island*. Sydney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1977.
[1138] Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, 71.
[1139] See Thom, *Carr in France*, 11-12.

regular colourful patterns—alien to the landscape surrounding them. Moreover, in the 1907 watercolour *Totem Walk at Sitka* **[Fig. 68],** it becomes clear that—at that time—Emily Carr still had no deep understanding of the abstract animal figures and the linear design of the Haida, neither their origins nor further meanings. "By the time I reached home, my mind was made up. I was going to picture totem poles in their own village settings, as complete a collection of them as I could," Carr remembers in her autobiography.[1140]

Being aware of her inadequate skills to undertake her project at this point, as she had been saving up for a trip to Paris for years,[1141] she hoped to acquire the artistic language there with which she could represent the art of British Columbia's Northwest coast appropriately:

> Indian Art broadened my seeing, loosened the formal tightness I had learned in England's schools. Its bigness and stark reality baffled my white man's understanding. I was as Canadian-born as the Indian but behind me were Old World heredity and ancestry as well as Canadian environment. The new West called me, but my Old World heredity, the flavor of my upbringing, pulled me back. I had been schooled to see outsides only, not struggle to pierce… I learned a lot from the Indians, but who except Canada herself could help me comprehend her great woods and spaces? San Francisco had not, London had not. What about this New Art Paris talked of? It claimed bigger, broader seeing.[1142]

After two art trainings that Emily Carr qualified in retrospect as failures, she knew that Paris was her last chance to discover what was needed to do justice to the ethno-artistic project she had been forming in her head since 1907. Her project to paint a complete collection of all native sites along the west coast had met her professional and artistic ambitions, even if she did not possess the aesthetic tools necessary to meet her subject matter in its expression.

"Schooled to see outsides only," Emily Carr knew she had to unlearn the way of painting thought of as suitable for a Victorian woman artist. Although she had been to the French capital to visit its museums and galleries during her stay in England and met with French artists in St Ives,

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[1140] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 257.

[1141] In the original manuscript of her autobiography *Growing Pains* it reads: "It took five and ½ years to earn my ambition. I was saving to go to Paris everyone said Paris was the top of art and I wanted to get the best teaching I knew." Carr as cited in Thom, *Carr in France*, 9.

[1142] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 258.

when she made her way to Paris again in 1910, her aim was not to be taught in the French beaux-arts tradition but to acquire painterly means matching the "bigness and stark reality" of native west coast art.

6.1.2. Graveyard romantics: Gabriele Münter travels to Tunis, Tyrol and Murnau

Between 1904 and 1908, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky went on to live "outside the world" – out of sight of Munich's society to judge them and far from Kandinsky's wife. This subchapter focuses on selected trips following Gabriele Münter's quest to find her bearings again after her artistic training had been disrupted by the beginning of her relationship with her teacher. During this four-year journey, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky worked side by side, sometimes interested in the same motifs and diverging ones. In her painting (mostly small oil studies), she strictly followed her former teacher's style and technique, but she developed her unique perspective when looking at the cultural monuments depicted in her sketchbooks and photographs. Whether it be in Tunisia, in the South of Tyrol (in the North of Italy) or in Murnau, Münter was drawn to monumental signifiers of religious cults in the open air; graves and mausoleums in Ottoman graveyards, forest chapels and wayside crosses in South Tyrol or catholic graveyards in Bavaria. Gabriele Münter came across these objects not as a worshipper, but as a tourist, *en passant*, at the border between secular and sacred, between past and present, foreshadowing the collecting and production of folklore images that she will showcase for the still lifes she was going to create after settling down in Murnau in 1909.

Within these four years, the couple moved from the Netherlands to Tunisia, Belgium and Italy before staying in Sèvre and Paris for a year. Finally, in 1908, after another trip through the Alp region connecting Italy, Austria, and the South of Germany, they discovered the Bavarian town of Murnau on their way back to Munich. They mainly moved on tourist routes, with their "Baedeker"[1143] at hand, following the good weather to the South in winter and the blossoming fruit trees to the North in Spring. It was mainly Kandinsky who decided where they would go and with

[1143] "Beadeker" is a German edition house for travel guide books, published since 1827 and has risen to fame since the rising tourist industry of the nineteenth century.

whom they would meet. Not much is known about his intentions, but what can be said, considering the itinerary, is that it was neither a Grand Tour to the treasures of European art history nor a "voyage utile" as done by Le Corbusier in 1910 with the means to visit, document and publish on cultural monuments across Europe and the middle east.[1144] In 1909, when they did settle down in a house Münter had bought for them in Murnau, they found a community of fellow artists together with Marianne von Werefkin and Alexej Jawlensky (both later members of the group *Der Blaue Reiter*). I argue that these four years functioned as an incubator for ideas and motifs that would only come to full fruition upon Münter's arrival in Murnau. At Kandinsky's request, the couple moved in relative isolation from country to country and with only minimal contact with other artists. However, Gabriele Münter once resisted Kandinsky's request for isolation: during their stay in Sèvre, she moved alone to Paris and for a few weeks took a course with Théodore Steinlen.[1145]

The couple left Germany in early December 1904 and travelled directly to Tunis via Marseilles. They stayed four full months in the Tunisian capital. As Münter remembers: "… we went for walks in the city, as well as in Belvedere Park – I was never bored with my beloved, and we never made 'connex' with anyone – he simply does not want that."[1146] The two artists took on an outsider's view into the picturesque scenes of "Tunisian Impressions," as Münter called them, which are documented in two sketchbooks and a few oil studies. However, the most extensive body of work during her Tunisian stay consists of 180 photographs taken over four months, mainly of narrow streets, archways, Islamic ornamentation, calligraphic inscriptions, and ottoman graveyards. As Sarah Louise Henn, in her recent study on Münter's and Kandinsky's Tunisian travel, remarks: "the ubiquitously advertised 'Orient experience' with its comfort for the (often male) European tourist was based on a colonial self-image that was never free of racist

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[1144] This trip is also known as *Le Voyage D'Orient*, published by Le Corbusier in 1966. Today these travel accounts are considered highly problematic, exoticizing non-European cultural production with an underlying racist prejudice. Le Corbusier is interesting for this thesis as he confronts us with a contemporary ideology about the conflation of territory and cultural development. He believed that some regions and people are dominated by one of these three forms of human production: "culture" (e.g. in Italy), "folklore" (e.g. on the Balkan), and "industry" (in the Northern countries like Germany). For more on Le Corbusier's trip, see Marc Bédarida, ed., Le Corbusier*: Voyage d'orient, 1910-11*, Paris : Éditions de la Villette, 2011.

[1145] This will be explored more in Chapter 6.2.1..

[1146] Gabriele Münter as cited in Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 224.

structures."[1147] It is only recently that commentaries on Gabriele Münter's Tunisian journey became critical of the underlying "attitudes then within the norms of colonial travellers."[1148] The French protectorate substantially facilitated tourists' travels to Tunisia from Europe since 1881.[1149] The "comfort that the colonial structures of occupation provided for European travellers [w]as the basis for the self-image of the two artists"[1150] moving through Tunisia, as Henn points out.

While they might have set out to live "outside the world" of German bourgeois moral codices, Münter and Kandinsky were moving within the colonial matrix, where two white Europeans with sufficient funds, speaking several of the imperial languages, could gain a sense of freedom. They were free to move around the capital, and from there, they ventured into the cities of Carthage, Sousse, and Kairouan. Münter's photographs and drawings prove that she visited all the typical tourist attractions in Tunis and sent postcards to the family at home, showing the local inhabitants in their traditional clothes within an orientalising scenery **[Fig. 71]**. She took several photographs of Tunis' architecture, local merchants, and street scenes with donkeys and camel herds that must have met her expectations of the "orient experience" promised by contemporary tourist brochures and published guides.[1151] A comparison of her photographs and contemporary postcards reveals resemblances that might hint at a tourist guide showing them the most "picturesque" views of Kairouan, like the historic site of *Bab el Khadra, Tunis* **[Fig. 72]**.

[1147] Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 225. For a review of the exhibition, see Lucy Wasensteiner, "Under the Open Sky: Travelling with Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 163, no 1420. https://www.burlington.org.uk/archive/exhibition-review/under-the-open-sky-travelling-with-wassily-kandinsky-and-gabriele-munter, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1148] Sarah L. Henn, "Tunisia 1904-1905," In Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 227. This is certainly true for exhibitions. The last retrospective on Gabriele Münter in 2017 (Jansen, *Gabriele Münter 1877-1962: Malen ohne Umschweife*, 2017) addressed questions of historic primitivism, but did not include the Tunisian journey. The first publication addressing the colonial context of their Tunisian trip (together with Paul Klee's Tunisian sojourn of 1914), was Benjamin, Roger, and Cristina Ashjian, *Kandinsky and Klee in Tunisia*, Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015.
[1149] Protectorates were regions occupied by colonial powers and limiting their sovereignty. Tunisia should be protected from other colonial powers while securing the territory. The capital of Tunis was occupied by French Troops in 1881; installing bilingualism in the educational system provided Tunisian tourism with French-speaking staff, ready to welcome European tourists, as Henn concludes. Henn, *Under the Open Sky*, 225.
[1150] Henn, *Under the Open Sky*, 225.
[1151] Wassily Kandinsky possessed one of the brochures published by the Comité d'Hivernage et de Colonisation, encouraging French people to spend their winters in Tunisia.

There is a second group of photographs and drawings taken by Münter that focus on groups of men going about their business, women wrapped in their burnoose **[Fig. 73, 74]**, or children playing on the street. These echo her photographs from her U.S. trip where she was also taking pictures of passers-by, for example, in Texas. However, as Roger Benjamin pointed out in his analysis of their Tunis trip, Münter was not interested in a clichéd staging of the local population of their travel destination, as had been the case for many tourists that borrowed "outfits for indigenous poses" and utensils for "photographic self-dramatization in the 'oriental style'"[1152]. On the contrary, Münter tried to disrupt any illusion of an undisturbed oriental panorama in her photography by documenting the 1906 Carnival parade in Tunis. In the photograph of a street scene capturing tourists and locals in one picture frame, she debunked the moments of tourist spectacle as a forced "othering" of one in order to create the advertised "Orient experience." She was photographing the parade with flying horses and waving flags, but also the moment after the spectacle: capturing a camel being dragged through a side street with the rider on its back, while they are observed by curious onlookers, probably tourists, and judged by their continental fashion **[Fig. 75]**, Gabriele Münter proves once again her sensitivity. Taking this picture, Gabriele Münter is within the picture frame — doubling the tourist gaze — and simultaneously outside the depicted scene, exposing its power relations.

Gabriele Münter had already documented exotic spectacles with her camera in 1901, during Munich's "*Völkerschau*." "*Völkerschauen"* were ethnological exhibitions of foreign peoples taking place all over Germany from 1870-to 1940.[1153] During funfairs, like the Munich Oktoberfest, in Zoos (most prominently Hamburg's Zoo Hagenbeck), vaudevilles, restaurants, people of colours from the colonies were put on display as side attractions of circus shows, collections of curiosities, and during colonial fairs, world fairs and industrial fairs. There were mainly two ways of presentation, either in recreating foreign villages and inviting whole communities to "live" in front of metropolitan spectators, as in 1904, with a 6000 square meters "Tunis is Munich" or in the form

[1152] Benjamin, *Kandinsky and Klee in Tunisia*, 4.
[1153] For a complete study on the exhibiting of foreign peoples on German ground between 1870 and 1940, see Anne Dreesbach, *Gezähmte Wilde. Die Zurschaustellung "exotischer" Menschen in Deutschland 1970-1940*, Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005. See also, Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemarie, eds., Zoos humains. De la Venus Hottentote aux reality Shows, Paris : Éditions de la Découverte, 2002.

of performances of small-sized groups. Exhibitions of foreign peoples until 1919 took place in Germany within a colonial framework and imperial ambitions of the Prussian Empire, and yet they were not organized by the crown but by private enterprises to entertain their audience.[1154] While Anne Dreesebach argued that these exhibitions were primarily commercial enterprises, in their effect, these shows fused scientific and popular racism. Having hosted the infamous Berlin Conference in 1884, Germany (read: the German empire of Wilhelm II.), led by its chancellor Otto von Bismarck, tried to take its seat at the table with the world's colonial powers and took part in the so-called Scramble for Africa that legalized the theft of territories from Indigenous populations.[1155]

The "oriental experience" of German tourists in Tunisia — who made up 60% of all tourists coming to the country — was premediated by ethnographic exhibitions and nineteenth-century travel literature, like Karl May's *Orient Cycle.*[1156] Besides, Münter and Kandinsky could rely on written travel guides, like the German "Baedeker," a series of tourist handbooks. Tunis even figured in the 1902 Italian edition as a trip from the South of Italy.[1157] The manual praised Tunis for its European quarter with its wide modern streets and authentic oriental quarters. Reassuring the traveller that "the stranger can move about freely everywhere, as in all of Tunisia."[1158] Tunis was presented here as a "contact zone." According to Marie Louise Pratt, contact zones are "social

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[1154] Since 1900, it was forbidden to bring people from German colonies to Germany. The German authorities did not want to be associated with the world of fun fairs and vaudevilles and had to be avoided. For more on the Imperial politics and *Völkerschauen*, see Anne Dreesbach, "Colonial Exhibitions, 'Völkerschauen' and the Diplay of the 'Other'," European History Online, published online 03.05.2012, file:///Users/elisabeths/Downloads/dreesbacha-2012-en.pdf, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1155] For more on Germany's colonial history, see Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism, A Short History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 1.
[1156] Karl May's (1842-1912) Orient Zyklus, written 1881-1888, are a complete imaginary series of travel tales through the Middle East. He also wrote a series of adventure novels with the First Nations hero "Winnetou," May's "imaginary indian" (Crosby), who shaped the idea of German society of North American First Nations way into the twentieth century primarily through the movie adaptations of the 1960s. Karl May travelled for the first time to the Middle East and the U.S. shortly before his death. Each year in May's hometown Radebeul, Germany, an open-air festival stages his novels in front of an audience. In 2010, the Canadian First Nations artist of Cree ancestry, Kent Monkman, went to Germany to confront Karl May's "imaginary indian" with his alter ego Miss Chief Eagle Testicle. In the following, Monkman created his video work Dance to Miss Chief (2010), a 4:53 min video loop with Miss Chief dancing to excerpts of a German 1960s Western starring "Winnetou."
[1157] Karl Baedeker, *Italien. Handbuch für Reisende. Dritter Teil. Unter-Italien und Sizilien nebst Ausflügen nach den Liparischen Inseln, Sardinien, Malta, Tuni und Corfu*, Leipzig: Baedeker, 1902.
[1158] Baedeker, *Italien. Handbuch für Reisende. Dritter Teil*, 457.

spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination…"[1159] Münter and Kandinsky moved freely within this zone. It is important to note that in post-colonial literature like Edward Said's *Orientalism*[1160] or James Clifford's review of it,[1161] Germany is never considered a significant colonial power due to its lower colonial activity compared to England or France. Nevertheless, as Nina Berman described in her article "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism: Karl May's *Orientzyklus,*" tourism also functions as a "non-occupational imperialism"[1162] using Germany's economic and political influence in regions colonized by other nations.

In March 1905, Münter and Kandinsky travelled to Kairouan and Soussa. In the "holy city" of Kairouan, they hired a guide to show them around town and visit the inside of the mosques, which had been impossible in Tunis.[1163] While Kandinsky painted Arab equestrians and street scenes to represent a local folklore that appeared to him oriental and mysterious, Gabriele Münter focused on architecture and historic sites.[1164] One deserted Tunisian graveyard became a motif around which both chose to work. In multiple photographs, Münter tried to grasp the melancholic atmosphere of these places: on the one hand, it evoked the historical relation of peoples' past lives, and on the other, it summoned a place where time seemed to stand still, out of history. **[Fig. 76, 77, 78]**. She payes heightened attention to the graves themselves in her sketchbooks, working on their representation, perspective, and composition in a series of sketches **[Fig. 79, 80, 81]**. Yet, only one oil study, with a similar subject entitled *Study of a Landscape with Tower (Grave in Tunis),* has come to us **[Fig. 82]**.

The second time that Gabriele Münter focused on single, historic religious monuments was in South Tyrol[1165], an Italian province in the Alp region of Italy close to the border with Austria. There, Münter and Kandinsky got interested again in local sites that tell of the place's history and

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[1159] Marie Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge, 2007, 7.
[1160] Edward Said, *Orientalism,* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
[1161] James Clifford, "Orientalism by Edward W. Said," *History and Theory* 19, no. 2 (1980): 204–23. https://doi.org/10.2307/2504800.
[1162] Berman, "Orientalism, Imperialism, and Nationalism", 66.
[1163] Opening the mosques was one way to attract tourists to Kirouan.
[1164] Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 225.
[1165] For more on Münter's Tyrol sojourn, see Wolfgang Meighörner, Günther Dankl, and Isabel Pedevilla, eds, *Tirol – München: Begegnungen von 1880 bis heute,* Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesmuseum, Exhibition Catalogue, 2014, 139-288.

cultural importance. Drawings in her notebooks **[Fig. 83, 84]** and photographs **[Fig. 85, 86, 87]** demonstrate her interest in chapels, wayside shrines and crucifixes she encountered on hikes in the remote valleys around Lana, Italy. Current scholarship on Gabriele Münter agrees that these travels were an "important time of study and sensitization"[1166] for Gabriele Münter and prepared her "discovery" of Bavarian folk art in the rural village of Murnau in August 1908. There, Gabriele Münter continued to be interested in graveyards **[Fig. 88, 89, 90, 91]** and wayside crosses **[Fig. 92, 93].** She documented them in photographs, sketches and oil studies as she painted *en plein air in situ* — even in winter, as this black and white photograph taken by Wassily Kandinsky in February 1909 in a graveyard in the town of Kochel attests **[Fig. 94].** In Tunisia and South Tyrol, Gabriele Münter was experimenting with integrating these cultural landmarks into her conception of landscape. The handling of form and masses in a given space can be considered a preparatory exercise for her later still lifes, where she would rearrange folk art objects from her private collections in her domestic space and paint them.[1167] It is on their way home from South Tyrol to Munich, that Münter and Kandinsky discovered the small town of Murnau and decided to return soon. It might have been because of its picturesque location near the Bavarian Alps, with a lake and the extensive moors that attracted them. Münter's photographs of the rural town and its inhabitants **[Fig. 95]** express a fascination for pristine folklore. They echo Münter's first experience with rural Bavaria on her excursions to Bruck during her time at the *Künstlerinnen-Verein.*

The Bavarian countryside South of Munich had been a desirable travel destination since the nineteenth century: "tourists and artists came to share a romantic appreciation for the ethnically inspiring natural and cultural attractions of a landscape that was both sacred and curative"[1168] Since the late Middle Ages, Bavaria had developed a vivid culture of religious, catholic traditions. Travelling to regional or national pilgrimage sites has been a vital tradition until this day. Most prominently, the pilgrimage to the Madonna of Altötting, but also the Passion Play of Oberammergau, turned the older Bavarian territories close to Murnau into the "classical pilgrimage

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[1166] Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 231.
[1167] This will be explored more in Chapter 6.2. and 6.3..
[1168] Helena Waddy Lepovitz, "Pilgrims, Patients, and Painter: The Formation of a Tourist Culture in Bavaria," *Historical Reflections*, Winter 1992, vol. 18, no.1, 121-145, 125.

landscape of the Catholic world."[1169] This landscape was interfused with signs — wayside crosses, wayside shrines, chapels — along the routes toward the pilgrimage sites, thus turning it into a sacred landscape. Biking or walking around the town of Murnau, Gabriele Münter frequently passed from secular to sacred spaces, from the present to the past, an experience that was part of the tourist experience in this region and included shopping for religious devotional objects like reversed paintings on glass or wooden figurines of the Madonna of Altötting. Münter found a way to conflate the sacred and secular into one picture frame in her still lifes as soon as she was introduced to reversed glass paintings and modern still life.[1170][1171]

During their travels, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter were able to revise their landscape conception. The sceneries set up for them as "tourist spectacle" left them enough freedom to move freely within this framework and chose their subject matter. They found their motif and subject matter in monumental historical signs of local culture. At this stage in their artistic development, their conservative artistic training in London and Munich had not provided them with the aesthetic and technical tools necessary to do their chosen subject matter justice. This would chan ge with their exposure to French avant-garde art, which ignited their unlearning.

6.2. New authorities: aesthetic r/evolutions in Paris

No place at the turn of the twentieth century held as many expectations, phantasies, and hopes for women artists as Paris did.[1172] Studying in Paris was a risk on many different levels: financial, social, but most of all artistic. In contrast to London, where women artists felt stifled in their ambitions and imprisoned by social constraints, Paris was open to welcoming them. As Frances

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[1169] R. Böck, "Die Wallfahrtsinventarisation der Bayer. Landesstelle für Volkskunde," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 1960, 7.
[1170] This will be explored more in Chapter 6.2 and 6.3.
[1171] This will be explored more in Chapter 6.3.
[1172] For a study on women artist's experience of Paris, see Billy Kluver and Julie Martin, *Kiki's Paris: Artist and Lovers 1900-1930*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.

Hodgkins, Emily Carr's later teacher remarked in 1913: "Well, that's Paris. Whether it agrees or not, it wants to hear, to learn, to discuss. It's receptive, however combative. It gives everyone a chance."[1173]

Looking at different modern women artists and their Paris sojourns, one needs to recognize that they cannot be judged according to a modernist timeline of landmarks like the 1905 fauvist exhibition, Picasso's painting of the *Demoiselles* 1907 or the first cubist paintings by Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque. Independently from a direct contact to proponents of modern art, like Matisse, Picasso and the Steins, for each woman artist, the importance of a Paris sojourn has to be judged in the context of her respective life and work. The proximity to the Parisian avant-garde, either personally or stylistically during their Paris sojourn, is not a very useful indicator of their integration in the art scene, since many women came alone, did not know anybody, and remained isolated. However, the artistic training offered to men and women gave the impression of relative access to modern art.

Münter and Carr came to Paris at two very different moments in the canonical chronology of modern art history as it is often seen revolving around decisive "modern moments" such as Picasso's painting the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*[1174] or the avant-garde's art ultimate shift towards abstraction. Thinking in historical terms, neither Münter in 1906 nor Carr in 1910 came to Paris at the "right time". The city had a unique significance in their process of unlearning. Emily Carr needed to find an art that matched the "bigness and starkness" of native totem poles. Gabriele Münter sought to find strategies for her image design to integrate new subject matter into her idea of modern art. That said, their Paris experiences were very different from one another due to their language capacities, access to the local art scene as well as the art each produced while in France.

For many women artists of their generation, spending time in Paris resembled a pilgrimage to the Holy Grail as the city had become the epicentre of modern art. Being exposed to the artistic abundance of Paris and spending time in museums and exhibitions of historical and contemporary art certainly gave them the feeling of having finally arrived at the right place. Paris had welcomed women artists with open arms in its private academies for decades, offering opportunities for

[1173] Frances Hodkings as cited in Hammond and Kisler, *Frances Hodgkins*, 74.

[1174] For the latest research on the genealogy of this modern icon, see Suzanne Preston Blier, *Picasso's Demoiselles: The Untold Origins of a Modern Masterpiece*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.

learning and exhibiting. By the time of Münter's and Carr's arrival in Paris, its role, especially for women artists, had changed significantly. As we have seen, at the beginning of the twentieth century, women artists had formulated their aspiration to equally develop their own artistic expression as modern artists and not be framed as a "women artist." This might explain why Emily Carr reacted harshly as Phelan Gibb is said to have told her, "you will be one of the painters, – women painters … of your day."[1175] However, an artist, and a modern one, was what she wanted to be. And she was not alone in this wish.

Many of the women arriving in Paris from abroad had already received extensive studies, either at Royal Academies of their countries (e.g., Sweden or Russia) or from private art schools tailored to women artists from all over Europe (Munich, Berlin, London etc.) or North America and the Commonwealth countries. These women arrived trained in all the conventional subjects, including the nude. Even though Paris offered women the opportunity to paint from the nude in life classes, this was not at all the main reason they came to Paris. Attracted by the international fame of modern art, created by Impressionism and epitomized by the avant-garde artists of the Fauve circle, women artists coming to Paris were searching for a direct or indirect contact with this circle. Henri Matisse had "helped to group around him artists working in similar styles and encouraged the organization of a recognizable exhibition circle."[1176] According to Gill Perry, women were participating only on the margins of avant-garde groups, involving some engagement with techniques and subject-matter which have been deemed innovative or modernist.[1177] Fauvism introduced bright non-natural colours, distortions and loose application of paint while Cubism called for "technical radicalism" in modern painting. Yet, women painters who adopted these or similar styles were rarely included in group shows or collective studio activities.[1178] Elsewhere, Gill Perry convincingly argues that members of the Fauve circle had a strong sense of masculine, professional and creative roles that might have hindered women to be included. "Painting like a

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[1175] Emily Carr, *Growing Pains*, 267.
[1176] Gill Perry, "The Parisian avant-garde and 'feminine' art in the early twentieth century," In *Gender and Art*, edited by Gill Perry, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991, 199-227.
[1177] Perry, "The Parisian avant-garde and 'feminine' art in the early twentieth century," 227.
[1178] Perry, "The Parisian avant-garde and 'feminine' art in the early twentieth century," 219.

man" meant for Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's generation focussing on "technique, professional training, creativity and avant-gardism."[1179]

Paris offered classes taught by artists taking part in the avant-garde movement only starting in 1908. Private academies like the Académie Matisse (1908-1911) and other schools with avant-garde teachers were open to diverse artistic expressions in style and content and provided to women artists multiple possibilities to show their work.[1180] In this regard, Tyra Kleen and Olga Meerson acted as models to emulate for Münter and Carr. As Spalding argues, going to Paris for these women who had already gained the status of professional artists, was a risk. The milieu of Parisian avant-garde artists and teachers demanded that they unlearn the conservative but efficient art training they had received elsewhere. This would open unto a selective process of unlearning, based on revisiting customs, convictions, and often unconscious biases. Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter would adopt some modern art currents while rejecting others. For instance, Emily Carr took on the Fauve colour palette but dismissed the distortion of the body. Similarly, Gabriele Münter used synthesis as a compositional strategy but never aimed for abstraction. The effect their Parisian sojourn had had on their artistic work was not sudden; it was instead a slow transformation over time and went hand in hand with their gradual exploration of their ethno-artistic projects. This chapter examines the complex ways through which non-academic art found its way into Carr's and Münter's oeuvres. The monumental native art of the Canadian Northwest coast and the folk art technique of reversed glass painting from the German Alp region became new authorities of Carr and Münter.

6.2.1. Münter in Paris: Isolation and Autonomy

In the art historical literature, the importance of Gabriele Münter's and subsequently Wassily Kandinsky's Parisian stay is measured by the extent of their relationship and exchange with the local avant-garde scene. Direct contacts with new art currents, like Fauvism, are used to assess

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[1179] Gill Perry, *Women Artists and the Parisian avant-garde. Modernism and 'feminine' art, 1900 to the late 1920s,* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995, 17.
[1180] Perry, *Women Artists and the Parisian avant-garde. Modernism and 'feminine' art, 1900 to the late 1920s,* 19.

artists' importance and place in modern art history. If one were to believe Gabriele Münter, there would be no need to pay any attention to the Parisian stay. In a late interview, she claimed that along with Kandinsky, she had been isolated and had had no contact with the Parisian Avant-Garde whatsoever. She recalls, "Kandinsky and I had made several trips to France, though we never associated with many artists. Most of the time, we were content to visit galleries or, as soon as the weather was fine, to go out on sketching and painting expeditions."[1181] But I wish to take the discussion away from the question of direct influence. I would rather focus here on the question of how the Parisian journey of 1906/07 facilitated Gabriele Münter's unlearning in her painting from 1908 onwards.

The couple came to Paris directly from the Italian Riviera, where they had spent the winter of 1905/1906. They arrived on May 22, 1906, in the French capital and stayed until June 1, 1907.[1182] They were welcomed in Paris by Elisabeth Epstein whom Kandinsky knew from Munich and who had brought together Kandinsky and the magazine *Tendances Nouvelles.* Their second contact, Olga Meerson, was also a Russian painter who had studied together with Münter in Kandinsky's Phalanx in 1902 and 1903. After the first weeks living in Paris on the rue des Ursulines, Münter and Kandinsky took an apartment in Sèvres for about a year, near the Park St-Cloud, where they produced numerous oil studies in a neo-Impressionist manner, as attested by this small painting *Avenue in Parc Saint-Cloud,* 1906 **[Fig. 96]**. Besides his collaboration with *Tendances Nouvelles* and his exhibitions in the Salon d'Automne and *Salon des Indépendants*,[1183] Kandinsky did not seek any contact with Parisian, Russian, German, or Munich artists' circles. During their year in France, Kandinsky asked Münter on several occasions to be left alone. As he left for Brittany on holidays without her, she moved to Paris and took a room at 58, rue Madame,

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[1181] Gabriele Münter as quoted in Roditi, *Dialogues*, 120.
[1182] Gabriele Münter's and Wassily Kandinsky's Paris stay has been the subject of many articles, trying to determine the artistic influences on both artists' work. For more information focussing on Gabriele Münter in Paris, see Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 236-273; Sarah Louisa Henn, "Paris 1906-1907," In Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 229-230; Isabelle Jansen, "Gabriele Münter in Paris 1906 bis 1907," in Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 39-47; Angela Lampe, "Die Pariser Prüfung – Kandinsky und Münters Jahr in Frankreich," In Cathrin Klingsöhr-Leroy, ed., *Schöne Aussichten. Der Blaue Reiter und der Impressionismus*, exhibition catalogue, Munich: Schirmer /Mosel Verlag, 2015, 37-43.
[1183] For more on Kandinsky's exhibition history in Paris, see Jonathan David Fineberg, *Kandinsky in Paris 1906-1907*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984, 39-50.

Montparnasse where she lived for at least four months. During her Parisian sojourn, Münter enrolled in a one-month painting class at the *Académie de la Grande Chaumière* with the French illustrator Théophile Steinlen (1859-1923).

In her critical reception, the importance of Gabriele Münter's Parisian stay revolves around whether Gabriele Münter had seen the Steins' collection, which had been open to the public every Saturday evening.[1184] There is no account that Gabriele Münter had at that time direct access to the most recent works of Matisse or Picasso.[1185] She discovered French art mainly through visits to the *Salon*[1186] and galleries,[1187] during which she drew a list of artists she admired: "Gauguin, van Gogh, Monticelli, Redon, Bonnard, Cézanne, Matisse, Marinot, Denis, Signac, Renoir." **[Fig. 97]** As much as Münter was fascinated by the new art and registered the artists responsible for the modern art movement, she lacked the technique to achieve the expressive qualities she appreciated in French avant-garde painting.

Alice Toklas' cousin, Annette Rosenshine, who was staying at that time with Toklas in Paris, met Gabriele Münter in the spring of 1907 on a boat trip. Rosenshine gives insight into Münter's life and work while in France:

> "The Fräulein and Kandinsky were working in a very large atelier … . It needed to be sizeable to meet the dimensions of Kandinsky's representational canvases that I saw that day, painted in drab colours similar to those I had been accustomed to in San Francisco… I felt quite superior in recognizing how far removed his work was from the avant garde art I was seeing at the Steins."[1188]

[1184] From 1906 until the outbreak of WWI, the Steins hosted their famous "at homes" in their salons at 27 rue de Fleurus and 58 rue de Madame. Emily Braun, "Saturday Evenings at the Steins'," *The Steins collect. Matisse, Picasso, and the Parisian Avant-Garde*, edited by Janet Bishop, Cécile Debray, and Rebecca Rabinow, New Haven: Yale University Press, 49-67.
[1185] Michael and his wife Sarah Stein started collecting shortly after the siblings Leo and Gertrude. For more information on the history of the Steins' collections, see Bishop, Debray, and Rabinow, *The Steins collect,* 2011.
[1186] Gabriele Münter saw the pivotal Paul Gauguin retrospectivethe at the Salon d'Automne of 1906. Kleine, *Münter and Kandinsky*, 243.
[1187] Here especially Bernheim Jeune and Berthe Weill.
[1188] Rosenshine as cited in Hilary Spurling, *The Unknown Matisse: A Life of Henri Matisse, the Early Years, 1869-1908*, New York: A.A. Knopf, 2006, 233.

Angela Lampe equally claims that Gertrude Stein had visited Kandinsky's Sèvre studio at least once. Looking at his paintings in tempera, she is said to have smiled.[1189] These accounts prove that Kandinsky and Münter very likely crossed paths with the Steins, but they do not explain how this contact might have influenced Münter's unlearning. To answer the question, I will first contest the idea that immediate and direct personal contact is decisive when considering women artists' inclusion into the modern movement.

Marc Restillini argues that the avant-garde circle around the Stein family (that is Matisse, Derain, Picasso, Brancusi and Modigliani) shared "the same sources and influences [and were] able to see each other's paintings and sculptures [and lived] in a ceaseless cultural and intellectual ferment."[1190] This "intellectual ferment", according to Restillini, is that of the primitivizing artist, who, with the help of works from Africa, Southeast Asia, Oceania, the Americas and European antiquity, had freed himself from "the shackles of Western classical art."[1191]

Prior to WWI, women artists did not have access to this circle by the nature of the "primitivist revolution" (Restillini): coinciding with the quest to simplify forms, this group's interest in non-European art could only have a revolutionary effect because of how it entered the aesthetic discourse: by shock. Described as a disturbing experience, Pablo Picasso's 1907 visit to the *Musée d'Éthnographie du Trocadéro* has been canonized as the birth of modern Primitivism. His account of the visit has been told and re-told many times. However, Picasso's original account reads less "disturbed" than later interpretations of his initiation into Oceanic art would have it:

> When I went to the Trocadéro, it was disgusting. A flea market. The stench. I was alone. I wanted to get out. I didn't leave. I stayed. I understood it was really important: surely

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[1189] Angela Lampe does not back up her claim with any source. Angela Lampe, "Die Pariser Prüfung - Kandinsky und Münters Jahr in Frankreich," In Cathrin Klingsöhr-Leroy, ed., *Schöne Aussichten. Der Blaue Reiter und der Impressionismus*, exhibition catalogue, Munich: Schirmer /Mosel Verlag, 2015, 37-43, 37. Johannes Eichner claims the same in his 1957 biography of the couple. Eichner, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter*, 52.

[1190] Marc Restillini, ed. *Modigliani, Modigliani. The Primitivist Revolution*, Munich: Hirmer, Exhibition catalogue, 2021. 23.

[1191] Restillini, *Modigliani,* 23.

> something was happening to me… I understood why I was a painter. All alone in this dreadful museum, with masks, redskin dolls, dusty mannequins.[1192]

Only later, in Françoise Gilot's 1965 recorded version, the objects are described as "sacred" and "magic," giving form to emotion. In this second version, Picasso's earlier acclamation, "I understood why I was a painter," had turned into "… I realized that this was what painting was all about. Painting is not an aesthetic operation; it's a form of magic designed as a mediator between this strange, hostile universe and us, as way of seizing power by giving form to our terrors as well as our desires."[1193] In his own recollection of his visit, Picasso claimed that this encounter had changed him, as a painter and not (yet) his paintings. In Gilot's account Picasso's first encounter with Oceanic art had turned from an artistic experience into an aesthetic manifesto. Emily Carr's first encounter in 1907 with the totem poles in Sitka made her come back "twice a day" to the "totem walk." In contrast to Picasso, Carr's encounter with the totem poles of Sitka made her immediately realize what she was going to paint; she equally knew that she did not yet have the artistic means to do her subject-matter justice.

What the "primitivist revolution" was for the circle around Picasso can be paralleled with the esoteric revolution for women artists like Hilma af Klint (1862-1844) or Tyra Kleen (1874-1951). This comparison is vital to establish since it gives us an insight into the different roles of men and women in the modern art revolution. I discovered Tyra Kleen's short book *Form*[1194], published in 1908, in Gabriele Münter's library and became curious about this Swedish artist who had passed through Paris some years earlier.[1195] *Form* is written as a manifesto, commenting on the relationship between esoteric art and women following her own experience in Paris' esoteric circles.[1196] Tyra Kleen was an internationally trained Swedish artist, who came to Paris in 1896,

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[1192] Pablo Picasso as quoted in Restillini, *Modigliani*, 15; for the original French quote, see André Malraux, *La tête d'obsidienne*, Paris: Gallimard, 1974, 18.
[1193] Picasso as cited in Françoise Gillot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso*, London: Virago Press, 2004, 248-249.
[1194] Tyra Kleen, *Form*, Stockholm: Sandbergs, 1908.
[1195] Gabriele Münter likely came into the possession of Kleen's book during her stay in Scandinavia. We do not know if Münter has met Kleen while she lived in Stockholm from July 1915 to fall 1917.
[1196] For more information on Tyra Kleen and the only article in English, see Per Faxneld, "'Mirages and visions in the air', Tyra Kleen and the paradoxes of esoteric art," *Approching Religion*, vol. 11, no.1, March 2021, 63-76, https://doi.org/10.30664/ar. 98199, accessed 15 September 2021; for a short vignette

where she received her first solo exhibition.[1197] After having lived and worked as an illustrator in Rome for ten years, she returned to Stockholm in 1907 and founded the League of Swedish Women artists in reaction to the systemic marginalization of women artists in her home country.

During her time in Paris, Tyra Kleen had participated in spiritualist séances and visited Joséphin Péladan's esoteric art salons "but appears to have become frustrated with his refusal to invite women to exhibit, supposedly on esoteric grounds."[1198] While theosophy was promoting Leonardo da Vinci as *magus,* women producing mediumistic art were considered problematic. In 1877, H. P. Blavatsky claimed in *Isis Unveiled*, "Mediumship is the opposite of adeptship; the medium is the passive instrument of foreign influences, the adept actively controls himself and all inferior potencies."[1199] Women creating art under the direct or indirect influence of prenatural entities have two options when engaging with these entities, as developed by Marco Pasi regarding Hilma af Klint:[1200] alienated agency or creative dissociation. In its most extreme form, alienated agency, women artists can enjoy unknown freedom, since

> the ultimate authorship of a strongly innovative or radical artistic discourse is attributed to entities subjectively independent from the author's self. Because of this perceived independence, alienated agency allows the artist to develop a certain freedom of expression from predominant conventions and norms, precisely because the author does not believe that he bears responsibility for the particular aspects of his creation. It is not he who is challenging existing norms, but the entity he is channeling.[1201]

Whereas Pasi defines "creative dissociation" as "an experience of detachment from everyday reality [that] may lead an artist to relativize norms and values that were perceived as cogent and absolute, and therefore to a radical change of perspective."[1202] Hilma af Klint's production of

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on Tyra Kleen's first encounter with Hilma af Klint at the Salon Rose+Croix, Paris, see Julia Voss, *Hilma af Klint. "Die Menschheit in Erstaunen versetzen,"* Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer, 2020, 144-145,

[1197] I am relying here on Faxneld, "'Mirages and visions in the air'", 65.

[1198] Faxneld, "'Mirages and visions in the air'", 68.

[1199] H.P. Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled. A Master Key to Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Technology, vol.2*, Cambridge University Press, 2012, 588.

[1200] Marco Pasi, "Hilma af Klint" Western Esotericism and the Problem of Modern Artistic Creativity," In *Hilma af Klint. The Art of Seeing the Invisible*, edited by Kurt Amqvist and Louise Belfrage, Stockholm: Axel and Margaret Axson Johnson Foundation, 2015,113-114.

[1201] Pasi, "Hilma af Klint", 113-114.

[1202] Pasi, "Hilma af Klint", 114.

"Paintings for the temple" (1906-1915) belongs undoubtedly to the first category. It is unknown if Tyra Kleen had been aware of the German theosophist and pedagogue Rudolf Steiner's harsh critique of Klint's work upon his studio visit in 1908 in Stockholm.[1203] Still, it is remarkable that Kleen stresses in her book *Form* (1908) that her art did not come from any "esoteric source …, but from her as an individual, … not a passive female medium for spirits often coded more or less explicitly as male."[1204]

For Kleen, as well as for Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter, to keep their hard-earned agency was essential. Although Emily Carr visited a medium in 1905, she always kept a distance from theosophy, despite her close friendship with Lawren Harris after 1927. Harris would repeatedly try to engage her in reading theosophical authors.[1205] As this digression in contemporary primitivist and esoteric movements has shown, women did not share the same sources and or enjoy the same freedom to challenge the existing norms without being discredited and declared unworthy of the status of modern artists. If women artists could not share the same sources, they could learn from the avant-garde artists who had gone through the aesthetic revolution themselves either directly by enrolling into art schools like Henri Matisse's *Académie Matisse* (1908-1911)[1206] or, more likely, through contact with one of their disciples, for example, Phelan Gibb.

Gabriele Münter's stay in Paris was both right "on time" and out of it. The fact that she lived in the same house as Michael Stein and yet does not seem to have been part of the Stein circle is a fitting indicator of the paradoxical situation women artists lived in. Gabriele Münter's Paris sojourn was important for two reasons. First and foremost, it marked the beginning of her professional career as an exhibiting artist. For the first time, her paintings, six oil studies, were exhibited at the *Salon des Indépendants* in Spring 1907; shortly after, her wood and linocuts were

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[1203] In its aftermath, Hilma af Klint paused her project for the temple for four years. For a detailed discussion of Rudolf Steiner's visit in Stockholm, see Julia Voss, *Hilma af Klint*, 253- *261.*
[1204] Faxneld, "'Mirages and visions in the air'", 72.
[1205] In Emily Carr's private collection of books Pyotr Ouspensky's *Tertium Organum* (1927) is preserved. See **Annex C**.
[1206] Besides Henri Matisse, also Paul Sérusier, Maurice Denis, Marie Vassilieff, or Kees van Dongen taught in private Parisian academies prior to WWI. See Perry, *Women Artists and the Parisian avant-garde. Modernism and 'feminine' art, 1900 to the late 1920s*, 19.

shown in Cologne and Bonn, in 1907 and 1908.[1207] Secondly, it brought her the mastery in coloured-woodcut technique that allowed her to refine her graphic structure and strengthen the outline of her drawings/images: the reward came in 1908 with their publication in *Tendances Nouvelles* **[Fig. 98]**. The coloured-woodcut technique proved to be a skill that would later give Münter privileged access to the technique of reversed glass painting.

At first, her choice to join the *Académie de la Grande Chaumière* seems surprising. She could have also enrolled in the *Académie Colarossi* or *Académie Julian,* which had taught women artists together with male artists in the past and had an excellent reputation among foreign women. Olga Meerson, a former colleague at the Phalanx school, had arrived in Paris already in 1905.[1208] Before Meerson's arrival in Paris, she had enjoyed a thorough academic training at the Moscow School of Art and joined the Russian community in Munich for subsequent training. An avid, but traditionalist portrait painter, she painted in Brittany during the summer and sold copies of old masters like Poussin.[1209] In 1908, after Kandinsky and Münter had already returned to Munich, Meerson was even accepted by Henri Matisse in his Académie, although reluctantly, as Hilary Spurling reports. Matisse is said to have asked Meerson, who had meanwhile exhibited her portraits very successfully in Paris if she was aware of "how much she already possessed, and how much she stood to lose by leaving the officially approved path to work towards creating means of individual expression of her own."[1210]

Meerson wanted to be more than just a "fine portraitist,"[1211] as Matisse had called her. Through her studies with him, he helped her, according to Hilary Spurling, to "unlearn every skill she had acquired since she entered the Moscow School of Art as a brilliantly precocious child."[1212] Meerson's fellow student, Hans Purrmann, recalls Matisse's approach: "He would strip each work down to its bare essence, examine what was left for any trace of individual expression, and then

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[1207] Her prints were exhibited at the 1907 and 1908 *Salon d'Automne*. On Gabriele Münter's first solo exhibitions in Germany, see Margarethe Jochimsen, "Frühe Holz- und Linolschnitte in Bonn und Köln," In Friedel *Gabriele Münter: Das Druckgraphische Werk*, edited by Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg, Munich and New York: Prestel, 2000, 48–51.
[1208] Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 18.
[1209] Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 17-18.
[1210] Henri Matisse, as quoted by Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 17.
[1211] Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 17.
[1212] Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 23.

devote himself to clarifying and strengthening this residuum."[1213] This does not mean that there would be no expression at all, as Henri Matisse specified in his *Notes of a painter*.

> Expression, for me, does not reside in passions glowing in a human face or manifested by violent movement. The entire arrangement of my picture is expressive: the place occupied by the figures, the empty spaces around them, the proportions, everything has its share. Composition is the art of arranging in a decorative manner the diverse elements at the painter's command to express his feelings. In a picture every part will be visible and will play its appointed role, whether it be principle or secondary.[1214]

Hilary Spurling, without specifying how she managed to do this, argues that "it was through Münter, who first grasped its implications, that Matisse's pictorial revolution reached"[1215] Wassily Kandinsky. In Spurling's interpretation, Meerson's unlearning is another learning. As if by 1908, she had learned the "wrong" kind of art to contemporary standards. Matisse's artistic method became the model to follow. But as I will argue, Gabriele Münter's unlearning is not learning anew but other-than-learning.

I agree with John Baldacchino, who has published extensively on art as a form of unlearning in the last decade, that unlearning entails "rejecting the assumption that somehow, unlearning will become a new education model."[1216] It is actually the antithesis of the idea of learning based on the absorption of a "rupture or shock of the unfamiliar" within the familiar after a period of reflection.[1217] This is precisely how primitivist artists could appropriate non-European art into their modern art project. Baldacchino's argument for unlearning is both critical and social. Following thinkers like Freire, Gramsci and Rancière, John Dewey and George Herbert Mead, he locates unlearning in the space between the idea of learning and its actual experience. In this "troubling

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[1213] Hans Purrmann, as cited in Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 23.
[1214] Henri Matisse, "Notes of a painter," 1908. https://www.austincc.edu/noel/writings/matisse%20-%20notes%20of%20a%20painter.pdf, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1215] Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 24.
[1216] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 419.
[1217] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 422.

space"[1218] (Biesta), unlearning becomes at the same time a concept and a "concept in motion"[1219] (Adorno) or "travelling concept"[1220](Bal).

This opens the door for the artist to engage with unlearning through art itself, instead of lessons. Unlearning becomes a willed act, detached from the idea of knowledge:

> The case of unlearning is therefore not a case of rejecting what we have been taught. Nor is it a simple act of rejecting bad habits to learn new virtues, which, when turned once more into bad habits, would need to be replaced by something else. That would be a developmental process of learning that amounts to a process of choosing, selecting, evaluating, rejecting and learning anew.[1221]

From there, Baldacchino concludes that art education would no longer be a way to teach the ideal form, may it be learnt or unlearnt, but "to unlearn the ideality of our own expectations."[1222] As a first step, unlearning asks us to recognize our ability to unlearn, not through the unfamiliar, but instead through the familiar and habitual.[1223] What gets unlearned then, according to Baldacchino, is art itself.[1224]

Translated into the context of women artists' modern moment in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century, the process of unlearning is to be found in something familiar in avant-garde art, something these women could relate to: e.g., portrait painting for Olga Meerson, landscape painting for Emily Carr, or woodcut prints for Gabriele Münter. In the following, the conception of art as they had learned it in their early artistic training gets unlearned. Only now, did they gain the autonomy to integrate into their painting techniques and subject matter, which had been absent in their art.[1225] Gabriele Münter chose to work on the graphic design of her wood and linoleum cuts and registered at the *Académie de la Grande Chaumière* for a one-month class with Théophile

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[1218] Gerd Biesta, *Beyond learning. Democratic education for a human future*, Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2006, 53.
[1219] Theodor Adorno, *Hegel. Three studies,* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993, 70.
[1220] Bal, *Travelling Concepts*, 2002.
[1221] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 427.
[1222] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 429.
[1223] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 422, 429.
[1224] Baldacchino, "Willed forgetfulness," 426.
[1225] This will be further explored in chapter 6.3. and 6.4..

Steinlen.[1226] With this medium, Gabriele Münter returned to the technique she had last employed before her departure from Germany in 1904. This time she not only cut in wood but also in linoleum. While woodcuts had long been associated with an enduring German tradition of prints that had reached its height with Albrecht Dürer, the technique of linocuts had only entered the art world, via art pedagogy, in the 1890s. Before being used by artists, the linoleum was associated with the industrial age: it had been invented to replace more expensive materials like wood in interior design.[1227] Since they were still considered non-artistic, Gabriele Münter sometimes declared her prints being woodcuts, whereas they were, in fact, linocuts. But as Schlüter argues, for Gabriele Münter, the critical element in her Parisian prints was not wood material but the graphic design that she could achieve with this medium. This artistic practice allowed her to experiment with colours and colour harmonies from print to print.[1228] The Munich art historian Isabelle Jansen suggests that Münter's choice to study with Steinlen might have happened on the recommendation of Carl Palme, a former colleague at the *Phalanx* school. Already in Munich, she had been intrigued by the renaissance of woodcuts in the context of Munich Jugendstil and by its promotion in the local magazine *Simplicissimus*.

During her time in Paris, Münter moved near the artists' scene at Montparnasse. She was likely aware of the Café du Dôme, where the German artists based in Paris met regularly to discuss the latest trends.[1229] Münter's Parisian sojourn seems to have been a very productive and happy one, as she reported to her siblings, and she was especially proud to have been selected for the *Salon des Indépendants*.[1230] Besides hundreds of drawings and oil studies, Münter, during that period, created 25 wood and lino-cuts, mainly portraits, like the elaborate *Mme Vernot* **[Fig. 99]**, but also street views or park sceneries, like *Parc Saint-Cloud* **[Fig. 100]**. In 1952, Münter still remembered Steinlen's commentary on her sketchbooks: "Avec ce dessin vous pouvez arriver à des choses très élevées."[1231]

[1226] Münter exhibited her linocuts in the 1907 *Salon d'Automne*. For more information on her body of work of prints, see Friedel *Gabriele Münter: Das Druckgraphische Werk*, 2000.
[1227] Schlüter, "Nachahmung oder Autonomie?," 27-38, 31.
[1228] Schlüter, "Nachahmung oder Autonomie?," 31.
[1229] For a detailed account of Gabriele Münter's Paris sojourn, see Isabelle Jansen, "Gabriele Münter in Paris 1906 bis 1907," 39-47.
[1230] Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, 251.
[1231] Münter cites Steinlen in Hartlaub and Münter, *Gabriele Münter, Mennschenbilder in Zeichnungen*, 24.

While she made great progress in her graphic designs, her painting technique "had not moved on from the late Impressionist style,"[1232] as Annegret Hoberg argues. Gabriele Münter stayed true to using the palette knife that Kandinsky had taught her to use, although with much more ease and confidence in the juxtaposition of natural greens and pink and blue accents borrowed from the Fauve palette, as a comparison of her paintings done in Paris, e.g., *Avenue in the Park St-Cloud* (*Allee im Park von Saint-Cloud*), 1905 **[Fig. 96]** with her open-air paintings of, for example, *Kallmünz* **[Fig. 50]**, shows.The sole critical focus on her painterly oeuvre when it comes to the art historical judgement of the importance of her Parisian sojourn overlooks the artistic revolution in her work already underway, which would come to full fruition in Murnau in 1908 and the following years."[1233]

6.2.2. "What is This New Art Paris Talked Of?": Emily Carr's French sojourn

The Fauve movement's influence on Emily Carr's art also dominates the discourse on her French sojourn.[1234] After two somewhat disappointing art trainings in San Francisco and London, Emily Carr judged her French sojourn as the decisive one for her career and her relationship to her artistic ambition. Some 30 years after her 1910/11-trip to France, she commented on its importance in her autobiography:

> I came home from France stronger in body, thinking, and work than I had returned from England. My seeing had broadened. I was better equipped both for teaching and study because of my year and a half in France, … More than ever was I convinced that the old way of seeing was inadequate to express this big country of ours.[1235]

[1232] Hoberg, "The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter," 25; also Annegret Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter – Biographie und Photographie," *Gabriele Münter – Die Jahre mit Kandinsky bis 1914,"* In *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky. Photographien 1902-1914*, edited by Helmut Friedel, Gabriele Münter, Annegret Hoberg, And Isabelle Jansen. Munich: Schirmer Mosel; Munich: Städtische Galerie Im Lenbachhaus, 2007, 21.
[1233] Hoberg, *The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter*, 25.
[1234] For an indispensable source of information and latest research on Emily Carr's French sojourn, see Kiriko Watanabe, Kathryn Bridge, Robin Laurence and Michael Polay, *Emily Carr: fresh seeing: French Modernism and the West Coast*, Vancouver: Figure 1 Publishing, 2019.
[1235] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 276.

She established her trip as a turning point in her artistic training and details how it changed her perception and representation of the totem pole as a possible object of modern art, which is today considered an act of appropriation. In retrospect, Emily Carr presented the French sojourn as a phase of immense personal and artistic growth. She described her process of unlearning as a rejection of "the old way of seeing," yet she does not explain what and how this change took place while in France, which I shall now investigate.

When she headed to Paris in the summer of 1910 together with her sister Alice, her expectations were high since she had planned this trip since her return from England in 1905:

> A plan was forming in my head… I was saving to go to Paris everyone said Paris was the top of art and I wanted to get the best teaching I knew. I was earning well and able to save as well as to take the Indian trips, which I loved so much each summer. Alice was learning French of which I could not speak a word. She was coming too taking a year from her school.[1236]

When Emily Carr arrived in Paris, she was a professional art teacher, able to make a living by teaching art classes in the barn behind her family home and working towards her goal of creating a complete collection of totem pole paintings. To this end, she had visited Yalis (Alert Bay) in 1908, where she produced numerous watercolours of the scenery like these views of *Yalis (Alert Bay)* **[Fig. 101]** and *The Quay, Alert Bay* **[Fig. 102].** The longhouses of Yalis with their front poles are drawn against the backdrop of the dense dark forest, mirrored by the bay's calm waters.

In a short note about her visit to Yalis, Carr pointed to the authenticity of her drawings that even met the accuracy of ethnographic photographs as Dr. Charles Frederic Newcombe,[1237] a collector and connoisseur who acquired Indigenous cultural and ceremonial pieces for international Museums, had to admit:

> I thought 'Now this is history & I must be absolutely truthful & exact' & I worked like a camera… I think my art owes more to the Indian totem pole than to Westminster

[1236] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 80.
[1237] For more on C.F. Newcombe, see http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/newcombe_charles_frederic_15E.html, accessed 15 September.

> School of Art. Drawing poles taught me directness & accuracy, drawing in the Indian Villages also taught me to sum my material up quickly and go for what I wanted.[1238]

In 1908, Emily Carr was content with her professional choices and excited to pursue her artistic ambitions. Her ambition was growing despite the indifference or even resistance she met in her local art scene. "Some of the men artists in Vancouver were angry because I was making headway and because my work was strong more like a man's than theirs."[1239] At this point, her strong attitude and absolute will to be successful as an artist drove her to go abroad again.

In 1905, shortly after her return to Victoria from London, Emily Carr went to see a medium called "Newshaw", who predicted her professional and private future. In a sketchbook today held at the Royal B.C. Archives, Emily Carr jotted down some notes about "what he said."[1240] The male medium predicted another couple of years of "unrest" before she would finally get married. Besides further travels, he [the medium] is "seeing" a change of career and that she is going to see art as she had never done in the next couple of years. In February 1905, Emily Carr very much identified as a drawing and painting teacher. Still, as she comments in her notes, "I have contemplated taking up illustration for work however there is no field [?] here," even though she tried it as a political cartoonist for *The Week*.[1241] The medium also assumes that she will "change profession" and go away again, which "will very much better your position."[1242] But he already predicts that while away and around her 35th birthday, she will go through another "serious crisis" in her life.[1243] Carr was seeking advice from a medium at a crucial point in her life and career to get some clarity about her next career steps, having returned to Victoria with a terrible sense of defeat and failure. It would

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[1238] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 74.
[1239] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 80.
[1240] Typescript of Emily Carr's notes taken on February 4, 1905. MS-2763, Box 1, File 3. Emily Carr Papers 1879-1946. Royal B.C. Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.
[1241] For a short period of time Emily Carr worked as a caricaturist for the local newspaper *The Week*, from 25 March to 17 November 1905. Blanchard, *The Life of Emily Carr*, 100.
[1242] Typescript of Emily Carr's notes taken on February 4, 1905. MS-2763, Box 1, File 3.
[1243] The medium foresaw that: "You will be threatened just before or just after that 35 birthday with a serious illness if you do not take good care to allow yourself sufficient rest from art – this time you have a great deal of work that will occupy you day and night and, as you are very energetic, and you spare yourself in no way and do not understand conserving your strength, you have an imminent vital power in your teaching, etc." My typescript of entry in Emily Carr's notebook. MS-2763, Box 1, File 3. Emily Carr Papers 1879-1946. Royal B.C. Archives, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

take another five years until she went off to Paris, only once she had found her artistic project and felt confident and determined to succeed.

During her 18-month study trip to France, Emily Carr discovered the post-impressionist style and the French avant-garde's fascination for so-called "primitive art" through her teacher, the British painter William Henry "Harry" Phelan Gibb (1870-1948). These experiences significantly changed her way of painting, how she looked at Northwest coast native cultures, and how she perceived her ethno-artistic project depicting B.C. Native sites. In particular, the Breton calvaries she studied during her trip provoked, as I will argue, her ulterior reconsideration of the totem poles and her first sketching trip along the Canadian West Coast after her return from France. As I argue, Carr's unlearning in the depiction of totem poles was initiated through a series of Breton calvaries.

On this matter, I agree with Johanne Lamoureux and Ian Thom, two scholars who claim that Carr's sojourn to France was the most important of all her artistic study trips.[1244] I add to this claim that Emily Carr had her "modern moment" already in 1910/11 and not — as scholarship maintained for decades — in 1927, when she was invited by the director of the National Gallery of Canada to partake at the *Exhibition of West Coast Art: Native and Modern* and met with the members of the Canadian Group of Seven. While she was still in France and under the influence of the French *Fauves* and post-impressionists, Carr found her own pictorial language on the Native subject that she would fully unfold upon her return to British Columbia, as shown for example in her work *Totem by the Ghost Rock* **[Fig. 103]**, a post-impressionist landscape painting in which Carr inserted the totem pole as a Native object in Fauve style.

During her French sojourn, Carr worked with three artists, each quite distinct from the other: the British artist Phelan Gibb (1870-1948), the Scotsman John Duncan Fergusson (1874-1961) and the New Zealand painter Frances Hodgkins (1869-1947). Carr's first contact, mentor and teacher in Paris was Phelan Gibb, who frequented Gertrude Stein's salon and was friends with Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. Upon her first visit to his studio in Paris in the fall of 1910, Carr saw his landscapes, still lifes, and nudes. In retrospect, she wrote in her autobiography that she had been

[1244] Thom, *Emily Carr in France*, 9; Lamoureux, "The Other French Modernity of Emily Carr," 42.

shocked by Gibb's nudes, especially by the "distortion"[1245] of his bodies. An earlier note provides more nuance to her first encounter with the modern artist:

> When he talked I felt dreadful embarrassed by all I did not know. And then Mr Gibb shewed me some of his things and even the embarrassment was crushed out of me. I had never imagined such things. His figures were extremely distorted and revolted while they fascinated me. Some flower & still lifes thrilled me with their pure color & interesting forms. I looked & looked & looked. It was practically the first french work I had seen.[1246]

The aesthetic experience of Gibb's paintings evoked the feeling of disgust and fascination at the same time. I would like to argue that Carr had no choice but to reject Phelan Gibb's "distortions" for two reasons: first, they were applied to female nudes and collided with Carr's conservative Victorian upbringing and, second, because Gibb's distortions rejected the long-standing tradition of Western artistic conventions. At this point, as a late nineteenth-century woman artist, Emily Carr still had trouble renouncing what she had had to fight to learn. Her only experience of "distortion" had been the native sculptures she encountered on her travels to Alaska so far. Carr suggested that it is not the modern artist but the native carver who is an expert in distortion. In her mind, her distinction also rested on an opposition between Gibb's work and the native carver. To Carr, the latter created these effects of distortion not to shock the conservative viewer (with whom Emily Carr sympathized), but to create "meaning, for emphasis and with great sincerity."[1247] Nevertheless, there was something that Emily Carr wanted from Phelan Gibb, "something big and despite his use of deformity something I wanted. His colour too was lively."[1248] Carr's judgement proves that she was very aware of the usage of colour as a marker of avant-garde art. Her preference for colour over distortions aligns her with earlier Fauvism instead of contemporary Cubism.

Upon arriving in Paris, Emily Carr was briefly enrolled at the *Académie Colarossi* (this was Gibb's idea), where men and women were taught together. Emily Carr was intrigued by the idea

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[1245] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 263.
[1246] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 82.
[1247] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 263.
[1248] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 88. In her autobiography, Emily Carr defined Gibb's colour as "this rich, delicious juiciness in his colour, [this] interplay between warm and cool tones…, [the] intensified vividness by the use of complementary colours." See Carr, *Growing Pains*, 263.

since she valued and thought of art made by men as stronger than art done by women.[1249] However, once she took classes there, she realized that no other women were in her class. Emily Carr had integrated Victorian society's gender complex,[1250] and she generally judged women as weaker than men. She had often been described as eccentric and her behaviour was seen as not conforming to her gender. Nevertheless, she was quite disturbed and affected by Gibb's commentary telling her, "You will be one of the great painters – women painters, …, of your day." Carr remembered: "That was high praise for Mr. Gibb! He never let me forget I was only a woman. He would never allow a woman could compete with men."[1251] And yet, Emily Carr always valued men's judgment of her work more than women's. This could be why she only devoted a few lines to Frances Hodgkins and her influence on her work and did not even mention her name in her autobiography. She wrote about this "fine teacher" with whom she spent six weeks in September and October of 1911 in the following manner: "Change of medium, change of teacher, change of environment, refreshed me. I put in six weeks' good work under her."[1252] Curiously, Emily Carr had nothing else to say about Frances Hodgkins, who in her professional and artistic ambitions was very similar to Emily Carr and her approach to her art. They shared the spirit of the 'colonial woman' and their outsider status, having undergone a similar development from Victorian watercolourist to 20th-century modernist. Starting in January 1910, the New Zealander watercolorist had been asked to teach a watercolour class at the *Académie Colarossi* and her teaching in *Concarneau* went on until the fall of the next year. This was when Emily Carr trained with Hodgkins.[1253]

Another factor why Carr's experience at *Colarossi* must have been rather frustrating and isolating was her lack of French. Shortly after their meeting, Phelan Gibb suggested she should take private lessons with an English-speaking teacher, Duncan Fergusson, who was an adept of Fauve painting already by 1907. Before she could receive his criticisms, Carr fell ill and spent weeks at a time at the hospital being treated for flu-connected symptoms. Again, like during her stay in London before — and, according to her autobiography — "[t]he Paris doctor said, as had

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[1249] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 83.
[1250] For more on the gender complex in Emily Carr's biography from a Jungian perspective, see Jensen, *Artist Emily Carr and the Spirit of the Land*, 144-158.
[1251] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 219-220.
[1252] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 304.
[1253] There is no mentioning of each other's acquaintance in neither Carr's nor Hodgkin's notes or correspondences.

the London one, [she] must keep out of big cities or die."[1254] This is the origins of the myth of Carr as the Canadian artist who cannot stand the city because there is "too little space, too little freedom for her vigorous Canadian temperament"[1255], as Ira Dilworth, Carr's later editor, noted shortly after her death and her first national retrospective. As mentioned before, Paula Blanchard would argue that Carr's illnesses were due to the pressure of her ambition (and her fear of failure) when she got close to the means of success. On the contrary, Maria Tippet had previously claimed, without due reference, that Carr had been diagnosed as an hysteric during her London stay. As I argued in chapter 5, roaming off too far from the prescribed avenues for women of her generation brought consequences. If not through actual punishment, these consequences could manifest themselves in the shape of a nervous breakdown or an indication that these limitations were deeply internalized: therefore, as had happened during her London sojourn, Emily Carr needed for a second time to take a break from her art.

After her recovery, Carr joined Phelan Gibb in the countryside of Brittany during the summer of 1911 and painted *en plein air* in Crécy-en-Brie (now Crécy-la-Chappelle) and St. Efflam, near Plestin-les-Grèves. Emily Carr recalls, "the sessions with Harry Gibb down in Crecy-en-Brie awoke me. All the art study gone before was a grinding plod dampened by the dodging of illness."[1256] Here, Carr chose to paint motifs like cottages and ancient barns, churches, wayside crosses, and Breton calvaries that the artists of Gauguin's circle had already sought. Since the mid-nineteenth century, Brittany had become a destination for artists and tourists, who created the myth of Brittany as a picturesque landscape inhabited by backward people. Carr's letters home read like Paul Gauguin's letters to a colleague many years before: "Brittany is delightful. I love the peasants they are so sly and sort of melancholic. The kids creep up to you in the woods like young deer. The cow herders are the raggedest little things we are great chums, meeting in this mutual ground if grins…"[1257] In his famous letter to Emile Schuffenecker, Gauguin wrote: "I love Brittany: I find

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[1254] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 265.
[1255] Lawren Harris, *Emily Carr: her paintings and sketches,* Toronto: National Gallery of Canada, 1945.
[1256] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 89.
[1257] Emily Carr in a letter to Nelly Laundy, July, 10, 1911, City of Victoria Archives. For comparison, in a letter to Emile Schuffenecker, Paul Gauguin wrote: "I love Brittany: I find there the savage, the primitive. When my clogs resound on the granite soil, I hear the muffled, dull, powerful tone which I seek in my painting." Paul Gauguin as cited in Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock, *Données Bretonnantes*, "Les Données Bretonnantes: La Prairie de la Représentation." In *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Francis Frascina, and Charles Harrison, 285–304. New York: Routledge, 1982, 320.

there the savage, the primitive. When my clogs resound on the granite soil, I hear the muffled, dull, powerful tone which I seek in my painting".[1258]

In their pivotal 1980 article "Les Données Bretonnantes: La Prairie de la Représentation," Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock argued that Gauguin's "savage Brittany" had already been an artistic creation rather than an actual place in the late 1880s.[1259] The image of a savage, primitive land and its simple people produced by Gauguin, Van Gogh, Bernard, and other avant-garde artists has to be seen under the auspices of tourism, according to Orton and Pollock: "… Brittany … was easily accessible and provided something different or novel, an alternative field of representation to Paris".[1260] The vanguard artists "…went to Brittany as metropolitan tourists, searching for a missing totality and a closed history" – a counter-discourse to 'Paris' and "resistance against modernity's insistent creation of discontinuity and fragmentation."[1261] Brittany became the absolute "other" compared to the city of Paris. In comparison to Emily Carr's sojourn in Brittany as a foreign, female tourist, Paul Gauguin, still in his home country and only hours away from Paris, creates a discourse of alienation instead of identification and proximity as Carr will do at her return to British Columbia.

In her lecture "Avant-Garde Gambits (1888-1893): Gender and the Color of Art History", Pollock points to the artist-as-tourist who travels to the "place of the 'other,' subjecting it to an 'othering' gaze, where the tourist is geographically distant from home, but also ideologically distanced from the 'other' despite actual proximity."[1262] Gauguin's primitivism in Brittany is constructed from the dichotomy of the masculine metropolitan artist and the peasant woman, the city versus the countryside, culture as male/masculine versus nature as female/feminine.[1263] As mentioned before, Carr describes Brittany just like her male predecessors in her letter. Indeed, she is performing the modernist trope of the artist-as-tourist, as previously in Alaska, to align herself with the *fathers* of modernity.

[1258] Orton and Pollock, *Données Bretonnantes*, 320.
[1259] Orton and Pollock, *Données Bretonnantes*, 320-1.
[1260] Orton and Pollock, *Données Bretonnantes*, 333.
[1261] Griselda Pollock, *Avant-garde gambits, 1888-1893: Gender and the color of art history*, New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992, 60.
[1262] Pollock, *Avant-garde gambits, 1888-1893: gender and the color of art history*, 60.
[1263] Pollock, *Avant-garde gambits, 1888-1893: gender and the color of art history*, 56.

In contrast to the primitivizing male artists who wanted to resound with the primitive and yet created, with their modernist painting, a cultural "distance" to the Breton "other," Carr is searching for resemblances between the people of Brittany and the First Nations of British Columbia, a culture she believed she was familiar with. Due to her lack of French, Emily Carr could not communicate with the Bretons but she established a "gesticulating, laughing acquaintance with every peasant."[1264] This non-verbal communication is reminiscent of Emily Carr's encounters with First Nations people in the missionary of Hiitats'uu (Ucluelet) in 1899, where the First Nations gave her the name "Klee Wyck" (the laughing one) because she could not talk with them but only smile. This is not the only parallel Carr draws between the Breton people and British Columbia's First Nations:

> Most of [the peasants] were very poor. Canadian cows would have scorned some of the stone huts in which French peasants lived. Our Indian huts were luxurious compared with them. … The huts [in Brittany] had no furniture. On the clay floor a portion framed in with planks and piled with straw was bed for the whole family. There was no window, no hearth, what light and air entered the hut did so through the open door.[1265]

Emily Carr's primitivizing argument serves her to elevate her subject matter — the Native sites of her homeland — to a subject matter of art history.

6.3. Rustic Traditions and Pictorial Innovations: Unlearning as a Re/collection of the Familiar

By the end of their respective French sojourns, Carr and Münter had understood the main components of avant-garde art in the Fauve tradition: a simplification of form, the importance of design and the expressive qualities of colour. They had unlearned the last remnants of a classical

[1264] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 269.
[1265] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 269.

understanding of composition and recognized the need to switch from the spatula to the brush and from watercolour to painting in oil. Both women certainly had unlearned outdated ways of making art. Instead of tracing the direct influences of French avant-garde painting within their oeuvre, I will now seek out signs of learning to unlearn, focusing on each artist's ability and strategies to unlearn. Their unlearning was facilitated not through the foreign and exotic, as in modern primitivism, but the familiar. In a first step, I will investigate the moment when Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter recognized their subject matter in their immediate environment in objects that seemed familiar to them. The notion of the familiar, especially the unfamiliar familiar and its uncanny nature will be disccured in a second step.[1266]

To my understanding, "recognition" is closely linked to memory and remembering something once forgotten. It has been argued that upon Carr's return and during her first sketching trip along the Northwest Coast of British Columbia in the Summer of 1912,

> [s]he drew on nearly every aspect of her French trip when transferring her new style to her Canadian subjects. Interacting with locals, finding pleasure in documenting the ordinary, composing genre scenes and broader landscape studies en plein air – all these experiences were strong preparation for her subsequent travels documenting Indigenous villages and peoples in British Columbia.[1267]

I want to argue that it was in Brittany that Emily Carr "remembered" the "Indian trips" she had experienced between her travels to Alaska (1907) and her departure for Paris (1910). Although weaker in their display of atmosphere and contrasts of colours, Carr's watercolours prior to her French sojourn, for example, *An Indian Village, Alert Bay* (1909) **[Fig. 104],** already possess all the elements of *Brittany, France* **[Fig. 105],** a genre scene she would paint in 1911, while in Brittany.

Carr seems to have become aware of this parallel in July 1911, when she discovered the local ancient calvaries and started to paint them, first in watercolour and then in oil, realizing how she could equally tackle the Northwest Coast totem poles she had wanted to paint since her trip to

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[1266] This will be further explored in a second step in chapter 6.4..
[1267] Kathryn Bridge, "'Everyone Said Paris Was the Top of Art': Emily Carr's French Journey to Modernism," In *Emily Carr: Fresh Seeing–French Modernism and the West Coast*, Vancouver: Figure 1 Publishing, 2019, exhibition catalogue, 10-67, 67.

Sitka in 1907. Being remembered of her own project, she returned, while she was still in France, to her sketches from 1908 and translated them into what she called the new language of modern art. Towards the end of her life, she would conclude: "What little I know I got mostly by remembering a little & forgetting a lot of the grind".[1268] Carr's unlearning is the result of a selective process of remembering (e.g. Phelan Gibb's usage of colour) and forgetting (e.g. Phelan Gibb's distortions of bodies).

Emily Carr's way of recollecting her memories echoes Sigmund Freud's ideas of memory and remembering. The act of translating is understood, for both, as a metaphor combining elements of memory with features of forgetting. In 1899, Freud wrote in his notes on "Screen memories" ("Deckerinnerungen"):

> Whatever seems important on account of its immediate or directly subsequent effects is recollected; whatever is judged to be inessential is forgotten. If I can remember an event for a long time after its occurrence, I regard the fact of having retained it in my memory as evidence of its having made a deep impression on me at the time. I feel surprised at forgetting something important; and I feel even more surprised, perhaps, at remembering something apparently indifferent.[1269]

The way Freud integrates the moment of "surprise" is essential for our discussion. Emily Carr's "awakening," as she called it, is neither due to the "shock" after having looked at Phelan Gibb's distorted bodies and his Fauve style of painting nor to the influence of the rustic culture and lifestyle of the Brittons that had served modern artists like Paul Gauguin as a subject before, but to the realization that the subject matter she had already chosen for herself in 1907 could, in fact, be a valid and relevant modern art project.

For her part, Gabriele Münter made a home in a region of Germany that was steeped in popular folklore practices and religious monuments in 1909. During her travels in Tunis and South Tyrol, Münter developed a fascination for historical monuments. As she engaged in traditional folk

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[1268] Emily Carr in a letter to Ira Dilworth on November 6, 1942. As cited in Morra, *Corresponding Influence*, 164-165.

[1269] Sigmund Freud, "Screen Memories (1899)," In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol 3, 299-322, ebook, https://pep-web.org/browse/document/se.003.0299a?index=21&page=P0299, 302.

art, the reversed painting on glass, she reconnected with the modern design conceptions she had explored while training with Steinlen in Paris. The production of multi-coloured wood prints in Paris and the reversed painting process allowed her to revisit her landscape painting and led her to literally integrate both the folklore object and the avant-garde aesthetics into her still lifes. In a short note, jotted down in the 1930s for her later life partner Johannes Eichner who was preparing her biography, Gabriele Münter summed up her most important influences: "If I ever have had a formal model – & in a way that was certainly the case in 1908-13, it is no doubt van Gogh via Jawlensky & his theories. (His talk of synthesis.) This cannot, however, be compared with what Kandinsky was for me. He loved, understood, protected, and nurtured my talent."[1270]

In Freud's understanding, memories superpose each other, like stratifications of an archeological site in Rome or Pompei, which he had visited himself. These screen memories (*Deckerinnerungen*) can be qualified as either "retrogressive" or "pushed forward," "depending on whether the displacement has been in a backward or forward direction."[1271] Freud is speaking here in chronological terms but also spatial terms describing the relation between "the screen and the thing screened-off."[1272] Central to the discussion on the revolution of modern art, the idea of simplification in art seen as a "push forward" of art towards abstraction runs parallel to the idea of a "retrogressive" movement towards "the lost expressiveness and life"[1273].

In 1910, Roger Fry had described the retrogressive movement of the artists he subsumed under the label "Post-Impressionists" as an unloading "to simplify the drawing and painting, by which natural objects are evoked" and as a conscious choice to "subordinate … his power of representing" to achieve a "*synthesis* in design"[1274]. What Roger Fry described in the catalogue of the first post-Impressionist exhibition was an aesthetic challenge for these "highly intellectual and skilled men." For women artists of the same generation, as I argue, a willed act of unlearning was necessary to define their artistic project and its relevance to the question of art itself. Unlearning

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[1270] Gabriele Münter cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences,* 52.
[1271] Freud, "Screen Memories (1899)," 319FN2.
[1272] Freud, "Screen Memories (1899)," 319.
[1273] Fry, "Manet and the Post-impressionists," 12.
[1274] Fry, "Manet and the Post-impressionists,"12.

describes then the movement between the screen of avant-garde styles and the women's artistic project, more precisely, the praxis of distinguishing between emancipation through learning avant-garde styles and at the same time gaining autonomy from them. What to remember and what to forget during this process is then a willed act of forgetfulness, echoing Joshua Reynolds' unlearning metaphor as a removal of the veil of fashions that covered the authentic artistic expression unlearning is hinting at.

6.3.1. Totem Poles and Calvaries: Carr Remembers a Familiar Motif

Learning, while in France, from Henry William "Harry" Phelan Gibb, and from the Scotsman John Duncan Fergusson and the New Zealand artist Frances Hodgkins, Carr slowly came to see scenes in terms of abstract rhythms and bold colour masses in high-key tones. She actually produced paintings in the Fauvist style, for example, in her *Brittany, France,* 1911 **[Fig. 105].** Having observed Harry Phelan Gibb as he was painting, Emily Carr recalls having been struck by his ability to depict more scenery than "what was before us. It was not a copy of the woods & fields it was a realization of them. The colours were not matched they were mixed with air. You went through space to meet reality. Space was the saliva that made your objects swallowable."[1275] Emily Carr quickly adopted neo-impressionist ideas of landscape scenery, sometimes mosaic-like – as in *Brittany Landscape (Le Paysage)*, 1911 **[Fig. 106]** — and, at other times, with an early Fauve execution with thick strokes of saturated colour and strong arabesque outlines — as in *Trees in France*, 1911 **[Fig. 107].**[1276]

Emily Carr's time painting with Phelan Gibb *en plein air* was a productive and "happy" time for her.[1277] Once she followed him to paint in Brittany during five more months. There, he gave her the feeling of being taken seriously in her work and encouraged her with compliments like: "I like the way you put your paint on," or "And your colour sense is good."[1278] As we know from a postcard she wrote to her sister, Emily Carr painted *Old Church near St. Efflam* on site, on

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[1275] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished*, 90.
[1276] Both paintings were shown in the Salon d'Automne of 1911 held from 1 October to 8 November, side by side with her two teachers, Gibb and Fergusson and two fellow Canadians, Katrina Buell (1867-1938) and James W. Morris (1865-1924).
[1277] For a full report of her sketching trips, see Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 88-94.
[1278] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 90.

the 10th of July 1911. **[Fig. 108]** This oil painting is one of the six calvaries Carr did during her stay in Brittany. Carr's depiction differs from the picture postcard photograph **[Fig. 109]**: Carr repositions the cross to the centre of the composition, focusing on it, now in the foreground and establishes the frame – the steeple is cropped accordingly. Another example from the series of calvaries is *Wayside Cross St. Efflam*, 1911 **[Fig. 110],** where the cross is barely visible at the end of the alley and only in the picture's background with a little black figure (a Breton peasant woman) hardly recognizable praying in front of the cross. In the next watercolour, *Village Square with Cross* No.1 **[Fig. 111],** also done in 1911, the calvary is already pushed to the centre. The praying figure has disappeared altogether, and Carr emphasizes the monument in public space, unlike Gauguin, who typically represented Breton piety through praying peasants. Ultimately, in *Untitled Graveyard*, 1911, **[Fig. 112]** the monumental cross becomes the very focus of Carr's attention and is put in the centre of the frame. Carr emphasizes the representation of the monument without paying too much attention to the motif of Christ on the cross. She does not seem interested in the Christian aspect at all but in the affective qualities of the object itself and the positioning of this object within the picture frame. As she moved from watercolour (as in *Wayside Cross St. Efflam* and *Village Square with Cross No. 1*) to oil on canvas and to a larger format, her composition evolved and her technique changed.

After five months, she had learned from Gibb all she could and feared she had grown a bit "stale."[1279] As she wanted to seek out different influences and teachers before returning to Canada, Phelan Gibb had referred her to John Duncan Fergusson and Frances Hodgkins, teaching nearby. When Carr complained to Gibb about her artistic isolation in British Columbia, he simply replied that "the silent Indian"[1280] would teach her more than all the Western art jargon ever could, as Carr recalls. In the manuscript of her autobiography, Emily Carr is much more specific and shares her reflection and concerns about her artistic future upon her return from France:

> I who was going back to the farthest edge of Canada. All help from art centres & Art critics over. I wrestling in a place such terrific vistas & diversity it had been pronounced unpaintable time & time again. Here in the old world it had all been tried out the way found the path beaten for others to follow, decently clad in aesthetic traditions. I would

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[1279] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 93.
[1280] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 268.

> go home and drown in the uncharted sea of tremendousness. Wait a minute what about the art of our Indians? A terrific art quite capable of coping with its own problems. I went back to the hotel, pulled some of my Indian sketches from the bottom of my trunk & re-painted them incorporating the bigger methods I had absorbed over here with the bigger material of the west.[1281]

Given the “unpaintable” Canadian scenery back home, unmediated as it was by occidental aesthetic tradition, Emily Carr felt that what Canada had to offer to aesthetics would be “the art of our Indians,” which she had already discovered and drawn prior to her French sojourn. For Emily Carr, Canadian Art starts with the native carver. This conviction will make her the poster child of the 1927 *Exhibition of West Coast Art: Native and Modern,* organized by the National Gallery of Canada, which was promoting settler colonial painting in direct succession of First Nations art.[1282] Carr practiced painting the unpaintable monumental totem poles with French calvaries and managed to depict them so that they became “swallowable,” using the space around the crosses and calvaries as “saliva.” She was answering the pictorial challenge with methods usually reserved for the genre of still life by providing her landscapes with a haptic quality of perceived proximity through framing and structuring the distances with the insertion of a cross, calvary or totem poles as an “important mass”[1283] as Roger Fry had called it.

Once she realized this, she re-interpreted village scenes she had initially painted in 1908-09 : *Yalis (Alert Bay),* in 1908-1909 **[Fig. 101, 102, 103]** *Totem Pole (Alert Bay)* in 1911 **[Fig. 113]** but also *Street, Alert Bay,* 1912 **[Fig. 114].** The differences between the two versions of each scene are striking: as in the Breton calvaries before, the monumental sculpture of the totem pole is now put in its entirety close to the canvas’ upper and bottom edges and thereby gaining monumental quality. Again, Carr repaints the watercolour in brilliant oil paint with bold planes of colour in high key tones creating an effect of brilliant sunlight. The totem pole becomes the central subject, whereas the village people appear as accessories and the village scene seems to be a set-up stage.

[1281] Emily Carr as quoted in Bridge, *Unvarnished,* 93.
[1282] For more on appropriation of Aboriginal arts from British Columbia and their usage as a historical background and source of inspiration for a new, national art created by settler colonial painters, see Charles C. Hill, ”Background in Canadian Art. The 1927 Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern,” In E*mily Carr. New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, edited by Charles H. Hill, Johanne Lamoureux, and Ian M. Thom, Vancouver, Toronto, Berkeley: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006, 92-121.
[1283] Quentin Bell, *Bad Art*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989, 62-75, 67.

The most dramatic element is brought closer to the eye with the killer whale as the central motif on the pole. Emily Carr is increasing the emotional charge of her paintings by giving a highly personal account of the totem poles with their stylized forms.

At this stage of her career, Carr was interested in the object and its expressive qualities rather than its meaning – religious or pagan. When we look at Carr's 1910 caricatures showing herself in front of Québec's statue of Saint Anne, exhibited in the catholic pilgrimage site of St. Anne de Beaupré **[Fig. 115]** and in front of her first totem pole in Alaska, 1907 **[Fig. 66]**, she is neither immersed in Catholic idolatry nor pagan fetishism but fascinated by the effect these monumental sculptures have on their onlooker.

In contrast, as Quentin Bell remembered Fry's formalism between 1910 and 1925 "Fry was deeply and almost exclusively concerned with plastic values; I have heard him describe the agonised body of Christ upon the cross as 'this important mass.' It seemed to him then that the contemplation of form could be isolated from our other emotions when we examine a work of art…"[1284] While Carr had most vividly experienced the "strong talk"[1285] of the totem poles in 1907, by 1911, she now was able to translate the native totem poles and respond in her new language.[1286] Emily Carr not only felt entitled, but also encouraged to function as the "translator" between BC's native art and modern painting in the European tradition. When Emily Carr returned to British Columbia for Christmas in 1911, she had finally found "bigger methods" for her "bigger material," the British Columbia landscape. During her French stay, she had finally connected on the one hand, the simplification of form and the decorative use of colour, and on the other, the French avant-garde and First Nations artifacts, particularly the brightly painted Kwakwa̱ka̱'waka poles.[1287] Upon returning to Vancouver, she even set a more ambitious vision of her subject. She became a local advocate of the bold, expressive French school of painting and left, the following summer, for her first significant sketching trip to the North.

[1284] Bell, *Bad Art*, 67.
[1285] Emily Carr, *Klee Wyck,* Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2003, 85.
[1286] I have already hinted to this in my Master thesis: Elisabeth Otto, "'*Strong Talk' – Totemismus im und am Werk der Kanadischen Künsterlin Emily Carr,*" MA thesis, Universität Eichstätt, 2011.
[1287] Emily Carr edited by Moray, *Unsettling Encounters,* 94.

Phelan Gibb can be credited for encouraging Carr to follow through with her project of a collection of totem pole paintings. Although he was a minor figure in the French avant-garde, Gibb had witnessed the discovery of non-European art by his more prestigious French colleagues (Picasso, for example) in 1906. This painter had undoubtedly noticed the similarity between his colleagues' avant-garde interests in Iberian, Oceanic or African artworks and Emily Carr's project. Quite consciously, at the same time, Carr aligned her ethno-artistic project with the European avant-garde during her stay in France by revisiting her earlier depictions of the totem poles of British Columbia. By painting Breton calvaries, Carr had learned how to insert monumental sculptures into her pictures. Her studies of calvaries, in which she experimented with framing and later perspectives, made it possible for her painting to live up to the impressive scale of the totem poles along the British Columbian West Coast.

6.3.2. Bavarian Folklore and Modern Landscapes: Münter Making Home in Murnau

After their return to Germany in 1908, having decided to settle down together, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky spent a first summer painting in Murnau with Alexej Jawlensky (1864-1941) and his companion Marianne Werefkin (1860-1938). [1288] As her story goes, this is where and when Gabriele Münter is said to have become a modern artist. She herself remembered in 1911: "After a short period of agony I took a great leap forward, from copying nature — in a more or less Impressionist style – to feeling the content of things – abstracting — conveying an extract."[1289] Annegret Hoberg argues that it might have been "the intense light in the foothills of the Alps, which often brought out the colours and contours of the landscape and the village in clear planes with

[1288] But for now, Kandinsky took his apartment in Schwabing's Ainmillerstraße. At the same time, Münter stayed for another year in a boarding house, the "Pension Stella" in Adalbert Street, Munich and took her studio close by.
[1289] Gabriele Münter's notes of 1911, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscenes 1902-1914*, 45-46.

very little atmospheric refraction"[1290] that contributed to a change in [her] artistic vision in the years that followed.

In contrast, I argue that the ability to paint by giving an "extract" was facilitated by recognizing avant-garde aesthetics in the ancient local art of reversed glass painting. After photography and woodcut printing, reversed painting on glass was the third technique challenging Münter's construction of imagery: it highly influenced her painting, building upon her landscape studies at the *Künstlerinnen-Verein* Munich and Phalanx 1902-1904. Additionally, Münter's encounter with the Russian painter Alexej Jawlensky had undoubtedly had the biggest, consolidating effect on her art training and experiences in so far as he not only shared her fascination for Bavarian folklore in the form of reversed glass painting and for the painting of still lifes, but that he had the most consistent experience of French avant-garde of all members of *Der Blaue Reiter*.[1291]

Jawlensky and Werefkin belonged to Munich's Russian artists'community. They had crossed paths with Kandinsky at the end of the 1890s when they arrived in Munich for further art studies from Russia.[1292] During her Munich years, Marianne Werefkin established her *salon* in Schwabing's Giselastraße and it became the meeting place of many international artists that would exhibit with Kandinsky and Münter prior to WWI. It is only one year later, in 1909, that these four artists formed the expressionist group *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (NKVM) in reaction to the Munich Secession. Tensions in the NKVM led Münter and Kandinsky to resign and create their group, *Der Blaue Reiter*.[1293] This group of artists, together with international avant-garde, was to

[1290] Hoberg, "The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter," 26.
[1291] Jawlensky had worked in Brittany in 1905 and with Henri Matisse in 1907. Shortly before Jawlensky and Münter met, he had worked with Jan Verkade (a pupil of Paul Gauguin) and Paul Sérusier. Jawlensky combined Gauguin's Cloisonnism with Van Gogh's Expressionism and the ornamental compositions of Henri Matisse in his works.
[1292] Kandinsky and Jawlensky studied at a Munich private art school run by the Slovenian artist Anton Azbè. Until 1908, their relationship is somewhat distant. Jawlensky exhibited only once in Kandinsky's Phalanx exhibition in 1901. As he did not see many opportunities in Munich, Jawlensky spent time in Paris in 1905 and 1906 and Berlin in 1908 for his retrospective at the gallery Cassirer.
[1293] The artist subsumed under the group *Der Blaue Reiter* are: Gabriele Münter, Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, August Macke, Heinrich Campendonck, Alexej Jawlensky, Marianne von Werefkin, Albert Bloch, Wladimir Burljuk, Adriaan Korteweg, Alfred Kubin, and Paul Klee.

exhibitfor the first time at the end of 1911 and in the two following years.[1294] The publication of the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* followed in May 1912.[1295]

For Kandinsky and Münter, the summer of 1908 meant a return to familiar grounds since both had already painted *en plein air* in the same region. Upper Bavaria had traditionally been a vacation destination of the Royal family, followed by Munich's upper class towards the end of the nineteenth century.[1296] With every town connected to the Royal Bavarian State Railway, the number of tourists rose significantly, especially during the summer.[1297] The town of Murnau[1298] saw the arrival of the railway in 1879, Kochel[1299] in 1898. Both towns became popular destinations for Munich summer tourists, the so-called "*Sommerfrischler*;" artists would follow shortly. While Gabriele Münter's landscape paintings and literature on *Der Blaue Reiter* focus on the town of Murnau, her earliest experiences in open-air painting had taken place during three consecutive summers (1901–1903) in Fürstenfeldbruck, Kochel, and Kallmünz. In these three small Bavarian towns, she painted with classmates and teachers in the rural landscapes of Bavaria. Numerous oil studies, oil sketches, drawings, photographs, and a few prints provide details about her approach

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[1294] For a reproduction of the exhibition catalogues of the NKVM, see Matthias Mühling, Annegret Hoberg, and Anna Straetmans, eds., *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, Berlin: Hantje Cantz, 2021, 412-422.

[1295] For more information on the NKVM and Der Blaue Reiter, see Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel, *Der Blaue Reiter und das neue Bild. Von der "Neuen Künstlervereinigung München" zum "Blauen Reiter" ; 1909 – 1912*, Munich, London and New York: Prestel, 1999.

[1296] It was not uncommon for upper-class Munich families to build country villas around the lakes South of Munich, like the Starnberger See, Ammersee, or Tegernsee. Since the 1870s, those generous summer houses were built in a historicist style combining modern and rustic elements. The most important architects of this so-called "Heimatstil" are Franz Zell (1866-1961), Gabriele von Seidl (1848-1913) and Adolf Voll (1881-1965).

[1297] In his 1902 theatre play, *Die Lokalbahn*, the Bavarian author Ludwig Thoma tells the story of a rural Bavarian town that is supposed to be connected to the railway, discussing the economic advantages and the fear of losing the unique and authentic village life that draw the tourists to it in the first place in the form of a rustic comedy. Ludwig Thoma, *Die Lokalbahn. Komödie in drei Akten*, Munich: Verlag Albert Langen, 1902.

[1298] For more information on the history of Murnau, see https://murnau.de/de/gemeindeportrait.html accessed 15 September 2021.

[1299] For more information on the railway connecting Kochel to Munich, see http://isartalbahn.de/0000009e690b5e502/index.html accessed 15 September 2021.

to her motifs.[1300] These experiences appear even more significant around 1908 since they help us understand how Gabriele Münter unlearned through the familiar.

Already in 1901, and before Münter had met Kandinsky, she had been very interested in the rural and backward regions of Bavaria that she encountered on a day trip with her painting class of the *Künstlerinnen-Verein*. The rural towns of Upper Bavaria must have seemed like an alien world to her and her colleagues in contrast to the city of Munich. Spending time painting *en plein air* with her teachers was instructive and liberating. Münter's first sketching excursion from 25 July to 12 August 1901 took her, with her teacher Maximilian Dasio (1865–1854), to the small town of Fürstenfeldbruck, 25 kilometres west of Munich. The extant photographs from this excursion show Münter exploring the town with her bicycle **[Fig. 116]**. Her long black skirt and a white blouse, typical for the fashion of this era, contrast with the tiny rural houses with their wooden shutters and fences surrounding the front yards. Further photographs taken during this trip signal her curiosity and quasi ethnographic interest for local peasants, her landlords for the summer **[Fig. 117]** or her teacher Maximilian Dasio standing next to a quaint wooden draw well **[Fig. 118]**.

Painting *en plein air* for the first time was a whole new experience that, at the time, required documentation. An anonymous photographer captured Münter drawing in the open air, her eyes fixed on the horizon, while a parasol provided shade on the paper she was drawing on **[Fig. 119]**. A miniature oil painting from the same period, entitled *Landscape painting,* 1901–02 ("*Beim Landschaftsmalen*"), 1901/02 **[Fig. 120]**, documents the experience of painting a landscape *en plein air* in a different medium. Done with quick brush strokes, Münter's oil painting depicts the scene of one of her photographs: a woman artist is sitting within the landscape, her paint box on her knees, but without the usual parasol, in order not to disturb the composition of the miniature painting. A brilliant yellow cornfield guides the onlooker from the horizon to the right edge of the painting, delimited by the study of a tree. The comparison of the oil study with the photograph shows that the documentation of the open-air practice is the practice itself.

[1300] The importance of open-air painting for Gabriele Münter's and Wassily Kandinsky's oeuvre had only recently been acknowledged in the exhibition "Under the open sky. Travelling with Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter" shown at the Städtische Galerie Lenbachhaus, Munich in 2021.

One year later, Gabriele Münter returned to the countryside with Wassily Kandinsky and his class, this time to the small town of Kochel, close to Murnau.[1301] The drawings in her sketchbooks and her photographs, in comparison to the final oil studies, reveal her difficulties to access colour at that time and achieve the same instinctive accuracy in oil as in drawing, as a comparison between a picture of a farmhouse, signed with "Kochel 02", 1902 **[Fig. 121]** and an oil study of a *House and Barn,* 1902 **[Fig. 122]** reveals. Further landscape studies' compositions resemble photographs of that summer, framing the landscape in a rectangular shape close to the squared format of her Kodak prints. A comparison of a sketch found in her 1902 sketchbook of a non-descript landscape **[Fig. 123]** with a photograph **[Fig. 124]**, and an oil study **[Fig. 125]** all done during the summer of 1902 expose the principle of her landscape composition, her way of stacking planes behind one another, always with one element (e.g., a tree or a building) anchored in the middle ground. A comparison between her landscape photography, done in the USA, and the pictoral landscapes she produced a few years later, reveals how much her experience in photography informed Münter's understanding of landscape. Her Kodak Bull's Eye delivered the best results at a certain distance and had its focus in the middle of the picture frame, as seen in *"House," Jane Lee's 'Shanti'* (1900) **[Fig. 126]**. Two years later, in her painting Münter still places the objects and elements of interest in the middle ground. However, from 1908 onwards, for the composition of her paintings, her reference would not be photography but Bavarian folkart.

[1301] The towns of Kochel and Murnau were accessible by train from Munich. The development of the railway network during the nineteenth century significantly influenced modern landscape painting in Bavaria. Connecting to the Royal Bavarian State Railway (founded in 1844) brought economic development and early tourism. At the same time, Münter and her contemporaries follow a long tradition of Bavarian landscape painting since the early nineteenth century, with Johann Georg von Dillis (1759–1841), Wilhelm von Kobell (1766–1835), and Lorenz Quaglio (1793–1869) as the most important representatives. Johann Georg von Dillis painted the landscapes of Upper Bavaria commissioned by King Ludwig I, e.g., in his work *Tegernsee (1825)* ("*Der Tegernsee*"). The royal family had traditionally visited the region during the summer months. During the nineteenth century, the so-called Munich school ("Münchner Schule¨) as well as the Dachau school ("Dachauer Schule") focused on painting landscapes near the capital Munich. Even before the artists of *Der Blaue Reiter* arrived in Murnau, the small Bavarian town had already been discovered by artists more than 50 years earlier, e.g. by Carl Rottmann (see, for example, *Foothills near Murnau* ("*Vorgebirgslandschaft bei Murnau*"), 1830s). By the late 1880s and inspired by the artists of the French school of Barbizon, a group of artists around Adolf Hölzel (1853–1934) and Arthur Langhammer (1854–1901) arrived in Dachau to create a new school of landscape painting. Until 1905, Adolf Hölzel had his private art school, where he taught, amongst others, Emil Nolde (1867–1956) and Ida Kerkovius (1879–1970). When Adolf Hölzel left Dachau in 1905 to become a professor at the Stuttgart Academy, he certainly made room for a new modern school of landscape painting like *Der Blaue Reiter* to emerge.

Once she had renounced the brush for the palette knife, her landscape compositions also began to change. Kandinsky had encouraged her to use the palette knife and to leave out specific colours he did not like, as Münter remembers from her painting excursion of 1902: "Once I was painting on the shore & K. came to correct & found bad colors in it, e.g., emerald green & others. He flung them all onto the grass, they were forbidden. From then on, I only used good colors that he had allowed."[1302] Kandinsky had already an established practice of open-air painting in these years. But to him, oil studies were the antithesis of academic studio painting that he called, in his "Reminiscences"(1913), "painting by rote" ("auswendig gemalte Bilder").[1303] Since 1901, Kandinsky had taken his painting into Munich's parks and outskirts and tried, with his oil studies, to create an intellectual distance from his studio work. Painting with the spatula in front of the motif had for him the same immediacy as drawing. Although Kandinsky's early oil studies show his difficulties and the challenges, for him, of mixing the colours directly on the canvas.[1304] As discussed in the previous subchapter, Münter and Kandinsky continued to use the spatula and the impressionistic way of applying the paint on the canvas in the subsequent years, including their stay in Paris.

The *en plein air* painting of the summer of 1908 is considered a crucial moment in the history of German Expressionism. It is often mentioned as the prehistory of *Der Blaue Reiter:*

> We had seen Murnau on an excursion and recommended it to Jawlenksy and Werefkin – and they asked us to come there in the fall. We stayed at the Griesbräu & liked it very much… It was a wonderful, interesting, enjoyable time, with lots of conversations about art with the "Giselists, [Werefkin and Jawlenksy] who were full of enthusiasm. I particularly enjoyed showing my work to Jawlensky – who praised it lavishly and also explained a number of things to me – passed on what he had experienced and learned –

[1302] Gabriele Münter in 1956-57, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914*, 32.
[1303] Wassiky Kandinsky, "Rückblicke," In *Kandinsky 1901-1913*, edited by Wassily Kandinsky, Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, I-XXIX.
[1304] Mathias Mühling, "Kandinsky's Early Oil Studies 1901-1902," In Henn and Mühling, *Under the Open Sky*, 215-216.

> talked about 'synthesis.' He is a good colleague. All 4 of us were keenly ambitious and each of us made progress. I did a whole heap of studies.[1305]

With Alexej Jawlensky, Gabriele Münter's Paris sojourn comes to fruition. The French avant-garde that she had only experienced in exhibitions and by proxy gets palpable only now. The selection of motifs and compositions she experimented with in photography and drawing during her travel years are only now being translated into painting. Gabriele Münter thought of this consolidation of her work as "progress".

This is where unlearning is happening: the artist starting to recognize her approach as being part of avant-garde aesthetics and her realizing being part of the modern art movement. In general, two factors contributed to Gabriele Münter's process of unlearning between 1908 to 1910: one is connected to art theory, the other pertains to technique – the technique of reversed glass painting and ultimately her painting in oil on canvas. First, in the summer of 1908, Gabriele Münter starts synthesizing her design in her landscape paintings. Second, Münter exchanged her knife for a brush and began to paint oil studies on cardboard in a large format. Slowly, Gabriele Münter turned her back on the academic rules of perspective and representation of nature in favour of personal expression. Another significant influence on Münter's creation was folk art,[1306] particularly Bavarian reversed glass painting (*Hinterglasmalerei*[1307]). Alexej Jawlensky again discovered *Hinterglasmalerei* and introduced it to his fellow[1308] painters,[1309] but Gabriele Münter was the first to paint following this technique.[1310][1311]

[1305] In the original it says, "... Ich zeigte Jawlensky besonders gerne meine Arbeiten – einerseits lobte er gerne und viel und andererseits erklärte er mir auch manches – gab mir von seinem Erlebten u. Erworbenen u. – sprach von 'Synthes'." Gabriele Münter as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscenes 1902-1914*, 45-46.
[1306] In 1933 Gabriele Münter remembers her first encounter with folk art. She had been travelling with Kandinsky in South Tirol in April 1908, where she had seen for the first time painted "Martlern" (wayside shrines) and "old folkart." Münter as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter in Murnau und Kochel 1902 - 1914. Briefe und Erinnerungen.* München: Prestel, 2000, 12.
[1307] For more information on the history of reversed glass painting, see Helmut Friedel and Nina Gockerell, eds., *Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug: von Gabriele Münter gesammelt, kopiert und in ihren Werken dargestellt*, Munich: Prestel, 2000.
[1308] Besides Münter, also Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, and Heinrich Campendonk painted reversed glass paintings.
[1309] After Münter's own account as cited in Hoberg, *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 51.
[1310] Gabriele Münter, as cited in Hoberg, *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 51.
[1311] This aspect will be further explored in chapter 6.4..

The praxis of unlearning manifests itself in her work over several years and different media: for example, the photograph of an Alpine hut **[Fig. 127]**, a drawing she did of the same motif **[Fig. 128]** and one of her first studies ever produced in Murnau, entitled *View of the Murnau Moors* ("Blick aufs Murnauer Moss"), 1908 **[Fig. 129].** The graphic qualities of Gabriele Münter's prints, with their reduced lines and poignant language, appear now also in her paintings, where only some months earlier she had still juxtaposed coloured gestures, for example, in her view into the valley in South Tyrol, as in *Lana ("Vor Lana),* 1908 **[Fig. 130].** By the fall of 1908, she delineates every element of her image, the huts, bushes, and group of trees, filling them with planes of colour with a quick and expressive paintbrush. Münter's judgment of that first summer in Murnau and the artistic development everybody in the group underwent until WWI, notably Kandinsky's move towards abstraction, has obscured our understanding of Münter's artistic development up to this moment. As Barnaby Wright argued in 2005, regarding *View of the Murnau Moors*, Münter would have been unable to react so quickly or uncompromisingly to Jawlensky's example[1312] I contest that Gabriele Münter had already acquainted herself with Gauguin and Van Gogh and certainly seen their work while in Paris. This is worth reiterating since, for decades, Gabriele Münter's approach to her painting and subject matter had been deemed intuitive. The former director of the Lenbachhaus, Hans Konrad Röthel, who secured Münter's collection for the Lenbachhaus in the late 1950s, had even called her a "true primitive."[1313] Robbing the artist of his or her agency, influence is generally considered as something that happens to the artists, as a simple perpetuating of aesthetic ideals. Understanding influence as a metaphor, Christine Tauber and Ulrich Pfisterer have been collecting in 2018 multiple voices that contradict the one-directional nature of influence.[1314] Christopher Wood understands "influence" as a historical narrative. Therefore, naming one's artistic influences puts the artist in a network of artists, historic and contemporary.[1315] But what can actually be taken on by the artist—if not process (a distinct technique), composition, narrative, method or use of colour and contrast, asks Michael Zimmermann. In his meditation on

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[1312] Barnaby Wright, "View of the Murnau Moss," In *Gabriele Münter The Search for Expression 1906-1917*, 83.
[1313] Hans Konrad Röthel, *Gabriele Münter*, Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1957, 7.
[1314] Christine Tauber and Ulrich Pfisterer, eds., *Einfluss, Strömung, Quelle. Aquatische Metaphern in der Kunstgeschichte,* Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2018.
[1315] Christopher Wood, "Unter Einfluss," In *Einfluss, Strömung, Quelle. Aquatische Metaphern in der Kunstgeschichte, edited by* Christiane Tauber and Ulrich Pfisterer, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2018, 327-345, 338.

the process of artistic self-discovery beyond influences (taking Manet as an example), Zimmermann argues that, if styles are used consciously, the artist demonstrates his relation to and with art history.[1316] Since the nineteenth century, referring to different traditions made the artists the creator of a new pluralism in styles. Individual choices of historic styles responded to the dogma of originality in the modern artist.[1317]

Jawlensky generously shared with Münter and Kandinsky all he knew about the handling of plane colour in the art of the Nabis, the theory of Synthesis and that of Cloisonnism, of surrounding single elements with a black outline, filled with colours.[1318] How influential Jawlensky was in these years transpires in Kandinsky's foundational text of the NKVM, which he founded together with Jawlensky, Werefkin, Münter and 17 other artists in January 1909, where he writes: "We seek artistic forms… that must be freed from everything incidental, in order powerfully to pronounce only that which is necessary – in short, artistic synthesis."[1319] In the German original, Kandinsky is much more differentiated, explaining how the image represents the outer world as well as the inner world of the artist. The artist "thriving for synthesis" is looking for a form that

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[1316] Michael Zimmermann, "Künstlerische Selbstfindung jenseits von Einflüssen. Manet und Vélazquez, "Maler der Maler," In *Einfluss, Strömung, Quelle. Aquatische Metaphern in der Kunstgeschichte,* edited by Christiane Tauber and Ulrich Pfisterer, Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2018, 97-137, 99.

[1317] Zimmermann, "Künstlerische Selbstfindung jenseits von Einflüssen," 104.

[1318] On Jawlensky's influence on Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter, see Annegret Hoberg, "Der 'Blaue Reiter' – Geschichte und Ideen," *Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München,* edited by Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg, Munich: Prestel, 2013, 32.

[1319] Kandinsky cited in Shulamith Behr,"Beyond the Muse: Gariele Münter as Expressionistin," Hoberg, Annegret, Shulamith Behr, and Barnaby Wright. *Gabriele Münter: the search for expression 1906-1917*. Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery: P. Holberton, 2005, 43-71, 63; "...Wir gehen aus von dem Gedanken, daß der Künstler außer den Eindrücken, die er von der äußeren Welt, der Natur erhält, fortwährend in einer inneren Welt Erlebnisse sammelt; und das Suchen nach künstlerischen Formen, welche die gegenseitige Durchdringung dieser sämtlichen Erlebnisse zum Ausdruck bringen soll – nach Formen, die von allem Nebensächlichen befreit sein müssen, um nur das Notwendige stark zum Ausdruck zu bringen – kurz, das Streben nach künstlerischer Synthese, dies scheint uns eine Lösung, die gegenwärtig wieder immer mehr Künstler geistig vereinigt. Durch die Gründung unserer Vereinigung hoffen wir diesen geistigen Beziehungen unter Künstlern eine materielle Form zu geben...," Wassily Kandinsky as cited in *Der Blaue Reiter und das Neue Bild. Von der "Neuen Künstlervereinigung München" zum "Blauen Reiter,"* edited by Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel, Munich: Prestel, 1999, 29, exhibition catalogue; For a facsimile of the catalogues of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München, see *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, edited by Matthias Mühling, Annegret Hoberg, and Anna Straetman, exhibition catalogue, Städtische Galerie Lenbachhaus, Munich: Hantje Cantz, 2021, 412-422.

does express precisely this, a material form to the intellectual challenges common to all contemporary artists.

Jawlensky's relationship to French art had been established in two ways: on his numerous travels to Paris and through Munich collectors of French art. Vincent van Gogh had been Jawlensky's primary influence since 1901/02. As Annegret Hoberg remarks, he could have seen originals by Van Gogh already in 1903 in Munich before he bought his own (Straße in Auvers, 1890) in 1908. 1909 marks an important date with the first Van Gogh retrospective in Munich's Galerie Brakl.[1320] In 1904, Jawlensky saw his first Gauguin in a private Munich collection at Felix vom Rath. Gauguin became even more critical to Jawlensky after his travels to Paris in 1905 and 1906.[1321] Alexej Jawlensky had been to Paris several times,[1322] either to exhibit, e.g. in the Salon d'Automne of 1905, or in 1911 when he travelled to Paris to see the monumental Paul Cézanne retrospective. Visiting the *Salon d'Automne* in 1906, he saw more Gauguin, whom he calls a "miracle."[1323] During his Paris trips, he made two critical encounters that would introduce him directly to the representatives of Parisian avant-garde: Elisabeth Epstein (1879-1956) was not only Münter's and Kandinsky's contact in Paris but she also met with Jawlensky since they were both shown in 1906's Salon d'Automne's Russian section. Epstein introduced him not only to the Fauve artist Henri Manguin but also to Sonia Terk (later Delaunay), with whom Epstein shared an apartment in 1906.[1324] Even more important was his encounter with Pierre-Paul Girieud (1876-1948). As Roman Zieglgänsberger has shown, Girieud was Jawlensky's direct link to the Fauve circle in 1904. It must have also been Girieud who introduced Jawlensky to Henri Matisse. Jawlensky invited Girieud to participate in three exhibitions of the Murnau circle that had turned into the *Neue Künstlervereinigung München* (1909 until 1911) and he made sure to include him in

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[1320] It is very likely that Gabriele Münter had visited the Gauguin exhibition together with her fellow artist Erna Bossi.
[1321] On Jawlensky's first encounter with Van Gogh and Gauguin in Munich, see Annegret Hoberg, "Jawlensky and Werefkin – Das erste Jahrzehnt in München," 94-97.
[1322] Roman Zieglgänsberger counts at least 6 Parisian sojourns in 1895, 1903, fall 1905. 1906 and 1907, and 1911. Roman Zieglgänsberger, *Alexej Jawlesnsky*, Köln: Wienand, 2016.
[1323] Jawlensky to Marianne von Werefkin, as cited in Zieglgänsberger, *Alexej Jawlesnsky,* 31.
[1324] Zieglgänsberger, *Alexej Jawlesnsky,* 33.

the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*. Jawlensky was intrigued by Girieud, who tried to combine Gauguin's cloisonnism with Matisse's Fauve colour palette, as in his *Judas*, 1908. [1325]

Spring 1909 is considered Münter's "breakthrough" to a free expressive way of painting in bright colours and broad outlines. From spring 1909 to October 1909, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky rented first an apartment in Murnau next to Werefkin and Jawlensky, before moving into a newly constructed villa, first for rent, but before "late summer, the villa had been bought by Miss G. Münter"[1326] as she remembered in 1911.

At the Galerie Thannhauser Münter, for the first exhibition of the *NKVM* in December 1909, Gabriele Münter exhibited nine prints, the oil painting *Snow Landscape (Schneelandschaft),* 1908-1909 **[Fig. 131]** and four still lifes including *Yellow Still Life*, 1909 **[Fig. 132]**. Gabriele Münter and Alexej Jawlensky both sent still lifes to this exhibition, making their shared understanding even more palpable. Two still lifes from 1909 show how, within the same year, Gabriele Münter's understanding of painting evolved by eliminating all plasticity of the depicted objects, be they apples in a bowl or the stand of a lamp. Fruits in a bowl were transformed into flat circles on a 2D support, evoking Jawlensky's *Still life with painting behind glass, green vase and fruits (Stilleben mit Hinterglasbild, grüner Vase und Früchten)*, 1908 **[Fig. 133].** The *Yellow Still Life* is one of the earliest still lifes where Gabriele Münter is staging, within her paintings, pieces of her collection: a toy horse with a rider and four wheels. Shortly after, she will integrate into a series of still life paintings, examples of reversed paintings on glass, from her own practice and from her collection. While Gabriele Münter explored the possibilities of still life even further during the subsequent years, by 1911, Jawlensky had moved on to the human head as the main subject of his oeuvre. Jawlensky's importance for Gabriele Münter is attested by a photograph she took of her apartment in 1913, showing her collection of folk art hung on the same wall as two paintings by Alexej Jawlenksy, one still life and his *Murnau Landscape (Murnauer Landschaft)*, 1909 **[Fig. 134].**

The critical reception of Gabriele Münter's participation at the exhibition of the NKVM needs to seen in the context of the overall reception of avant-garde art (understood at the time as innately French) in Germany. It was only with the help of art historian Hugo von Tschudi that the

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[1325] Zieglgänsberger, *Alexej Jawlesnsky,* 32-33.
[1326] Gabriele Münter as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914*, 48.

NKVM found a commercial gallery to show their work. Hugo von Tschudi had just been dismissed as director of Berlin's National gallery after he had acquired, as early as 1896 and to the dislikes of his former mentor Wilhelm von Bode and of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, specimens of French modern art for the collection (Manet, Monet, Cézanne, Rénoir et al.). In the short time between his arrival in Munich as the director of the Royal Bavarian Collection (*Königlich-Bayerische Gemäldegalerien*, today Munich's *Neue Pinakothek*) and his early death in 1911, he would secure key works of the French avant-garde.[1327] It was largely due to Tschudi that the avant-garde qualities and potential of the new *NKVM* were recognized and celebrated in an exhibition. For their part, the critics in the local press echoed the same prejudice Hugo von Tschudi had faced in Berlin, comparing the exhibition with "… a wild parody, like a grotesque carnival joke and the resemblance to the coloured jokes painted in a hurry in the amusing Oktoberfest exhibitions."[1328] Again, only thanks to Hugo von Tschudi did the exhibition stay on, as Wassily Kandinsky remembered.[1329] Despite the bad press, the first exhibition of the *NKVM* traveled to the Rhineland, where Gabriele Münter exhibited portraits[1330] that were especially criticized:

> Gabriele Münter literally imitates the drawings of small children, of which the most modern education had made too much fuss – this uninhibited manner that makes out hideous features to be human faces, green spots to be eyes, square blocks to be noses, broad slits to be mouths, must be rejected. The broad mass of spectators must be protected from such a sight, will they not otherwise also become mad? – The principle 'sensation at any price does not belong in an art exhibition.[1331]

[1327] Henri Matisse's *Still life with Geraniums* (1910), Paul Cézanne's *Self-Portrait* (1878-1880) and Vincent Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* (1888).

[1328] Fritz von Ostini, Münchner Neueste Nachrichten, 9. December 1909, as cited in *Der Blaue Reiter,* edited by Helmut Friedel and Annegret Hoberg, Berlin: Hantje Cantz, 2009, 30. My translation of the German original: "Wie eine wilde Parodie, wie ein grotesker Karnevalsscherz mutet das Ganze an und die Ähnlichkeit mit den im Galopp heruntergemalten Farbenwitzen der lustigen Oktoberfestausstellungen ist nicht gering."

[1329] Wassily Kandinsky as cited in Klaus Lankheit, ed., *Franz Marc im Urteil seiner Zeit. Texte und Perspektiven*, Köln: DuMont, 1960, 46.

[1330] Gabriele Münter exhibited three portraits at the first exhibition of the *NKVM, Bildnis einer jungen Dame (Junge Polin),* 1909, Milwaukee Art Museum; *Dame mit Hut*, 1909/10, Private Collection; *Mädchen mit Puppe,* 1908/09, Milwaukee Art Museum.

[1331]Anonymous, Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung, 8 May 1910, as cited and translated in *Gabriele Münter. The Search for Expression 1906-1917*, 62. "Gabriele Münter imitiert buchstäblich die Zeichnungen

The comparison with child art and madness seems to be the standard reference evoked by contemporary art critics for avant-garde endeavours. Instead of commenting on her aesthetic expression, the critics considered her art as spectacle.

The second exhibition of the *NKVM,* 1-14 September 1910*,* deserves mentioning here because it included the Munich artists' French idols, like Georges Braque, André Derain, Pablo Picasso, and Georges Rouault. Over 115 works by 31 artists from Germany, Russia and France were then shown in Munich's Galerie Thannhauser. The exhibition catalogue contains texts by Henri Le Fauconnier, David and Wladimir Burljuk, Wassily Kandinsky and Odilon Redon, and a text on Georges Rouault by his gallerist Druet. Pierre Girieud was responsible for the French participants, and Wassily Kandinsky for the Russian artists. While Dimitri Burljuk had already asked Wassily Kandinsky to integrate the artists Aristarch Lentulow, Natalja Gontscharowa and Michail Larionov into the second exhibition of the *NKVM*, Kandinsky did not comply since he only became aware of their shared interest for Russian folk art and the renewal of modern art upon a visit to Moscow, at the end of the same year.[1332]

This exhibition is fascinating for our discussion since two ideas of primitivizing traditions are present in the selection of artists for the second NKVM exhibition. Dimitri and Wladimir Burljuk's essay explains Russian artists' fascination with French avant-garde. In their essay, the Burljuks recognized the same mechanisms at play in Russian church frescos, Russian Lubki and icons, but also in the scythic sculptures that reminded them of the idols of "barbaric peoples."[1333]

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kleiner Kinder, von denen die modernste Pädagogik zu viel Wesens gemacht hat diese Ungeniertheit, die jedem Sinn für Perspektive und natürliche Formen hohnspicht und ekelhalfte Fratzen als menschliche Gesichter, die grünen Flecken für Augen, eckige Klötze für Nasen, breite Schlitze für Münder ausgibt, muß abgelehnt werden. Vor solchem Anblick muß die breite Masse der Besucher bewahrt werden; muß auch sie nicht irre werden? – Der Grundsatz 'Sensation um jeden Preis' gehört nicht in eine Kunstausstellung."

[1332] Anna Straetmans, "Neue Künstlervereinigung München, NKVM," *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, edited by Matthias Mühling, Annegret Hoberg and Anna Straetmans, Berlin: Hantje Cantz, 117-123, 120, exhibition catalogue. Kandinsky's 1910 Moscow stay will lead to Gabriele Münter's and his participation in the 1910 exhibition of Moscow's *Bubnovi Valet* (Knave of Diamonds) society.

[1333] "... Die französische Kunst ist uns tatsächlich verwandt und verständlich. Das Hyperbolische der Linie und Farbe, das Archaische, die Vereinfachung – Synthese – ist ja vollkommen in der schöpferischen Seele unseres Volkes vorhanden. Man erinnere sich nur an unsere Kirchenfresken, an unsere Volksblätter (Lubki), Heiligenbilder (Ikoni) und schließlich an die wundervolle Märchenwelt der skythischen Plastiken, an schreckliche Götzen, welche in der Roheit ihrer nirgend sonstwo gesehenen Form

This text already foreshadowed the later almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* (1912) and here especially Franz Marc's text on "The German 'Fauve'" ("Die 'Wilden' Deutschlands"). On his travels to Moscow in October 1910, Kandinsky hoped to find what the Burljuks had written about, as he mentioned to Gabriele Münter upon his arrival on October 14, 1910:

> But how Russian and yet also un-Russian I feel! … How different the people are. Why is life here…more intense and gripping? … Every city has a face. Moscow – 10. And a bit of everything. It is uncanny, it affects one. How will old religious art affect me? Shall I find the core that I want to seek, to touch?[1334]

Contemporary critics also opposed the 1910 exhibition's idea of a shared spirit in art, transgressing national borders and artistic ages. In his review of the Blaue Reiter exhibition for a local newspaper, the Munich journalist Karl Rohe turns the idea of "synthesis" into a concept promoted by "Eastern Europeans," bringing together mannerisms of all peoples and regions. There, he also compared Parisian "décadents" with "cannibalistic indigenous peoples."[1335]

The text on Georges Rouault strikes another chord, focussing on his qualities as a "patient worker," related to the medieval artisan who loved his material and tools and thrived for truth and authenticity. His art would be inspired by the material, the "things," which the artist surrounds himself with; Georges Rouault, printmaker, ceramist and maker of stained glass, is presented as the antithesis of industrial production, in short, anti-modern.[1336] A return to the "happy age of the

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überzeugend sind und echte, monumentale Größe offenbaren. An dieser monumentalen Größe können sich nur die ältesten Schöpfungen halbwilder Völker einigermaßen messen." Dimitri and Wladimir Burljuk in the catalogue to the second exhibition organized by the NKVM, September 1910, as cited from the facsimile of the catalogue printed in *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, 415.

[1334] Wassily Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter, October 14, 1910, Moscow, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences*, 66.

[1335] May translation of the German original: "entwicklungsfähigen Manierismen der Kunst aller Völker und Zonen, von den kannibalistischen Naturvölkern an bis herauf zu den Neupariser Decadents." Karl Rohe, as cited in *Der Blaue Reiter: Dokumente einer geistigen Bewegung*, edited by Andreas Hüneke, Leipzig: Reclam, 1989, 15.

[1336] "Die Kunst von Rouault ist insofern eine populäre Kunst, als seine Inspiration aufrichtig und naiv ist wie die der glücklichen Handwerker der alten Zeiten. Angenommen, das Volk habe einen solchen bewundernswerten Vorrat von reicher Empfindsamkeit, spontaner Fantasie und von naivem und klugem Humor, so werden diese schönen Gaben, die allgemein unverstanden und verspottet sind, doch immer mehr verdorben durch die mechanische Arbeit, die industrielle Servilität und den vollständigen Mangel an Muße, durch welch alles die moderne Welt charakerisiert wird und durch das herabwürdigende

medieval times" serves to discover the expression of popular values in art deemed utterly free of modern capitalist forces. Georges Rouault was present in the exhibition with three paintings, one of them being *Two Nudes* from 1910 **[Fig. 135]**. Gabriele Münter had exhibited seven works, one of them was her *Still life with chair* (1909) **[Fig. 136]** and, as had happened for the first exhibition, one of her bright yellow still lifes was published in the catalogue. Shortly after that second exhibition, Gabriele Münter's still lifes would become darker and exclusively inhabited by objects from her private collection of reversed glass paintings and folk art figurines. From the summer of 1908 through 1909 and 1910, Gabriele Münter made the genre of still life her own.[1337]

6.4. Uncanny *Heimat*: Unlearning Twentieth-century Primitivism

This last subchapter closes the argument on unlearning as a women artists' praxis. It focuses on the question, how unlearning is facilitated by the familiar, instead of the unfamiliar. Unlearning with the help of the familiar happens in two different ways for Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. Affect, artistic intention and means serve to "master their environment intellectually."[1338] Emily Carr established her own artistic agenda and fostered her stylistic development towards modern art by deliberately choosing British Columbia's totem poles as her subject matter while identifying with the Indigenous carver. In comparison, Gabriele Münter engaged in the domestic tradition of her immediate environment by learning the ancient folk art technique of *Hinterglasmalerei* from the supposedly last painter of that technique and she collected folk art. Both artists created collections of paintings integrating ethnographic objects from their immediate surroundings into their imagery: the familiarity of the environment is a primary factor and condition of unlearning. This subchapter explores how unlearning is not merely learning something else or learning more and how this "art

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Halbwissen, das heutzutage verbreitet ist. So sieht man sich gezwungen, sich zu den glückseligen Zeiten des Mittelalters zurückzuwenden, um in einer vollständigen freien Kunst die volle Entfaltung volkstümlicher Werte zu finden." Anonymous author, as published in the catalogue to the second exhibition organized by the NKVM, September 1910, as cited from the facsimile of the catalogue printed in *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, 415. See also, Hoberg and Friedel, *Der Blaue Reiter und das neue Bild,* 355-365.

[1337] This will be further discussed in chapter 6.4.2.

[1338] Ernst Jentsch, "On the Psychology of the Uncanny," *Angelaki: a new journal in philosophy, literature, and the social sciences*, vol. 2, no.1, 1996, 7-15, 15.

of unlearning" created by Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter can be categorized from an art-historical perspective, especially in distinction to the highly criticized and today obsolete tradition of so-called twentieth century primitivism. Their unlearning secures them entry into modern art history, not by reproducing already established formulas but by inventing new artistic expressions.

In contrast to the "Lure of Regression," as Ernst Gombrich had called the primitivizing practices of modern artists like Pablo Picasso, the women artists' praxis of unlearning is fundamentally different in that it is not based on the comparison between the art of a "great master" and the supposedly child like art of Indigenous peoples or folk artisans.[1339] As I argued before, unlearning is not a deskilling of masters, nor a relaxing of one's intellectual standards, but an opportunity to integrate the historically determined, raced and gendered perspective of two women artists from Canada and Germany into the construction of modernism. By the nature of their paintings — representing ethnographic objects in the medium of modern painting — these bodies of work have been included in the discussion on twentieth-century Primitivism.[1340] However, they

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[1339] For comparison with Ernst Gombrich, see Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive*, 235–241.
[1340] Emily Carr's work gets included into post-colonial critique already in the 1990s while Gabriele Münter was discussed first in the context of child art her work gets discussed in critical writings on twentieth-century primitivism onlz recently and as an annex to the main art history on her participation in the German avant-garde artist group Blauer Reiter: Marcia Crosby, "Construction of the Imaginary Indian,“ In *Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art*, edited by Stan Douglas, Vancouver: Talonbooks, 267-8, 275-9, 287-90, 1991; Lothar Hönnighausen, "The Artist as Collector: Emily Carr's Indian Paintings and Writings," In *Before Peggy Guggenheim: American Women Art Collectors,* edited by Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, 223–232, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2001; Gerta Moray, "Wilderness, Modernity and Aboriginality in the Paintings of Emily Carr,“ *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 33, n° 2, 43–65, 1998; Gerta Moray, "Emily Carr and the Traffic in Native Images," In *Antimodernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, edited by Lynda Jessup, 71–94, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001; Janice Stewart, "Appropriations and Identificatory Practices in Emily Carr's 'Indian Stories'," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 26, no. 2, 59-72, 2005; Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und die Kinderwelt*, Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1997; Barbara Wörwag, "'There Is an Unconscious, Vast Power in the Child': Notes on Kandinsky, Münter and Children's Drawings," In *Discovering Child Art. Essays on Childhood, Primitivism and Modernism*, edited by Jonathan Fineberg, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 68-94, 1998; Constance Werner, "'Vor allem wies mir die Volkskunst den Weg.' Gabriele Münter im Kontext von Volkskunst als Inspiration, Sammelgegenstand und Stil," In *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst. "Aber Galsbilder scheint mir, lernten wir erst hier kennen*, edited by Nina Gockerell, Sandra Uhrig, Constanze Werner, 11–24, Murnau: Schloßmuseum Murnau, 2017, exhibition catalogue; Jutta Hülsewig-Johnen, ed., *Der Blaue Reiter : Avantgarde und Volkskunst : Sgl. Hertha Koenig*, Bielefeld: Kerber, 2003; Isabelle Jansen, "'Auf der Suche nach der Kreativität.' Der 'Primitivismus'," In *Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). Malen ohne Umschweife*, Munich: Prestel, 2017, exhibition catalogue, 135-181; Sarah Louisa Henn and Matthias Mühling, eds., *Unter freiem Himmel/Under the Open Sky: Unterwegs mit Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky*, Munich: Lenbachhaus, 2020, exhibition catalogue.

are not considered part of the "primitivist revolution" by shock as described by European avant-garde artists regarding their initial encounter with non-European art. Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter chose objects, both familiar and unfamiliar, found in their environment. A praxis that could be described as the the paradox of a "primitivism of proximity." The unsettling character of the uncanny becomes a symptom of the praxis of unlearning as executed by Carr and Münter, for example in Carr's paintings of abandoned native sites along the British Columbian West coast or Münter's dark still lifes populated with Russian and Bavarian devotional folk art found in her home. In 1919, in an essay entitled "The Uncanny", Sigmund Freud introduced that term into the psycho-analytical discourse as a "subject of aesthetics."[1341] As mentioned earlier, Freud's "uncanny" ("*unheimlich*") does not mean "strange" in the sense of "scary" (although it might have an unsettling effect) but stands in the German language for the "non-familiar" and, literally, the "unhomely" — the German root "-heimlich" meaning "home" and at the same time the socio-spatial notion of *Heimat*, the German word for homeland. Freud presents an etymological analysis of the words "heimlich," the German word for familiar and its opposite "un-heimlich," to prove that the familiar always already contains the unfamiliar, since the German "heimlich" not only means "familiar," but also "secret" or "lurking." To put it in Freud's terms: "this uncanny is in reality nothing new or alien, but something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression."[1342] Combining linguistics with contemporary psychology, Freud singles out persons, impressions and especially things, which can arouse a feeling of uncanny and asks if — as he describes it — "a lifeless object might not be in fact animate."[1343]

Freud was not the first to investigate this phenomenon: in 1906, as I mentioned earlier, Ernst Jentsch published his article "On the Psychology of the Uncanny," wherein he stressed that it would be in the nature of human psychology to want to master one's environment intellectually. The hardest for the human psyche to bear would be "thoughts of a latent animate state."[1344] As

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[1341] Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny'," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol. XVII (1917-1919): An Infantile Neurosis and Other Works*, edited by James Strachey, 217-256, 219. https://pep-web.org/browse/document/SE.017.0000A?page=PR0004, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1342] Freud, "The 'Uncanny'," 224.
[1343] Freud, "The 'Uncanny'," 226.
[1344] Jentsch, "On the Psychology of the Uncanny," 15.

Jentsch admits, "The production of the uncanny can indeed be attempted in true art, by the way, but only with exclusively artistic means and artistic intention."[1345] Sigmund Freud developed this idea further and claimed that as if by "magic," the artist produces uncanny feelings in real life: "In doing this he is in a sense betraying us to the superstitiousness which we have ostensibly surmounted; … We react to his inventions as we would have reacted to real experiences."[1346] Already in 1913, the idea of the uncanny appeared in Freud's essay on "Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thoughts" ["Animismus, Magie und Allmacht der Gedanken"] published in his book *Totem and taboo; some points of agreement between the mental lives of savages and neurotics*.[1347] Freud wanted this book to be understood as mediating between contemporary ethnography, linguistics and the newly founded domain of Psychoanalysis, basing his reflections on a "Völkerpsychologie" (Psychology of Peoples) as shaped by the German Wilhelm Wundt. His arguments on totemism or animism are borrowed from contemporary anthropological literature like James George Frazer, Edward Tylor, and others.

What interests me here is Freud's strategy to link his psychoanalysis with anthropological research. When linking the beliefs of so-called primitive people, like animism, with his research on neuroses, I understand psychoanalysis as a cultural praxis parallel to historic visual primitivism. As Freud argued, "primitive peoples" and "mentally ill" would meet in their beliefs about the vitality of objects in an "animistic way of thinking." In the modern age, the Arts is only field where this belief system would still be alive. Calling for an "aesthetic inquiry"[1348] of the uncanny, Freud argues that only the artist is able to produce illusion and affects "as if art [was] something real."[1349] Emily Carr and Sigmund Freud are not only contemporaries, but they draw on the same anthropological sources when, at exactly the same time, in 1913, they develop their theories on totem poles and their meaning.[1350] Freud's *Totem and Taboo* but also Carr's "Lecture on totems"[1351] are full of misconceptions about the cultural nature of totem poles and their meaning

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[1345] Jentsch, "On the Psychology of the Uncanny", 10.
[1346] Freud, "The Uncanny," 247.
[1347] Sigmund Freud," Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thoughts," *Totem and taboo; some points of agreement between the mental lives of savages and neurotics*, translated by James Strachey, London: Routledge, 2001, 87-115.
[1348] Freud, "The Uncanny," 247.
[1349] Freud, *Totem and Taboo,* 102.
[1350] Otto, "'Strong Talk' – Totemismus im und am Werk der Kanadischen Künsterlin Emily Carr," 15.
[1351] Emily Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 2003.

and usage within the indigenous crest system.[1352] They not only show a profound lack of understanding but are inherently racist. A second parallel between Freud's and Carr's understanding of totem poles is that both considered them animate material objects. The affective qualities of this "class of material objects"[1353] drew Emily Carr to paint a whole collection of totem pole paintings. With this collection, she saw herself responding to the needs of her home country, responding to the genius loci of the native sites while bringing together the "strong talk" of the totem poles and the "big and juicy"[1354] modern ways of painting she had set as a standard for herself during her French sojourn.

But affect is only one way to make a material object familiar. Another way is through artistic means and intention as demonstrated by Gabriele Münter. She did not limit herself to collecting the Bavarian folk art of reversed glass painting and transferring them in oil; through copying, she acquainted herself with this folk art as artisans had done for hundreds of years before her. Before she developed her own motifs, Gabriele Münter copied contemporary and historic glasses to learn the technique of reversed painting. Once she had mastered this technique, she opened a whole new genre within her oeuvre of still life paintings, bringing together objects of her and Wassily Kandinsky's folk art collection. Through repetition and variation of this traditional motif, executed in the new and un-academic technique of reversed painting on glass—found in her own home—Gabriele Münter created images that responded to the theoretical aspirations of both Franz Marc's and Wassily Kandinsky's ideas as expressed in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* and at the same time they are a unique proof of Gabriele Münter's unlearning.

6.4.1. Bigger Methods for Bigger Material: Emily Carr and British Columbia

After returning from France at the end of 1911, Emily Carr opened a studio in Vancouver in January 1912. In spring, that same year, she showed the works she had exhibited already in France. Even

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[1352] In the manuscript of her lecture, held in a copy at the Library and Archives of the National Gallery, Canada, Carr repeats the prejudice of cannibalism among First Nations' peoples, when she suggests that "… these people would not have hesitated in bygone years to commit great acts of crueltz, to slay and even eat their enemies…" This passage is omitted from the the 2003 published version of the same lecture.
[1353] Carr as cited in Crean, *Opposite Contraries*, 177.
[1354] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 276.

if she claimed that the Victorian public did not acknowledge her work painted in the recent French trend, the critics found it very "interesting."[1355] In an article published on the Vancouver show, her French work is well received despite being critiqued for a specific "distaste for detail." The author praises the "brilliant," "pure" colours, which created "startling effects of light" and show a technique with a "great breadth and vigor."[1356] It seems that Emily Carr might have exaggerated the reserved reaction of the conservative Victorian public to increase the dramatic effect of her own "art revolution." Finally, in the summer of 1912, she went on her long-envisioned sketching trip along the West coast of British Columbia.[1357] Emily Carr's project was fueled by the contemporary settler colonial belief that the Native villages and their monuments were destined to disappear because their communities were supposedly not suited to adapt to modern life. After two months, Emily Carr returned home with an abundance of sketches, oil studies and watercolours, some of which would be turned into oil paintings within the next six months.[1358] In October 1912, she already showed the first selection of her new "Indian imagery" in Vancouver's *Studio Club*. The press' response was, all in all, very positive.[1359] Reflecting on the ethnographic purpose of her totem pole collection, an article in the *Province* referred to the ambivalent character of her imagery, which was ethnographic and aesthetic at the same time.[1360] Emily Carr offered her collection to the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education for funding of her travel expenses, but without any success.[1361]

[1355] In her autobiography Emily Carr will claim that "they turned away, missing the old detail by which they had been able to find their way in painting." Carr, *Growing Pains*, 276. Paula Blanchard's research proves that, besides one critical reader's letter, the reaction to her work was friendly. Blanchard *The Life of Emily Carr*, 124-5.

[1356] Anonymous, "The Province's page of social and personal news", *Vancouver Province*, 25 March 1912, 8c. 2-3.

[1357] To the Alert Bay area, Tsimshian villages in Upper Skeena River area and on Haidia Gwaii.

[1358] For more information and a full reconstruction of Emily Carr's first sketching trip, see Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 96-131.

[1359] Her creations are called "weird," but "wonderful," in an article in *The Province*, Sun Oct. 10, 1912, 3 c. 2-3.

[1360] "The strong and original paintings of Indian villages and totem poles by Miss Emily Carr are so very vigorous and accurately descriptive that they might well find a place in a public gallery, where they would be a valuable memorial though they scarcely come into the category of ordinary pictures". Anonymous, "Studio Club has fine exhibition," Vancouver Province, Oct. 12, 1912, p. 42 c. 3.

[1361] In December 1912, the ethnographer C.F. Newcombe visited Emiy Carr to evaluate her project for funding from the B.C. government. He rejected her paintings for being "too brilliant and vivid to be true to

In his 2001 article "The artist as collector: Emily Carr's Indian Paintings and Writings," Lothar Hönnighausen differentiates Emily Carr's "collection" of totem poles from contemporary photographic collections created by ethnographers like Franz Boas or C.F. Newcombe.[1362] By "concentration" and "dramatization," Emily Carr is "reorganizing"[1363] the totem pole and its setting, which makes her watercolours less anthropological and more aesthetic. Comparing Carr's work to other "primitivist collections," Hönnighausen perceives Emily Carr's project as a typical example of a "colonialist, white appropriation of Indian culture."[1364] The very same year, Gerta Moray featured Emily Carr's ethno-artistic project as being "caught between European primitivist taste and the needs of her colonial homeland."[1365] The hybrid nature of Carr's project calls for a comparison with the international avant-garde, for example artists like Gabriele Münter, but it covers up the process of unlearning that led to its realization.

As I argue, Emily Carr developed her praxis of unlearning through her collecting of native imagery on site, travelling along the Northwest coast of her home province British Columbia. What looks like a revolution in style when compared to older works of the same motifs is an emancipation in general. The imagery she created and her contemporary writing, in the form of a lecture, distinguish Emily Carr's ethno-artistic project from the primitivist revolution of French avant-garde art. In April 1913, Emily Carr organized her first solo exhibition in the Dominion Hall, the largest public hall in Vancouver. During her show, she gave her "Lecture on totems."[1366] Even if Emily Carr's talk on totemism consisted mainly of outdated nineteenth-century anthropological misunderstandings of totemism as a religious system, two aspects are essential for my hypothesis on Emily Carr's unlearning through her collection of totem poles. First, it is the geographical aspect

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the actual conditions of the coast villages, at least," according to the Newcombe report. With the artistic strategies of concentration and dramatization Emily Carr's "totem pole picture" were not "authentic" enough anymore.

[1362] Lothar Hönnighausen, "The Artist as Collector: Emily Carr's Indian Paintings and Writings," In *Before Peggy Guggenheim: American Women Art Collectors*, edited by Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2001, 223-32.

[1363] Hönnighausen, "The artist as collector".

[1364] Hönnighausen, "The artist as collector," 232.

[1365] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 74.

[1366] Emily Carr, "Lecture on Totems," reprinted in Susan Crean, *Opposite Contraries. The Unknown Journals of Emily Carr and other writings* in 2003.

of her project, depicting the totem poles "in their original setting"[1367] along the British Columbian coastline, which is not an exotic but familiar place in Emily Carr's understanding. Since her first visit to the settlement of Hiitats'uu (Ucluelet) on Vancouver Island in 1899, where she not only made her first drawing of a First Nations settlement but also met members of the Nuu-chah-nulth community who called her "Klee Wyck" (meaning "the laughing one"), Carr had felt a special bond between her and this native community.[1368] The fact that this relationship was unequal in its power structure has been ignored for most of the twentieth century, supported by Carr's published records of this encounter in her collection of short stories entitled *Klee Wyck*.[1369]The second element is the materiality of the totem poles that she defined in her 1913 lecture as "a class of material objects" that were regarded by the member of the native communities with "superstitious respect believing that there exists between him and every member of that clan; an intimate and altogether special relation: (…)."[1370] I argue that the combination of the "new seeing" she adopted in France and the subject matter of totem poles in the British Columbian environment led Emily Carr to a final unlearning that positioned her paintings in the space between avant-garde and anthropology and got ultimately rejected by both communities in 1913. These images would have their "modern moment" nearly fifteen years later, in 1927, when Carr was included in the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* at the National Gallery.

As I compared the watercolours depicting native sites before her French sojourn with those that she re-painted while still in France, I observed a slow rejection of the imitation of nature and an altered treatment of the different elements of a composition. It was in France that Emily Carr found the artistic skills (simplification of form and decorative use of colour) to depict the totem poles as she had seen them back in 1907 when she decided to paint an entire collection of all remaining totem poles as her professional mission. Carr's experience with watercolour portrait

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[1367] Carr as cited in Susan Crean, ed., *Opposite Contraries. The Unknown Journals of Emily Carr and Other Writings*, 177.
[1368] In her "Lecture on Totems" Emily Carr recalls: "These people named me Klee Wyck (the Laughing One), for they said, "she cannot talk our language but she laughs much and that is just the same we understand." Carr as cited in Crean, *Opposite Contraries,* 186.
[1369] In the introduction to *Klee Wyck*, Carr's publisher Ira Dilworth states: "But her laughter in Ucluelet went out to meet the Indians, taking the place of words, forming a bond between them. They felt at once that the young girl staying in the missionaries' house understood them and they accepted her." Ira Dilworth as cited in Emily Carr, *Klee Wyck*, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2003, 18.
[1370] Cass as cited in Crean, *Opposite Contraries*, 177.

while studying with Frances Hodgkins became helpful when she drew the family crests carved into the poles.[1371] For example, in the watercolour *Tanoo Q.C.I.,* 1912 **[Fig. 137]** when she is depicting the totem poles in situ, in T'aanu Llnagaay (Tanu or Tanoo) Emily Carr confidently applies the avant-garde techniques to the chosen motif. Instead of subordinating the motif to one specific style considered modern, Emily Carr is enhancing the affective qualities inherent in the native objects. Painted in saturated blues, the dark forest builds the backdrop for the pale, almost white totem poles that are delineated with visible black lines and sometimes highlighted with red strokes that enhance their dramatic appearance.

In the six months that followed, Emily Carr was to use the sketches made *en route* to implement large-format oil paintings and write a lecture on the planned exhibition.[1372] This time, an exhibition would not suffice for Emily Carr's sense of mission: this event had to be paired with a self-imposed educational mandate.[1373] She no longer wanted to share only her visual impression but also her stories and travel anecdotes. The people of Vancouver would have to realize the value of the First Nations' traditions of British Columbia's Westcoast.[1374] A lecture seemed to her to be the appropriate means.[1375] Emily Carr possessed little to no knowledge at all of totem poles, their meaning and use, and First Nations' customs in general.[1376] She only knew what she had seen on her previous trips to First Nations territories or through direct contact with indigenous folks in and around Vancouver – primarily the Salish woman called Sewinchelwet (Sophie Frank), with whom

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[1371] Kiriko Watanabe, "A fresh look at the Northwest Coast," *Emily Carr. Fresh Seeing. French Modernism and the West Coast*, Vancouver: Figure 1 Publishing, 2019,76-119, 82.
[1372] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 134.
[1373] "I am giving an exhibition of my Indian Pictures before I leave Vancouver the end of April and am preparing a little lecture in the poles & my trip which I hope to give in the evening during the time of my exhibition." Emily Carr wrote in her first letter to Dr. Newcombe, as quoted in a copy held at the National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives.
[1374] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters,* 132.
[1375] "On Wednesday and Friday evenings Miss Carr will give a lecture on the poles and their significance in the course of which she will explain many of the pictures," In "Casual Comments on Women's Activities and Interests," *Vancouver Province,* April 16, 1913, 13.
[1376] In the preparation of her "Lecture on Totems" she asked the British ethnographic researcher C.F. Newcomb in a letter about the meaning of totem poles and remarked: "I have been studying up the books in a museum here but there is very little said about poles though much about Indians in general. (...) What do they mean & why erected. Is there any record to the age of the totems? I read your article on the "potlatch", which appeared in the Vancouver Province with much interest." As quoted in a copy of the letter, held at the National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives.

she had been friends since 1908.[1377] In preparation for her "Lecture on Totems,"[1378] Emily Carr searched the Victoria Public Library[1379] and the Museum of Vancouver for literature on the subject. She asked the ethnologist CF Newcombe, whom she had met at the end of 1912: "I would like very much to ask you to read my lecture through before I give it and tell me if I have struck absolutely to the truth which I am very anxious to do. I have been studying up the books in museum here but there is very little said about poles though much about Indians in general."[1380]

As soon as Emily Carr heard that a new museum building was planned in the government district of Victoria and that the government of British Columbia was preparing to compile its own collection of First Nations' artifacts (before they were sold to the USA), she wrote to Dr. Henry Esson Young, *Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education,* on her return in autumn 1912, to advertise her project as worthy of funding: "The object of my work is to get the totem poles in their original settings. The Indians do not make them now & they will soon be a thing of the past. I consider them real Art treasures of a passing race."[1381] Emily Carr thought that at least her travel expenses should be covered by the government so that she could continue her project.[1382]

In response, the government sent the ethnologist CF Newcombe to evaluate Emily Carr's project. He visited her studio in December 1912 and, after having mainly seen her work from the years 1911-1912, wrote in the so-called "Newcombe report": "To my mind they are too brilliant and vivid to be true to the actual conditions of the coast villages, at least."[1383] Carr's works do not

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[1377] For more on their relationship, see Kristina Huneault, "Nature and Personhood for Emily Carr and Sewinchelwet (Sophie Frank)," *I'm Not Myself at All: Women, Art, and Subjectivity in Canada*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2018, 245-293.
[1378] Emily Carr, "Lecture on Totems," In *Opposite Contraries. The unknown journals of Emily Carr and other unknown writings by Emily Carr*, edited by Susan Crean, Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 177-202.
[1379] In an undated notebook, held at the Royal B.C. Archives, Emily Carr took notes from several anthropological sources available at the Public Library of Victoria, for example, by the American anthropologist John Reed Swanton (1873-1958), the German-American anthropologist Franz Boas (1858-1942), and the American anthropologist T.T. Waterman (1885-1936).
[1380] Emily Carr to CF Newcombe in letter dated March 1913, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Libraries and Archives.
[1381] According to Emily Carr in an undated letter to Dr. Young, fall of 1912, held as a copy at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Libraries and Archives. Quoted in Jay Stewart and Peter Macnair, "Reconstructing Emily Carr in Alaska," In *Emily Carr: New Perspectives on a Canadian Icon*, ed. Charles C. Hill, Johanne Lamoureux, and Ian M. Thom, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006, 27.
[1382] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 64.
[1383] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters,* 137.

correspond to anthropological standards but could be used as decorative wall paintings. This is based on the erroneous contemporary view that the "authentic" and "true" Indigenous cultures were not influenced by settler society. Showing the actual state of First Nations villages in 1912 did not correspond to the anthropological consensus of the time.[1384] As a museum curator, CF Newcombe had to reject Emily Carr's request, but they were nonetheless to remain on friendly terms.[1385]

On April 15, 1913, Emily Carr opened her first solo exhibition in the largest public hall in Vancouver, the Dominion Hall. She had independently rented this Vancouver public hall and her exhibition became de facto the largest solo exhibition the city had ever seen at that point. In her lecture on totem poles, expressly prepared for the exhibition, she repeated her intentions to create a complete collection of totem poles and exposed her motivation for doing so. Carr here and elsewhere follows the anthropologist Charles Hill-Tout[1386] and his remarks from the volume *British North America, vol. I, The Far West: The Home of the Salish and Déné,* (1906) included in the series *The Native Races of the British Empire.* Charles Hill-Tout, an English amateur anthropologist and one of the first Canadians to study the Northwest coast, a colonial, "empire-building anthropology"[1387] in its perspective and at the same time nation-building in its effect.

Emily Carr adopted Hill-Tout's definition of totemism as a religious practice. By "totem," Emily Carr understands "totemic marks" with which the families of the various tribes displayed

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[1384] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 58.

[1385] As is known, Emily Carr's application was denied. However, it was not only scientific standards that were decisive but, above all, a lack of financial resources. Emily Carr's project was no less serious and ambitious than other ethnographic projects of the time. Even her undoubtedly inadequate ethnological knowledge could not have been a criterion since many of the ethnographers at that time were amateurs. I suspect that Emily Carr's project fell victim to the gradual institutionalization of anthropology in British Columbia. At that time, the people in charge in British Columbia were under enormous pressure to acquire as many native artifacts as possible from the First Nations' territories to secure them for Canadian museums and collections before they were bought by foreign (primarily US-American) agents and brought out of the country. In addition, the world of ethnographers and anthropologists in 1912 was an even stronger male domain than the art world. It was not until the 1920s that women were accepted into anthropological societies, for example, The Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver.

[1386] Hill-Tout was an amateur anthropologist, born in England and active in British Columbia, working on the Salish territory. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/fr/article/hill-tout-charles, accessed 15 September 2021.

[1387] Benoît de L'Estoilre, Federico Neiburg, Lygia Maria Sigaud, *Empires, Nations, and Natives: Anthropology and State-Making,* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 18.

their descent. "A guardian spirit has been selected by the progenitor of a family from some object in the zoological chain; the representative device is called a 'totem'."[1388] Totemism is, therefore, "[a] system of kinship, which extends far beyond their own family,"[1389] and which corresponds precisely to the definition that also formed the theoretical basis for Sigmund Freud's totemism, developed in the same year.

In her lecture, Emily Carr particularly emphasizes the materiality of the "totems" and betrays her prejudice regarding its maker. She writes: "A totem is a class of material object which a savage regards with superstitious respect believing that there exists between him and every member of that clan; an intimate and altogether special relation."[1390] It is important to mention however that although Emily Carr expresses extremely benevolent and empathic views about the indigenous tribes of the west coast in "Lecture on Totems," she was manifestly not immune to racism and repeated the common anthropological belief that First Nations were being stuck "in their own primitive state."[1391]

In addition to the functions of the totem poles within "primitive" society, as a sign of belonging, lineage and protection and control, the Westcoast's First Nations would have adopted the character of their respective totem animal: for example, the fierceness of the bear or the intelligence of the raven. For Emily Carr, each tribe had its own "mood," which she tried to express in her paintings, created in 1912 and 1913 for her exhibition. In an analysis of the paintings from those years, Gerta Moray worked out the differences between the depictions of scenes from the Haida sites and, for example, the Kwakw a k a 'wakw sites. Emily Carr assigned to each tribe a characteristic tonality, lighting and colour that would reflect their assumed essence.[1392] For example, *Totem by the Ghost Rock* **[Fig. 103]** represents the Haida people, who, for Emily Carr, were the "serious" tribe, as she writes in "Lectures on Totems." She conceived the design of *Totem by the Ghost Rock,* as cool in tonality, gloomy in motif and strong in expression. In contrast,

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1388 Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 179.
1389 Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 179.
1390 Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 179.
1391 Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 197; Carr reinforces the common prejudice of cannibalism among "primitives" in her lecture, arguing that "these people would not have hesitated in bygone years to commit great acts of cruelty, to slay and even eat their enemies." For more on Carr's ambivalent behavior and prejudice towards First Nations people, see Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 65-66.
1392 Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*, 134.

the *Indian House interior with totems of* the Kwakw a k a 'wakw **[Fig. 138]** has an inviting, warm and cozy feel to it.[1393]

Emily Carr weaves episodes of her travels to the Northwest coast territories into her lecture. She saw it as both an honour and a privilege that the locals shared their legends with her. Returning the trust First Nations had placed in her, she stated: "I have never once found my trust in these people misplaced."[1394] This mutual trust made Emily Carr's project possible in the first place. To thank them, she showed her drawings and watercolours in a small "exhibition" on site."[1395] Emily Carr wanted to recall that despite initial skepticism, the community members were very interested in the drawings and appreciated them. In fact, she felt called by First Nations to record their totem poles: this retrospectively appears questionable. Kiriko Watanabe recently interviewed Gladys Gladstone, the niece of Carr's guides on Haida Gwaii, William and Clara Russ. Gladstone gave her account: "I think my people didn't really appreciate her paintings. It was a style of painting that was unfamiliar to us. I can't speak for everyone, but that's what I understand. I think that the family even had some of her work and didn't keep them."[1396] Even though her modern paintings seemed unfamiliar to the eyes of the First Nations, Carr claimed familiarity and closeness to the community's art. The alleged affinities between modern and native art and artists were in fact unidirectional as the criticism on the 1984 exhibition "Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern" held at the Museum of Modern Art demonstrated.[1397] Emily Carr's primitivizing is paradoxical, where the ethnographic object is brought close, not only by physical distance, through travelling, but also by affect, through identifying with the Indigenous

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[1393] Moray, *Unsettling Encounters,* 134-136.
[1394] Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 180.
[1395] Carr, *Growing Pains*, 184.
[1396] Gladys Gladstone as cited in Kiriko Watanabe "A Fresh Look at the Northwest Coast," In *Emily Carr. Fresh Seeing. French Modernism and the West Coast*, Vancouver: Figure 1 Publishing, 2019, 76-119, 93.
[1397] Critique ensued almost immediately after the opening of the show in fall 1984 and endured for most of the 1980s from an array of art critics and intellectuals. Arthur Danto was one of the first authors to criticize the grouping of objects from different cultures by the premise of mere similitude. Arthur Danto, "Defective Affinities," *The Nation*, December 1, 1984, 590-591. For post-modernist and post-colonial critics, the MOMA exhibition became an example of appropriation of otherness in the museum context. James Clifford was the first to point out the damaging nature of an allegory of affinity. Tribal objects appealing to modern artists cover up the complexities of the questions of modernist appropriatioj of tribal production as art and ignores questions of race, gender, and power within a colonial context, past and present. James Clifford, "Histories of the Tribal and the Modern," *Art in Amercia* 73, no.4 (April 1985), 164-177.

carver. And yet, also this proximity is a perceived one, even though she was very proud to state that her relationship with the totem poles was unmediated: "I never use the camera nor work from photos; every pole in my collection has been studied from its own actual reality, in its own original setting, and *I have, as you might term it, been personally acquainted with every pole.*[1398]

6.4.2. Painting Reversed: Gabriele Münter's Collection of Folklore Imagery

> K. & I, you know, where – I think spring 07 [it was actually 1908] in Tyrol – saw there lovely painted wayside shrine & the like. Traditional folk art. But glass paintings, I seem to remember we first came across them here. It must have been Jawlensky who first drew our attention to Rambold & the Krötz collection. We were all quite fascinated by the stuff. At Rambold's I saw … how it was done – & I was in Murnau & as far as I know the first in the whole group to get panes of glass & do something too. First copies – then various things of my own… I was entranced by the technique ["entzückt für die Technik"] and how well things went & was always telling K. about it – until he started himself & then did a lot of glass paintings… They tell me I did some good ones of my own…" Gabriele Münter recalls in 1933.[1399]

While Emily Carr's unlearning had been mediated by the integrating of monumental sculptures of the Northwest Coast, Gabriele Münter's praxis is induced by her encounter with Heinrich Rambold and the folklore technique of reversed painting on glass. In this anonymous photograph, the artisan is sitting in a staged studio setting, surrounded by his glasses with folklore and religious motifs from Bavaria and Southeast Asia. **[Fig. 139]** It is said that Rambold himself had learned to paint "behind glass" so "that they [the paintings behind glass] won't go extinct."[1400]

Gabriele Münter and fellow members from the artist group *Der Blaue Reiter* turned towards folk art and domestic production of reversed glass paintings, believing in the primordial character of the artifacts that had been produced in masses at the beginning of the twentieth century.[1401] It becomes evident that "learning [from] the uncultured classes of civilized nations," as the Encyclopedia Britannica defines "folklore" in its 1911 edition, had brought, in fact, the unlearning

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[1398] Carr, "Lecture on Totems," 180.
[1399] Gabriele Münter, February 10, 1933, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences*, 51-52.
[1400] Simone Bretz, *Hinterglasmalerei ... die Farben leuchten so klar und rein. Maltechnik, Geschichte, Restaurierung,* Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 2013, 53.
[1401] For a detailed analysis of the usage of folk art among the members of the Blaue Reiter, see Hülsewig-, Jutta Johnen, ed., *Der Blaue Reiter: Avantgarde und Volkskunst: Slg. Hertha Koenig*, Bielefeld: Kerber, 2003.

of the trained artist of “civilized nations.” However, Gabriele Münter’s approach to folk art differs in a major point from the understanding of Alois, Riegl, Leo Tolstoy or Wassily Kandinsky: she understood folk art, not in the abstract terms of “art” or “non-art.“ She was less interested in the idea of folklore but in its experience and practice. Attracted by this local artisan’s authentic, free and self-conscious expression, Münter gained an unknown autonomy in her art by unlearning the precepts of her artistic education. Münter’s unlearning happens when she integrates the process of folklore technique of reversed glass painting into her painting, and that on two levels: first, literally, by integrating the objects of reversed glass paintings into her still lifes and second, by adopting the reversed application of paint into her painting. What gets unlearned is not only painting itself but also its conception.

To produce a traditional reversed glass painting, the painting must be “reversed”; the image must be “constructed” the other way around, since the thin glass is the support of the painting and its protection.[1402] A thick black outline delineates the motif, which then gets filled in with stark contrasting colours. No superposition of colours is possible. Contrary to conventional paintings, all the elements usually painted last, such as highlights or ornaments, must be painted first and independently of the application of colour. The background is only painted at the end of the process. There is also no possibility of corrections since the elements first painted get covered by another layer of paint. That is why traditional reversed glass painting was always done with a stencil to fix the outlines of the motif. This stencil was placed under the glass while the contours were copied on the glass surface. Then, all the inner lines (eyes, drapery, hatchings, etc.) would be added in a second step. In a third step, the diverse planes were coloured. It is likely that Gabriele Münter was intrigued by the way the coloured planes needed to be applied in reverse order since it created abstract versions of otherwise figurative scenes, as this photograph of the front and back side of a historic glass show **[Fig. 140].**

Reversed glass painting is a technique known since the second century BC, rediscovered in medieval Italy. Reversed glass painting appeared on German territory in the fourteenth century. After its elevation into miniature painting in the seventeenth century, reversed glass painting was slowly turned into folklore between 1700 and 1850. This technique was used almost exclusively

[1402] Friedel and Gockerell, *Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug*, 12.

for pictures of saints and sold on pilgrimage sites. From the eighteenth century onwards, Bavaria and the city of Augsburg had been a center for reversed glass painting. Not only religious motifs but also allegories were produced, usually for noble clients. While the painters in Augsburg followed training with a craftsman, the painters in the eastern regions of Bavaria were untrained workers associated with the local glass industry. By the end of the nineteenth century, the production of reversed glass reached an industrial level. And when Gabriele Münter discovered it at the beginning of the twentieth century, reversed glass paintings had become a fancy for bohemian art lovers and tourists.[1403]

Münter's teacher, Heinrich Rambold, had been trained at the end of the nineteenth century by a local family of glass painters who still painted after the traditional templates of the eighteenth century. Not much had changed since then; the models had been handed over from one generation to the next, painting in the same traditional technique. It is important to note that the folk-art painter only learned his art by observation. That is also how Gabriele Münter learned it from Heinrich Rambold. In 1906, Rambold opened a business to sell his handmade glass paintings, promoting them as made by the "last reverse glass painter." After Münter went to his workshop to see how it was done she started to produce her own glasses. Shortly after, she started to collect traditional glasses, which she bought at the many Munich flea markets and antique shops.[1404] From 1908 until 1913, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky collected about 130 reversed glass paintings and displayed them in their Murnau home and especially in their Munich apartment, an arrangement that Gabriele Münter documented in several photographs **[Fig. 141].** Today, most of these reversed glass paintings are held together with her collection of folklore objects in the Gabriele Münter and Johannes Eichner-Stiftung. The collected glasses are from different regions around Murnau, the Bavarian forest (Southeast Bavaria), and India. [1405] Münter and her colleagues formed the artist group *Der Blaue Reiter.* Several members collected reversed glass paintings when neither

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[1403] For more information on the history of reversed glass painting, see Friedel and Gockerell, *Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug: von Gabriele Münter gesammelt, kopiert und in ihren Werken dargestellt*, 2000.
[1404] Friedel and Hoberg, *Gabriele Münter*, 35.
[1405] We know about a dozen of reversed glass paintings done by Gabriele Mütner, today in private and public collections. For more, see Friedel and Gockerell, *Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug,* 2000; Rosel Gollek, *Hinterglasbilder,* Munich: Piper, 1981; Gabriele Münter and Leonard Hutton Galleries, eds. *Hinterglasmalerei/Painting on glass: woodcuts in color, etchings, collages: an exhibition of unknown work by Gabriele Münter, 1877-1962.* New York: Leonard Hutton Galleries, 1966.

ethnographers (German "*Volkskundler*") nor the art market had discovered them as rare items yet. Already in the 17th century, the region around Murnau had produced reversed glass paintings. By the nineteenth century, folk art production had become an important economic factor for the region dominated by the pilgrimage to the *Passionsspiele* in Oberammergau. Oberammergau had been an important site for producing wooden carved figures of holy figures for other pilgrimages like Altötting, reaching its height in 1830. Fifty years later, coloured prints had pushed reversed glass from the market.[1406]

From time to time, the artists of *Der Blaue Reiter* would gather in Münter's villa for a so-called "Glasmalzeit."[1407] The participants would not meet for dinner but sit in Münter's kitchen to paint glasses. The remaining photograph, taken by Gabriele Münter, shows none of the artists painting, but Münter's maid Fanny Dengler **[Fig. 142]**. The practice of domestic artisanal production is what connects avant-garde art and the folk tradition that Alois Riegl coined in 1894 as "Hausindustrie." With his foundational text *Folkart, house industry and domestic production* (*Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*), the Austrian art historian[1408] elevated folk art to the object of art historical study.[1409] In his treatise, Riegl links the formal appearance of an artifact with the conditions of its production, which was a completely new thought in the art history of the *fin de siècle*.[1410] Alois Riegl was not only the first theorist to use the German notion "Volkskunst," but also the first to define and contextualize it within an economic theory. He links the economic term "Hausfleiss," the lowest form of economic production, with the art term "Volkskunst," to define the lowest form of artistic production.

[1406] Werner, "'Vor allem wies mir die Volkskunst den Weg'," 16.

[1407] The used notion of "Glasmalzeit" is a word play with the notion "mahlzeit" meaning dinner. Both refer to a gathering together in order to eat, or like in our case, to paint on glass.

[1408] Alois Riegl was the curator of textiles at the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry in Vienna from 1885 until 1897.

[1409] Alois Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1978.

[1410] In 1911, the article on "folklore" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* does not mention the term *Volkskunst*, nor folk art. The term "folklore" is classified in "Belief and Custom," "Narratives and Sayings," and "Art." However "art" only means "folk music" and "folk drama." The English "folklore" is defined as the "lore of the folk" ("lore" as the old English for "learning"), whereas German "Volkskunde" describes the "learning *about* the folk," as Northcote Withbridge Thomas writes in his 1911 Britannica article. For more on Alois Riegl and his relation to *Volkskunst*, see Georg Vasold, *Alois Riegl und die Kunstgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte. Überlegungen zum Frühwerk des Wiener Gelehrten*, Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2004.

Riegl's reference to an economic model is indeed revolutionary if one recalls that until then, the determining factors for style were said to be: material, technique and function. [1411] Following an evolutionist model of art history, Riegl was convinced that artistic styles ("Ornament") were constantly developing across borders and only influenced by economic conditions.[1412] For Riegl, folk art is the beginning[1413] of all human artistic practices and this "golden age"[1414] of "domestic production" ("Hausfleiss") is logically seen as "primitive."[1415] In Riegl's belief, the production of folk art within the domestic sphere would be isolated from international fashions and therefore the authenticity of style was preserved.[1416] The disappearance of folk art by 1850, corrupted by the international fashions of art, was to him a sign of the necessary progress of economic development and artistic production.[1417] Alois Riegl explains the nineteenth-century fascination with folk art in terms of a frustration with "international art" circa the middle of the nineteenth century. Western painting seemed to have broken with tradition and had so far been unable to produce a new style.[1418] This would be why the fascination with oriental art reached its height around the time of the Vienna World's Fair in 1873.[1419]

Hoping for a "fruitful renaissance of modern art" ("fruchtbare Wiedergeburt der modernen Künste"), Alois Riegl recognized that ancient, exotic but also folk art had caught artists' attention– with the sole difference that folk art was still alive and practiced and present in its remnants. With its simple and naïve inventions, with its pleasure and skillful handling of colour, folk art could

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[1411] As for example asserted by Gottfried Semper in the 1860s. Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Aesthetik. Ein Handbuch für Techniker, Künstler und Kunstfreunde*, Frankfurt, 1860.
[1412] On year prior to the article on *Volkskunst*, Alois Riegl had published his *Stilfragen*, wherein he introduced style as autonomous from material and technical conditions. Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen. Grundlagen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1893.
[1413] "…so steht die Volkskunst nicht minder am Beginne aller bewussten künstlerischen Thätigkeit des Menschen." Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, 14.
[1414] Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, 54.
[1415] Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, 14.
[1416] Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, 11.
[1417] Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie,* 53-54.
[1418] Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, 55-56.
[1419] The "Great Exhibition" of 1851, a Royal commission by Prince Albert had as its initial goal to showcase the progression from raw materials, to machinery, manufacturers and ultimately art (in the form of sculpture). For more on the comissioning, enterprise and legacy of the Great Exhibition of 1851, see Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the great exhibition: Art, Science and Productive Industry: A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851*, London: continuum, 2004, 40.

"affect" ("Affektion") the nineteenth-century viewer and be discovered as a "treasure" for new art. Thus in 1894, Alois Riegl could still find the remains of an authentic *Volkskunst* on the outer edges of the Habsburg Empire (e.g. in today's Rumania[1420]) and view these as "survivals"[1421] of a primitive, elementary, and simple lifestyle vanquished by industrialization.[1422] In his book on *Folkart, house industry and domestic production*, Riegl promotes the documentation and collection of the objects that had remained and calls for their scientific analysis. As Beat Wyss argued in his original *Bilder von der Globalisierung. Die Weltausstellung von Paris 1889,*[1423] the creation of the nation-state at the end of the nineteenth century, had to promote shared rural origins to create a collective national identity while allowing for local traditions to continue. While industrialization eliminated many customs at the basis of these traditions, they became in turn, and predictably enough, elevated to society's folklore, similar to the idea of the "totem."[1424]

Wyss argues that the worldwide spreading of industrial capitalism led to a standardization of processes of production. This was when cultural differences were recognized and pointed out for the first time. Cultural identity is, according to Wyss, that-which-it-is-not identical with. In this dialectic of globalization, imperial, economic, military, and political power is decisive in establishing a conscious self-determined cultural identity, a privilege shared by the colonizer over the colonized,[1425] for the construction of national narratives. The fascination for the exotic other gave way to "domestic exoticism: the cult of ancient national customs"[1426] ("Binnenexotik: der Kult nationalen Brauchtums"), as Hermann Bausinger has called the phenomenon. For Riegl,

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[1420] At the Paris World's Fair of 1889 the Cabaret Roumain at the Rumanian pavillon was the only exhibition of folklore at this fair.
[1421] This idea was formulated for the first time in Edward B. Tylor's 1871 publication *Primitive Culture.*
[1422] Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie*, 4-5.
[1423] Beat Wyss, *Bilder von der Globalisierung. Die Weltausstellung von Paris 1889*, 2010.
[1424] Wyss is talking about a "totemization" of the folklore. See also his chaper on "Die Azteken: das totemisierte Subjekt" in Wyss, *Bilder von der Globalisierung, 127-137.*
[1425] Wyss, *Bilder von der Globalisierung*, 219.
[1426] Hermann Bausinger, "Alltag und Exotik," *Exotische Welten, Europäische Phantasien*, edited by Hermann Pollig, Stuttgart: Cantz, 1987, 114-119, 119.

works of folk art were "artistic phenomena … at the verge of disappearing"[1427] and although "the most primitive level of artistic development"[1428] able to inspire modern artists.

Riegl warned against the danger of turning folk art into an industry to protect these ancient national customs. He argued that as soon as folk art production left the domestic, the authentic character would get lost, and folk art would turn into a fashion that would entail its rejection again. Similarly, Leo Tolstoy believed in the Russian peasant as the artist of the future.[1429] Instead of a model of excellence, he believed in the universal qualities of art and the simplicity of its expression, according to his 1897 essay, *What is art*? In this text, Tolstoy discusses art's relationships with religion, commerce, and science.[1430] Roger Fry would pick up on theses connections when he developed his aesthetic theory in 1909. In their edition of the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* in 1912, Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc engaged with similar concerns. In 1930, Kandinsky remembered that he had conceived of the almanac as a "synthetist book" ("'synthetisches' Buch") aiming to prove that art should not be a question of form but of artistic content, while at the same time levelling out the differences between so-called "official" and "ethnographic" art.[1431] Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky had intended to show with their almanac that "The whole work, called art, knows no borders or nations, only humanity."[1432] Today, Kandinsky's universalism is

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[1427]"künstlerische Erscheinungen ... am Abende vor ihem Verlöschen." Alois Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie,* 1894 as reprinted in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Studientexte VI*, Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1978, 5.

[1428] "primitivste Stufe künstlerischer Entwicklung" Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie*, 5.

[1429] One year later, Wassily Kandinsky participated in an ethnographic expedition to the Wolgoda, significantly influencing his understanding of folk art. Four hundred kilometres north of Moscow, Kandinsky entirely found himself in another environment. Later in life, he would remember the local customs of painting the insides of their houses, including furniture, with abstract ornaments, claiming that this had been the beginning of his journey towards abstraction in painting. For more on Wassily Kandinsky and folk art, see Elina Knorpp, "Wassily Kandinsky, Ethnografie, Volkskunst und der Blaue Reiter," *Folklore & Avantgarde. Die Rezeption volktümlicher Traditionen im Zeitalter der Moderne*, edited by Katia Baudin and Elina Knorpp, Munich: Hirmer, 2020, 104-109.

[1430] Leo Tolstoy, *What is art ?,* London: Penguin Classics, 1995. First published in 1898 by Crowell.

[1431] Wassily Kandinsky, as cited in Wassily Kandinsky*, Essays über Kunst und Künstler*, edited by Max Bill, Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hat, 1955, 189.

[1432] Franz Marc and Kandinsky in the unpublished preface to the *Blue Rider* almanac, as quoted in Annegret Hoberg, "Is Art Created Equal? The Blue Rider and Widening Horizons," In *Group Dynamics. The Blue Rider*, edited by Matthias Mühling, Annegret Hoberg, and Anna Straetmans, 25-79, 26.

judged as a testimony of the contemporary colonial age and criticized for its absorption of art from different cultures under the modern art paradigm.[1433]

Against this backdrop, Gabriele Münter approached reversed painting on glass pragmatically: first by taking the glasses produced by her teacher Rambold; see for example *Exvoto for sick farmer (Exvoto für bettlägerigen Bauern)* **[Fig. 143]** that Gabriele Münter copied directly onto the glass. Once reversed, Gabriele Münter's *Exvoto* **[Fig. 144]** shows the original motif back-to-front. The outlines correspond perfectly with Rambold's version, whereas the colours show that Münter took some liberty in the harmonies of her version. She also made copies from glasses in the collection Krötz, as in a 18th-century glass of *The Death of a Saint* ("Der Tod des Hl. Josef") **[Fig. 145]**. While the original glass had a silver reflecting background, Münter's version presents a dark black painted backdrop. To make the dark outlines of the depicted scene visible, Münter left a narrow white "halo" next to the outlines to make them stick out more **[Fig. 146].** The third group of reversed glass paintings are inventions of her own. In their style and conception, they stand closer to her drawings and paintings, like *Wayside cross in landscape* ("Kruzifix in Landschaft") of 1910 **[Fig. 147]**.

The Murnau brewer Johann Krötz had started to collect reversed glass paintings from the region around Lake Staffel already in the 1880s and had amassed over 1000 pieces at his death.[1434] Beginning in 1905, Krötz had made his collection public to an interested audience, as more specifically for Gabriele Münter and her peers. While Gabriele Münter had bought at least 20 glasses by Rambold, Johann Krötz also bought glasses made by Gabriele Münter. Krötz's collection started at the exact moment when the traditional popular art had begun to disappear and therefore was becoming more interesting for collectors, anthropologists and art historians.

To protect Bavarian folk art and culture from disappearing altogether, the Association for Folk art and Ethnography (*Verein für Volkskunst und Vokskunde*) was founded in 1902 in Munich. Soon after that, anthropologists, artists, and architects collaborated to construct museums to preserve this culture. – in German called *Volkskundemuseum* or *Heimatmuseum.* In 1904, the Munich architect Franz Zell (1866-1961) was hired to build Oberammergau's Museum. Zell had

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[1433] Hoberg, "Is All Art Created Equal?," 66.
[1434] Krötz' collection makes up the basis of the Folk art museum of Oberammergau.

hiked through the Alpregions from Bavaria to Tyrol to document the rustic houses, garments, and interiors. At the beginning of the twentieth century, he used his research to conceive projects in the so-called Heimatstil. This *Heimatstil* is a staging of folklore elements after his conservative, anti-urban and agricultural romantic imagination and had nothing to do with the real life of rural folks around 1900.[1435]

Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky developed their own kind of "Heimatstil" when they moved into their newly constructed country villa, where they lived without running water and electricity but with a servant. They adopted the traditional dress[1436] of local peasants for their gardening **[Fig. 148]** in Murnau yet led a bohemian life in the Schwabing's artists' circles while in Munich: these two lifestyles could appear contradictory but the interest in the peoples and customs of rural Bavaria had in fact become in fashion in the avant-garde circles of Schwabing. [1437] On the occasion of fairs and carnivals, artists, intellectuals and writers "dressed up" like "Bavarians" in their traditional costumes. At this moment in modern history, folk art had become a creative source for avant-garde artists.[1438]

Collection and Still lifes

As I previously mentioned, Alexej Jawlensky was the first of the artist group who became interested in this old Bavarian folk art. It seems he started to collect it right away and he displayed his collection on one whole wall of his Munich studio.[1439] Already in 1908, he began to integrate

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[1435] Werner, "'Vor allem wies mir die Volkskunst den Weg,'" 16.
[1436] Additionally to dressing up in the traditional Bavarian dress ("dirndl") and leather trousers ("lederhosen"), Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky fitted their new house with furniture that they had painted themselves with folklore ornaments, still on view in their former house in Murnau.
[1437] This rings especially true if one compares Gabriele Münter's biography with those of contemporary women from the Bavarian countryside. The Bavarian author Lena Christ (1881-1920) gives an honest look into the lives of the poor working class and rural peoples at the beginning of the twentieth century describing especially the lives of women as filled with domestic hard work, no agency, and the need for a strong will for survival within the strict limitations of Bavarian society along class lines. Lena Christ, *Die Rumplhanni: eine Erzählung*, Munich: Langen, 1916.
[1438] For more on the importance oft he Lebensreform movement in artists circles of the *fin de siècle*, see Renate Foitzik Kirchgraber, "Lebensreform und Künstlergruppierungen um 1900," PhD diss., Universität Basel, 2003, http://edoc.unibas.ch/diss/DissB_6566, accessed 15 September 2021.
[1439] Annegret Hoberg,"Jawlensky und Werefkin – Im Kreis der Neuen Künstlervereinigung München und des Blauen Reiters," *Lebensmenschen – Alexej von Jawlensky und Marianne von Werefkin*, exhibition catalogue, edited by Roman Zieglgänsberger, Annegret Hoberg and Matthias Mühling, Munich: Prestel, 2019, 200-219, 204.

reversed glass paintings from his collection into his still lifes, as in his *Still life with glass paintings, green vase and fruits* ("*Stillleben mit Hinterglasbild, grüner Vase und Früchten*") **[Fig. 133]** Gabriele Münter and Alexej Jawlensky were not only collecting reversed glass paintings, but also other folk art, like little figurines, mainly Madonnas.[1440] One of her first still lifes that includes objects of her folk art collection is entitled *Flowers in front of pictures* ("Blumen vor Bildern"), 1910 **[Fig. 150]**. It closely resembles Jawlensky's still life. Yet, within the next two years, Münter would find her unique way of integrating her collection into her painting by the means of her still lifes. In her correspondence with Wassily Kandinsky from October to December 1910 (while he was away in Russia), Gabriele Münter wrote about painting her still lifes from their collection, hung in the Munich apartment:

> There would be so much to see here – (*your* pictures – *mine* – the things on *walls*) to think – to do – to read (first of all newspapers). I have put away my studies so as not to be distracted by them – first I'm going to work on a couple of sketches (paint pencil jottings) & then there are still lifes asking to be done wherever you look – It's *so* beautiful here with the flowers! And the table with the 17 madonnas![1441]

Münter's still lifes including objects from her collection do not fall in any of the traditional categories of still lifes of art history (hunting, flower, vanitas, etc.). Over the following days, in almost every letter, she comes back to the progress she is making with her still lifes, calling them at times:

> dark, impressionistic – mystical – painted – kitsch. My armchair table with lots of madonnas and flowers. Then the same again small from the other side — synthesis – then lunch – then redid yesterday's still life more stringently following the morning drawings, & when I came home this evening I did another drawing of it – unmistakable Picasso influence.[1442]

Münter comments on the dark colours used in this series of still lifes. The still life Gabriele Münter might be referring to in her letter is her *Still Life with Figures* ("*Dunkles Stillleben mit Figürchen*"), 1910 **[Fig. 150]**, showing Münter's and Kandinsky's collection of figurines carved in

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[1440] Prior to Bavarian folk art, Jawlensky and Werefkin started to collect Japanese prints by Hiroshige, Hokusai and Kuniyoshi that were traded also in Munich starting in 1905. Besides Jawlensky, Also Franz Marc and August Macke had collected Japanese wood cuts that were printed in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*. Mühling, Hoberg and Straetmans, *Gruppendynamik. Der Blaue Reiter*, 223-227.

[1441] Gabriele Münter to Wassily Kandinsky, October 30, 1910, Munich, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914,* 76.

[1442] Gabriele Münter to Wassily Kandinsky, November 3, 1910, Munich, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914*, 80-82.

Oberammergau. The painting shows a miniature Madonna, from a Bavarian pilgrimage site called Altötting, set on a table together with some flowers. In the background are three reversed glass paintings from her collection. In a third still life, the same glass painting showing a *Crucifix* ("Gekreuzigter (vor schwarzem Grund)") now dominates the background. **[Fig. 151]** As she had already done in her 1910 glass painting of *The Death of a Saint* **[Fig. 146]**, Münter here exchanges the black outlines for contours left blank, making the canvas shining through.

In the following year, Gabriele Münter painted several other so-called "dark still lifes." It had become nearly impossible to identify a specific influence on Münter, whether it be Jawlensky, Picasso, Rouault, or Kandinsky. It is unclear which of Picasso's works Münter is referring to in her letter, but at the second exhibition of the *NKVM* in 1910, three works of Picasso were included, one of them a still life. After Münter had written to Kandinsky about her still lifes, he sternly warned her: "Now as you know, I am quite opposed to hard, overly precise form, which 'today' is impossible & anyway leads to a dead end… If you really feel what I mean (don't philosophize, just *simply* understand, feel!) and forget all the Picassos and Picassore… Work! Don't overdo things!"[1443] While Wassily Kandinsky seems concerned to know Picasso as a possible influence on Münter's still life, Christine Tauber interprets Münter's commentary on some Picasso influence as pure self-irony, especially since it was directed to her former teacher and naturally main source of inspiration, Kandinsky. Instead, Picasso could simply be just one reference to locate herself in the network of artists she recently had exhibited with and art history in general.[1444]

In another letter of November 1910, she reassures Kandinsky: "… It was the *scheme* of the lines I was drawing & it's all experiment – anyway. I am sure you are aware that I never think how does so-and-so do it or how did I see it in this or that picture."[1445] Still lifes offered her the freedom to arrange objects in compositions and functioned as a laboratory for experimentation with colour, texture and composition. The immediate environment of her apartment housing her collection of

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[1443] Wassily Kandinsky to Gabriele Münter , November 8, 1910, Moscow, as cited in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914*, 83.
[1444] Christine Tauber, "Noch einmal: 'Wider den Einfluss'. Statt einer Einleitung," In *Einfluss, Strömung, Quelle. Aquatische Metaphern der Kunstgeschichte*, edited by Christine Tauber und Ulrich Pfisterer, Bielefeld: transcript, 2018, 9-25, 13.
[1445] Gabriele Münter to Wassily Kandinsky, November 12, 1910, Munich, as cited in in Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter. Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914*, 84.

artifacts offered her the opportunity for series of still lifes. In her few contemporary letters and belated notes, Gabriele Münter presented her working on her still lifes as a spontaneous practice in which she engaged whenever the motif was "calling" [1446] her. This also seems to have been the case for her so-called dark still lifes of 1911, for example, *Dark Still life* (secret) *(Dunkles Stilleben, Geheimnis),* 1911 **[Fig. 152]** and *Still life with St George* ("Stillleben mit Heiligem Georg"), 1911 **[Fig. 153]**. In retrospect, Gabriele Münter claimed to have chosen the dark colour by accident, or at least unconsciously. A black pot of black paint standing close by is used to ground the canvas from which the still life emerges.

The reversed glass painting shown in *Dark Still life* (secret) stem from her collection: Heinrich Rambold's *The Queen of Bohemia confessing to Saint Nepomuk* (*Beichte der Königin von Böhmen beim Hl. Nepomuk)* **[Fig. 154]**. It shows the two saints in front of a dark black and blue background that might have given the tone for the painting's dark backdrop in the same colours. These dark still lifes contrast with her brilliant, colourful landscapes and portraitures she had produced since her return to Germany. For example in *Dark Still life (secret) (Dunkles Stilleben, Geheimnis),* 1911, Gabriele Münter is creating the environment for each object with broad dark strokes. With this pictorial strategy, she is turning the whole canvas into a field of expression that was formerly only carried by the objects themselves. In consequence, the whole painting becomes an "emotionally charged meta-object."[1447] Münter's still lifes do not fit into the canon of modern still lifes. They neither analyze a visual syntax in their compositions (like Cézanne) nor deconstruct the objects depicted (like Cubism). They did not serve to document her folk art collection, this task is reserved for photography. At a time when consumer products are more and more industrially produced, Gabriele Münter is not only representing exclusively

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[1446] In a note to her life partner, Johannes Eichner, Gabriele Münter wants to recall how she painted *Dunkles Stillleben (Geheimnis)*, 1911: "Einmal in der Ainmillerstr. in meinem Arbeitszimmer stand ich nach dem Frühstück u. sah de Rauch der Zigarette nach. Da stand auf dem Tischchen an der Wand von Madonnenfigürchen, Glasbildern, dem von mir bemalten Bäckerglas u. dem roten Stopfei ein Stillleben, dunkel, tief, wie eine Klage. Ich nahm die große Leinwand schnell, machte sie aus einem Farbtopf, der, ich weiß nicht warum, da stand, schwarz u. malte das Bild. Als es geschehen war u. ich aufschaute schien es mir gut – so daß ich 'Donnerwetter' sagte. Aber eine Klage war es nicht, es war ein Geheimnis. Vielleicht kam es von der Schwärze?" Gabriele Münter as cited in Annegret Hoberg, *Gabriele Münter*, Munich: Prestel, 2003, 23.

[1447] I see similar mechanisms playing out than in Vincent van Gogh's still lifes of the 1880s. Michael Zimmermann, "Fetisch und Entfremdung. Van Gogh und das Ende des Stilllebens," In *Van Gogh. Stillleben*, edited by Ortrud Westheider and Michael Philipp, Munich: Prestel, 2019, 116-131, 121.

handmade objects, but also artifacts from an artistic tradition other than Western painting. By that time, Gabriele Münter has unlearned classical Western still life. Focussing on technique, I argue that she is conscious that painting has long lost its magic power of evoking objects.

The year of 1911 was dominated by the dissonances in the *Neue Künstler Vereinignung München* and the beginning of the artist group *Blauer Reiter*.[1448] While Kandinsky and Marc started working on an artists' almanac, Gabriele Münter traveled to Berlin and the Rhineland. In July, she stayed in Berlin with her sister, visiting the exhibition of the Berlin Secession (July 5, 1911), the Museum of Arts and Crafts (July 13, 1911), and the Museum of Anthropology (July 14, 1911). Toward the end of the same month, Münter visited new museums and collectors in the Rhineland, including Karl Ernst Osthaus in Hagen, the founder of the Volkwang Museum. Kandinsky had insisted that Gabriele Münter went to Hagen to promote the *NKVM*. Unfortunately, it is unknown what Gabriele Münter thought of the museum display **[Fig. 155]**, juxtaposing, since 1902, European painting (mainly French avant-garde) with applied arts, premodern and non-Western artworks.[1449] And yet, it is likely that it influenced how she thought about the representation of her own collection of folklore artifacts.

Münter displayed her collections by mixing objects from different cultures and origins: Bavarian Madonnas, Russian figurines are arranged together with one revers glass painting of *Saint George* (a symbolic figure for the group *Der Blaue Reiter*) from Kandinsky's and Münter's glass collection. Münter picks the rose halo surrounding St George in the folk original and extends the ground the dragon is lying on to the background as a dark cloud floating over the table. From the *ex-voti* hung in chapels and shrines in Bavaria and Tyrol, that Gabriele Münter sketched in 1908

[1448] From June 1911 onwards, Wassily Kandinsky worked with Franz Marc on the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*. In this publication, illustrations of non-Western art (African, Byzantine, Chinese, Egyptian arts and also folk art (reversed glass paintings), child art, among others) were juxtaposed with illustrations of the French, German and Russian avant-garde (Cézanne, Münter, Rousseau, Marc, Macke, Kandinsky, Matisse, Delaunay, Goncharova, and van Gogh). Franz Marc had had the idea to compare different art histories in the almanac. Most illustrations of non-Western art in the almanac stem from Münter's and Kandinsky's private collections.

[1449] For more on the history, concept and presentation of Karl Ernst Osthaus' collection after the Wagnerian idea of the "Gesamtkunstwerk," see Katherine Kuenzli, "The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum: The Folkwang as Gesamtkunstwerk," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 72, no. 4 (2013): 503-529.

[Fig. 156], she uses the visual element of the clouds, delimitating two different realities: the sacred and the secular, the past from the present, or even the future in a vision.

Deliberately she exposes some figurines to the light, whereas others get to stand in the shadow. While all figurines come from her collection, Münter takes the liberty to deform her figures as she pleases. For example, the figurine of the *Ettal Madonna* **[Fig. 157]** who appears in the dark still life with completely different proportions and the Christ child on the opposite leg.[1450] In the literature on Gabriele Münter, the influence of reversed painting on glass ("Hinterglasmalerei") on her œuvre is reduced to a stylistic and formal one. Gabriele Münter is said to have been intrigued by the simple, colourful motifs, which were consistently rendered with a dominant contour and flat planes and often had an ornamental character.[1451] Her *Still life with St. George* indicates how Gabriele Münter managed to reinvent modern still-life painting with the means taken from her folk art collection.

After her dark still lifes were shown in the first exhibition of the artist group *Der Blaue Reiter* in winter 1911/1912 and printed in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter*, Münter's dark still lifes were considered as having a programmatic character: the expression of the spiritual agenda of the German avant-garde group and of Wassily Kandinsky in particular. In the 1912 almanac, Gabriele Münter's *Still life with St. George* (1911) **[Fig. 153].** illustrates Wassily Kandinsky's article "On the Question of Form" ("Über die Formfrage"). In his article, he interprets her still life as expressing the inner harmony created by the outer (formal) disharmony.[1452] Ever since Kandinsky's judgment—in fact, her still lifes serve his theory about the "inner sound of things" ("innere Klang" der Dinge)—Münter's still lifes were read as a *sacra conversazione* between the various artifacts.[1453] Kandinsky is referring to the Western tradition of religious paintings popular in fifteenth-century Italy. Classical examples of *sacra conversazione* show a community of Saints in

[1450] For the identification of Münter's collection in her paintings, see Nina Gockerell, "'Und der Tisch mit den 17 Madonnen [...]'. Gabriele Münter und ihre Volkskunstsammlung," *Gabriele Münter und die Volkskunst, exhibition catalogue, Murnau: Schlossmuseum Murnau*, 2017, 57-67.
[1451] Friedel and Gockerell, *Hinterglasbilder, Schnitzereien und Holzspielzeug,* 18.
[1452] "Das Stilleben von Münter zeigt, daß die ungleiche, ungleichgrade Übersetzung der Gegenstände auf einem und demselben Bild nicht nur unschädlich ist, sondern in richtiger Anwendung einen starken komplizierten inneren Klang erzielt. Der äußerlich als disharmonisch wirkende Akkord ist in diesem Falleder Urheber der inneren harmonischen Wirkung." Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," *Der Blaue Reiter*, 180.
[1453] Kandinsky, "Über die Formfrage," 180.

a ”holy conversion,” without context nor narrative. When Kandinsky is evoking this art historical trope, he evokes paintings by Giovanni Bellini or Andrea Mategna that present a ”purposefully-calculated composition”[1454] of figures. I disagree with Kandinsky's interpretation of Gabriele Münter's dark still lifes as *sacra conversazione*. As I have shown, Gabriele Münter was unlearning Western still life painting through the integration of the technique of reversed glass painting into the process of her oil painting. Her dark still lifes, showing glasses, folk art and classical element of still lifes, like flowers and a table, are referring only to painting itself. And yet, Kandinsky's interpretation of them has persisted over the last hundred years, as I argue, because of the assumed direct influence of his theories on her painting. To assume that his ”influence” on her had been one-directional considers Münter as Kandinsky's student, simply perpetuating his aesthetic ideals.

A text that Wassily Kandinsky wrote on the occasion of Gabriele Münter's solo exhibition at the Kunstsalon Dietzel, Munich, might serve as an example: his introduction to the catalogue, with the working title “The destiny of artists, who are truly artists”[1455] did not make it into the 1913 catalogue but serves as a historic document to inform the context of the show (**Annex E**). In this manuscript, Kandinsky reflects on the nature and destiny of women artists and the problems that come up when women artists are called “masculine” by art critics as soon as they show “potential.”[1456] He remarks that women are, in general, judged differently from men, even more so if they are women artists.[1457] He continues to explain why Gabriele Münter is a “natural,” “inner” and “genuinely German talent” and a “purely feminine one” without possessing any “female coquetry.”[1458] Her paintings are created “unpretentiously, not for external effect, but on a purely inner impulse,”[1459] echoing the judgement he gave of her dark still lifes in the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* in 1912.[1460] Münter's still lifes had seemed difficult to reconcile with his theories; on the

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1454 Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann, ”An unusual *sacra conversazione* by Giovanni Bellini,” In *Two Cultures. Essays in the Honour of David Speiser*, edited by Kim Williams, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2006, 159-166, 165.
1455 See **Annex E**.
1456 Kandinsky, “The destiny of Artists,” 1 recto.
1457 Wassily Kandinsky, [MES37], 1 recto.
1458 Kandinsky, [MES37], 2 recto, 2 verso.
1459 Kandinsky, [MES37], 3 recto.
1460 Wassily Kandinsky, “On the Question of Form”, In *The Blaue Reiter Almanac*, edited by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, London: Tate, 2006, 147-86.

one hand, they seemed unfinished, and on the other hand, not abstract enough. In another text, he criticized her for failing to "overcome the material"[1461] ("das Überwinden des Stofflichen").

Kandinsky's judgement reflects what Nathalie Heinich has coined the "dogma of singularity" and women artists' difficulties to comply to it. As I have argued earlier, talent is considered the prerequisite of the modern artist. Münter's liminal existence, needing to "paint like a man" to be taken seriously by some and at the same time staying "purely feminine" for others, reflects the ultimate risk of women artists' praxes of unlearning, of being truly modern.

Conclusion – Art/history of Unlearning

By 1913, both Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter had had their first solo exhibitions. The collections of images they produced before WWI were the result of some conscious act of unlearning. Their self-determined choice of an ethno-artistic project brought them closer to the European avant-garde's "primitivist revolution" that was equally driven by the desire for a more authentic artistic expression. And yet, neither Carr nor Münter overcame their material, as Wassily Kandinsky had formulated his critique of Münter's still lifes: while Emily Carr's paintings of native sites were criticized for not being sufficiently accurate in their representation of the materiality of the totem poles, Gabriele Münter's still lifes never abandoned the material object towards abstraction. Caught in-between criteria on what it means to be a truly modern artist, they never seem to belong fully, always already of and out of their time.[1462]

As this chapter attempted to show, the unlearning of Carr's and Münter's artistic education did not automatically lead to an emancipation from the very same education. In order to gain artistic singularity, unlearning became necessary. The case of women artists' unlearning was complicated by the fact that the very same objects that served their peers to justify a "primitivist revolution" in modern art, helped them to internalize modern art itself. While the first group "exoticized" the ethnographic object, Carr and Münter proposed it as something near and "familiar." This points to a "retrogressive" movement towards the archaic found in Northwest coast totem poles and

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[1461] Kandinsky as cited in Kleine, *Münter and Kandinsky*, 408.
[1462] The idea of the „Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen" as an art-historical problem in defining artistic generations, had been formulated for the first time by Wilhelm Pinder, *Das Problem der Generation in der Kunstgeschichte Europas*, Leipzig : Seemann, 1928.

Bavarian folk art, not a de-skilling of a great master. Carr's and Münter's unlearning does not lead them back to the point of departure of their learning journey but propels them forward into modernism. The backward motion intrinsic in unlearning contrasts the idea of a forward motion towards a next stage of artistic evolution. Carr's and Münter's unlearning as a woman artists' praxis is further complicated by a lack of historic consciousness of their own work in relation to art history itself. Then Emily Carr's production of "totem pole pictures" and Gabriele Münter's dark still lifes should not be understood as a return to pre-modern times in history but as an attempt to approach their own time and reality through the medium of painting, which makes them true contemporaries to their peers. Carr's and Münter's difficulties to be recognized as driving the modern art revolution can be explained by the limitations of their gender but also by the masculinist stance of the avant-garde.[1463] Fifteen years later, in 1927, Emily Carr is elevated to the iconic status of founder of Canadian art history with her participation in the "Exhibition of West Coast Art: Native and Modern". Since then, Canadian Modernism is impossible to be told without her. Gabriele Münter had more difficulties to be recognized as a leading figure of German modernism, independently from Wassily Kandinsky. Only recently did she attract more attention, mostly internationally, where she is frequently solicited as the female representative of German Expressionism.[1464]

[1463] For more on the virility in early twentieth-century art and how it alienated women artists to be part of the avant-garde circles, see Carol Duncan, "Virility and domination in early twentieth-century vanguard painting," In *Feminism and Art History*, edited by Norma Broude, New York: Routledge, 2018, 292-313.
[1464] Especially English scholars are keen on telling modern art history with an all-female cast. At the end of 2022, the Royal Academy of Art, London is planning an exhibition of the works of Paula Modersohn-Becker, Käthe Kollwith, Gabriele Münter and Marianne Werefkin with the working title "Making Modernism." Gabriele Münter is also planned to be included into a book project by the English art historian Katy Hessel, who wants to tell "The Story of Art without Men." (forthcoming)

Conclusion – Why unlearning now?

This thesis has aimed at creating a conceptual framework to discuss together for the first time the artistic praxes of Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. Within a larger praxis of unlearning, Carr's and Münter's early ethno-artistic projects were discussed with questions of art education, female emancipation and decolonizing efforts in modern art history. This dissertation has focused on their artistic praxes independently from their national art histories without neglecting the different status Carr and Münter possess in their respective art histories. While both artists have been the subject of a multitude of art historical studies throughout the twentieth century and beyond, they do not have the same importance for the constitution of modern art in their home country. Emily Carr's fundamental role in Canadian modernity is unchallenged since her participation in the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* in 1927. While Gabriele Münter is certainly considered one of the most important modern women artists of Germany and yet, her contribution to German Expressionism has been subsumed under the auspice of the *Blaue Reiter* group.

Additionally, this dissertation offered to integrate the concept of unlearning into the modern art historical discourse, tracing its history to the end of the eighteenth century. Based on the foundation of the English academy, the term "unlearning" had been metabolized throughout the long nineteenth century while its idea remained present within English art writing. Each chapter of part one defined another aspect of unlearning, the concept's paradoxes, practices and art histories, while the second part traced the process of unlearning from "learning" over "learning to unlearn" to "unlearning."

The first chapter introduced unlearning as a paradox: unlearning had been part of the three-stage model of art education as constructed by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his *Discourses*. By integrating this paradox into the curriculum of the English academy, the first president succeeded in emancipating English art from its marginal position among European academic traditions; having "nothing to unlearn" offered the freedom to emancipate English art not only through education but more so from continental traditions of art education that had been developed since the mid-sixteenth century in Italy and France. At the end of the nineteenth century, women artists find themselves in a marginalized position similar to that of English art one hundred years earlier.

In contrast to English art and artists, the new woman artists of the *fin de siècle* had not only to catch up on a professional level, but also on a vocational one.

At the end of the eighteenth century, unlearning meant a critical dissociation from the academic paradigm of learning from the great masters (of the Italian Renaissance) through imitation. Reynolds promoted a conscious return to the origins of art considered more authentic. The eighteenth century believed that art had been learned unconsciously by the ancients like one's mother language, making Greek and Roman art the epitome of artistic truth. At the end of the eighteenth century, Joshua Reynolds recognized this desired authenticity equally in the art north of the alps (Netherlands, Flanders, and Germany) but had trouble integrating these "Primitifs"[1465] into this art theory presented in his *Discourses*.

The yearning for art, uncorrupted by modern fashions, authentic and genuine, also dominated the nineteenth century but the English artists and critics succeeding Reynolds found unlearning now in different places. I could identify the art from the medieval North, for example, Albrecht Dürer, as soliciting different ideas of unlearning in nineteenth-century English art and art history. Artists like Albrecht Dürer were believed to have developed their art independently from foreign (especially Italian) influences. Together with the English artisan and "peasant artists," the medieval artist became models to follow for William Blake, John Ruskin and William Morris. As the negative influences of industrialization on nature and society got palpable in the urban centers of England, the artist group The Ancients returned to the English countryside to discover pastoral landscapes. In a neo-romantic fashion, the English peasant's life got idealized as still in harmony with nature. The precariousness of this harmony is further expressed in the loss of artisanal knowledge and the rarity of man-made objects and artistic practices.

John Ruskin and William Morris turned the medieval artisan into an anti-model of the modern man labouring under inhumane conditions in English factories. While John Ruskin was more interested in the aesthetic spirit of the medieval artist and the art historical importance of his work, William Morris tried to recover the vanished traditions by searching for its remnants in

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[1465] This refers to the term used for art from Flanders at the beginning of the twentieth century, e.g. through exhibitions 1902 in Bruges or 1904 in Paris. For more in the "Primitifs," see Michela Passini, "Pour une histoire transnationale des expositions d'art ancien. Les Primitifs exposé à Bruges, Sienne, Paris et Düsseldorf (1902-1904)," 15-32.

English “peasant art,” aiming to free the contemporary worker from his uncreative labour. This thesis has discussed these three examples within the concept of historic primitivism: they have been left undiscussed by twentieth-century primitivist discourse due to their contemporary and local nature in contrast to the far away and long-ago paradigm. Roger Fry’s art criticism was chosen as the twentieth-century representative of unlearning because he connected eighteenth-century academic discourse with contemporary aesthetic theories to develop his own idea of unlearning. His aesthetic theory was put into practice with his first post-impressionist exhibition, which promoted contemporary French avant-garde painting as a “retrogressive movement.” Bridging English art writing and French avant-garde by transgressing national art histories in his aesthetic theory, Roger Fry prepared the terrain for me to think Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter together.

The second part of this thesis has found the paradoxes, practices and art histories of unlearning developed in the first part within the oeuvre of Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter. Equally, it has established unlearning as a woman artist praxis at the beginning of the twentieth century. Equal to English art at the end of the eighteenth century, women artists in the 1890s also had “nothing to unlearn”—although they did. This thesis has established women artists’ unlearning as a free, authentic and self-conscious praxis with which they were not only able to emancipate themselves through the education available to them but also from the same education to achieve autonomy in their art. The case studies assembled in the second part of this thesis serve to prove how their failure to become part of the academic art world became a catalyst for their unlearning that would lead to a new set of modern imagery, like Carr’s totem poles paintings and Münter’s dark still lifes.

Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter were two white women from privileged social background. Their modernism is shaped by their privilege and the socio-political context in which they found themselves. By approaching modern art history through the lens of Emily Carr’s and Gabriele Münter’s very specific experience (historically and geographically determined, raced, and gendered) I developed new strategies to offer new narratives about histories of modernism that resonate with today’s challenges in acknowledging power dynamics and injustices as well as the difficulties in decolonizing institutions of higher education and museums.

When I started my thesis project in 2013, there seemed to be no need to unlearn, nor for a trans-national study of two female contemporaries who had never met. In lack of ready-made

theories of unlearning, my personal research strategy in search of unlearning was to look for it in unlikely places. This ultimately led to the triangular constellation of an art history of unlearning between English art/writing of the eighteenth century, twentieth-century avant-garde theory and women artists from North America and Germany. My intellectual peregrinations were paralleled by multiple displacements between Canada, Germany and England. Working in-between national art histories, my reading of the geo-aesthetics of the avantgarde through the concept of unlearning allowed me to frequently change my perspective and challenged my idea of any art histories ever being completed. While a national art history can look like a closed case from the inside, looking at it from the outside can evoke a whole set of new questions. This was certainly the case for Gabriele Münter and the critical fortune of her early work that was still shaped by Wassily Kandinsky's judgement. To revisit and revise his look on Münter's dark still lifes is only one of many contributions of this thesis.

In order to write an "art history of unlearning", I first needed to establish Roger Fry's construction of post-Impressionism as an early twentieth-century adaptation of the eighteenth-century concept of unlearning. Therefore I retraced Roger Fry's art historical and aesthetic writings from his early days as a student up to the 1910 catalogue of his first post-impressionist exhibition. Through an extended stay at the King's College Archives, Cambridge, looking into the Roger Fry papers housed there, I could reconstruct the intellectual connection between Fry's 1905 edition of Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses* and his own aesthetic theory of 1909 with the help of unpublished manuscripts of talks and articles. This groundwork helped me to properly integrate Fry's "discovery" of Henri Matisse into its larger aesthetic landscape and ultimately proves the survival of the concept of unlearning from the end of the eighteenth century up to the end of the long nineteenth century.

In my quest to equally unlearn my own ways of writing art history and doing research, I focused my research on Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter on marginal, overlooked and ignored sources within their large successions. In the case of Emily Carr, I had the chance to work on the last unpublished of her funny books, which was equally her very first one. Carr's so-called funny books had been done by the artist for friends and family where they stayed for a long time after Emily Carr's death. "A bicycle ride along the Cowichan" of 1895 (held at the National Gallery of Canada) is the only of Emily Carr's sketchbooks that is still bound and has never been exhibited

nor published in its entirety. It is one of her most complex works of the period between Emily Carr's studies in San Francisco (1890–1893) until she left for her London sojourn 1899. Carr's funny books have no equal in her painterly œuvre. Carr drew them while on travels or after the impression of her rest-cure in 1903. In its precarious status, between private and public, serious and funny, drawing and text, lies the key to interpreting Carr's earliest reflections on her role as a woman in society and a young woman artist and that more accurately than her memoires ever could. In its uncensored nature, Carr's funny books are only equalled by her private collection of books.

My analysis of Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's private collections of books is certainly the most crucial element in constructing my hypothesis of unlearning as a conscious act. I undertook a close reading of both women artists' libraries to activate the pragmatic potential of unlearning beyond the aesthetic discourse. As a result, I could not only suggest Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter as "thinking artists" but make their thinking visible in annotations, commentary and traces left behind in their books. Thanks to my material analysis of the remaining books in the estates in Victoria and Munich, I propose to consider their free, authentic and self-conscious way of interacting with their books as a praxicological way of thinking. Within the protected space of their private libraries, they could engage with their books deliberately, freed from the limitations at play within institutions of higher education. They served as an uncensored space to rectify the hierarchies between students and teachers by confronting the author with their thoughts and opinions without having to fear any repercussions. This thesis constructed women artists' libraries as the liminal space between learning and unlearning. The women's interaction with their libraries allowed them to develop a critical consciousness about existing dynamics within the knowledge paradigm. And yet, my documentation and cataloguing of the current stock of books assembled in the Annex to this thesis can only be the beginning of further potential (art) histories on their owners.

The biggest difference in my research on Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter had been the absence of photography in Emily Carr's case. I nevertheless decided to integrate Gabriele Münter's body of photographs in my research to complete my analysis of her sketchbooks. While Münter's photographs have been published and exhibited in the past, they have never been read together with her drawing but used to illustrate biographical events. Basing my analysis on the premise that Münter used photography and drawing interchangeably, I could decode her artistic praxis of

capturing her immediate environment by looking at her photography and drawings of the same scenery simultaneously. This was key in understanding how Münter undisciplined her pictorial strategies already during her American travels and her artistic training in Munich.

I looked again to Gabriele Münter's sketchbooks to identify her strategies of learning, during her studies at the Munich ladies' academy and with Kandinsky. These sketchbooks function as a mirror and Gabriele Münter documented for us what she saw: herself and her classmates during their drawing lessons are confronted with themselves and the subject of their own gaze. The early sketchbooks are an indispensable source of information about their exploring who they were as artists and searching within themselves for a still missing subject matter. Equally through analyzing Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's sketchbooks I discovered that humour (irony and self-mockery) in their drawings became not only a tool for self-reflection, but also a playful way to remind themselves of the seriousness of their artistic ambitions.

Focussing on the possibilities as much as on the impossibilities of their artistic education, it became clear where their artistic ambitions put their professional ambitions at risk. Failing to satisfy their ambitions and society's expectations of what a woman/artist should accomplish opened up possibilities for Carr and Münter to undiscipline themselves. This "learning to unlearn" happened for Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter with the help of technologies available to women at the end of the nineteenth century, like the bike and the camera. Equally to the "new woman," also the "new woman artist" is constantly transgressing her social limitations and doing that consciously. Humour and self-mockery in Carr's and Münter's drawings, caricatures and private photographs have been a productive way to gain insights into their experiences as young artists in training and have illustrated the constant risk of failure and defeat they faced.

At the basis of Emily Carr's and Gabriele Münter's praxis of unlearning lies a deliberate choice of subject matter that reflects their desire for an authentic artistic expression and a developed conscious awareness of their role within contemporary art movements. Focusing on their artistic praxes as unlearning allowed me to compare women's ethno-artistic projects beyond established national art histories and independently from the dominant narrative. I have argued that the main difference to primitivizing strategies by their male peers was the proximity to the objects and subject matter they had made themselves familiar with. Even though Carr and Münter showcased a sensibility in approaching their subject matter, whether it be Emily Carr's seemingly

anthropological watercolours painted on site in one of the native settlements or Gabriele Münter's photograph of tourist spectacle in Tunis, both times their gaze is nevertheless objectifying and comes unwanted. As women of their time, Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter had the financial means to get close to the exoticised "other" without ever giving up their privileged position.

During the scope of this thesis (1890-1913) middle and upper-class women gained unknown personal and legal freedom while working class women, rural peasants or indigenous peoples in the colonies and all the other individuals on the margins of society lost their agencies, freedom, and in some cases their lives to colonial expansionism, imperialism or industrialization. Their proximity is a false one and created out of artistic necessity. Similar to Emily Carr's totem pole paintings, Münter's unlearning happens when she integrates the process of the folklore technique of reversed glass painting into her still lifes. This happens on two levels: first, literally, by integrating the objects of reversed glass paintings into her still lifes and second, by adopting the reversed application of paint into her painting. What gets unlearned is not only painting itself but also its conception.

Western women artists of Carr's and Münter's generation had no role model nor tradition they could build upon. In search of expression and their quest to fashion themselves as modern artists they appropriated visual traditions and artisanal cultures that could not draw their male peers' attention. Carr's travels along British Columbia's West Coast by canoe or horseback or Gabriele Münter's rural lifestyle, including horticulture and reversed glass painting, gain meaning only once these experiences get translated in their modern painting – back in town. Here, self-fashioning and othering are no opposites like in the exoticist constellation of the male white classically trained painter and his female racialized model, but they mutually define each other.

While I have been focusing on the Canadian and German representatives of modern unlearning, this thesis could have easily been extended to Russian (Natalia Gontscharowa) or Scandinavian (Hilma af Klint) examples of modern women artists' unlearning. Each of them would have added a slightly different focus in their respective unlearning: Natalia Gontscharowa's unlearning was supported by her strong connection to the Russian peasant, while Hilma af Klint received guidance from a group of spirits helping her create the picture for the temple. Since my goal has always been to work with primary archival sources, it was impossible to integrate the

Swedish and Russian archives into my research program. Another possible extension of this thesis could be adding contemporary women artists' praxes of unlearning, such as Annette Krauss'.

Since 2014, the Dutch artist and researcher has been interested in the habits intimately linked to knowledge production within an institution, especially art institutions. In her Site for Unlearning (Art Organization) project, created in collaboration with the team of the Casco Institute: Working for the Commons, Utrecht, Netherlands, the artist experimented with "unlearning exercises" to investigate the potential of the institution of art to change under the pressure of current economic, socio-political and ecological challenges.[1466] The artist uses different tools – performance, film, historical research, pedagogy and writing – to explore the possibilities of participatory practices, performativity and investigations of institutional structures. Her work revolves around the informal knowledge and institutionalized processes of normalization that shape our bodies. It also focuses on how we use objects, how we engage in social practices, and how these influence how we act in the world. Nevertheless, these unlearning exercises are a way of thinking and creating beyond an artistic "deskilling" because they encompass contemporary life with all its economic, social and ecological issues.

Krauss met with the Casco Institute team every two weeks for four years. Her goal was to research in collaboration with the institution, not on the institution. In this way, unlearning together becomes a conscious and intentional decision for both parties. The results of this research-creation were published in 2018 as a manual of unlearning exercises, *Unlearning Exercises: Art Organizations as Sites of Unlearning*, in which are described exercises to do together, such as cleaning, archiving or participating in reading groups inviting other art institutions to develop their praxis of unlearning. Even if these exercises can inspire other forms of unlearning in other institutional contexts, they remain unique to the Casco Institute.

I consider my thesis as part of a revisionist history of modernism, which had been running parallel to decolonial efforts. Nevertheless, remembering and inserting once forgotten, erased or suppressed voices into art history can only be the first step in imagining what Ariella Aïsha Azoulay

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[1466] The results of this unlearning exercises were published in Binna Choi, Annette Krauss, and Yolande van der Heide, *Unlearning exercises: art organizations as a site for unlearning*, Utrecht: Casco Institute, 2018.

calls “potential histories.”[1467] Azoulay denounces history’s (read: history writing) “structural complicity”[1468] and asks historians to take “collective responsibility for their discipline’s corpus, timelines, facts, narratives, and publications.”[1469] Instead, Azulay suggests “potential history” as an “effort to make history impossible and to engage with the world from a nonprogressive approach, to engage with the outcome of imperial violence as if it is taking place here and now.”[1470] I see the evolution of this thesis as an analysis of the practical applicability of the concept of unlearning in the institutions of art history, whether art history as a discipline or the museum of modern art.

[1467] Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, *Potential history. Unlearning Imperialism,* London: Verso, 2019.
[1468] Azoulay, *Potential history*, 375.
[1469] Azoulay, *Potential history*, 379.
[1470] Azoulay, *Potential history*, 287.

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Annex A – Historio-biographical chart: Emily Carr and Gabriele Münter

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
1820		1818. Emily Carr's father, Richard Carr is born in Kent, England.		
			1826. Carl Friedrich Münter, Gabriele Münter's father, is born in Herford, Germany.	
1830			1835. Gabriele Münter's mother, Wilhelmine Scheuber, is born in Sieglingen a.d. Jagst, Germany.	
		1836. Emily Carr's mother, Emily Saunders, is born in Freeland, England.		
	1837. On June 20, Victoria starts her reign as Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain	1837. Emily Carr's father, Richard Carr, boards a ship for America from England. In the following years, he travels across the Americas, from Canada to Peru, never staying for long in one place.		1837. Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, the first of the women's colleges known as the "Seven Sisters", is founded in South Hadley, Massachusetts. The other six are built in the following decades, ending with Barnard College in 1889.
1840				1840. William Henry Fox Talbot patents one of the earliest forms of photography in Britain.
		1842. The city of Victoria, Canada, is founded as a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company.		1840. Catherine Brewer becomes the first woman to earn a Bachelor's degree in the U.S., graduating from Wesleyan College.
			1845. Gabriele Münter's mother immigrates to the U.S. with her family at the age of 9. They settle down in Savannah, Tennessee.	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
			1847. Münter's father, Carl Friedrich Münter, is sent to the U.S. by his father, who deems him too political. He settles down in Nashville, Tennessee, followed by Jackson and Savannah.	
		1848. Richard Carr follows the gold rush to California, where he will met his future wife, Emily Saunders.		1848. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood of Artists is founded. Although its members paint women in an idealized manner, female artists are drawn into the group and find encouragement among its members.
1850				1851. The national census in Great Britain reveals an over-abundance women, with a total of half a million females.
				1852. The Bavarian Royal Academy in Munich closes its doors to women. It will only reopen admissions in 1920.
		1855. Emily Carr's parents return to England to get married. After 25 years abroad, Richard Carr is deeply disappointed by his homeland and returns to the U.S.		1855. The *Society of Female Artists* is founded in London.
			1857. Gabriele Münter's parents get married.	
				1860. The Art Association of Montreal, the forerunner of the MMFA, is founded.
1860				1861. The Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. decorative arts firm is founded by William Morris and fellow members of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. The founders' wives, daughters and female friends are employed in craft production (especially embroidery), paving the way for craft to become a respectable line of work for middle class women.
				1861. Julie-Victoire Daubié is admitted at the University of Lyon, France, as the

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
				first woman at the humanities department.
		1863. Emily Carr's parents settle in Victoria, B.C. Five children will be born into the Carr family: Alice, Tallie, Lizzie, Emily and Dick.		1862. Mount Alison University (N.-B., Canada) admits its first woman student.
			1864. Münter's parents leave the U.S. at the outbreak of the Civil War and settle in Berlin, where Carl Friedrich Münter opens his clinic as an "American Dentist" on Unter den Linden Boulevard, in Berlin. Four children are born in Berlin: Carl, August, Emmy and Gabriele.	
	1865. Foundation of the General Women's Association in Germany (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein*).			
	1866. The first Women's Suffrage Petition is presented to the English Parliament, where it is ignored.			1867. The first woman student graduates at Mount Alison University, New Brunswick, Canada. 1867. The British North America Act states that women are not considered persons. 1867. The Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen (Association of Women Artists Berlin) is founded.
				1868. The Verein der Berliner Künstlerinnen founds its own art school for women. 1868. Rodolph Julian founds the Académie Julian, a private alternative to the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. There, women are permitted to draw from the nude male model.

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
				1868. The University of London admits women as students for the first time, albeit in non-degree programs.
				1869. Louisa May Alcott's (1832-1888) book *Little Women* is published.
1870	1870. In the U. K., married women gain the right to keep their earnings and inherited property with the passing of the Married Women's Property Act.			1871. Compulsory public schooling is instituted in Ontario.
		1871. On December 13, Emily Carr is born in Victoria, British Columbia.		1871. The Slade School of Art, the first co-ed art school in England, opens its doors.
				1871. Art schools and academies in the Russian Empire open their doors to women.
				1871. The Zurich ETH Technical University admits Nadezda Smeckaja, a Russian citizen, as its first woman student.
				1872. Women are admitted to the Königliche Kunstgewerbeschule München (Royal Bavarian School of Decorative Arts) to become drawing teachers.
				1872. Prussia opens first secondary schools for girls.
	1876. Queen Victoria becomes Empress of India.			1876. The Ontario School of Art opens its doors in Toronto.
			1877. On February 19, Gabriele Münter is born in Berlin.	
			1878. The Münter family leaves Berlin. Münter's father judges the political climate	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
			under Bismarck too conservative; the family settles down in Herford, Westphalia, Germany.	
1880				1880. The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts is founded in Toronto, with Charlotte Schreiber as its only female member.
			1884. Münter's family moves to Bay Oeynhausen, near Koblenz.	1882. The Münchner Künstlerinnen-verein (Munich Association of Women Artists) is found in Munich.
				1884. Munich opens its first art school exclusively for women, the Damenakademie des Münchner Künstlerinnenvereins (Ladies Academy Munich).
		1886. Emily Carr's mother dies in Victoria.	1886. Gabriele Münter's father dies.	1886. The Toronto Art School (today: OCAD) is founded.
				1887. The Nova Scotia College of Art and Design is established in Halifax.
		1888. Richard Carr dies in Victoria.		1888. Under the presidency of Walter Crane (1845-1915), women's work is accepted by the newly formed and progressive Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, England.
1890		1890. Emily Carr enters the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art (now the San Francisco Art Institute).		
		1893. Emily Carr returns to Victoria and opens her first studio, where she organizes children's art classes with the intention of earning enough money to go abroad again for further her studies in art.		1893. Female students are allowed to attend England's Royal Academy's life drawing classes and draw from the nude male model for the first time. 1893. Mary Cassatt paints a mural (lost today) in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago entitled *Modern woman*. Her colleague Mary Fairchild MacMonnies

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
				creates the mural *Primitive Woman* in the same space.
		1894. Emily Carr enters her pen and ink drawings in the annual Victoria Fall Fair, winning first prize.		1894. Ella Hepworth Dixon's (1855-1932) book *The Story of a Modern Woman* is published.
		1895. Emily Carr goes on a bicycle ride along Cowichan River, Vancouver Island and draws her first "funny book," today held at the NGC Archives.		
	1897. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is formed under the leadership of Millicent Fawcett.		1897. From May to November, Gabriele Münter begins art studies in Düsseldorf. Her studies are interrupted by the death of her mother in June 1897.	1897. The Paris École des Beaux-Arts starts admitting women.
		1899. During a visit to the settlement of Hiitats'uu Ucluelet on Vancouver island, Emily Carr makes her first drawings of a First Nations settlement. During this trip the Nuu-chah-nulth of Hiitats'uu (Ucluelet) call her "Klee Wyck," meaning "the laughing one."	1898. From September 1898 to October 1900, Gabriele Münter travels with her sister Emmy to the U.S. to visit their mother's siblings in Arkansas (St. Louis, Moorefild) and Texas (Plainview, Guion, Marshall). Gabriele Münter documents this trip in three sketch books and 400 photographs taken with her Kodak Brownie, received for her birthday in 1899.	
		1899. Staring in August, Carr takes up further studies, this time at the Westminster School of Art, London.		
1900		1901. In June, Emily Carr returns to London, receiving her sister Alice for a visit. Probably in August of 1901, Carr arrives in the artist colony of St. Ives to study under Algernon Talmage (1871-1934) and Julius Olson (1871-1934) at the Cornish	1901. In May, Gabriele Münter moves to Munich and is admitted at the *Damenakademie* (Ladies' Academy) of the local Association of Women Artists. 1901. During the summer months, Münter takes part in a sketching trip in rural Bruck, near	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
		School of Landscape Painting. The artist colony had closer connections to the Paris modernity than to London. During her time in St. Ives, Carr mainly paints marine subjects. She leaves St. Ives in early 1902 to return to the Westminster School of Art, only to return to Bushey in Spring of 1902.	Munich, with the Ladies' Academy. She documents the trip in sketches and photographs. 1901. In October, Münter returns to the Ladies Academy for the Fall semester.	
		1902. In June, Emily Carr, now back in London, falls sick and is bedridden with headaches and weakness. Her sister Lizzie comes all the way from Victoria to look after her.	1902. Gabriele Münter takes up classes at the private art school Phalanx, which is run by Wassily Kandinsky and the sculptor Wilhelm Hüsgen. After a first sculpture class, Münter changes to Kandinsky's evening life drawing class. Münter uses oil paint for the first time in 1902. She also learns the technique of woodcuts.	
		1902. In December, Emily Carr consults a specialist in London. Together with her sister and their legal guardian, Carr decides to seek therapy in Naylands at the East Anglian Sanatorium (specialized in tuberculosis and "fresh-air treatment"), where she arrives in January 1903.	1902. In June and August. Münter joins her fellow Phalanx students for a sketching trip in the rural village of Kochel, south of Munich, under the tutelage of Kandinsky. Münter and Kandinsky start taking bicycle trips together there.	
			1903. In May, Münter concludes her studies at the Phalanx school	
	1903. British activist Emmeline Pankhurst forms the Women's Social & Political Union, an all-women suffrage organization, with the motto: "Deeds, not words."		1903. In June and August, Münter spends the summer painting with Kandinsky and fellow Phalanx students in the medieval town of Kallmünz, in a northern province of Bavaria. Münter and Kandinsky secretly get engaged. Kandinsky promises to divorce from his wife Anna Chimyakina. He will get divorced in 1911. Münter and Kandinsky will never marry.	1903. British women's rights activist Sylvia Pankhurst receives a scholarship to the Royal College of Art, London.

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
			1903. From November to March 1904, Gabriele Münter takes her own studio flat in the neighbourhood of Schwabing, Munich's artists' district.	1903. Women are admitted to universities in the Kingdom of Bavaria.
		1904. In March, after 15 months of "rest-cure" Emily Carr leaves the sanatorium for Bushey.		
		1904. In late July, Emily Carr leaves England and arrives in Victoria, British Colombia in October 1904.	1904. From April to the fall of 1908, Münter and Kandinsky are forced to live outside Munich, where Kandinsky's wife is still living. 1904. From May to June, Münter and Kandinsky travel to the Netherlands (Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam, Volendam, Arnhem, et.al.); the rest of the year Gabriele Münter, stays with family in Bonn, Germany.	
		1905. On February 4, Emily Carr goes to see a medium called "Neshaw." He predicts a change of career, further travelling and a husband. In a notebook held at the B.C. Archives, Emily Carr meticulously records what he said.	1904, December to April 1905. Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky travel to Tunisia; during their stay in Tunis, they will visit Carthage, Kairouan and Sousse. Münter documents this trip in sketches and photographs, which will serve as studies for later paintings and prints.	1905. Women are admitted to Munich's public School of Photography (founded in 1900).
	1906. The English suffragists are called "suffragettes" for the first time after committing militant acts in reaction to the failed Bill for Women's Suffrage.	1906. Emily Carr moves to Vancouver, where she will teach at the School of Art and the Vancouver Studio Club. She rents her own studio at 570 Granville Street.	1905. From December to May 1906, Münter and Kandinsky travel along the Italian Riviera, with a four-month stay in Rapallo, Liguria. 1906. On May, 22. Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky arrive in Paris, where they stay at 12 rue des Ursulines. During her stay in Paris, Münter will get acquainted with the works of Gauguin, van Gogh, Monticelli, Redon, Bonnard, Cézanne, Matisse, Marinot, Denis, Signac and Renoir. 1906. In June, Münter and Kandinsky take an apartment in Sèvres for one year.	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
			1906. From November 17 to December 18, Gabriele Münter spends a month in Paris alone, at 58 rue Madame, studying with Théophile Steinlen at the Académie Grande Chaumière.	
		1907. Emily Carr travels to Alaska for a three-week holiday with her sister Alice. Inspired by her journey, she decides to record North West Coast native totem poles *in situ.*	1907. From February to March 1907. Gabriele Münter spends another month alone in Paris. 1907. Münter exhibits six paintings at the Salon des Indépendants in Paris. After a last visit to Paris in June 1907, Münter travels through Switzerland and Germany for the remaining months of 1907, with a seven-month stay in Berlin from September 1907 to April 1908. 1907. In October, a selection of her prints gets exhibited at the Salon d'Automne in Paris.	1907. The Artists' Suffrage League is founded. They design banners, posters and postcards for the movement. 1907. The Women's Guild of Art is founded in England.
	1908. Many suffragettes are arrested for causing disruption and encouraging civil disobedience, following their attempt to "rush" the Parliament.		1908. In January, the Cologne Salon Lenoble exhibits 80 paintings by Gabriele Münter. It is her first solo exhibition. Beginning of 1908. Münter's print œuvre is exhibited in the Friedrich Cohen publishing house in Bonn. 1908. From May to June 1908, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky travel to South Tyrol, Italy, before returning to Bavaria. 1908. In June, Münter and Kandinsky discover the small town of Murnau on a day trip from Munich. They tell Marianne von Werefkin and Alexej Jawlensky about their discovery. 1908. From August to September, Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky make their first stay in the remote town of Murnau, a village to the south of Munich. Gabriele Münter sketches and paints intensively. She will later recall this moment in her artistic practice as "the great leap."	1908. In January, the Académie Matisse is opening to its students. The private art school is managed by the German artist Hans Purrmann (1880-1966).

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
			1908. In fall, Gabriele Münter returns to Munich, where she will live in the Stella B&B until May 1909. 1908. Münter is shown again at the Salon des Indépendants and the Salon d'Automne, Paris.	
	1909. Congress of International Alliance of Women Suffrage. 1909. Suffragettes are arrested for breaking windows of government offices. They go on hunger-strike.		1909. In January, Gabriele Münter participates in the founding of the Neue Künstlervereinigung München (New Artists' Association Munich – NKVM). 1909. In spring. Münter and Kandinsky spend time painting in Kochel and Murnau. 1909. In August, Münter buys a house in Murnau. She starts collecting folk art and becomes the student of the last painter of reversed glass paintings in Murnau. 1909. In October, Münter moves in with Kandinsky into his Schwabing apartment. 1909. In fall, Münter's work is shown again at the Salon d'Automne in Paris. 1909. In December, Münter's work is shown at the Thannhauser Gallery in Munich, in the first exhibition of the New Artists' Association (NKVM). The exhibition travels through Germany and even as far as Odessa.	1909. The Women's Exhibition is held in Knightsbridge; handicrafts are sold to support the suffrage movement in England. 1909. The Suffrage Atelier is founded. 1909. Women are admitted to universities of the German Empire for the first time.
1910	1910. Black Friday for England's suffragettes, as dozens of women are attacked and injured while protesting against the latest postponement of the women's suffrage bill.	1910. Mid-summer, Emily Carr moves back to Victoria. 1910. In July, Carr travels to France for one last 18-month study trip. While in France, Carr will study at the Académie Colarossi, and train with the "Harry" Phelan Gibb (1870-1948), the Scotsman John Duncan Fergusson (1874-1961) and the New Zealand painter Frances Hodgkins (1869-1947). Her sojourn get interrupted for some weeks. Carr spents weeks at	1910. In September, Münter participates in the second exhibition organized by the new artists' association Munich (NKVM). They also show the works of international artists like Braque, Derain, Picasso and Rouault. 1910. In December, Gabriele Münter exhibits some work at the Salon Izdebsky in Odessa, as well as in Moscow in the exhibition *Karo Bube* ("Jack of Diamonds"). 1910 – 11. Gabriele Münter spends the winter months with Wassily Kandinsky in his Schwabing apartment.	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
		a time at the hospital being treated for flue-connected symptoms For recovery she vacations in Sweden.		
	1911. 60.000 women march in the Women's Coronation Procession in London. 1911. The 1911 British census is boycotted by the suffragettes. 1911. The 1911's census is boycotted by the suffragettes.	1911. The Société du Salon d'Automne selects two Emily Carr paintings for presentation at the Musée du Grand Palais in Paris. 1911. In November, Carr returns to Victoria.	1911. Gabriele Münter exhibits at the Salon des Indépendants. 1911. In July, Münter visits new museums in the Rhine province, such as the Folkwang Museum (the first German museum collecting and exhibiting French avant-garde painting.) 1911, November. Münter takes part in the IV. Exhibition of the *Neue Sezession* Berlin. 1911. In December, Münter leaves the new artists' association and becomes a founding member of the artist group *Der Blaue Reiter*, which organizes a first exhibition at the Munich Galerie Thannhauser.	1911. The National Gallery of Canada opens its doors.
		1912. During the summer, Carr travels along the B.C. coast, creating a pictorial record of native villages in Gitxsan and Nisga'a areas, on Haida Gwaii and Kwakwaka'wakw territory.	1912. In January, The Blaue Reiter exhibition is shown first in Cologne, then in Berlin's Sturm gallery together with other so-called "Expressionists," before being shown at the Karl Ernst Osthaus-Museum in Hagen and the Salon Goldschmidt, Frankfurt. 1912. In February, the second exhibition organized by the Blaue Reiter collective is opened; it features only works on paper. 1912. In May, the almanac *Der Blaue Reiter* is published by Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky. 1912. In October, Gabriele Münter starts a collaboration with Herwarth Walden, the gallerist and editor of Berlin's *Sturm* magazine.	
	1913. Imprisoned suffragettes go on hunger strikes. They are temporarily discharged, only to be rearrested when their health is restored. 1913. Emily Wilding	1913. In spring, Carr rents Drummond Hall, in Vancouver, and presents an exhibition of almost 200 paintings. 1913. Lack of sales and students force Emily Carr to leave	1913. In January, Gabriele Münter holds her first retrospective in Berlin, at the Sturm Gallery with 84 works from 1904-1913. The exhibition is shown in Munich, Frankfurt, Dresden and Stuttgart, in slightly altered form. Wassily Kandinsky drafts the introduction to the catalogue and titles it "Das Schicksal der	1913. Henni Lehmann formulates a position paper on women's art studies, demanding that the Prussian Parliament secure equal chances of admission to academies for men and women.

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
	attempts to halt the King's horse at the Derby to draw attention to the suffragette cause and is killed by it.	Vancouver and settle in the house she is building in Victoria. She turns to renting out rooms, breeding dogs and producing tourist souvenirs in the "Indian Designs" as a means of sustaining herself.	Künstler, die wirklich Künstler sind" ("The destiny of artists, who are truly artists…") (for a translation, see Annex E). 1913. In September, Gabriele Münter's works are exhibited amongst other works of the international avant-garde, in the "Ersten Deutschen Herbstsalon," organized by the Sturm Galerie in Berlin.	
	1914. Suffragettes vandalize paintings in London, 1914.		1914. In August. Gabriele Münter follows Wassily Kandinsky as he is forced to leave Germany at the outbreak of the war. They settle in Zurich, Switzerland.	
	On July 28, the First World War begins.Birmingham and Edinburgh.			
			1915. In July, Gabriele Münter travels to Stockholm to meet Kandinsky, who has left Zurich for Moscow. 1915. In December, Kandinsky arrives in Stockholm, where he and Münter spend another three months together before they finally break up. They will never see each other again.	
			1917. In January, Gabriele Münter shows her work in Stockholm together with the local Association of Swedish Women artists. 1917. In November, Gabriele Münter leaves for Copenhagen and makes plans for a large exhibition at Den Frie Udstilling.	
	1918. Women aged 30 and above who meet certain criteria obtain the right to vote in Germany.			
	1919. The Sex Disqualification Removal Act opens all professions to women in England (except			1919. The Bauhaus is founded in Weimar. Promoting equality, it admits women and men on equal terms.

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
	positions within the Church).			
1920			1920. Gabriele Münter moves to Copenhagen.	1920. Oxford University admits women to its degree programs.
		1922. Emily Carr meets the American painter Mark Tobey, who encourages her to exhibit in Seattle.		1922. Anny Swynnerton (1844-1933) is admitted to the Royal Academy and becomes the first woman to do so after Angelica Kauffmann and Mary Moser in 1768.
		1926. The Québec anthropologist Marius Barbeau visits Emily Carr and introduces her to the director of the National Gallery of Canada, Eric Brown.	1926. Münter and Kandinsky reach an agreement over the remaining of his early works, which he had to leave behind at the outbreak of WWI. Münter gets to keep the body of work, which she will protect throughout the Nazi regime and WWII before ultimately donating it to the Lenbachhaus, Munich. Today it forms the basis of the museum's collection of German Expressionist and Blauer Reiter works.	
		1927. Emily Carr's 1912 paintings of native North West Coast sites are exhibited alongside paintings by her contemporaries from the East of Canada together with native objects from ethnographic collections, in the *Exhibition of West Coast Art: Native and Modern.* On this occasion, Emily Carr meets the members of the Ontario artist Group of Seven, including Lawren Harris. The success of the exhibition encourages Emily Carr to pick up her project again.		
	1928. The Representation of the People Act allows English women over the age	1928. Emily Carr returns to painting full-time after a hiatus of several years.	1928. Münter starts a relationship with the German art historian Johannes Eichner, who will write her first biography in 1957, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter; von Ursprüngen moderner*	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
	of 21 to vote, on an equal basis with men.		*Kunst* ("Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter, on the origins of modern art").	
		1928. In the summer, Carr leaves for her second sketching trip to First Nations villages on the northern coast of British Columbia.		
		1929. McGill University publishes Carr's essay "Modern and Indian Art of the West Coast." 1929. In May and again in August, Carr leaves for sketching trips on Vancouver Island .	1929 – 1930. Münter lives with Johannes Eichner in Paris.	
1930		1930. Emily Carr's work is shown extensively throughout North America: • January - February: *Fifth Annual Exhibition of Canadian Art* at the National Gallery of Canada; • March: solo exhibition (sponsored by the Vitoria Women's Club) at the Crystal Garden Gallery; • March: travelling exhibition *Contemporary Canadian Artists;* • April: *Group of Seven exhibition* at Art Gallery of Toronto; • October: *Sixteenth Annual Exhibition of Northwest Artists* (Art Institute of Seattle).		
		1931. Carr contributes work to the travelling exhibition *First Baltimore Pan American*	1931. Münter moves into her Murnau house with Eichner. Eichner organizes a retrospective exhibition of Münter's work, which travels across Germany.	1933. Women are admitted to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts.

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
		Exhibition (Baltimore Exhibition of Art).		
		1932. Emily Carr works with a new medium (oil paint used thin with gasoline on paper), well suited to experimentation in sketching in sketching.		
		1933. On one last trip, Carr is travelling into the coastal mountains from Vancouver to Brackendale, past Seton and Anderson Lake to Lillooet with stops at Seton Lake and Pemberton. 1933. Carr purchases a caravan trailer, which she uses to live and work in a close relationship to the forest landscapes of Vancouver Island.		
		1935. Emily Carr holds her first major solo exhibition at the Lyceum Club Women's Association, Toronto.		
			1936. Münter submits two works to the travelling exhibition "Adolf Hitler's Streets in Art."	
		1937. In January, Carr has a severe heart attack. In March, Carr presents her first solo exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto.	1937. Eichner submits some of Gabriele Münter's paintings to the Nazi's German Great Art Exhibition in Munich, but they are rejected.	1937. In July, the Munich Haus der Kunst opens with the German Great Art Exhibition. 1937. In August, the exhibition of "Entartete Kunst" ("degenerate art") in Munich includes works by Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc and Alexej Jawlensky.
		1938. In October, Emily Carr holds a solo exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery; in the	1938-1945. Gabriele Münter lives quietly in Murnau during the war, keeping her collection	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
		same year her works are featuredin the exhibition *A Century of Canadian Art* at the Tate Gallery, London (organized by the National Gallery of Canada).	of Blaue Reiter paintings hidden in her basement.	
		1939. Carr's work is presented in the exhibition of international contemporary art at the New York World's Fair. 1939. Emily Carr meets the Austrian surrealist painter Wolfgang Paalen (1905-1959).		
		1941. The Emily Carr Trust is founded, with the purpose of administering the Emily Carr Collection. A group of 45 of Carr's paintings is intended to be permanently housed and displayed in British Colombia. Since Emily Carr's death in 1945 they are regularly exhibited at the Vancouver Art Gallery.		
		1943. Carr holds her fifth exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery — the last to be held during her lifetime.		
		1945. Emily Carr dies of a heart attack in Victoria. The memorial exhibition *Emily Carr: her paintings and sketches* is presented at the Art Gallery of Toronto.		
		1946. In January, Carr's memorial exhibition is presented at the Art Association of Montreal; in May, the exhibition presented at the Vancouver Art Gallery.	1946 – 1957. Gabriele Münter receives frequent visits in Murnau from critics and art historians as part of the revival of interest in German modernism in general, and *Der Blaue Reiter* in particular.	

Year	Feminism & Politics	E. Carr	G. Münter	Art & Education
			1949. A first retrospective of the art of the Blauer Reiter opens in Munich including works by Gabriele Münter.	
1950			1950. Gabriele Münter is shown at the German Pavilion at the 25th Venice Biennale.	
			1955. The first documenta opens in Kassel. Gabriele Münter's *Still life in gray* (1910) is exhibited.	
			1957. Münter donates her *Blaue Reiter* collection to Munich's Städtische Galerie Lenbachhaus. The Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stifung is founded. It contains Gabriele Münter's estate and archives.	
			1962. On May 19, Gabriele Münter dies in Murnau.	

Annex B – Translation of Henni Lehmann, "Guiding principles of Women's art studies," 1913

Excerpt of "Women's art studies: a lecture by Henni Lehmann given in Frankfurt, May 1913," published by the Association for Women's Education and Studies, Darmstadt: Verlags-Anstalt Alexander Koch, 1913, 26-27.

Guiding principles

I. Regarding private studios and art schools, it should be noted that:

a. 1. The curriculum is never fully comprehensive and does not provide enough opportunity for all-around training.

2. Training is considerably more expensive than at state academies.

3. Training is often inconsistent and not sufficiently systematic.

4. Admission does not provide adequate guarantee for the assessment of talent and is therefore likely to increase the bevy of dilettantes and amateurs.

b. The three art schools for women in Berlin, Munich and Karlsruhe deserve the utmost recognition. They are able to offer a visual arts education; their disappearance would be deplorable. – They cannot replace the academies because, on the one hand, their curriculum is far less comprehensive in both the number of subjects and the number of hours taught in the individual subjects, and on the other hand, the training at these schools is considerably more expensive.

c. Even the academies open to women cannot replace the historic academies closed to them since their curriculum, too, is usually more restricted and their goals are in part conflated with other

educational purposes. Furthermore, they are in towns that are not art centers enough to familiarise the artist-to-be with historical and contemporary art.

II. a) The objection that the training at the academies would not be suitable at all is not valid as long as academic training is the state-run course of education for male artists and a prerequisite for filling certain positions.

b) The academy offers systematic training in basic techniques and necessitates following an ordered and standardized program of study.

III. The extent to which women are originally creative and capable of superlative performance in art cannot be judged as long as complete training opportunities are not open to them.

IV. Co-educational life classes of men and women cannot be considered impossible, since they are held in many places without arousing opposition.

V. The demand for opening up the art academies is a demand for inner justice that calls for women's full share of the intellectual property of the people.

Henni Lehmann

Annex C – E. Carr Library

Prior to her death in 1945, Emily Carr wrote in her will directed to her helpmate and literary executor, Ira Dilworth: "… I'd like you to have any of my books you want. Pick them off my shelves, (they will only go to the auction-rooms [.] I'd like you to take the Whitman, Gitanjali, & your anthology that you gave me and any more you want."[1471] It is unknown how many volumes Ira Dilworth ultimately kept. Today, 50 books identified as originally out of Emily Carr's private library are held at the Royal B.C. Archives. They come in equal parts from the *Parnall Collection* and the *Flora Burns papers*. Edna Parnall and Flora Burns were two nieces and adopted daughters of Ira Dilworth. **[MS-2763 box-6-8; MS 2827; MS-2786 box 1 file 16; MS-2064 microfilm; MS-2181]** Three more books [*The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson vol. III; The Poetical Works of Goethe; Samuel French's Catalogue of Plays*] formerly owned by Emily Carr were accessioned by the B.C. Archives in 1987. Their history is unknown. **[MS-3359]** The following list contains the physical books from the aforementioned collections that I was able to examine during my research stay at the Archives of the Royal BC Museum, Victoria (facilitated by Dr. Kathryn Bridge and Diane Wardle) in chronological order of their publication. This compilation is certainly not an exhaustiv list of Emily Carr's library but a fragment of it.

[1471] Emily Carr's Last Will and Testament quoted in Linda M. Morra, ed., Corresponding Influence. Selected Letters of Emily Carr & Ira Dolworth, Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 301.

Publication date	Book	Artist interaction (if applicable)
1870s		
1872	Browning, Robert. *Selection of the Poetical Works of Robert Browning*. New York: Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1872.	[underlinings and marks; few comments; One poem is commented "read Nov 3 1906" (p. 160)]
1890s		
1897	Trine, Ralph Waldo. *In Tune with the Infinite or Fullness of Peace, Power and Plenty.* London: Leopold B. Hill, 1897.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr August 1931; few sidelines, no annotations]
1898	McLean Greene, Sarah Pratt. *Vesty of the Basins*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1898.	[Inscribed "Ira Dilworth with love from Small and Emily"; book covered in textile]
	Hunt, William M. *Talks about Art*. London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1898.	[Envelope in the book dated 1906 or 1909; underlinings, dog-ears, comments]
1900s		
1902	Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. III. London: Macmillan & Co, 1902.	[Inscribed "M. Emily Carr from M.O.R.P., Scotland. July 14, 1904"]
1904	Rossetti, Dante Gabriel. *Poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.* New York: A. L. Burt, Publisher, [n.d.], 1904.	[Inscribed "Many happy returns of Dec 13th 1904, no underlining, no comments, only marks]
	Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *The Poems of Goethe*, translated in the original metres by Edgard Alfred Bowring. New York: Hurst & Co, 1904.	[Inscribed "Emily Carr from a.m.c., Dec. 15th 1905"]
1907	Ross, Denman W.. *A Theory of Pure Design. Harmony, Balance, Rhythm.* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Rue Campagne Premier Paris"; bought at Librairie Américaine Brentano´s, Paris; few underlining, no comments]
1920s		
1922	Shipp, Horace. *The New Art. A Study of the Principles of non-representational Art and their application in the work of Lawrence Atkinson.* London: Cecil Palmer, 1922.	[Inscribed "To my dear friend. the artist. in loving appreciation of the "wide horizons" you have opened for me. Flora Christmas 1930"; underlining; no major annotation except definitions]
1923	Dreier, Katherine S. *Western Art and the New Era. An Introduction to Modern Art.* New York: Brentano´s Publishers, 1923.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr New York April 19 1930"; underlining throughout the entire book; rare comments]
	Gordon, Jan. *Modern French Painters.* London: John Lane the Bodley Head Limited, 1923.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Victoria B.C. 1924"; Inscribed "Flora

		Burns from Alice Carr April 12th 1947"; very few underlining;]
	Hambidge, Jay. *Dynamic Symmetry in Composition as used by the artists*. New York: Brentano´s, 1923.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Sept. 16 1929"; notes on the half-cover; some underlining, comments]
1924	Palmer Institute of Authorship. *Modern authorship; a series of texts prepared as part of the Palmer course and service in creative writing.* Hollywood, California: Palmer Institute of Authorship, 1924.	[Signed "M Emily Carr Oct 1926"]
	Palmer Institute of Authorship. *Modern Authorship. Technique of the Short Story* by Douglas Z. Doty. Hollywood, California: Palmer Institute of Authorship, 1924.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Nov 1926 Technique of short story"; underlining in pencil and ink; annotations in pencil and ink]
	Palmer Institute of Authorship. *Modern Authorship. A Manual of the Art of Fiction by Clayton Hamilton.* Hollywood, California: Palmer Institute of Authorship, 1924.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr June 29th 1927; underlining; written answers to the 'review questions']
1925	Nevison, C. R. W. *Contemporary British Artists*, London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1925.	[Inscribed "To my dear friend from Flora Burns Feb 11th 1930"; "Flora Burns from Alice Carr April 1947"]
	Short, Ernest H. *Blake.* New York: Frederick A Stokes Company, 1925.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr New York 1930"; inscribed "Flora Burns from Alice Carr April 1947; in the front cover annotations]
	Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass (1) and Democratic Vistas.* London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1925.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Aug 1930"; notes on the inside cover; citations, underlining; few comments, calculations, annotations of poems and titles of own art works]
1926	Housser, F. B. *A Canadian Art Movement: the story of the Group of Seven.* Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1926.	[Inscribed by the author to Carr on November 19th 1927; no further signs of use]
	Wilenski, R. H. *The Modern Movement in Art.* London: Faber & Gwyer, 1926.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Jan 1928; underlining, few annotations and comments; on back cover annotations]
1927	Anonymous. *Exhibitions of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*, *December 1927.* Exhibition catalogue Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1927.	
	Bosch, Lodewijk. *Nederlandische Prentkunst sedert 1900.* Utrecht: De Branding, 1927.	[Inscribed by the author to Emily Carr on Christmas 1929]
	Hugon, Paul D. *Morrow´s Word Finder.* New York: William Morrow & Company, 1927.	[Signed by Emily Carr; front and back cover are annotated; heavily worked; underlining, annotations, stains, dog-ears, wholes, fingerprints]
	Mason, Daniel Gregory. *Artistic Ideals.* New York: Norton, 1927.	[Signed "Emily Carr April 1931"; dedicated and donated to Ira Dilworth in 1943]
	Ouspensky, Pyotr D. *Tertium Organum. The third canon of thought. A Key to the Enigmas of the World.* New York: Alfred, 1927.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Dec 13 1927 Toronto, The girls Birthday + Xmas present"; underlining, sparse annotations]

1928	Anonymous. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern and of a group of water colour paintings by Robert D. NORTON*, *January 1928.* Exhibition catalogue. Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1928.	
	Pearson, Ralph M. *How to see modern pictures.* New York: The Dial Press, 1928.	[Signed "M. Emily Carr Sept 1928"; subtitle: "An extension of the design principle into three dimensions and an explanation of its basic application to the work of the moderns, the primitives, and the classics of both Europe and the Orient, together with an annex containing practical suggestions for bridging the gap between artist and public"; few underlinings, rare comments; Emily Carr was especially intrigued by the chapter on vision, here 'pure vision'; chapters: "Static and dynamic symmetry", "Something plus in works of art", "Nature of things"]
	Raymond, Ernest. *Tell England. A Study in a Generation.* London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1928.	[Inscribed "To Miss Carr with my fond love Flora Christmas 1929"; "Flora Burns from Alice Carr Apr. 1947"]
1929	Anonymous. *The World´s Masters, Honoré Daumier 1808-1879.* London: The Studio Ltd., 1929.	[Signed "M Emily Carr"; no underlining, no annotations]
	Brooker, Bertram (Edit.). *Yearbook of the Arts in Canada 1928-1929.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1929.	[Inscribed "To Miss Carr with the greetings – Marius Barbeau No. 1929; annotations]
	Mozumdar, Akhoy Kuman. *The Life and the Way. The Messianic World Message, Subject: The Conquering Man: Read and Be Free*, Pamphlet No.21. 1929.	[Underlining; no comments besides notes on the back cover]
	Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass. From the text of the edition authorized and editorially supervised by his literary executors, Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel.* New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929.	[Inscribed "Gift to 'Mom' from 'Fred and Bess', 14th April 1930"; underlining, comments, paint, stains, fingerprints, dog-ears; annotations of date and place where Ira Dilworth had read a certain poem to Emily Carr; back cover full of comments on favorite passages and poems]
1930s		
1930	Anonymous. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of The Group of Seven, Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour, Society of Canadian Painter-Etchers, the Toronto Camera Club, April 1930.* Exhibition catalogue. Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto.	
	Anonymous. *The World´s Masters, Henri Matisse.* London: The Studio Ltd., 1930.	[Signed "M Emily Carr"; no underlining, no annotation]
	Anonymous. *The World´s Masters, Pablo Picasso.* London: The Studio Ltd., 1930.	[not signed, no underlining, no annotation]
	Barbeau, Marius. *Totem poles: a recent native art of the northwest coast of America.* Reprinted from the Geographical Review XX, No. 2, April 1930, p. 258-272.	[Inscribed "To Miss Carr with greetings Marius Barbeau"]

1931	Craven, Thomas. *Men of Art.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1931.	[Inscribed "To Mom from Bes and Fred Housser"; "Flora Burns from Alice Carr April 12th"]
1932	Cady, H. Emilie. *Lessons in truth. A Course of Twelve Lessons in Practical Christianity.* Kansas City: Unity School of Christianity, 1932.	[Acquired presumably 1934; dated comment on back cover; almost no underlining, no comments]
1933	Anonymous. *Samuel French's 1933 Catalogue of Plays*. Toronto: Samuel French, 1933.	Cover missing; no inscription.
1934	Barbeau, Marius. *The Siberian Origin of our North-Western Indian, Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Victoria and Vancouver, B.C., Canada, 1933.* Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1934.	
1936	Anonymous. *Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting.* Exhibition catalogue. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1936.	
1937	Vollard, Ambroise. *Paul Cézanne. His Life and Art.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1937.	[Inscribed "Flora Burns from Alice Carr April 12 1947"]
1939	Anonymous. *Exhibition of Canadian Art, New York World´s fair.* Exhibition catalogue. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1939.	
	Jewell, Edward Alden. *Modern Art: Americans.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939.	[Inscribed "To Emily Carr … John"; book bought in Seattle]
1940s		
1940	Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass. Comprising all the Poems written by Walt Whitman following the Arrangement of the Edition of 1891-2.* New York: Modern Library, circa 1940.	[Gift from Ira Dilworth to Emily Carr in 1941; heavy worked in pencil and red; comments, photographs and articles pinned and loose inside the book, together with dried herbage – difficult to reconstruct which photograph might have been pinned on a certain page; annotations of date and place where Ira Dilworth had read a certain poem to Emily Carr; back cover full of comments on favorite passages and poems with pages and grocery list]
1942	Anonymous. *Canadian Group of Painters Exhibition February 1942.* Exhibition catalogue. Toronto: Art Gallery of Toronto, 1942.	
	Birney, Earle. *David and other Poems.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1942.	[Inscribed "To Emily who will understand and therefore love the simple Canadian quality of the poem "David" by my friend Earle Birney - From Ira"]
1945	Ayre, Robert; Buchanan, Donald W., eds.. *Canadian Art*. Development of Canadian Painting, Vol. II, No. 3, March 1945.	[Includes an article on "Emily Carr" by Ira Dilworth]
	Rajan, B.; Mankowitz, Wolf. *SHEAF. A Collection of Criticism.* Cambridge: Cambridge undergraduate council, 1945.	

n.d.	Anonymous. *Selections from twelve important reviews of Klee Wyck by Emily Carr.* Toronto: The Oxford University Press, n.d..	[With four reproductions in colour of paintings by Miss Carr]

Annex D – G. Münter library

This is the first time that Gabriele Münter's private library is subject to further analysis. Until today, the books held at the Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung, Munich, served scholars as a reservoir for books Wassily Kandinsky might have left behind when leaving Germany in a hurry at the beginning of the first World War, completimng the collection of his books held at the Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Paris. Articles featuring the Munich stock of books represent Gabriele Münter as the keeper of Kandinsky's early work as well as his library. [1472] Interested in the writings that might have influenced his conception and writing of *Das Geistige in der Kunst* (1911/12), only a dozen of 'mystical books' of the Munich estate caught the attention of the scholars so far. The rest of the volumes have been deemed of no art historical or literary interest. Thanks to my research at the GMJE Foundation Munich, the books in question can be attributed to Gabriele Münter's father, Carl Münter (1826 – 1886). He had been an avid reader of theological and philosophical works prior to his admission to the Masonic Order Quodlibet. [1473]

The following bibliography is based on the inventory list established by the *Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung*, Munich, which was provided to me at the time of my research there by its director Isabelle Jansen. The sections follow the original German bibliography. The titles are organized in chronological order. Additional information is provided for the titles published prior to WWI if applicable.

[1472] The Munich library is featured for example in Sixten Ringbom, "Art in 'The Epoche of the Great Spiritual': Occult Elements in the Early Theory of Abstract Painting" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 29 (1966), 386-418; or lately in Nadia Podzemskaia, "La bibliothèque personelle de Wassily Kandinsky à travers les fonds livresque de Paris et de Munich. Une réévaluation" in Françoise Levaillant, Dario Gamboni, Jean-Roch Bouiller (eds.), *Les bibliothèques d'artistes XXe-XXIe siècles*, Paris : PUPS, 2010, 81-105.

[1473] Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky. Biographie eines Paares*, Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1994.

Monographs

Publication date	Book	Artist interaction (if applicable)
1820s		
	Rumbenius, Ernst Ludwig. *Hülfsbuch für Zeichner und Maler, und die es werden wollen : oder interessante Belehrungen über die Kunst des Zeichnens und Malens*, 1826.	
1830s		
	Anonymus. *Erinnerungen an Confirmanden zum Schluss des Unterrichts: ein Leitfaden für den Lehrer und zum Andenken an den Confirmierten.* 1835.	[Booklet received at the end of protestant confirmation class; estate family Münter]
1850s		
	Fowler, O.S.. *The illustrated self-instructor in phrenology and physiology with one hundred engravings and the chart of the character*, 1857.	[Signed Gabriele Münter; likely a souvenir from her U.S. trip 1898-1900]
1860s		
	Godey's Lady's Book and magazine, 1860.	
	Godey's Lady's Book and magazine, 1861.	[Signed "Mrs Münter, (Sucksow, Tennesse, 1861";
	Tillinghast, Wm.. *The diadem of school songs: containing songs and music for all grades of schools, a new system of instruction in the elements of music, and a manual of directions for the use of teachers*, 1869.	
1870s		
	Perty, Max. *Die mystischen Erscheinungen der menschlichen Natur*, 1872. Erster Band, 1872. Zweiter Band, 1872.	[Signed "Carl Münter"]
	Bötticher, D. F.. *Reiten und Dressieren: Anleitung zur Ausbildung des Reitpferdes*, 1878.	[no signature; commentary on p.2 by unknown hand: "The horse must pull in the bridle. The harder you hold, the further he goes..."
	Zöllner, Friedrich. *Die transcendentale Physik und die sogenannte Philosophie*, 1879.	[Signed "Carl Münter, Bonn"]
1880s		
	Hellenbach, L. B.. *Die neuesten Kundgebungen einer intelligiblen Welt*, 1881.	[Signed "c.m."; most probably formerly own by Carl Münter]
	Perty, Max. *Die sichtbare und die unsichtbare Welt, diesseits und jenseits*, 1881.	[Signed "Carl Münter"]
	Nytt Tafvelgallerl fran Stugor i Dalom, 1882.	
	Mustergedichte: zum Gebrauch in Schulen, Lehrer- und lehrerinnen- Bildungsanstalten. Ausgew. von Dr. Karl Hessel, 1884.	[Signed "Ella Münter Class 1b, 1891"; Gabriele Münter's school book of selected poems]
	Siringo, Chas. A.. *A Texas Cow Boy : or fifteen years on the hurricane deck of a Spanish pony ; taken from real life*, 1886.	[Signed on the cover "E. Münter"]

1890s		
	Aksakow, Alexander. *Animismus und Spiritismus : Versuch einer kritischen Prüfung der mediumistischen Phänomene mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Hypothesen der Hallucination und des Unbewussten*, 1890. Erster Band, 1890. Zweiter Band, 1890.	[Signed "Carl Münter Bonn"]
	Kiesewetter, Carl. *Geschichte des neueren Occultismus: geheimwissenschaftliche Systeme von Agrippa van Nettesheym bis zu Carl du Prel*, 1891.	[Signed "Carl Münter, Bonn]
	Hellenbach, L. B.. *Geburt und Tod als Wechsel der Anschauungsform oder die Doppel-Natur des Menschen*, 1893.	[Signed "Carl Münter"]
	Kiesewetter, Carl. *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Spiritismus von der Urzeit bis zur Gegenwart: Vortrag, gehalten in der Loge "Zum Licht" in Hamburg, am 12.1.1893*, 1893.	
	Gessmann, G. W.. *Magnetismus und Hypnotismus: eine Darstellung dieses Gebietes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zwischen dem mineralischen Magnetismus, dem sogenannten thierischen Magnetismus und dem Hypnotismus*, 1895.	[Signed "Carl Münter (Nachlass)"; from Gabriele Münter's father's estate]
	Abrikosova, A. I.. *Aus dem Album eines russischen Touristen,* 1896.	
	Maeterlinck, Maurice. *Die Blinden, Geheimnisse der Seele, Sieben Prinzessinen, Tod des Tentagiles, Sieg des Tades: fünf Dramen*, 1896.	
	Anonymus. *Ritual of the Order Eastern star,* 1897.	[Signed "Martine Betty; Miss Bettie Bryan; Jan 3, 1899"; The Order of the Eastern Star was a Mississippi Masonic body open to man and women]
	Anonymus. *Anatomisches Taschenbüchlein zur Nachhülfe beim Studium nach Natur und Antike,* 1897.	
	Büttner. *Handbuch über Erhaltung, Reinigung u. Wiederherstellung der Ölgemälde nach den neuesten Forschungen*, 1897.	[No signs of usage]
	Reuter, Gabriele. *Frau Bürgelin und ihre Söhne*, 1899.	
1900s		
	Leoncavallo, R.. *Die Bohème: lyrische Oper in vier Akten*, 1900.	
	Schubin, Ossip. *Im gewohnten Geleis*, 1901.	
	Braunschweig, Robert. *Was muss man vom Vegetarismus wissen?*, 1902.	
	Zabel, Eugen. *Moskau*, 1902.	
	Sienkiewicz, Heinrich. *Ohne Dogma*, 1903.	
	Frenssen, Gustav. *Hilllgenlei*, 1905.	[Inscribed "Tante Opel, 1906"]
	Jaloux, Edmond. *Le jeune homme au masque*, 1905.	
	Prel, Karl du. *Studien aus dem Gebiet der Geheimwissenschaften. Tatsachen und Probleme,* 1905.	

	Freyhold, R. F.. *Sport und Spiel : ohne Text*, 1906.	
	Pontoppidan, Henrik. *Skyer*, 1906.	
	Senn, G.. *Alpen-Flora*, 1906.	
	Bjerre, Poul. *Ett hem vid hafvet: läsdrama i fyra akter*, 1908.	
	Kleen, Tyra. *Form*, 1908.	
	Steiner, Rudolf. *Theosophie: Einführung in übersinnliche Welterkenntnis und Menschenbestimmung*, 1908.	[Inscription by "R., 1964" – most probably Hans Konrad Röthel, former director of Lenbachhaus, Munich –, stating that the annotations were done by Wassily Kandinsky]
	Eichner, Johannes. *Kants Begriff der Erfahrung*, 1909.	[PhD thesis by Gabriele Münter's second life partner]
	Ekelöf, Anna. *Sömnens Sanger*, 1909.	
	Klein*, Ludwig. Nutzpflanzen der Landwirtschaft und des Gartenbaus*, 1909.	
	Melchers, Gustav Adolf. *Aus dem Jenseits ! Aufzeichnungen eines Toten*, 1909.	
	Steiner, Rudolf. *Der Orient im Lichte des Occidents : die Kinder des Lucifer und Broder Christi; 9 Vorträge; Manchen, 23. bis 31. August 1909*, 1909.	
	Walden, Herwarth. *"Der neue Weg" der Bühnen-Genossenschaft: ein Protest*, 1909.	
1910s		
	Klein*, Ludwig. Unsere Waldbäume, Sträucher und Zwergholzgewächse*, 1910.	
	Kulbin, N. *La musique libre: application à la musique de la nouvelle théorie de la création artistique*, 1910.	
	Kulbin, N. *Freie Musik: die Anwendung neuer Theorie des Kunstwerks zur Musik*, 1910.	
	Volker. *Siderische Geburt: seraphische Wanderung vom Tode der Welt zur Taufe der Tat,* 1910.	
	Bruun, Laurids. *Kronen: en historie i tre dele*, 1911.	
	Ekelöf, Anna. *Odevagar*, 1911.	
	Ramacharaka, Yogi. *Fourteen lessons in Yogi Philosophy and Oriental Occultism*, 1911.à	[Signed "G. Münter"; a catholic prayer card with a payer by S. Benedict is used as a bookmark]
	Bergson, Henri. *Einführung in die Metaphysik*, 1912.	[Signed "Gabriele Münter, 1915"]
	Hilding, Svartengren. *Varstarr,* 1912.	
	Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Deutschen Künstlerbundes: Frühjahr 1912, 1912.	
	Morgenstern, Christian. *Palmström*, 1912.	[Inscribed to Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter by the author]
	Häst, Till. *Dikter*, 1913.	
	Klein*, Ludwig. Unsere Wiesenpflanzen*, 1913.	
	Kunstausstellungskalender 1913, 1913.	
	Reventlow, Franziska Gräfin zu. *Herrn Dames Aufzeichnungen oder Begebenheiten aus einem merkwürdigen Stadtteil*, 1913.	[Signed "Kandinsky, 1913"]
	Jacobsen, J. P.. *Niels Lyne*, 1914.	
	Kandinsky, Wassily. *The art of spiritual harmony*, 1914.	
	Mitglieder-Verzeichnis des Deutschen Künstlerbundes: 1914, 1914.	

	"Pro en contra" : Betreffende Vraagstukken van Algemeen Belang - - ; Nieuwe Richtlingen In De Schilderkunst (cubisme, expressionisme, futurisme etc.): pro: E. Wichman, Kunstschüler te Utrecht; contra: Prof. C.L. Dake, hoogleeraar aan de Academie van Beeldende Kunsten te Amsterdam, 1914.
	Wibom, John Gustaf. *Jaktminnen fran nilen och giraff-floden*, 1914.
	Roslund, Anna. *Den fattiges gladje*, 1915.
	Rydberg, Victor. *Singoalla*, 1915.
	Bjerre, Poul. Fredenskongressen: lasdrama i tre akter, 1916.
	Bjerre, Poul. *Krigsbetraktelser: I. varför tyskland maste segra och varför tyskland icke far segra; II. neutraliteten som aktiv insats; III. det stora offret*, 1916a.
	MacCormick, Harold F.. *Via pacis : huru fredsvillkoren kunna automatiskt förberedas medan kriget fortgar,* 1917.
	Schmid, R. F.. *Wandlungen*, 1917.
	Schmidt-Karlo. *Der Sonnenhof*, 1917.
	Anonymus. *Fortegnelse over kunstvaerkerne paa den frie udstilling 1918*, 1918.
	Fortegnelse over kunstvaerkerne paa den frie udstilling 1918, 1918.
	Hölty, Ludwig Christoph Heinrich. *Ludwig Christoph Heinrich Hölty's sämtliche Werke*, 1918.
	Lundholm, Helge. *Om gransvarden och rorelsevarden hos linier och ytor ; en undersökning av elementara introjektiva fenomen, och dessas betydelse för konsten*, 1918.
	Swane, Sigurd. *Templet*, 1918.
	Dorgelès, Roland. *Les croix de bois*, 1919.
	Jacobsen, J. P.. *Mogens: og andre novellas*, 1919.
	Sirén, Osvald. *Nyf0rvarfvade konstverk i Stockholms Hogskolas samling: 1912*, 1919.
1920s	
	A. Enor. *Landet hinsides: skildringar fran astralvärlden*, 1920.
	Aurelius, Johannes. *Die Legende der Wiedergeburt*, 1920.
	Braunfels, Walter. *Die Vögel: ein lyrisch-phantastisches Spiel nach Aristophanes*, 1920.
	Stoecklin, Francisca. *Gedichte*, 1920.
	Tischner, Rudolf. *Ludwig Aub: eine psychologisch-okkultische Studie*, 1920.
	Hearn, Lafcadio. *Kwaidan: seltsame Geschichten und Studien aus Japan*, 1921.
	Nemeny, Wilhelm. *Petersburg 1920: Tagebuchblätter aus Sowjet-Russland*, 1921.
	Fehringer, Otto. *Die Singvögel Mitteleuropas*, 1922.
	Simmel, Georg. *Zur Philosophie der Kunst*, 1922.
	Klein*, Ludwig. Ziersträucher und Parkbäume*, 1923.
	Blacher, Karl. *Das Okkulte*, 1924
	Fehringer, Otto. *Raben-, Raub-, Hühnervogel : Singvögel (Schluß), Segler, Nachtschwalben, Bienenfresser, Hopfe, Racken, Eisvogel, Spechte, Kuckucke, Tauben*, 1926.

	Neugarten, Hermann. *Zum Problem der Stigmatisationen : insbesondere zur Psychoanalyse und Parapsychologie des Falles Therese Neumann in Konnersreuth; nach einem am 19. September 1927 in der Berliner Aerztlichen Gesellschaft für Paraphysische Forschung gehaltenen Vortrag*, 1927.	
	Waetzoldt, Wilhelm. *Das klassische Land : Wandlungen der Italiensehnsucht*, 1927.	
	Colette, Sidonie-Gabrielle. *Le blé en herbe*, 1928.	
	Hunnius, Monika. *Meine Weihnachten*, 1928.	
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	Samat, Jean-Toussaint. *Razava : ou la jeune fille qui aimait jouer avec les hommes forts ; conte du pays malgache*, 1929.	
	Schroeter, Elfriede. *Das Kleinrentnerproblem in Groß-Berlin : eine Darstellung der Lebenshaltung (auf Grund einer Enquete) von 300 Kleinrentnern des Bezirks Tiergarten,* 1929.	
	Weltrhythmuskalender: astrologischer Haus- und Bauernkalender für das Jahr 1929, 1929.	
1930s		
	Duhamel, Georges. La possession du monde, 1930.	
	Guidi, Tommasina. *Alda Bruni*, 1931.	
	Blavatsky, H. P.. *Die Geheimlehre*, 1932.	
1940s		
	Hausmann, Manfred. *Geheimnis einer Landschaft: Worpswede*, 1940.	
1950s		
	Palme, Carl. *Konstens Karyatider*, 1950.	
	Kollath, Werner. *Die Fahrt ins Leben*, 1954.	
	Strakosch-Glesler, Marla. *Die erlöste Sphinx : über die Darstellung der menschlichen Gestalt in Bild- und Glanzfarben*, 1955.	
	Dingler, Max. *Sonette*, 1956.	
Non dated		
	Anonymus. *Der Lauf der Zeit van Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit: Erklärung zu beigefügter Karle*, n.d.	
	Anonymus. *Die Ammen-Uhr. Aus des Knaben Wunderhorn in Holzschnitten nach Zeichnungen von Dresdener Künstlern.* n.d.	
	Anonymus. *Erzählungen berühmter Autoren: Fritz Skowronnek, Otto Behrend, Aimee Due*, n.d.	
	Anonymus. *Hymns: ancient and modern; for use in the services of the church*, n.d.	
	Anonymus. *Statuten des Internationalen Spiritualistischen Bundes des rein-geistigen Verkehr "Animismus" (Seelengemeinschaft).* n.d.	[no signature; original owner unclear]
	Asturel, Fairfax. *Das Mysterium des Atems*, n.d.	
	Baltz, Joh.. *Musikantengeschichten vom Jahre des Heils 966 bis auf den heutigen Tag,* n.d.	
	Balzac, Honoré de. Le lys dans la vallée, n.d.	[no signature; signs of heavy usage; check marks next to passages on the topic of colour]
	Bédier, Joseph. *Le roman de tristan et iseut,* n.d.	

	Blackmore, R. D.. *Lorna Doone: a romance of exmoor*, n.d.	
	Bondegger, Harry Winfield. *In zwei Stunden nicht mehr nervös*, n.d.	
	Bondeson, August. *Schwedische Dorfgeschichten*, n.d.	
	Bratley, Geo H.. *Die Kunst der Faszination: eine allgemeinverständliche Abhandlung Ober die Sonnen-Aetherkraft und ihre Umwandlung in persönlichen Magnetismus*, n.d.	
	Bulwer, Edward. *Zanoni*, n.d.	
	Chavette, Eugène. *La bande de la belle Alliette (souvenir judiciaire)*, n.d.	
	Curtis, A.. *Schule des Schweigens*, n.d.	
	Daudet, Ernest. *La vénitienne*, n.d.	
	Felder, Franz Michael. *Liebeszeichen*, n.d.	
	Fontane, Theodor. *Ellernklipp - Schach von Wuthenow - L'Adultera, n.d.*	
	Fontane, Theodor. D*er Stechlin*, n.d.	
	Galitzin, Dimitri. *Die Fürsten*, n.d.	
	Gide, André. *L' immoraliste*, n.d.	
	Gide, André. *Si le grain ne meurt*, n.d.	
	Hamblin, H. Th.. *In dir ist die Kraft!*, n.d.	
	Jürgens, Heinrich. *Seelenstillung als Weg zum Innenmenschen : neugeistige Meditationen zur Durchgeistigung des Lebens*, n.d.	
	Keller-Hoerschelmann. *Freue dich gesund!,* n.d.	
	Kuschnerev, I.N.. *Die russischen Völker: der Entwurf mit der Schreibfeder und dem Bleistift (erster Teil: Europäisches Russland),* n.d.	
	Maeterlinck, Maurice. *Von der inneren Schönheit: Auszüge und Essays*, n.d.	
	Marryat, Florence. *Die Geisterwelt*, n.d.	
	Marvel, Ik. *Reveries of a bachelor*, n.d.	
	Münter, Gabriele. *Koch-Recepte*, n.d.	
	Nieritz, Gustav. *Alexander Menzikoff oder die Gefahren des Reichtums*, n.d.	
	Osborne Eaves, A.. *Die Kräfte der Farben – der Weg zur Gesundheit – die Kunst des Schlafes*, n.d.	[Signed “Wassily Kandinsky”]
	Poeche, J.. *Wie soll ich geistig arbeiten? Ein unentbehrliches Handbuch für alle mit anstrengender geistiger Arbeit vereinten Berufsarten, ihre Leiden und Krankheiten und die hygienisch-diätischen Vorbeugungs- und Heilmittel*, n.d.	
	Riedlin, Gustav. *Faste dich rein und iß dich gesund!,* n.d.	
	Sammlung Gabrielson-Gilteborg. *Erwerbungen 1922/23*, Berlin, n.d.	
	Scheffel, Joseph Victor von. *Gesammelte Werke: in sechs Bänden, n.d. Band 5. Der Trompeter van Säckingen - Waldeinsamkeit – Bergpsalmen,* n.d.	
	Schopenhauer, Arthur. *Farbenlehre: 1. über das Sehn und die Farben; 2. Theoria colorum physiologica*, n.d.	[Inscribed “Aus dem Nachlaß von Gabriele Münter“ (“Estate Gabriele Münter”); scribbles; marks next to the chapter “On Vision and Colours” (1814/15); in

		a letter to her brother Carl on October 7, 1897 and May 21, 1898, Gabriele Münter asks for books, besides others, this Schopenhauer title]
	Thackeray, Willlam Makepeace. *Vanity fair: a novel Without a hero*, n.d.	
	Tromsdorff, A.. *Der Tageslauf des Lebensreformers : was jedermann von Lebensreform wissen muss ; ein Wegweiser für jeden zu naturgemäßer Körper- und Geisteskultur,* n.d.	[Annotations on nutrition]
	Volkart, Otto. *Menschentum*, n.d.	
	Wolzogen, Ernst von. *Mein erstes Abenteuer*, n.d.	
	Wyl, A. von., ed. *Die Gedanken meiner Werthen und Lieben*, n.d.	

Artists catalogues

Publication date	Catalogue	Artist interaction (if applicable)
1900s		
	Ausstellung von Werken Adolph von Menzels 1905, Berlin, 1905.	
	Exposition de l'oeuvre de Fantin-Latour, Paris, 1906.	
	Liebermann-Ausstellung : ein Ueberblick über das gesamte bisherige Schaffen Max Liebermann's in Hauptwerken seiner Hand anlässlich des 60. Geburtstages des Meisters zusammengestellt im Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt am Main, 1907.	
1910s		
	Robert Genin, Munich, 1913.	
	Georg Thylstrup: utstallning; av skulptur och teckningar, Stockholm, 1917.	
	Frank Utzon: utstallning ; av skulpturer och teckningar, Stockholm, 1917.	
	Fortegnelse over malerier og studier af S. Danneskjold-Samsoe, Copenhagen, 1918.	
	Fortegnelse over Harald Giersing's arbejder, Copenhagen, 1918.	
	Fortegnelse over arbejder af maleren Jens Adolf Jerichau, Copenhagen, 1918.	
	Per Krohg udstilling, Copenhagen, 1918.	
	Isaac Grünewald udstilling, Copenhagen, 1919.	
	Mindeudstilling: Niels Erik Lange, Copenhagen, 1919.	
	Henrik Lund udstilling, Copenhagen, 1919.	
	Rudolph Tegner. Skulpturer, malerier, tegninger, 1919.	
1920s		
	Joakim Skovgaard: 60 autotypier i tontryk; efter fotografier af originalerne, Köbenhavn, 1920.	
	Paul Speer. Pastelle, 1925.	
	Verzeichnis der Sonderausstellung van Erich Heckel, Berlin, 1927.	

	Henmann Konnerth. Atelier-Ausstellung, Berlin, 1927.	
	Ferdinand Hodler. 1853-1918, Berlin, 1928.	
	Ausstellung Wilhelm Schmid, Berlin, 1928.	
	Hermann Konnerth. Arbeiten aus dem Jahre 1928; Bilder aus La Valette, Berlin, 1929.	
	Lubov Koslnzova, Berlin, 1929.	
	Bilder aus Persien, Klein-Tibet, Indien, Siam, China: von Lene Schneider-Kalner die Asienreise mit Bernhard Kellermann, Berlin, 1929.	
1930s		
	Gemäldeausstellung Werner Heuser, Berlin, 1931.	
	Helmut Hungerland. [Aquarelle und Zeichnungen], Berlin, 1936.	
	Franz van Koeller. [Oelgemälde], Berlin, 1936.	
1950s		
	Gabriele Münter : Werke aus fünf Jahrzehnten, 1952.	
Non dated		
	Olga Lau udstilling, Copenhagen, n.d.	
	Ragnhild Nordensten, n.d.	
	Rörich: maleriudstilling, n.d.	

Exhibition catalogues

Publication date	Catalogue	Artist interaction (if applicable)
1900s		
	Offizieller Katalog der VIII. Internationalen Kunstausstellung im KGL. Glaspalast zu München 1901. Munich, 1901.	
	Offizieller Katalog der Frühjahr-Ausstellung des Vereins bildender Künstler Münchens "Sezession": 1903. Munich, 1903.	
	Katalog der Internationalen Kunstausstellung Düsseldorf 1904 im Städtischen Kunstpalast. Düsseldorf, 1904.	
	Ausstellung des Werdandibundes. Berlin, 1908.	
	Katalog der fünfzehnten Ausstellung der Berliner Secession. Berlin, 1908.	
	Verbindung bildender Künstlerinnen Berlin-München. Munich, 1908.	
	*Katalog der achzehnten Ausstellung der Berliner Sezessi*on. Berlin, 1909.	
1910s		
	Ausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler. Düsseldorf, 1910.	
	Neue Künstlervereinigung München: Turnus 1909/10. Munich, 1910.	
	Berlinische Kunst aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1850. Berlin, 1911.	
	Katalog der XXII. Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession. Berlin, 1911.	
	Internationale Kunstausstellung der Münchener Sezession. Munich, 1911.	

	Neue Künstlervereinigung München: Turnus 1910/11; [Malerei und Graphik). Munich, 1911.
	Les artistes russes: décors et costumes de théâtre et tableaux, 1910. 27e exposition : Quai d'Orsay; Pont de l'Alma. Paris, 1911.
	Katalog der Neuen Secession Berlin: V. Ausstellung; Zeichnende Künste -Plastik; März 1912. Berlin, 1912.
	Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln. Cologne, 1912.
	Die erste Ausstellung der Redaktion 'Der Blaue Reiter'. Munich, 1911/12.
	Die zweite Ausstellung der Redaktion "Der Blaue Reiter': der Blaue Reiter; schwarz-weiss. Munich, 1912.
	Internationaler Künstlerbund München: Société internationale d'Artistes 1913. Munich, 1913.
	Frühjahr-Ausstellung der Münchener Sezession. Munich, 1913.
	Ausstellung der Synchronisten: Morgan Russel; S. Macdonald-Wright. Munich, 1913.
	Katalog för Konst-Utställningen i Hälsingborg: April-Mai 1917. Hälsingborg, 1917.
	Föreningen Svenska Konstnärinnor och Vereinigung Bildende Künstlerinnen Österreichs. Liljevalch, 1917.
	Svenska Konstnärernas Förening. Liljevalch, 1917.
	Utställning av Georg Pauli och Gabriele Münter. No place known, 1917.
	Kunstneres efterhaars udstilling: 1917, No place known, 1917.
	Sveriges Allmänna Konstförenings: Var-Utställning: 1917. Stockholm, 1917.
	Malende Kunstneres samneslutning: efterhaarsudstilling paa Chartottenborg. Charlottemborg, 1918.
	Bildnisminiaturen aus Niedersächsischem Privatbesitz. Hannover, 1918.
	Einar Jolin og Mogens Lorentzen. Copenhagen, 1918.
	Kunstudstilling: malerisalen; efterhaarsudstilling af kendte danske kunstnere. Copenhagen, 1918.
	Kunstneres efterhaars udstilling: 1918. No place known, 1918.
	Udstilling af maferier fra dyrehaven og omegn. Klampenborg, 1919.
	Udstilling af Fransk Kunst. Copenhagen, 1919.
	Kunstauktion I. Copenhagen, 1919.
	Christine Swane og Sigurd Swane: udstilling 18. -31. Januar 1919. No place known, 1919.
	Kunstneres efterhaars udstilling: 1919. No place known, 1919.
1920s	
	Münchner Malerei um 1800. Munich, 1920.
	Kunstneres efterhaars udstilling: 1920. No place known, 1920.
	Frühjahrsausstellung. Berlin, 1926.
	Schwedische Kunst der Gegenwart. Stockholm, 1926.
	Die Sieben: 1. Ausstellung März 1927. Berlin, 1927.

	Frühjahrsausstellung. Berlin, 1927.	
	Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung 1928. Berlin, 1928.	
	Ausstellung: Aquarelle, Graphik, Zeichnungen. Berlin, 1928/29.	
	Malerei -Architektur – Plastik. Berlin, 1928.	
	Frühjahrsausstellung: Malerei – Plastik. Berlin, 1929.	
	Holländische Graphik der Gegenwart. Berlin, 1929.	
1930s		
	Graphik und Handzeichnung: Möglichkeiten des Holzschnittes, der Radierung, Lithographie und Zeichnung und ihrer Abgrenzung untereinander. Munich, 1931.	
	Ausstellung des Vereins Berliner Künstler. Munich, 1932.	
	Alfred Partikel - Gemälde und Aquarelle; Renée Sintenis - Neuere Bronzen und Graphik. Berlin, 1935.	
	Zweite Ausstellung "Die Einfalt in der Kunst": Camille Bombois, Felix Muche-Ramholz, Joachim Ringelnatz, Louis Vivin. Berlin, 1936.	
	Sommerausstellung 1936 im Schlosse zu Dachau. Dachau, 1936.	
No date and no place		
	38 maleres udstilling	

Museum catalogues

Publication date	Catalogue	Artist interaction (if applicable)
1900s		
	Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München, 1900.	
	Schack-Galerie in München im Besitz seiner Majestät des deutschen Kaisers Königs von Preussen, 1901.	
	Die kunst- und kulturgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Germanischen Museums : Wegweiser für die Besucher, Germanisches Museum Nürnberg, 1901.	
	Beschrijvend Catalogus: II. - Moderne Meesters, Koninklijk Muzeum van Schoone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1905.	
1910s		
	Catalogus der Schilderijen : Miniaturen, Pastels Omlijste Teekeningen enz. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam met supplement, 1912.	
1920s		
	Katalog der Gemälde u. Skulpturen, Schlesisches Museum der Bildenden Künste Breslau, 1926.	
	Das Germanische Museum von 1902-1927: Festschrift zur Feier seines 75jährigen Bestehens ; im Auftrag der Direktion veranlaßt von Professor Dr. Fritz Traugott Schulz Hauptkonservator am Germanischen Museum, 1927.	

Journals and magazines

Publication date	Catalogue	Artist interaction (if applicable)
1890s		
	Sphinx: Monatsschrift für Seelen- und Geistesleben, 1894.	
	The Artist, 1898.	
	Ver Sacrum: Organ der Vereinigung Bildender Künstler Osterreichs, 1898.	
1900s		
	Spiritistische Rundschau : Monatsschrift für Spiritismus und verwandte Gebiete, 1900.	
	The Studio : an illustrated magazine of Fine & Applied Art, 1901.	
1910s		
	Aachener Almanach, 1910.	
	Apollon, 1910	
	Die Eiche : Viertelsjahrsschrift für Freundschaftsarbeit der Kirchen ; ein Organ für soziale und internationale Ethik, 1915.	
	Teosofisk tidskrift: organ för teosofiska samfundet i skandinavien, 1917	
	Les bandeaux d'or, 1918.	
1920s		
	Der Ararat : zweites Sonderheft; Paul Klee; Katalog der 60. Ausstellung der Galerie Neue Kunst, Hans Goltz, 1920.	
Non dated		
	Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, n.d.	
	Der Kunstwart: Halbmonatsschau für Ausdruckskultur auf allen Lebensgebieten, n.d.	
	Lucifer Gnosis, n.d.	
	Mitleilungen der Deutschen Dendrologischen Gesellschaft, n.d.	
	Neue Metaphysische Rundschau: Monatsschrift für philosophische und okkulte Forschungen in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Religion, n.d.	
	Le Roman romanesque, n.d.	

“Die Übersinnliche Welt“: Monatsschrift für okkultistische Forschung, n.d.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins, n.d.

Annex E – First translation of “The destiny of artists, who are truly artists…” (Kandinsky)

Draft of Kandinsky’s unpublished preface for the catalogue of Gabriele Münter’s exhibition at the Neuer Kunstsalon Dietzel, Munich, in 1913.

Unpublished, untitled manuscript, written on April 5, 1913; 5 pages; 21 x 16.43 cm, including a separate double sheet, on recto and verso, in pencil on paper, pagination on 2-4 probably by the author; Archive MES, Munich [MES37].

Additions and erasures by the author are in brackets [...]. .Gabriele Münter’s pencilled corrections are indicated by [GM].

My translation is based on the transcript published in Helmut Friedel (ed.), Wassily Kandinsky: Gesammelte Schriften 1889-1916, Farbensprache, Kompositionslehre und andere unveröffentlichte Texte, Munich: Prestel, 2007, 492-495.

My clarifications or comments to my translation of the German original are in {...}.

Exhibit[ion] “G.[abriele] M.[ünter] (1904-1913)” at …

The destiny of artists, those who are truly artists and who do not have a “big” name [deleted: for themselves], is twofold: [deleted: i.e.] there is a male and a female destiny – also in the world of art criticism. But, strangely enough, this twofold destiny in art criticism is different than in “nature,” in “life.”* [deleted: And the woman’s destiny in particular is coloured.]

*[cross reference added on a separate sheet of paper: First the destinies of both sexes run parallel: the stronger they [the artists] are and the more they have the true “artist” in them, the longer they will be neglected [added: man or woman]. But if the critics are forced to pay attention to these artists later on, the destiny of the woman is coloured in a particular way.

If we meet a woman [added: in “life”] who has a manly voice or even a big beard, nobody would consider **[p. 1 recto]**

extoling these male attributes of the woman as an advantage.

This is different in the arts.

A woman who, thanks to her artistic potential [added: forces], gets [added: public opinion] eventually to pay attention to her art, will very quickly be lauded as a "masculine" (or "almost masculine") talent [replaced with: power]. And this twisted point of view, this un- or counter-intuitive non-logic {*Unlogik*} will [added: in general] prevail until the woman herself gets the opportunity to become an art critic. I may [GM added: be] allowed to hope that this time will come soon. **[p. 1 verso]**

It will bring a certain balance with it. And this balance shall be welcomed [sic].

We are especially pleased that the natural {urwüchsig}, inner {innerlich} – let's call it what it is: genuinely {echt} German – talent of Gabriele Münter must not by any means be rated as masculine or [replaced by: or even] as an "almost masculine" one. This talent – and this we emphasize [GM replaced emphasize with distinguish] with repeated satisfaction – should be designated from the start and without exception as a <u>purely feminine</u> one. **[p. 2 recto]**

When entering the not very big, but perhaps all the more comfortable and intimate exhibition space of the N[euer] K[unst]s[alon], we immediately feel the waft of a female soul {*Frauenseele*}. It is especially pleasant to notice [replaced by: explain] that it is impossible to explain the cause of exactly this feeling. Gabriele Münter does not paint "f[eminine]" motifs, she does not work with "f[eminine]" material and does not permit herself any "f[eminine" coquetry. Neither effusiveness nor pleasant superficial grace [added: or an appealing weakness] is evident here. But neither is there any masculine affectation, that is, **[p. 2 verso]**

no "bold brush strokes," no "heavily dashed" piles of colour. The paintings are all painted with a sensitive and properly sensed amount of external force {äußerlicher Kraft}, lacking any trace whatsoever of f[emale] or [GM added: male] coquetry or "display." We are almost inclined to say

that her pictures are painted unpretentiously, i.e., not for external effect, but acting on a purely inner impulse.

Her paintings are for the most part sombre: dark colours [added: and] dark areas on **[p. 3 recto]**

the same colour level, often a very dark grey blending into black, with which ochre, ultramarine, madder red, and dark green are brought into harmony. Brighter [replaced with: Powerful] lighter [deleted words: intimacy – German elegance] spots emerge from these {colour} areas with properly restrained intensity.

Her drawings fully correspond {mitklingend}{to her paintings}. Here, too, only the utmost necessity, essential for the expression of each picture, is done – which is something not often found [GM replaced this with: not that easy to achieve] in painting. **[p. 3 verso]**

Perhaps especially her drawing cannot be defined as other than purely German. It stresses the natural element of her work.

Her "motifs" are likewise simple and show the natural <u>source</u> {*Ursprung*} of her work. For example, we see a simple brass lamp and a candle which complete the outer content of a painting. A bigger painting – a man and a woman sitting at [added: a] table [GM added: face to face], having a quiet conversation. Bigger landscape – against the background of big still mountains, a small

[p. 3a recto]

[erased: completely] modest chapel between a couple of big trees. Everything is imbued with a serious and reflective note of [deleted: an] intimate feeling.

Her first paintings date from 1904. In their {outer} form they are Impr[essionistic] but, in comparison with her later and most recent works, they show the same inner content. The thread of this inner note running through all her works, while they outwardly changed over time, is unmistakable and important evidence of a true artist's soul {Künstlerseele}. Applying this

[p. 3a verso]

standard to art is a sure method for distinguishing the true artist from a fraud {*Kunsttäuscher*}. This digs a deep trench between true and pseudo art, which latter unfortunately has accompanied every {artistic} "trend" at all times and remains the worst enemy of the art world. We can welcome whomever can pass <u>this</u> test as a born artist. Therefore I welcome [replaced by GM with: I beg to welcome] the German artist {Künstlerin = female artist} Gabriele Münter.

written 5.IV.13 [added by GM] **[p. 4 recto]**

Annex F - Illustrations

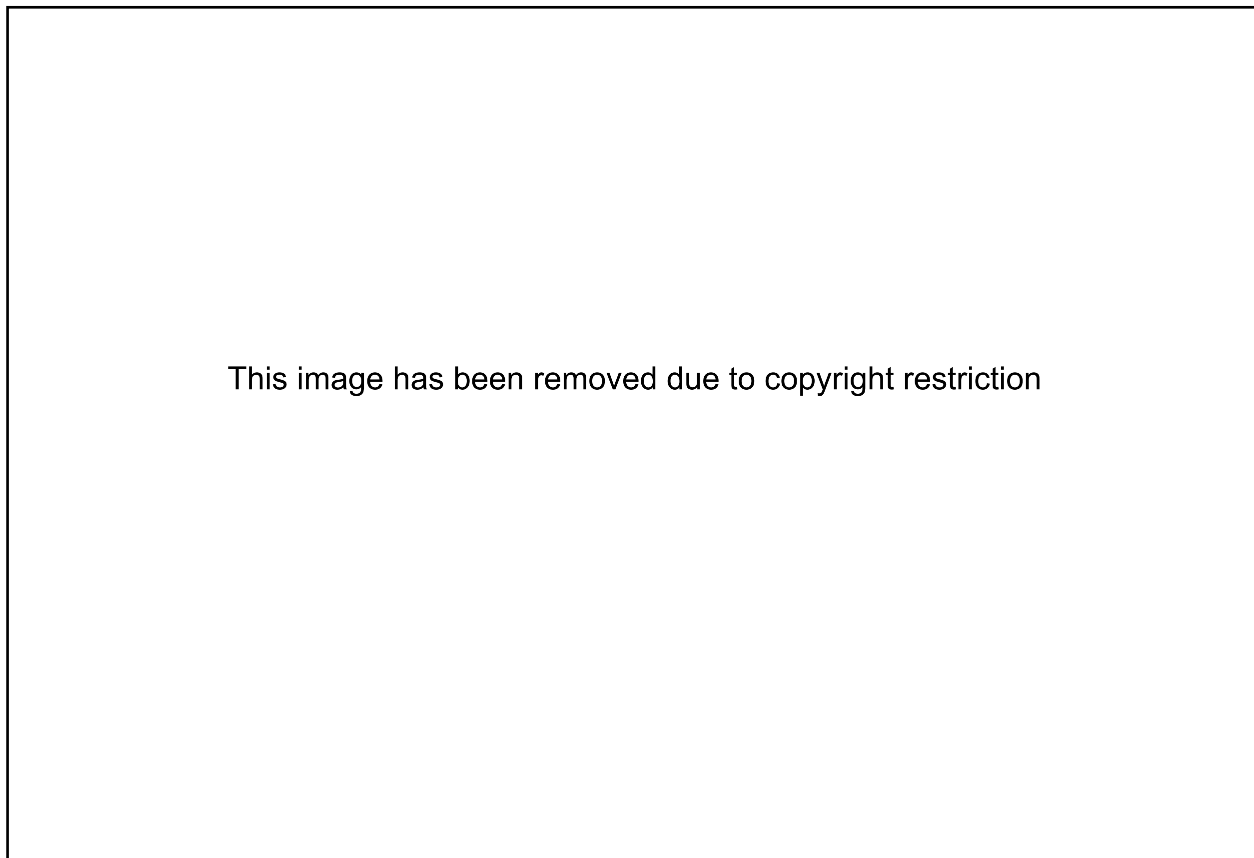

Figure 1. Johan Joseph Zoffany (1733-1810), *The Academicians of the Royal Academy,* 1771-71. Oil on canvas, 101.1 x 147.5 cm. London, Royal Collection Trust (RCIN 400747).

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Figure 2. Copy of Edmond Malone, *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds,* London: Cadell and Davies, 1789; Notes by William Blake. London, British Library (C.45.e.18-209).

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Figure 3. William Blake (1757-1827), *Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims,* 1810. Engraving on paper, 35.7 x 96.7. London, Tate Britain, (P14339).

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Figure 4. William Blake (1757-1827), *Thenot and Colinet Folding their Flocks together at Sunset,* ca. 1821. (Reprinted 1977) Part of illustrations to Robert John Thornton, “The Pastorals of Virgil”. Wood engraving on paper, 3.6 x 7.6 cm. London, Tate Britain (T02128).

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Figure 5. William Blake (1757-1827), *Colinet's 'Fond Desire Strange Lands to Know'*, 1821. (Reprinted 1977) Part of illustrations to Robert John Thornton, "The Pastorals of Virgil". Wood engraving on paper, 3.6 x 7.3 cm. London, Tate Britain (T02123).

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Figure 6. Samuel Palmer (1805-1881), *A Rustic Scene*, 1825. Brown ink drawing and sepia mixed with gum arabic, 17.9 x 23.5 cm. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (UK, WA1941.102).

Figure 7. John Ruskin (1819-1900), *True and False Griffins*, plate 1 from John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 3 [1856].

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Figure 8. *Poster of First Impressionist Exhibition Grafton Gallery, November 3 to January 15 1910, "Manet and the Post-Impressionists,"* 50.9 x 76.3 cm. London, The Courtauld Gallery, The Samuel Courtauld Trust (G.1958.PD.1).

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Figure 9. Henry Mayo Bateman (1887-1970), "*Post-Impressions of the Post-Impressionists*," 1910, published in *The Bystander*, 23 (nov 1910), London, 11.

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Figure 10. *Cover Exhibition Catalogue of the "Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition", British, French and Russian artists,* Oct. 5-Dec. 31 1912, Grafton Galleries, London.

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Figure 11. Maria Hadfield Cosway (1760 - 1838), *Progress of Female Virtue*, 1800. Engraved by A. Cardon from the Original Drawings by Mrs. Cosway. London: R. Ackermann's Repository of Arts. Princeton University Library, Arts Collection (GA) Oversize (2005-0256Q).

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Figure 12. Mary Cassatt (1844 -1926), *Women gathering fruits from the tree of knowledge, Modern Woman*, central panel and detail, Women's Building, 1893. World's Columbian Exposition and Fair, Chicago, USA. Photograph published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1893, 366.

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Figure 13 Ernst Bosch (1834 - 1917), *Am Kartoffelfeuer,* 1879. Oil on canvas, 79 x 97.2 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 14. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Portrait of sister Emmy,* January 11, 1898. Ink on paper, 23.5 x 31 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 15. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Melons*, c.1890. Oil on canvas mounted on masonite, 34.8 x 50.6 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00650).

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Figure 16. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Emily's Old Barn Studio*, ca. 1891. Graphite on paper, 30.4 cm x 22.7 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP09005).

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Figure 17. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Rock Bay Bridge, Victoria,* 1895. Ink on paper; 16.7 x 24.8 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00649).

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Figure 18. Hannah Maynard (1834-1918), *Photograph of SS Beaver in Upper Harbour in Victoria*, 1884. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (A-00008).

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Figure 19. Emily Carr (1871-1945)*, View in Victoria Harbour*, c. 1895. Watercolour on paper mounted on card board, 9.8 cm x 15.2 cm. Courtesy of the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, Walter C. Koerner Collection (Cf31).

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Figure 20. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *A bicycle ride along the Cowichan,* [“a camera, a billy and a holland bag” (v4)], 1895. Ink on paper, 12.5 x 17.5 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (no. 42433.1-12).

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Figure 21. Emily Carr (1877-1945), *Northern Tour (Detail),* c.1907-09. Watercolour over graphite, mounted on grey paper, 30.5 x 64.1 cm. Victoria, British Columbia Archives collection (PDP6083).

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Figure 22. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *A bicycle ride along the Cowichan,* [“uphill” (v4)], 1895. Ink on paper, 12.5 x 17.5 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (42433.1-12).

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Figure 23. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *A bicycle ride along the Cowichan,* ["thus three days passed at Cowitchan"], 1895. Ink on paper, 12.5 x 17.5 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, (no. 42433.1-12).

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Figure 24. Emily Carr (1871-1945)*, A bicycle ride along the Cowichan,* ["*Up rises the sun; Off flies the billy the lemons do spill*"], 1895. Ink on paper, 12.5 x 17.5 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (42433.1-12).

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Figure 25. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), sketchbook, *a woman, a boat and a bike*, c.1898. Graphite on paper, 11 x 16.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Kon46_2, 39).

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Figure 26. Anonymous, *Gabriele Münter on a bicycle, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck*, 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

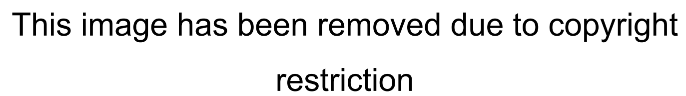

Figure 27. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *sketchbook, detail,* 1898/1899. Graphite on paper, 16.5 x 11 x cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Kon37_3, 44).

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Figure 28. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Girl in a white dress on the porch, Marshall, Texas,* 1899-1900. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 29. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *sketchbook (two young girls, front)*, 1898. Graphite on paper, 16.5 x 22 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation, Munich (Kon46_2, 46-47).

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Figure 30. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *sketchbook*, *(two young girls, back)*, 1898. Graphite on paper, 16.5 x 22 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation, Munich (Kon46_2, p. 48-49).

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Figure 31. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Three young women bathing in a river, Moorefield, Arkansas*, 1899-1900. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 32. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *sketchbook, detail of a woman floating in water*, c.1898. Graphite on paper, 11 x 16.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Kon46_2,1).

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Figure 33. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *sketchbook, drawing of women on trees*, c.1902. Graphite on paper, 24 x 17 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation (Kon36_2, 21).

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Figure 34. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Aunt Lou in Plainview, Texas,* 1899. Graphite on white paper, 12,5 x 20 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 1072).

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Figure 35. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *A bicycle ride along the Cowichan, two women relaxing in the grass,* 1895. Ink on paper, 12.5 x 17.5 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (no. 42433.1-12).

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Figure 36. Bruno Paul (1874-1968). *The woman, in front of the wheel, behind the wheel, on top of the* wheel ("Die Frau, vor dem Rad, hinter dem Rad und auf dem Rad"), 1896. Published In *Jugend*, 1896, vol.1, nr. 21, 335.

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Figure 37. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Students and models in drawing class at the ladies' academy of the association of female artists in Munich,* March 11, 1901. Pencil on paper, 20 x 30 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv.no. 46/6, 46-47).

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Figure 38. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Students drawing each other during class at the ladies' academy of the association of female artists in Munich,* 1901. Pencil on paper, 20 x 30 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Kon_46_6, 5).

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Figure 39. Gabriele Münter (1877-1945), *Self*, 1902. Graphite on paper, 19.5 x 13,7 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Kon_46_6, 33).

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Figure 40. Käthe Lassen (1880-1956), *Just another quick study (Schnell noch eine Skizze), "Here I sit, forming men in my own image, a race who shall be like me", Goethe, "Prometheus"* (*Karikatur einer Malerin, " 'Hier sitz' ich, forme Menschen nach meinem Bilde, ein Geschlecht, dass mir gleich ist', Göthe "Prometheus"*), n.d.. Pencil on paper, 20.2 x 17.3 cm. Flensburg, Museum Flensburg (Inv.no. 18388).

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Figure 41. Rudolf Wilke (1873-1908), *The frog in the ladies‘ academy (Der Frosch in der Damen-Malschule),* 1897. Published In *Jugend: Münchner illustrierte Wochenzeitschrift für Kunst und Leben,* 2.1897, vol.1 (nr.1-26), 379.

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Figure 42. Käthe Lassen (1880-1956), *Studio rules, Christmas booklet 1899 (Atelierstatuten, Weihnachtsheft 1899)*, 1899. Pencil on paper, 33 x 22.8 cm. Flensburg, Museum Flensburg, (Inv.no18390).

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Figure 43. Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), *Kandinsky and Münter in front of the easel,* March 1905. Pencil on paper, 8.7 x 8.8 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau, Munich, Gabriele Münter Stiftung 1957 (GMS 776).

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Figure 44. Bruno Paul (1874 - 1968), *Ladies Sketcher, "See, Miss, there are two kinds of women painter: there are the ones that want to get married, and then there are the others, who have no talent either"* [*Malweiber* , "Sehen Sie, Fräulein, es gibt zwei Arten von Malerinnen: die einen möchten heiraten und die anderen haben auch kein Talent.], 1901. Published in *Simplicissimus*, Vol. 6, No. 15, 1901, 117.

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Figure 45. Anonymous, *Photograph of Münter's drawing class at the ladies' academy Munich with their teacher Maximilian Dasio (centre) [Gabriele Münter first row, first from the left with cigarette)*, 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 46. Anonymous, *Photograph of Münter's portrait class at the ladies' academy Munich [Gabriele Münter, last row, second from the left]*, 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 47. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962*), Photograph documenting her life model class with Wilhelm Hüsgen at the Phalanx school, Munich*, 1902. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 48. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Photograph of the Bavarian town Kallmünz,* 1903. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 49. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Arcade in Kallmünz* ("*Torhaus in Kallmünz"),* 1903. Graphite on paper, 11 x 16 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Kon_38_3, 19).

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Figure 50. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Kallmünz*, 1903. Oil on canvas, 25 x 16.9 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 650).

Figure 51. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Houses in Kallmünz (Häuser in Kallmünz),* 1903-04. Coloured woodcut, 18.3 x 18.7 cm. Munich Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 785).

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Figure 52. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), "*Female Head" ("Weiblicher Kopf")*, c.1902. Woodcut, 29.9 x 19.8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 820).

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Figure 53. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Münter's atelier in Munich, Schackstrasse 4, with her palette and easel,* winter 1903/04. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 54. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Münter's atelier in Munich, Schackstrasse 4, with life size nudes,* winter 1903/04. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 55. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Westminster School of Art*, 1901. Gouache and ink on paper, n/a. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP06152).

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Figure 56. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *"Imagine if every student brought a chaperone to class"*, 1902. Graphite and watercolour on paper, n/a. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP06140).

Figure 57. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Algeron Talmage (possibly) visiting a student at work*, 1901. Graphite and ink on paper, n/a. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP05910).

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Figure 58. Emily Carr (1871-1945), "*Just as you're feeling better And joy your bosom fills, Down falls your heart to zero For in comes nurse with pills"*, 1903. Bound sketchbook with 56 drawings in graphite and ink, 20.7 x 16.5 cm. McMichael Canadian Art Collection (1973.8).

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Figure 59. Emily Carr's copy of Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass. Comprising all the Poems written by Walt Whitman following the Arrangement of the Edition of 1891-2*. New York: Modern Library, circa 1940, Royal B.C. Archives, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 6 Item 2).

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Figure 60. Emily Carr's copy of Robert Browning, *The poetical works*, New York: Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1872, Royal B.C. Archives, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 6 Item 5).

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Figure 61. Emily Carr's copy of Denman W. Ross, *A Theory of Pure Design. Harmony, Balance, Rhythm,* Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (MS 2763 Box 7 Item 3).

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Figure 62. Emily Carr's drawing in her copy of *Poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti ,1904*. Victoria, Royal B.C. Archives, Edna Parnall Collection and Flora Burns Papers (CMS 2763 Box 6 Item 6).

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Figure 63. Gabriele Münter's copy of *Godey's Lady's Book and magazine*, 1861. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 64. Gabriele Münter's copy of the *Catalogue of the 12th exhibition of the Berlin Secession of 1911* heavily commented by Gabriele Münter. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 65. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Sister and I in Alaska*. *"As the day of our departure from Sitka drew near, we betook ourselves to the Indian village, and procured a curio or two as mementoes of our happy trip, and offerings for our friends"*, page 35, 1907. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (I-67766).

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Figure 66. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Sister and I in Alaska*. *"We are immediately taken adopted, and straightway taken for our initiation trip to the totem poles, and thereafter bourn thither twice daily, for the rest of our sojourn in Sitka, be the climatic conditions favourable or unfavourable"*, page 19, 1907. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (I-67766).

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Figure 67. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Totem Pole*, *Sitka,* c.1907. Watercolour, 34.8 x 21.5 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 68. Emily Carr (1871-1945). *Totem Walk at Sitka,* 1907. Watercolour on paper, 38. 5 x 38. 5 cm. Victoria, Art Gallery of Greater Victoria, The Thomas Gardiner Keir Bequest (1994.055.004).

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Figure 69. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Indian Village, Ucluelet,* 1899. Ink on paper, 22.2 x 30.3 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00641).

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Figure 70. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Indian Girl*, 1899. Ink over pencil on paper, 28.4 x 18.5 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00600).

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Figure 71. *Postcard sent by Gabriele Münter to her sister in law, Tunis,* Feburary 13 1905. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv.2580).

Figure 72. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Bab el Khadra, Tunis,* February 15, 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2650).

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Figure 73. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Family at the carnival, Tunis*, March 1906. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2554).

Figure 74. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Costume studies with notes on colour*, 1905. Pencil on paper, each 11 x 8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Gabriele Münter Stiftung 1957 (GMS 104).

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Figure 75. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Carnival parade, Tunisia,* March 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2646).

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Figure 76. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Ottoman cemetery, Tunisia,* spring 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2580).

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Figure 77. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Grave or well construction off the coast, Tunisia*, spring 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2583).

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Figure 78. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Sidi Bel Hassen Cemetery, Tunisia,* 1905. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2586).

Figure 79. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Tunisian graveyard,* n.d. Pencil on paper, 11 x 16.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_16, 18).

Figure 80. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Tunisian graveyard "grave", n.d*. Pencil on paper, 12 x 17 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_17, 39).

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Figure 81. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Tunisian graveyard*, n.d. Pencil on paper, 17 x 12 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation (SB_Kon_46_17, 40).

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Figure 82. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Study of a Landscape with Tower (Grave in Tunis),* 1905. Oil on textile, 17.2 x 26.2 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. L 627).

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Figure 83. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Tyrolian Wayside Chapel, probably 1908, n.d*. Pencil on paper, 16.5 x 11 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation (SB_Kon_46_23, 35).

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Figure 84. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Tyrolian Chapel "Reschen am See, Nanders, close to Swiss border, sinister",* probably 1908*,* n.d. Pencil on paper, 16.5 x 11 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation (SB_Kon_46_23, 71).

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Figure 85. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Wayside shrine in landscape, Italy*, spring 1908. Black and white photograph, 8.25 x 6.35 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2763).

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Figure 86. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Wayside shrine and castle in Lana, Italy, in the background: Fürstenburg Marienberg*, spring 1908. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2849).

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Figure 87. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Wayside shrine in village, Italy,* spring 1908. Black and white photograph, 8.25 x 6.35 cm. Munich, GMJE, Foundation (Inv. 2850).

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Figure 88. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Women on Bavarian grave yard*, n.d. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2445).

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Figure 89. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Grave crosses with pink flowers (Grabkreuze mit rosa Staudengewächsen)*, 1908. Oil on cardboard, 40.9 x 32.8 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (L 135).

Figure 90. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Bavarian graveyard*. *n.d*. Pencil on paper, 16.5 x 11 cm. Munich, GMJE Foundation (SB_Kon_46_20, 15).

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Figure 91. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Grave crosses in Kochel*, 1909. Oil on cardboard, 40.5 x 32.8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 658).

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Figure 92. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Cross in graveyard (Kruxifix),* 1908, Oil on cardboard, 63.6 x 51.6 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv.- Nr. L564).

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Figure 93. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Way side cross, Kochel* (*Wegkreuz in Kochel)*, 1909. Oil on cardboard, 33 x 40 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 94. Anonymous (probably Wassily Kandinsky). *Gabriele Münter painting on the snow covered grave yard in Kochel [on the easel, "Grave crosses in Kochel" (1909)]*. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. 2884).

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Figure 95. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). *Two women talking on Grüngasse, Murnau,* 1908/09. Black and white photography, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation

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Figure 96. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Avenue in Parc Saint-Cloud (Allee im Park von Saint-Cloud),* 1906. Oil on canvas, 40.5 x 50.5 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, (GMS 651).

Figure 97. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Gabriele Münter's sketchbook with names of artists and galleries, Paris,* 1907.

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Figure 98. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Untitled "Dutch girl,"* 1907-08. Woodcut, 11 x 9.8 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 852).

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Figure 99. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Mme Vernot and Aurélie,* 1906. Coloured lino cut, 23.4 x 18.1 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 813).

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Figure 100. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Parc Saint-Cloud,* 1907. Coloured lino cut, 10.5 x 24.5 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 827).

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Figure 101. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Yalis (Alert Bay),* c. 1908. Watercolour, 55.3 x 37.5 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 102. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *The Quay, Alert Bay,* c. 1908. Watercolour on paper, 26.35 x 36.83 cm. Whistler, Audain Art Museum Collection (2016.0.13).

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Figure 103. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Totem by the Ghost Rock*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 90.2 x 114.7 cm. Vancouver, Collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery, Emily Carr Trust (VAG 42.3.10).

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Figure 104. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *An Indian Village*, 1909. Gouache, 36.3 x 52.5 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 105. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Brittany, France*, 1911. Oil on paperboard, 46.8 x 61.7 cm. Kleinburg, Ontario, McMichael Canadian Art Collection.

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Figure 106. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Brittany Landscape (Le paysage),* 1911. Oil on board, 45.7 x 64.8 cm. Whistler, Audain Art Museum Collection (2017.012).

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Figure 107. Emily Carr (1877-1945). *Trees in France,* c. 1911. Oil on canvas, 35.3 x 4.5 cm. Kleinburg, Ontario, McMichael Canadian Art Collection (1980.18.6).

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Figure 108. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Old Church near St. Efflam,* 1911. Oil on wood, 41.3 x 33.7 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 109. *Postcard mailed home by Emily Carr, showing Église Saint-Michel and calvary, in Saint-Michel-en-Grève,* 10 July 1911. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections.

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Figure 110. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Wayside Cross, St. Efflamme, Brittany,* 1911. Watercolour on paper, 44.5 cm x 27.0 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP00613).

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Figure 111. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Village Square with Cross No.1,* 1911, Watercolour and charcoal on woven paper, 31.0 cm x 51.2 cm. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (Accession number 40473).

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Figure 112. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Untitled (Graveyard)*, 1911, Oil on wood, 68.6 x 53.3cm. University of Lethbridge Art Gallery, Alberta (198716).

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Figure 113. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Totem Pole (Alert Bay),* 1911. Oil on canvas, 68.6 x 35.9 cm. McMichael Canadian Art Collection, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Max Stern, Dominion Gallery, Montreal (1974.18.4).

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Figure 114. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Street, Alert Bay,* 1912. Oil on canvas, 81.8 x 60 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 115. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *"Being As It Were In A Chast[e]ned And Subdued Frame Of Mind...,"* 1910. Ink with colour wash on paper, 23.4 x 18.6 cm. Victoria, Royal BC Museum and Archives collections (PDP 06061).

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Figure 116. Anonymous, *Gabriele Münter on a bicycle, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck,* 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 117. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Local peasant couple, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck,* 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2055).

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Figure 118. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Gabriele Münter's teacher Maximilian Dasio next to a draw well, probably in Fürstenfeldbruck,* 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2055).

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Figure 119. Unknown photographer, *Gabriele Münter drawing outdoors*, summer 1901. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2070).

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Figure 120. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Painting a Landscape* ("*Beim Landschaftsmalen*"), 1901/02. Oil on canvas, 23.5 x 27.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. L636).

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Figure 121. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). *Drawing of a Bavarian farm house in Kochel,* 1902. Pencil on paper, 12.4 x 18 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_9, 7).

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Figure 122. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *House and barn*, *probably Kochel*, 1902. Oil on textile, 21 x 31.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. L 635).

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Figure 123. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). *Drawing of a non-descript landscape,* 1902. Graphite on paper, 12.4 x 18 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_9, 53).

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Figure 124. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Mountain landscape near Kochel,* summer 1902. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. 2399).

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Figure 125. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Study of a landscape – hills and bushes, probably Kochel,* 1902. Oil on textile, 15.4 x 22.5 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. Nr. L 641).

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Figure 126. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). *"House." Jane Lee's 'Shanty', Guion, Texas,* 1900. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 127. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Alpine hut (Heustadel), South Tyrol,* 1908. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 128. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Alpine Hut (Heustadel),* 1908. Ink on paper, 6.8 x 8.3 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (GMS 1083).

Figure 129. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *View of the Murnau Moors* ("Blick aufs Murnauer Moss"), 1908. Oil on cardboard, 32.7 x 40.5 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (GMS 654).

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Figure 130. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Outside Lana ("Vor Lana"),* 1908. Oil on textile, 28.4 x 38.2 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. nr. L 350).

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Figure 131. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Winter Landscape (Winterlandschaft),* 1909. Oil on cardboard, 49 x 72 cm. Private collection.

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Figure 132. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Yellow Still Life ("Gelbes Stillleben")*, 1909. Oil on cardboard, 41.9 x 33 cm. Milwaukee Art Museum, Gift of Mrs. Harry Lynde Bradley.

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Figure 133. Alexej Jawlensky (1864-1941), *Still life with reversed painting on glass, green vase and fruits ("Stilleben mit Hinterglasbild, grüner Vase und Früchten")*, c.1908. Oil on cardboard, 64 x 53 cm. Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen, Kunstverein Bremen.

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Figure 134. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Wall with cupboard and collection (e.g. two works by Alexej Jawlensky, in Kandinsky's and Münter's apartment*, c. 1913. Black and white photograph, 8.89 x 8.89 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 135. Georges Rouault (1871-1958), *Two Nudes,* 1941. Oil on cardboard, 89,8 x 57 cm. Hamburg, Kunsthalle.

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Figure 136. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Still life with chair ("Stillleben mit Sessel"),* 1909. Oil on cardboard, 72.2 x 48.8 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (S 119).

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Figure 137. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Tanoo Q.C.I.,* 1912. Water colour on paper, 76.2 x 55.8 cm. Collection of Hank Swartout, Canada.

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Figure 138. Emily Carr (1871-1945), *Indian House Interior with Totems*, 1912-1913. Oil on canvas, 89.6 x 130.6 cm. Collection of the Vancouver Art Gallery, Emily Carr Trust (VAG 42.3.8).

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Figure 139. Anonymous, *Photograph of Heinrich Rambold presenting his reversed paintings on glass for sale,* c.1912.

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Figure 140. *Anonymous, Juno getting dressed, (example of an English reversed painting on glass front and back side),* 18th century. Schwerin, State Museum (Inv. nr. G 1043).

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Figure 141. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Wall with reversed glass paintings in Kandinsky's and Münter's Munich apartment,* c. 1913. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 142. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Münter's housemaid, Fanny Dengler, painting behind glass, Murnau,* summer 1911. Black and white photograph, 6.35 x 8.25 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation.

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Figure 143. Heinrich Rambold (1872-1953). *Exvoto for sick farmer ("Exvoto für bettlägerigen Bauern"),* n.d. Gouache and oil behind glass, 24.3 x 16.3 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation, former collection of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky (H 74).

Figure 144. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962). *Exvoto,* c.1908/09. Ink and oil behind glass, 23.2 x 16.9 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation (GMS 731).

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Figure 145. Anonymous artist of Raimundsreut, Bavaria, *The Death of a Saint* ("Der Tod des Hl. Josef"), 1800-1825. Reversed painting on glass, 27.2 x 22.8 cm. Oberammergau, Oberammergau Museum, formerly collection Johann Krötz (Inv. nr. H 38).

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Figure 146. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *The Death of a Saint* ("Der Tod eines Heiligen"), n.d. Ink and oil behind glass, 29.8 x 21.1 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation (H 120).

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Figure 147. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Wayside cross in landscape ("Kruzifix in Landschaft")*, 1910. Gouache and oil behind glass, 14.2 x 20.3 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus (G 12190).

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Figure 148. Anonymous, *Gabriele Münter dressed in a traditional Bavarian dress with a rake in front of the garden pavilion of Murnau villa,* 1910. Reprinted in Friedel, ed., *Gabriele Münter: Die Jahre mit Kandinsky*, 230.

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Figure 149. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Flowers in front of pictures ("Blumen vor Bildern"),* 1910. Oil on canvas, 70.5 x 49.5 cm. Bern, Expressionismus Stiftung beim Kunstmuseum Bern.

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Figure 150. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Still Life with Figures* ("*Dunkles Stillleben mit Figürchen*"), 1910. Oil on canvas, 79.5 x 70 cm. Schlossmuseum Murnau, loan of Vereinigten Sparkassen, Murnau (Inv. nr. 11306).

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Figure 151. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Still life with flowers and figurines (Stillleben mit Blumen und Figuren),* 1911. Oil on cardboard, 68.5 x 50.8 cm. Bremen, Kunsthalle Bremen (Inv. nr. 857-1962/8).

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Figure 152. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Dark still life (mystery) (Dunkles Stilleben [Geheimnis]),* 1911. Oil on textile, 78.1 x 100.6 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. nr. S 152).

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Figure 153. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Still life with St. George* (*Stilleben mit Heiligem Georg)*, 1911. Oil on cardboard, 51.1 x 68 cm. Munich, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau (GMS 666).

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Figure 154. Heinrich Rambold (1872-1953), *The Queen of Bohemia confessing to Saint Nepomuk, (Beichte der Königin von Böhmen beim Hl. Nepomuk),* n.d. Gouache and oil behind glass, 31.7 x 21.3 cm (framed). Munich, GMJE-Foundation, former collection of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky (H 114).

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Figure 155. *Anonymous photograph of Henry van de Velde's Folkwang Museum, Hagen, entrance hall with fountain by Georg Minne and paintings by Paul Gauguin and Henri Matisse,* c.1910. Reprinted in Kuenzli, *The Birth of the Modernist Art Museum*, 508.

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Figure 156. Gabriele Münter (1877-1962), *Drawing of an ex voto from the Alpine region (“Vor der Waldkapelle, June 4“,* n.d. (probably 1908). Graphite on paper, 11 x 16.5. cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (SB_Kon_46_23, 81).

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Figure 157. Anonymous, *Devotional copy of the Madonna of Ettal, a Bavarian pilgrimage site, (former collection of Gabriele Münter and Wassily Kandinsky),* early 19th c. Wooden and coloured sculpture, 53 cm. Munich, GMJE-Foundation (Inv. nr. HP 5).