

GABRIELE MÜNTER PHOTOGRAPHER OF AMERICA 1898-1900

by

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A Limited Reputation in the U.S.

One of the founding members in 1911 of the much admired avant-garde artists' group known as "Der Blaue Reiter" [The Blue Rider], Gabriele Münter (1877-1962) is much less well known in the U.S. or Great Britain than in her native Germany, where her work has been shown in private galleries since 1909 and well over 50 exhibitions have been devoted to it in major public galleries, the latest being scheduled to open at the Lenbachhaus in Munich on October 31, 2017 and to run for five months. The first showing of Münter's work in the U.S., in contrast, did not take place until 1955, at the private Curt Valentin gallery in New York. Four other shows in private galleries in New York and Los Angeles followed in the 1960s.¹ It was 1980 before the first exhibition of Münter's paintings and drawings in a public gallery -- curated by the art historian Anne Mochon -- opened at Harvard University's Busch-Reisinger Museum. This exhibition was also seen at the Princeton University Art Museum the following year. In the late 1990s a retrospective exhibition at the Milwaukee Art Museum -- this one curated by Reinhold Heller-- traveled to Columbus, Ohio, Richmond, Virginia, and the McNay Museum in San Antonio, Texas (1997-98), and in 2005 Shulamith Behr and Annegret Hoberg curated an exhibition at the Courtauld Institute in London, about which the critic of the *Independent on Sunday* newspaper wrote: "This small jewel-like exhibition is in its quiet, unobtrusive way one of the best shows in London."²

The impact of these relatively rare displays of Münter's art seems to have been not very considerable. Münter is still far from widely known or appreciated in this country

¹ The first at the private Dalzell Hatfield gallery in Los Angeles in 1960. This was followed by a memorial show at the time of Münter's death in 1963 and by a show devoted to Münter, Jawlensky, and Pechstein in 1968. In 1966 there was a substantial presentation of some 73 paintings by Münter -- "all, with a few exceptions, for sale" -- at the similarly private Leonard Hutton galleries in New York in 1966. This was, followed at the same gallery and in the same year by a smaller show of Münter's paintings on glass (*églomisé*). In Great Britain, the first showing of Münter's work was at the Marlborough gallery in London.

² The slim catalogues for the Hatfield Gallery show and the Leonard Hutton Galleries show are both handsomely produced and illustrated. In addition, the Hutton Galleries catalogue has a useful two-page list of public and some private galleries where Münter's art has been shown (1907-1965), as well as a moving, insightful, and deeply empathetic short introduction to her art by the art historian Hans Konrad Roethel, a student of Panofsky and a director of the Lenbachhaus in Munich, 1956 - 1971. See also *The Independent on Sunday* for Aug. 7, 2005.

and a comment in the student *Harvard Crimson* at the time of the Busch-Reisinger show is still valid in large measure: “A worthy but obscure artist [...] Persuading friends to visit an exhibition of an artist as little-known as Gabriele Münter may be difficult, but it is well worth the trouble. Few are familiar with Münter's work; that's a shame.”³ Other founding members of the Blue Rider have been similarly neglected in the U.S., notably August Macke (1887-1914), Alexei Jawlensky (1864-1941), and to a lesser degree Franz Marc (1880-1916) -- all three outshone by the group's groundbreaking initiator Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Münter's teacher, collaborator, and lover for over a decade, from 1903 until World War I (figs. 1-6) when, as an enemy alien, he had to leave Germany and return to his native Russia.⁴

Albeit a gifted and productive painter in her own right, with a special talent for line drawing that has been compared to that of Matisse,⁵ (figs. 7-15) Münter was overshadowed during her lifetime -- and inevitably still is, even in Germany, despite having finally won broad recognition there, especially since the late 1940s -- by her extraordinarily gifted teacher and lover. As she herself noted in her diary (October 27, 1926) with some bitterness, a decade after Kandinsky effectively broke off their relationship, “In the eyes of many, I was only an unnecessary side-dish to Kandinsky. It is all too easily forgotten that a woman can be a creative artist with a real, original talent of her own. A woman standing

³ Sarah L. Mcvity in *Harvard Crimson*, 1 September 29, 1980.

⁴ The close personal and artistic relationship of Münter and Kandinsky (including the relatively minor issue of their collaboration on photography) is inevitably a topic of all the art historical studies of Münter. For the personal relationship, which came to an end after Kandinsky met and married a Russian woman while living in Moscow during WWI and kept it dark from Münter despite having led her to understand that he planned to marry her, see especially Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky: Biographie eines Paares* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag, 1990), Johannes Eichner, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter: vom Ursprünge der Modernen Kunst* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, n.d. [1957]), and the correspondence of the two, published in English translation by Annegret Hoberg, *Wassily Kandinsky and Gabriele Münter: Letters and Reminiscences 1902-1914* (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1994).

⁵ G.F. Hartlaub, “Die Zeichnerin Gabriele Münter,” foreword to *Gabriele Münter: Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen. Zwanzig Lichtdrucktafeln* (Berlin: Konrad Lemmer Verlag, 1952), pages unnumbered; Anne Mochon, *Gabriele Münter between Munich and Murnau*, exh.cat., (Cambridge, Mass.: Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 1980), p. 55.

alone [. . .] can never gain recognition through her own efforts. Other ‘authorities’ have to stand up for her.”⁶ Given, in addition, the almost exclusive focus of British and American collectors on Paris, it is not surprising that there are few works by Münter in U.S. galleries and museums. Princeton’s Art Museum is unusual in having six of her paintings, all donated by the family of Frank E. Taplin (Princeton class of 1937). (Figs. 16-21) Otherwise, with the notable exceptions of the Milwaukee Art Museum, which has fourteen works by Münter, and the San Diego Museum of Art, to which six of her paintings were donated in 2011 (figs. 22-28), only six U.S. galleries (Art Institute, Chicago; Cleveland Museum; Guggenheim Museum, MOMA, and Neue Galerie in New York; National Gallery and National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, D.C.), have even a single work by her. In all the public collections in Great Britain, there is one painting by Münter -- at the New Walk Gallery and Museum in Leicester. The first Münter painting in any French museum was acquired by the Centre Pompidou in 2015!

It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that there is almost no awareness in the U.S. of Gabriele Münter’s American connection or, in particular, of the hundreds of photographs she took in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas in 1898-1900.⁷ These photographs -- amounting to about 400, of which a generous selection was published in 2006-7, at the time of a major exhibition at the Lenbachhaus in Munich (September 2006 - January 2007) curated by the eminent scholars of modern German art Annegret Hoberg and Helmut Friedel, then director of the Lenbachhaus⁸ -- are the focus of the present short study.⁹ While it is hoped that they may also stimulate interest

⁶ Cit. Gisela Kleine, “Gabriele Münter 1877-1962: Malerin in wechsellvoller Zeit,” in Ingrid Mössinger and Thomas Friedrich, eds., *Gabriele Münter: Werke im Museum Gunzenhauser* (Bielefeld: Kerber-Verlag, 2009), pp. 9-19, on p. 9. (Translation by L.G.)

⁷ Münter is not mentioned, for instance, in Naomi Rosenblum’s capacious *History of Women Photographers* (New York, London, Paris: Abbeville Press, 1994; 2nd ed. 2000). The 2009 exhibition “Gabriele Münter and Vasily Kandinsky 1902-14: A Life in Photographs” at the Guggenheim Museum in New York (Sept. 2009-Jan. 2010) was dedicated to the time of Münter’s collaboration with Kandinsky.

⁸ *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel and Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 2006). This publication was followed by a volume of selections of photographs taken during the years of Münter’s partnership and cohabitation with Kandinsky, *Gabriele Münter. Die Jahre mit Kandinsky* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel and Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 2007).

⁹ They are preserved at the Gabriele Münter-Johannes Eichner Stiftung, Lenbachhaus, Munich. Other materials are located in nearby Murnau, in a house that was purchased by Münter in 1909 and that she lived in, off and on, with Kandinsky, by herself, and with her second life’s partner, the art historian Johannes Eichner, over the decades until her death in 1962.

in Münter as a painter, they are primarily directed here toward students of American history and the history of photography. For this reason some comparable works by contemporaries of Münter's, including the still rather neglected Evelyn Cameron, a British woman who settled in Montana in 1889 (figs. 119, 124-125, 132-134), have been included in the attached image portfolios.¹⁰

¹⁰ On Cameron, see Donna M. Lucey, *Photographing Montana 1894-1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990) and <http://www.evelyncameron.org/>



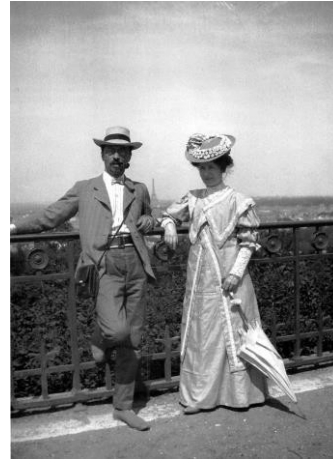
1. Münter and Kandinsky at the Phalanx School, 1902. Münter (seated) at center.



3. Münter in the apartment she shared with Kandinsky in Ainmillerstrasse 36, Munich. 1913.



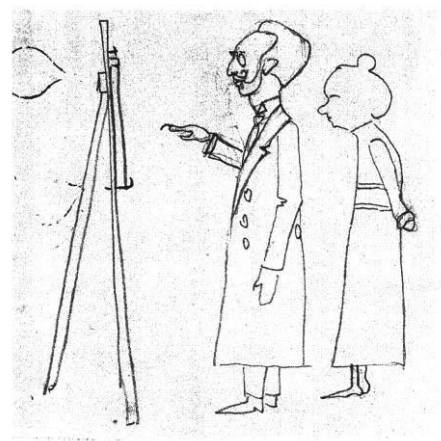
5. Kandinsky. Gabriele Münter painting. 1903. Lenbachhaus.



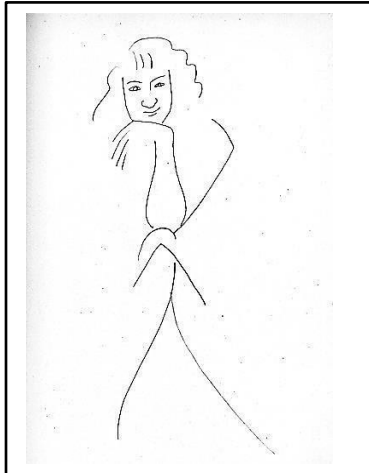
2. Münter and Kandinsky on terrace at Parc de Saint-Cloud. 1906-07.



4. Münter and Kandinsky in Stockholm. 1916.



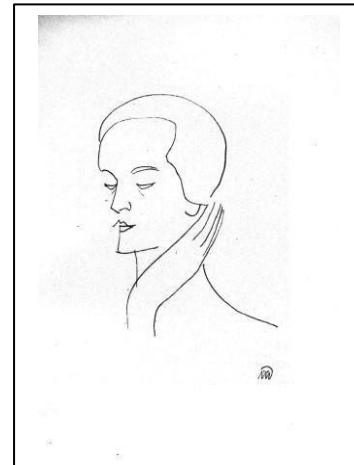
6. Caricature of Münter and Kandinsky. Tunis. 1905.



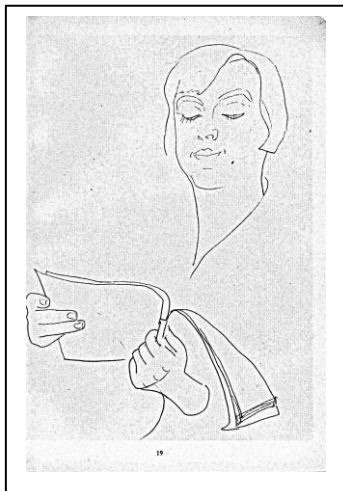
7. Matisse. Koket.



**8. Matisse. Die Unvergleichliche.
[Die Dichterin S. v. H.]**



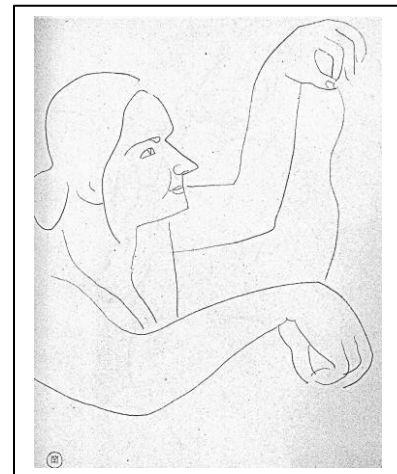
**9. Matisse. Die Stilvolle. [Die Dichterin
G. v. B.]**



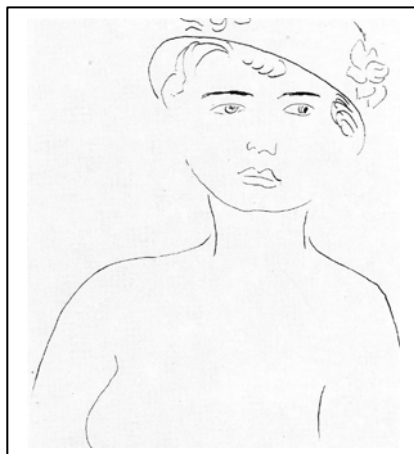
10. Matisse. Eleonora Kalkowska liest.



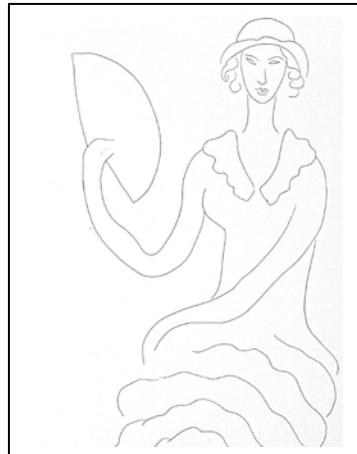
11. Matisse. Rauchend.



12. Matisse. Einfädeln.



13. Matisse. Loulou, Torse nu. 1914-15.



**14. Matisse. Éventail de
Mme Mallarmé. 1932.**



15. Matisse. Aragon. 1943.



16. Self-portrait in front of an easel. 1908-9. Oil on canvas. 75 x 57.5. Princeton.



17. Fisherman's House. 1918. Oil on board. 39.4 x 31.1 cm. Princeton.



18. Portrait of Kandinsky's mother. 1913. Oil on canvas. 45.2 x 38 cm. Princeton.



19. (left) [Early version of] Kandinsky and Erma Bossi at the tea-table. c. 1910. Oil on board. 48.9 x 70.5 cm. Princeton.

20. (below left) From Norway (Tjellebotten). 1917. Oil on canvas. 54.5 x 65.5 cm. Princeton.

21. (below right) Kahl [Barren landscape] 1947. Oil on canvas. 49 x 56.5 cm. Princeton.

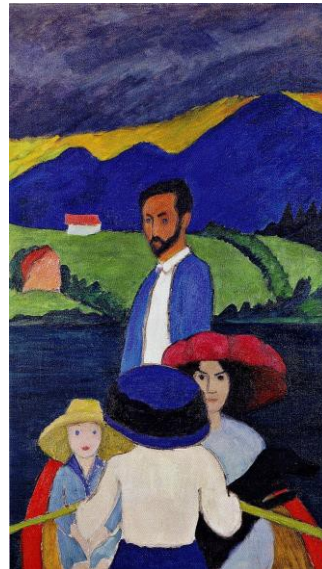




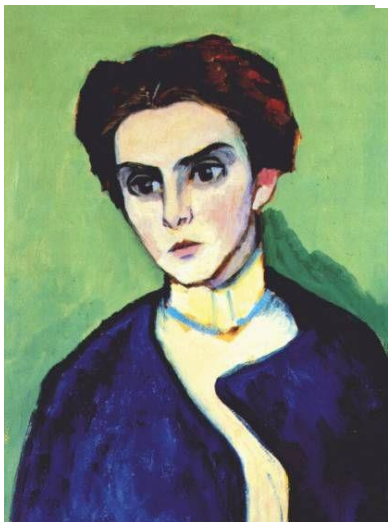
22. Girl with doll. 1908-9. Oil on canvas. 70 x 40.8 cm. Milwaukee.



23. Portrait of a woman. 1909. Oil on canvas. 70.19 x 48.26 cm. Milwaukee.



24. Boating. 1910. Oil on canvas. 125 x 73.3 cm. Milwaukee.



25. Portrait of Olga von Hartmann. 1910. Oil on board. 53.02 x 59.69 cm. Milwaukee.



26. The Green House, Murnau. 1911. Oil on canvas. 88.5 x 100.3 cm. Milwaukee.



27. (far left) Weg im bunten Oktober. 1959. Oil on canvas. 50.8 x 36.83 cm. Milwaukee.

28. (immediate left) Flute Soloist Lambros Demetrios Callimachos. 1936. Oil on board. 34.93 x 26.99 cm. San Diego.

Becoming an artist. The importance of line.

Though influenced by Kandinsky and sharing many features with fellow Blue Rider artists August Macke and Franz Marc, Münter's work as a painter is especially marked by bold, dark outlines defining strong, flat areas of color. (Figs. 17, 19-37) As she put it herself on one occasion, drawing seemed to come naturally to her, whereas she had to learn to paint.¹¹ Line – clear and simple -- is no less essential to all her work than the skillful use of large areas of color. In addition, while she sympathized completely, as a painter, with the Blue Rider's rejection of realistic or impressionistic representation and, like Kandinsky, gave up an early Impressionist manner around 1906, and while she subscribed wholeheartedly in her own artwork to the group's goal of expressing the essence of things as grasped in the artist's inward experience of them (Kandinsky would have said "the spiritual") rather than in their external appearance – "I made a great leap," as she put it herself, "from copying nature in a more or less impressionist style to feeling the content of things, abstracting, conveying an extract"¹² -- Münter produced only a very small number of purely abstract paintings. In her own words, she never withdrew completely from the real world. From 1908 on, she wrote, looking back forty years afterwards, "I no longer concerned myself with the measurable, 'correct' form of

¹¹ "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." ("Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen," in *Gabriele Münter. Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen. Zwanzig Lichtdrucktafeln*, ed. G.F. Hartlaub [as in note 5 above], final four unnumbered pages.) In the same vein: "Meine frühe Neigung zum Zeichnen kam ganz aus mir selbst. Als ich 14 Jahre alt war, fiel die Treffsicherheit auf, mit der ich Köpfe meiner Umgebung in blossem Umriss wiedergab" ["My early propensity for drawing came entirely from inside me. At the age of 14 the accuracy with which I depicted by means of simple outlines the heads of people in my environment attracted attention."] ("Gabriele Münter über sich selbst," *Das Kunstwerk*, vol. 2, no. 7 [1948], p. 25) Annegret Hoberg points out that in her painting from about 1906 on "Münter [was] clearly continuing to develop the Post-Impressionist technique of *cloisonnisme*, derived from Paul Gauguin and imparted to her by Alexej Jawlensky" [a close associate of Münter and Kandinsky]. ("The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter," in *Gabriele Münter: The Search for Expression 1906-1917*, exh. cat. [London: Courtauld Institute Art Gallery and Paul Holberton Publishing, 2005], pp. 21-41)

¹² Cit. by Annegret Hoberg from an entry in Münter's diary in "The Life and Work of Gabriele Münter," *Gabriele Münter: The Search for Expression 1906-1917* (as in note 11 above), p. 27.

things. And yet I never sought to ‘overcome,’ destroy or even disparage nature. I represented the world as it enthralled me and in what to me was its essence.”¹³

Without any idea of becoming an artist – such a career was not in her bourgeois family’s repertoire of possible destinies for a woman – Münter kept a sketchbook from a very early age. Seeing and drawing, as she put it, rather than using words, was “her thing.”¹⁴ By 1897 when she was 20 years of age, her older brother Carl (“Charly,” as she called him) was sufficiently impressed by her unflagging commitment to drawing and by her proficiency at it, to suggest that she might take some art lessons in Düsseldorf, about a hundred miles from Coblenz where the family was then living -- not, to be sure, at the celebrated Art Academy there (even if a serious career as an artist had been envisaged either by Münter herself or by her family, it would have been very difficult to arrange, since none of the established art academies admitted women at this time), but as a private student of the local painter, etcher, and lithographer Ernst Bosch (1834-1917). Like his teachers at the Düsseldorf Academy Bosch was primarily a painter of portraits and genre scenes.¹⁵ Münter’s talent for simplified line drawing did not impress him or appeal to him and she, on her side, was not inspired by his instruction. Within a few months she had given up and switched to another, younger, and more up-to-date teacher, Willy Spatz (1861-1931), at the so-called “Damen-Kunstschule” [Ladies’ Art

¹³ “Von nun an [1908-LG] bemühte ich mich nicht mehr um die nachrechenbare ‘richtige’ Form der Dinge. Und doch habe ich nie die Natur ‘überwinden,’ zerschlagen oder gar verhöhnen wollen. Ich stellte die Welt dar, wie sie mir wesentlich schien, wie sie mich packte.” (“Gabriele Münter über sich selbst,” as in note 11 above, p. 25) In this respect, Münter seems especially close to Macke, who also tried his hand at but did not, in the end, much practice pure abstraction. Probably the Fauves, along to some extent with folk art, were the most enduring influence on her work, in contrast to Kandinsky, who -- though also much affected by the Fauves and by folk art in the first decade of the 20th century -- soon moved beyond them. The author of the short notice in the Dalzell Hatfield Gallery catalogue of 1960 (unsigned but probably Hatfield himself) describes her as “one of the first and most talented German Fauve painters,” and “the most dedicated of all the French or German Fauve artists. She never deserted the Fauve style of painting as the others did.”

¹⁴ “Meine Sache ist das Sehen, das Malen und Zeichnen, nicht das Reden” (opening words of “Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen,” as in note 11 above).

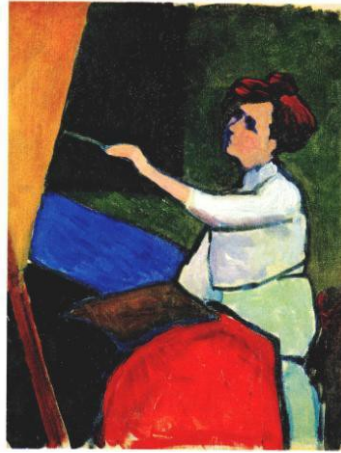
¹⁵ On Bosch, see, see <http://www.paynefinearts.com/bosch.html>; <http://collection.mam.org/artist.php?id=705> http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/bosch_ernst_passing_train.htm; <http://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/11891.html>; <https://www.invaluable.com/artist/bosch-ernst-225purvl00>

School] in Düsseldorf. That turned out to be not much of an improvement and in July 1898, Münter wrote Carl that she planned to leave Düsseldorf.¹⁶ It was not until 1901 that she again undertook more serious instruction in art, signing up for classes with Maximilian Dasio (1865-1954) and the Munich Secession artist Angelo Jank (1868-1940) at the “Schule des Künstlerinnen-Vereins” [Lady-Artists’ League School] in Munich (figs. 38-41) and it was only in the Winter of 1901-2 that she enrolled in the “Phalanx School,” newly founded in Munich by Wassily Kandinsky and his sculptor friend Wilhelm Hüsgen. Here, in a class taught by Kandinsky, her native talent was finally recognized and encouraged by her teacher.

¹⁶ See Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky: Biographie eines Paares* (as in note 4), p. 56; Johannes Eichner, *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter* (as in note 4), p. 33.



29. Woman in a large hat. 1909. Oil on board. 72.2 x 48.8 cm. On extended loan to Courtauld Institute Gallery, London.



30. At the easel. c. 1910 [Self portrait]. Oil on board. 31 x 40 cm. Private collection.



31. Woman in a hat. 1910. Oil on board. 76 x 52 cm. Private collection.



32. Still life with sunflowers. c. 1910. Oil on board, 47 x 68 cm. Private collection.



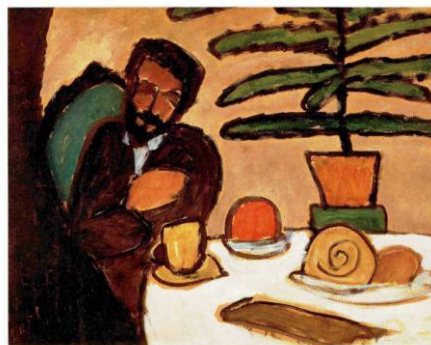
33. Kandinsky at the tea table. 1910. Oil on canvas. 70 x 48.5 cm. Private collection.



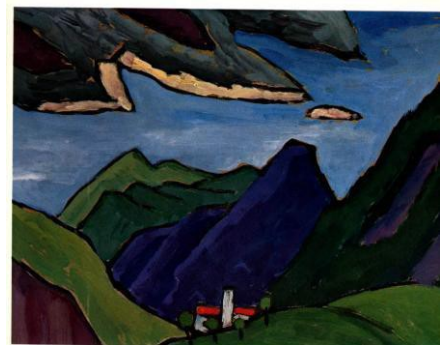
34. Wind and Clouds. 1910. Oil on canvas. 38 x 59 cm. Sprengel Museum, Hannover.



35. The Blue Gable. 1911. Oil on canvas. 101.6 x 113 cm. Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois.



36. Man at table [Kandinsky]. 1911. Oil on board. 51 x 68 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.



37. Blue Mountain. 1911. Oil on board. 32 x 45.5 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

The American connection.

Münter had thus had very little formal artistic training of any consequence when it was suggested in 1898, after her return from Düsseldorf and following the death of her mother in November of the previous year, that she accompany her sister Emmy -- eight years her senior -- on a trip to the United States to visit their mother's family. What she brought with her to America was essentially her longstanding natural gift and passion for sketching the objects and, in particular, the people around her. And she did indeed do a lot of sketching -- of individuals, of relatives old and young, of men, women, and children, as well as of scenes and landscapes. A few of those have been included in the attached portfolios. (Figs. 42, 43, 48-50, 91) In 1899, however, a few months after arriving in the U.S., Münter was the recipient of a gift, in the form of a Bull's Eye Kodak Box camera,¹⁷ and photography soon replaced sketching -- though it never eliminated it altogether -- as the future artist's primary means of recording the persons and scenes she was discovering in the still lightly settled and undeveloped territories that were home to most of the relatives she and her sister visited.

Before we approach the photographs themselves, and consider whether or to what extent, like the very young Münter's drawings, their obviously documentary and recording function might have been compatible with a more or less conscious artistic impulse, an account of the artist's American family connection is called for. It may surprise even many who are familiar with Münter's art work that the parents of this outstanding modern German artist met in Savannah, Tennessee, in 1857, when both were immigrants from Germany, that they were married there, and that they lived in the U.S. until 1864, when the artist's father, Carl Friedrich Münter, whose sympathies, as a resident of the South, were inconveniently with the North in the Civil War, decided

¹⁷ On this camera, see Daniel Oggenfuss, "Kamera- und Verfahrenstechnik der Amerika-Photographien Gabriele Münters," in *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (as in note 8 above), pp. 189-201. On the disputed date at which it was acquired by Münter, see Annegret Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter in Amerika," *ibid.*, pp. 11-30, at pp. 24-26.

to return to Germany with his young wife. The son of a government official in Herford, Westphalia, a former Imperial city that had come under Prussian rule in the mid-17th century, Carl Friedrich had emigrated to the United States in 1847, the young man's outspoken criticisms of the government having led one of his father's superiors to advise that he be shipped out of the country. Though he brought few resources with him, Carl Friedrich prospered in the United States and even obtained a degree in dental surgery, which served him well on his return to Germany, where he set himself up as one of three "American dentists" in the Prussian capital at a prominent site on Unter den Linden. The practice flourished for about ten years and all the couple's children were born in Germany, the oldest, August, almost immediately after the family's return, Carl ("Charly") in October 1866, Emmy in June 1869, and Gabriele ("Ella") in 1877. After giving up his dental practice in the mid-1870s, however, Carl Friedrich followed a checkered career, his health declined, and he died in 1886.

Münter's mother, Wilhelmina ("Minna") Scheuber, born in Southern Germany as the oldest child of a cabinet-maker in the village of Siglingen (Württemberg), was nine years old when her father Johann Gottlieb Scheuber emigrated with his family, in the 1840's, to the United States. After continuing for a while in his line of business as a cabinet-maker in New York, he moved to Tennessee, where he set himself up in the wood trade. His children all married in America, and established families of their own in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. They were completely Americanized and many of them lived the hard life of the early settlers. Even after she returned with her husband to Germany, it is said, Minna Münter was never completely at home in the German language. It was this extensive network of family relations – aunts, cousins, cousins' husbands and children -- that Gabriele Münter and her sister Emmy set out from Rotterdam in September, 1898, a year after the death of their mother, to get to know. (Figs. 44-47) They remained in America for two years, until October, 1900, traveling constantly from one family member's home to another's, but also

spending long periods of time with certain relatives' families. Following her natural bent and custom, Gabriele frequently sketched both the family members and their living conditions. After receiving the gift of her Kodak box camera, however, she took to photographing what once had been exclusively the object of her sketching.

In the opening essay, "Gabriele Münter in Amerika," of the remarkable volume edited by Helmut Friedel and referred to above (p. 3), Annegret Hoberg, the author of numerous insightful books and articles on Münter and on modern German art in general, has summarized the itinerary followed by the sisters and given an informative account, based on Münter's diary entries and sketchbook, of the complex family network that they explored and forged links of affection to. This part of Dr. Hoberg's wide-ranging text is reproduced, with her permission, on the following pages, in only occasionally abbreviated English translation.

In Gabriele Münter's little pocket diary for the years 1898, 1899, and 1900, the most important dates of the journey have been noted as follows:

1898.

27 Sept. "to Rotterdam"

29 Sept. "ship departs"

9 Oct. "arrival in New York"

20 Oct. "leave for St. Louis"

22 Oct. "arrive in St. Louis"

18 Dec. "leave St. Louis"

19 Dec. "to Niagara"

20 Dec. "Niagara Falls, Buffalo"

return to St. Louis

31 Dec. "'Uncle Toms Cabin' at the 'Imperial,' St. Louis"

1899.

6 Feb. "to Moorefield"

19 May. "mill running again" [In English in text-LG]

8 June. "to Marshall" [in English in text-LG]

from 12 August, for two weeks, "Cowboy Reunion" [at Plainview]

Nov. "Donohoos"

1900.
 3 Feb. "Fort Worth"
 4 Feb. "Abilene"
 5 Feb. "Guion"
 14 February. "Rights Partie Toscola"
 18 Feb. "Fishers Red Lake"
 23 Feb. "Guion"
 27 Feb. "to Abilene" [in English in text-LG]
 7 March "Buffalo Gap"
 13 April "Willie 18"
 16 May "leave Guion" [in English in text -- LG]
 17 May "leave Abilene" [in English in text -- LG]
 18 May "arr. Marshall" [in English in text - LG]
 There at end of May 2 x "Jette, Sue Bell swimming"
 11 July "leave Marshall"
 12 July "Moorefield"
 28 July "leave Moorfield" [in English in text -- LG]
 29 July "arr. St. Louis, 'Forest Park'" [in English in text -- LG]
 Aug. 3. "riverex" [pedition] [in English in text-- LG]
 1 Oct. "lve. St. Louis"
 2 Oct. "to Hoboken"
 8 Oct. "lve. New York"
 19 Oct. "Hamburg"
 22 Oct. "Bonn"
 5 Nov. Coblenz

In the course of the twelve-day crossing Gabriele made drawings in three sketchbooks [. . .] but there are only a few drawings of fellow-passengers and in a very small notebook [. . .] a double page with a rapidly drawn outline of Manhattan, the East River, the Hudson, [. . .] Hoboken, the Battery, and Broadway. [. . .] (Abb. 8)¹⁸ The sisters took a room in the Hotel Naegeli in Hoboken and explored the city with the help of a friend of their father's, the newspaper editor C.F. Liebetreu. [. . .] On October 20, Gabriele and Emmy traveled by train to St. Louis, a journey through several states that took two days and two nights. St. Louis was the first stop on an itinerary designed to allow them to get to know the members of their mother's widely dispersed family, among them Minna's four sisters, all of whom had remained in the U.S.A.; hence all the descendants of the Scheubers along with their husbands, children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. The second oldest sister of their

18

The references are to the figures (*Abbildungen*) in Dr. Hoberg's copiously illustrated text and to the large collection of full-page plates (*Tafeln*) in *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (as in note 8 above). Many of these, but by no means all, have been reproduced in the image portfolios accompanying the present essay. Reference will be made to those, where appropriate, in square brackets, immediately following Dr. Hoberg's reference.

mother, Albertine Happel, known as Al, had married a banker and lived in St. Louis, where she led a comfortable urban life. In one of the texts in which she recorded her recollections [see the attached translation of this text] Münter gives a brief description of this family with its three daughters Lulu, Kate, and Bertie, son Conrad, son-in-law Joe Buchheimer, grand-daughter Mildred Buchheimer, and -- newly arrived with her little daughter Annie Maud on a visit from Plainview, Texas -- young widowed cousin Leila Hamilton-Davidson.[. . .] Gabriele Münter's sketchbook bears lively witness to this female-dominated family and its members, including both 5-year old girls. Münter seems to have been particularly drawn to her cousin Bertie and inspired to make sketches of her. (Abb. 10 [fig. 48])

The sisters stayed with their relatives in St. Louis for over three months, enjoying visits to the theater, concert performances, and other urban pleasures. [. . .]

On February 6, Gabriele and Emmy Münter left St. Louis. Picked up and accompanied by their cousin John Schreiber, they traveled to Moorefield, Arkansas, not far from Batesville, where their aunt Carrie Schreiber, another sister of their mother's, had been settled for many a year. [. . .] As Carrie's son, John Schreiber ran the so-called "Roller mills" for producing wood in Moorefield. To this the family owed a certain measure of wellbeing. His pregnant sister Annie (Schreiber) Wade ran the household for him, and the young cousins Minna and Ida also lived there. In a later retrospective text of 1956, Gabriele Münter filled out this account: "Then, at the beginning of 1899, we were in Moorefield, Ark. -- cousin John Schreiber's mill was in the valley while up on 'Schreiberhill' there was Aunt Carrie with her elderly husband, who was already ailing, and 15-year-old Ida. We too were up there for a time in that lonely spot. One rode through unspoiled woods and fields of corn (and probably also cotton). A tree with large white blossoms was called 'dog wood.'"

The recollections of Moorefield resonate with the experience of the landscape on the edge of the Ozark Plateau and of an overwhelmingly powerful nature. Through it the sisters became acquainted with a very different aspect of American life than hitherto. Life in the country, in the simple wooden houses of Moorefield and Schreiberhill, beneath which the pigs were partly quartered, was close to nature and followed the rhythm of the seasons. [. . .] Nature here was nevertheless an idyll in comparison with what awaited the sisters at their relatives' places in Texas. For the first time Münter's sketchbook from the time of the Moorefield visit contains, along with many sketches of relatives, landscape views, and drawings of some houses in the settlement. These indicate that she was obviously more interested in the spare, structural aspect of things, the criss-crossing of lines, than in atmospherics or pleasing impressions. (Abb. 11 [fig. 49]) An interesting comparison can be made with a photograph (signed "Marshall 1899, Ella") in which she has represented herself against the background of a

large plant stretching geometrically upwards. She also frequently sketched the Rolling mills, a thoroughly impressive structure with many large wooden buildings, among them the vertically tall “engine room” and the horizontally extended sawmill, of which she also took several photographs. (Abb. 12, 13; Taf. 79, 94 [figs. 50, 51])

Also in the same sketchbook, it is worth noting Münter’s earliest compositional studies in pencil, with lines serving to hold them together schematically and hand-written abbreviations indicating the different colors to be applied to the various surfaces, just as she would characteristically do later in the sketches she made for her oil paintings.

There are many fewer entries in Münter’s pocket diary for this time about activities and outings than had been the case in St. Louis. On a few occasions she took note of a family musical evening or of going to church. Still, the German guests were able to do some things with Ida and Minna, such as have a picnic, explore caves, or go for a swim in the nearby river, which also drove the roller mill. Near the mill there was clearly only a very primitive way of fording the river, stepping stones for those on foot and a shallow crossing for horse-drawn carts. From now on and for more than a year, until their return to St. Louis in July 1900, horse and cart were to be Emmy’s and Gabriele’s chief means of transportation. Thanks to many riding lessons and time spent horseback riding in Coblenz, both were excellent horsewomen. As a result, they not only could get around on horseback, they were also quite comfortable occupying the driver’s box on a horse-drawn cart. This was to be demonstrated during their upcoming stays with relatives in Texas.

First, on June 8, 1899, they went on, still by train, to the Scheuber family’s place in Marshall, Texas, east of Fort Worth, where Ella’s uncle had made use of machinery to dry out a forest area full of streams and prepare it for the cultivation of rice, cotton, and sugar cane. These relatives were planters, much mocked as fenced-in field-mice by the Texas cattle ranchers. The girls’ cousin, Willie Scheuber, belonged to the third generation of settlers. Only English was spoken here. In her *Recollections* of 1956. Münter describes this family in which she was to spend many months: “Then we traveled on to the family of Willie Scheuber. There were three little daughters there; Bessie, almost grown up, had a pony on which she got around; 10-year-old Vergie, a charming child, and five-year-old Jennie Lee. Later, when we stopped off again on our return journey back to Germany, a son arrived on the scene. [. . .] Willie Scheuber’s sister, Annie Smith, also lived in Marshall with a five-year old daughter, Allie May. [. . .] Willie Scheuber’s mother had been widowed, had remarried, and was now Mrs. Allen. She and the four Allen children lived with Annie. There was a piano and there were books at the Scheubers’ and that kept me busy.” Willie Scheuber, the son of a brother of Minna Münter, is often represented in Gabriele

Münter's photographs from Marshall, as are his three daughters, especially Virgie and Jennie Lee. (Taf. 50, 59, 60 [figs. 52, 53]) His mother, as already noted, had remarried and thus no longer bore the name Scheuber. She too stood or sat as a model for a series of impressive photographs by Münter, often along with the Allen children, such as Bessie Allen, and other female relatives. (Taf. 44, 56, 57 [figs. 54, 55]) Her still younger son, Bruce Allen, Willie Scheuber's step-brother, is also made visible to the viewer in a number of lively photos, in one case as a young soldier posing with his gun and in another, seated next to another young man, in an attractively and carefully executed head and shoulders portrait. (Taf. 61, 74 [fig. 56])

If one judges by the pictures taken by Münter as a whole, the town of Marshall appears to have been a relatively verdant and at the same time upward-striving place, with commercial streets and brick houses in its center and fertile meadows between widely separated, solidly built wooden houses and farms, on which there was a good deal of cattle-raising. The Scheubers lived here in a – compared with John Schreiber's place in Moorfield – grand wooden house with several verandas and balconies. Münter often refers to this rather comfortable domestic arrangement, including the already mentioned piano and books. [. . .]

Still, the sisters did not stay in Marshall for very long, though they did pass through it again on their return journey. In mid-July 1899 at the latest, they traveled on to Plainview, Texas, to attend the marriage of a cousin of the Donohoo and Hamilton families. "The journey to the northwestern part of Texas was to take three days! The last stretch had to be covered by horse and cart, there being as yet no railway line into the Texas panhandle." In Plainview, located in the extreme West of Texas near the New Mexico state line, in the still fairly sparsely populated Great Plains, between Lubbock and Amarillo, Gabriele and Emmy Münter were to acquire familiarity with the pioneering life of the American settler, [. . .] and for over half a year they were to live among "Cowboys." Founded just twelve years before the arrival of the sisters, Plainview was like an oasis dug up out of the ground at the northern edge of the desert-like high plateau of Llano Estacado. As we can see from Ella's photos, the settlement consisted of a single street lined by crudely built warehouses where cattle-men coming from widely dispersed ranches supplied themselves with necessities. In the burned-out plain around the Salt Fork River Joe N. Donohoo, trusting to his luck, had one day hammered a crude shack together out of wooden planks and used a mammoth billboard to advertise it as a Store or Post Office. Thus it came about that in the heart of the treeless prairie a trading centre developed in which Uncle Joe achieved great success as a "dealer in cattle." (Taf. 2 [fig. 57])

Uncle Joe Donohoo was the husband of Lou Donohoo, one of four sisters, including mother Minna, who are still to be seen on a family photo of 1860. (See Abb. 3 [fig. 58]) In the interim, however, she had died. The fourth sister, Annie Hamilton, had also settled in Plainview, and with her husband Bud

had founded the Hamilton line. Her niece Gabriele recorded her little wooden house in a striking photo which she entitled "Home sweet home at Aunt Annie's." (Taf. 1, 3 [fig. 59])¹⁹ On July 18, at the latest, Emmy and Gabriele arrived in Plainview, as indicated by the date of a fairly large drawing on which, next to the date, "18.VII.1899," Gabriele had also inscribed an amusing pun on the name of the individual she had sketched: "Minnie Miller D'o'no who" – in itself an indication of how well Gabriele had mastered the English language. From that time on, in fact, nearly all her inscriptions and almost all her notes on the journey are in English. She was particularly fascinated by "Uncle Joe" and on December 30, she drew him on a piece of his business stationary in his cap and spectacles, reading intently or bent over his order books. Three lines scribbled around him define the actual picture of him and turn the small but accurate study into a self-contained, independent portrait. (Abb. 15 [fig. 60]) Another drawing, which [. . .] likewise shows Uncle Joe, his legs raised, reading, bears the date (in English) of the previous week ("sunday 23.VII.99"). It is located in a rather large sketchbook about the size of a school copybook, to which a series of well-executed, full-page portraits of other male members of the family was also confided. In most of the often very young faces that Münter succeeds in characterizing by means of few, finely drawn pencil lines, the tough, enterprising, spirit of the cowboy is combined with openness and calm self-assurance, traits that in a surprisingly impressive way will once again come to the fore in her photographs.

John N. Donohoo had set up his business in collaboration with his son-in-law, R.C. Ware, his daughter Lena's husband. From the Hamilton family line Arthur Hamilton and "strapping Hal" especially were great horsemen, cowboys, and cattle breeders. They are to be seen alongside their horses or cattle on a series of photos -- among them some that Münter herself did not take but received as gifts from other family members. Hal Hamilton was in fact the cousin to attend whose wedding the sisters had come to Plainview. An event of at least equal importance was the "Cowboy Reunion" that began on August 12 and went on for two weeks. A not very sharply defined photo taken, according to Münter's inscription on the back, by "Mr. Cowover's codac" shows Gabriele, at the highpoint of the Cowboy Reunion on August 17-19, 1899, in a large beribboned sunhat in the midst of a company of people gathered under a tent-like canopy; at the edge of the group, on the right, Emmy is looking directly at the camera, while the gentleman seated at the front of the group is proudly holding an enormous watermelon -- at least one assumes that is what it is from the inscription "Watermelon" on the back of the photo. (Abb. 16)

¹⁹Added note by L.G.:This image is strikingly similar to a roughly contemporary photograph by Münter's still little known contemporary, Evelyn Cameron. (Fig. 108)

It is not absolutely clear from Münter's diary how long the sisters remained in Plainview. All the indications are, however, that they did not return to Marshall before May, 1900, and that they stayed with the Donohoos for over half a year, until they left for Guion, Texas in February, 1900. [. . .]

On February 3, the sisters traveled by way of Fort Worth and, in a south-westerly direction, once again through Abilene and beyond, to Guion, Texas. With that, they came to the last "outpost" on their family trip to the U.S.A. The Graham family lived here, feeding itself by farming -- their older, widowed cousin Jane Lee, and her children, eighteen-year-old Willie, adolescent Benlah, and the smaller boys, Johnnie, Dallas, and Fred. Guion was nothing but a tiny, barren settlement around a railroad station in the broad plains of "west-central Texas." The station was shut down in 1938 and today the place, which still counted eighteen inhabitants in 1947, no longer appears on the map. Once again, Gabriele and Emmy Münter shared the simple country life of their relatives over several intensely experienced months, marked by obviously friendly relations. The steady anchor of their stay was clearly their young cousin Willie Graham. It was also Willie who rescued Gabriele when she tipped over while traveling by herself on a cart fitted with a primitive wooden chair instead of a box and proper seats. On March 2, 1900, she and Willie visited the place where this mishap occurred. (Taf. 15 [fig. 61]) They also went on trips together, to the Buffalo Gap Mountains, for instance, or to Tuscola, Abilene, or Balmonias, or for a picnic at Jim Need Creek, or to Red Lake to visit the Fishers and the Neals, families the Grahams were friendly with. Much of this is documented in an impressive set of Gabriele Münter's photographs. (Taf. 14-27 [figs. 62-66]) Among them there is also a picture of the Grahams' truly primitive wooden home raised above the clay soil only by two fieldstones [. . .] The inscription reads: "Emmy, the donkey, Fred, Johnnie, Dallas, our room." (Taf. 16 [fig. 65]) [. . .]

On May 16, 1900, Münter notes in her diary "leave Guyon", a day later "leave Abilene", and on May 18, "arrive Marshall". The two German visitors made their return journey from the wild west back to St. Louis and then New York slowly, following exactly the same itinerary they had set out on in 1898, only in the reverse direction. In Marshall, still in Texas, they stopped off again at Willie Scheuber's for another two months before moving on, on July 11, to Moorefield in Arkansas. They stayed for only two short weeks with the Schreiber and Wade families, to which in the meantime another offspring had been added, and on July 29, 1900 arrived back at the Happels' in St. Louis. They used their time here, among other things, to visit Forest Park, the great amusement park with a Japanese pagoda, much celebrated at the time, and, obviously, also a roller coaster. (Taf. 113 [fig. 84]) In August they twice took a river cruise on the Mississippi, which, judging by the numerous photographs Münter took on those occasions, made a great impression on her. (Taf. 103-111 [figs. 85-90]) On October 1, they left St. Louis and once again spent a week in New York. On October 8, 1900, they boarded the Hapag Lloyd Line's ocean steamship

“Pennsylvania” for the journey home. This ship, somewhat larger and more luxurious than the “Statendam,” docked twelve days later in Hamburg, where they first set foot again on German soil after an absence of two years.

A new chapter now opened in the lives of both sisters. Together they rented a place in Coblenz but they shared it for only a short time. Emmy, now 31 years old, was married soon afterwards to the chemistry specialist Dr. Georg Schröter, who subsequently became Director of the Chemical Institute for Veterinary Medicine in Berlin and with whom she then moved to the Imperial capital. Early in the following year Gabriele again took up her abandoned and till then rather half-heartedly pursued study of art: “My true study of art began only in Munich, in Easter 1901, when I was 24 years old.” There, at the beginning of 1902 she became a student of Wassily Kandinsky at “Phalanx,” the latter’s private art school.²⁰

²⁰ Annegret Hoberg, “Gabriele Münter in Amerika,” in *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (as in note 8 above), pp. 11-30. Pp. 16-23 have been translated here. See also, below, an English translation, appended to the present essay, of Münter’s own “Erinnerungen an Amerika” (ibid., pp. 217-220). All documents are preserved in the Gabriele Münter-Johannes Eichner Stiftung, Munich, which holds Münter’s private estate.



38. Ernst Bosch. *Far from Home*. 1869. Oil on canvas. 11 x 17 cm.



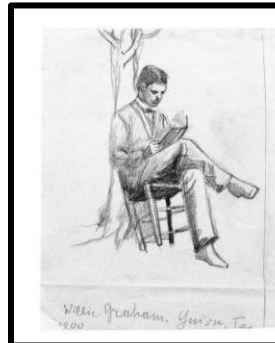
39. Willy Spatz. *The Holy Family prepares*. 1869. Oil on canvas. 11 x 17 cm.



40. Maximilian Dasio. *Herdsman with dog*. 1869. Oil on canvas. 11 x 17 cm.



41. Angelo Jank. Cover drawing for *Jugend* magazine, April 8, 1899.



42. Willie Graham reading in the open air. Guion, Texas. Sketch and photograph. 1900.



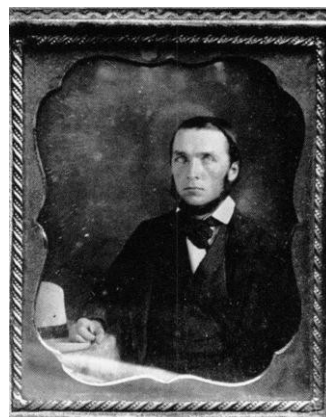
43. Girl with a doll. Plainview, Texas. Pencil sketch. January 11, 1900.



44. (above left). Gabriele Münter and sister Emmy (on Gabriele's right) with their cousins in St. Louis. 1898.



45. (above right). Wilhelmina (Minna) Münter, Savannah, Tennessee. c. 1857.



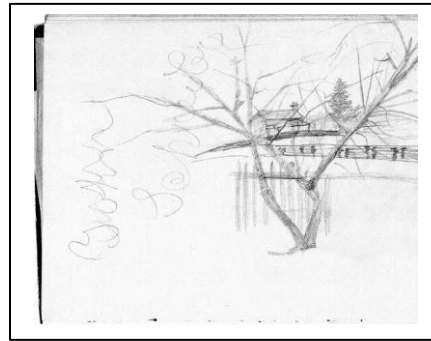
46. (near right). Carl Friedrich Münter.

47. (far right). Carl Friedrich Münter, Berlin. c. 1865.

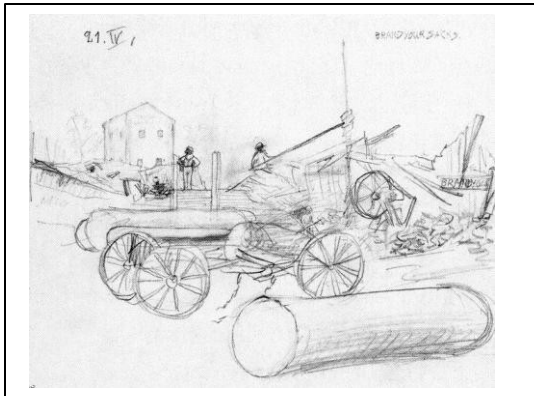




48. Bertie. Pencil sketch [Abbild 10]. November, 1898.



49. House with fence and tree, Moorefield. Pencil sketch [Abbild 11]. 1899.



50. Roller mills in Moorefield, Arkansas. Pencil sketch [Abbild 12]. 1899



51. Ruth Morgan Schreiber and companion in front of roller mills. Moorefield, Arkansas [Tafel 79]. 1889/1900.



52. Family group by a wooden fence; Emmy seated, at top, wearing a hat; Willie Scheuber on the right. Marshall, Texas. 1899/1900.



53. Emmy Münter, Willie Scheuber and Virgie Scheuber on a dirt road. Marshall, Texas. 1899/1900.



54. Bessie Allen with Jennie Lee, Mrs. Allen, Jerusha Allen. Marshall, Texas. 1899/1900.



55. Mrs. Allen in her living room. Marshall, Texas. 1899/1900.



56. Bruce Allen (left) and an unidentified young man in an inner room. Marshall, Texas. 1899/1900.

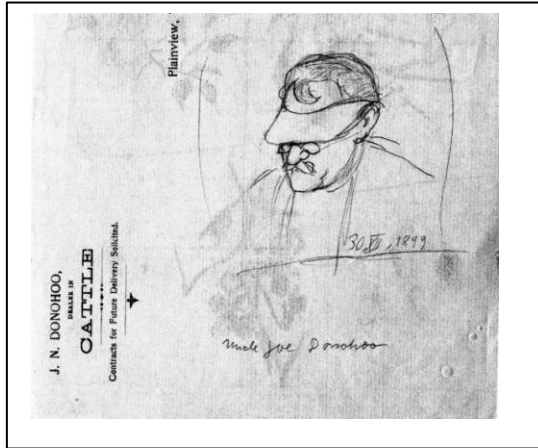


57. Donohoo's Warehouse. Plainview, Texas. 1899.



58. (left). Minna Münter (front right) and her sisters Lou Donohoo, Carrie Schreiber, and Annie Hamilton. Photo taken in Batesville, Arkansas. c. 1862.

59. (above). "Home sweet home at aunt Annie's." Plainview, Texas. 1899.



60. Uncle Joe Donohoo. Pencil sketch. Plainview, Texas. December 30, 1899.



61. "Wagonwreck: Willie and I the morning after my accident and tumbling out." Guion, Texas. March 2, 1900.



62. "Lifeoaktree." Guion, Texas. February 28, 1900.



63. Guion Church. 1900.



64. Store. Guion, Texas. March 9, 1900.



65. "Emmy, the donkey, Fred, Johnnie, Dallas, our room." Guion, Texas. March 2, 1900.

The American photographs. Documentation and art.

Münter made two often quoted statements about her drawing, and specifically about the drawings she made while in America – i.e. drawings made *after* her brief and unsatisfactory studies in Düsseldorf but *prior to* her taking classes with Kandinsky at his “Phalanx” art school. The first appeared in a text of 1948, “*Gabriele Münter über sich selbst*” (“Gabriele Münter on herself”),²¹ and the second in an appendix, entitled “*Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen*” (“Confessions and Recollections”), to *Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen*, a printed collection of her later drawings, mostly from the 1920s, published in 1952.²² In both texts she emphasized that she did not, as a young woman, think of her drawings as art, but rather as simple reproductions or records of her models, created in varying situations, and “with no goal in mind other than resemblance.” Thus she writes in the text of 1948: “My early inclination to make drawings came entirely from myself and received as little encouragement in my family as at school. When I was 14 years old, the accuracy with which I reproduced in simple outline the features of people in my environment attracted attention. On a two-year family visit [“*Vetterlesreise*” --“Little cousins trip”-- LG] to the USA, I zealously made drawings of my relatives in my sketchbook, thinking only of achieving resemblance.” And four years later (1952), in the same vein: “Thus during my two years’ trip to the USA, I made drawings of the relatives of my mother, who had gone to the USA as a child but returned to Germany after her marriage, whereas all her sisters became Americans. I knew nothing at that time of art. I wanted only to grasp and record

²¹ *Das Kunstwerk*, II, no. 7, 1948, p. 25. Translations by L.G.

²² *Gabriele Münter: Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen. Zwanzig Lichtdrucktafeln mit einer Einführung von G.F. Hartlaub* (as in note 5 above), no page numbers. Translations by L.G.

the people as they were.” (“*Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen*”) The same idea is expressed yet again in a note prepared for the book Johannes Eichner, her second life partner, was writing about her: “I made counterfeit copies of all my relatives, the old folk and the babies alike. These are very factual works, far removed from any artistic structuring, but they have the advantage of offering living images of the individuals represented.”²³

Even when she did take more trouble with a sketch and, for the larger ones, drew less spare, more detailed outlines and introduced some shading, Münter claims that she continued to regard her drawings as nothing more than true-to-life records of reality, which she had no desire to alter or add to but wanted only to set down and transmit as accurately as possible (fig. 91): “The portrait drawings faithfully resembling their models that I made in America in 1898-99 were the product of sound, accurate, and empathetic observation and an adroit and correctly transcribing hand – spontaneous, the work of nature.”²⁴ It may be that her insistence on her sketches’ not being “art” reflects a defensive modesty and insecurity not untypical of Münter.²⁵ It should be noted, however,

²³ Ms. note for Eichner’s *Kandinsky und Gabriele Münter. Von Ursprüngen moderner Kunst* (Munich, 1857), cited by Isabelle Jansen, “Die Bilderwelt der Amerika-Photos von Gabriele Münter,” in *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (as in note 8 above), pp. 179-84, on p.180. (Translated by L.G.) In her biography of Münter, Gisela Kleine appears to take Münter at her word: “It would never have occurred to Ella that her inclination to fix basic impressions through her sketches had anything to do with ‘art.’ Her relation to the visual arts had remained quite superficial and that was not only the fault of the family. Coblenz [where the family had settled] had evolved into a desirable residence for government employees and retirees, but it was not a stimulating environment for the arts and was far removed from leading currents in art.” (*Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky* [as in note 1 above], p. 45)

²⁴ “Das gesunde, richtige Auge mit dem einführenden Blick, verbunden mit der geschickte, genau richtig zeichnenden Hand ergab die genau ähnlichen Porträtzeichnungen in Amerika 1898-99 – ungelernt, von Natur.” (Handwritten note cited and dated to the 1930s by Hoberg, “Gabriele Münter in Amerika,” p. 30, endnote 41)

²⁵ In his study of Münter, the art historian Reinhold Heller suggests that Münter’s self-presentation as artistically unformed and uninformed may be somewhat disingenuous. “While they undeniably reveal awkwardness in their rendering, a certain stiffness in the poses and inaccuracies in the proportions of the figures, her American drawings were learned, disciplined and practiced – the products of someone cognizant and emulative of contemporary artistic innovations, especially those of *Jugendstil* and artists related to it.” (Reinhold Heller, *Gabriele Münter. The Years of Expressionism 1903-1920* [Munich: Prestel

that her repeated disavowals of any artistic intention underlying her early sketching activity date from a time well *after* her years of study and partnership with Kandinsky and her association with the painters of the Blue Rider. Their implication is that, having become an artist, she inevitably pursued different goals from those she pursued naively and unreflectingly before she was aware of what art should strive to accomplish -- goals defined not only by the members of the Blue Rider, and in an extreme form by Kandinsky, but by virtually all modern artists, especially, it should be said, in reaction to the spectacular rise of photography in the course of the nineteenth century. The artist's goal, it was widely agreed, was to represent in his work essential aspects of reality that were not perceptible by the naked eye and to give expression to particular insights and experiences rather than simply reproduce visual appearances.

"Does this characterization" -- i.e. of her sketching as strict copying without artistic intent -- "also apply to Münter's photographs," Annegret Hoberg rightly asks, "inasmuch as the new technique *per definitionem* made a documentary representation of the world possible -- one might even say, held out the promise of a purely documentary representation?" Münter certainly made apparently disparaging remarks about photography and, in contrast with her tolerant view of her own early sketching, judged it more harshly. Clearly, it was not naïve and it was not grounded in a natural gift like her sketching; it was a purely mechanical means of reproducing and fixing passing external appearances. "Photographs make clear how superficial, often even false, outward appearance can be," she wrote in 1952. "The pertinent symbol must first be prized out of the changing views, the momentary, chance expressions. The laws of image-making wait

Verlag, 1997], p. 43) In similar vein: "Renditions of personal memories of her American experience were shaped according to the principles of *Jugendstil* illustration, its practice of simplification and reduction as well as its preference for the accented, stylized contour and silhouette -- an art in which allusion prevails over naturalistic illusion." (Ibid., p. 44)

for us to take up and structure objective reality.”²⁶ It is possible, even likely, however, that Münter had popular snapshot and even journalistic photography in mind in making this judgment, rather than photography as such. After all, her mentor Kandinsky had embraced the idea of photography as an art form even before Münter’s “Vetterlesreise” to America.²⁷ And over the years of their partnership the two of them took many photographs. Like the carefully selected images of Tunisia or the Italian Riviera (figs. 66-71), Münter’s portraits of Kandinsky and members of the Blue Rider circle (figs. 72-81), are too meticulously posed and composed to be regarded as simple documentation.²⁸

In any case, Dr. Hoberg comes up with a surprising but convincing response to her own question. “If one compares the drawings Münter produced as a ‘humble dilettante,’ certainly not without talent and a personal signature, but without any strong and positive compositional will, before and during the American journey, with the independent drawing style of tersely

²⁶ “Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen,” as in note 15 above. This statement reflects a view widely held by modern artists. “The imitator is a poor kind of creature,” Whistler held. “If the man who paints only the tree, or flower, or other surface he sees before him were an artist, the king of artists would be the photographer. It is for the artist to do something beyond this; in portrait painting to put on canvas something more than the face the model wears for that one day; to paint the man, in short, as well as his features; in arrangements of colours to treat a flower as his key, not as his model.” (Cit. in Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* [London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1968], p. 194)

²⁷ See Helmut Friedel, “Kandinsky und die Photographie,” in *Gabriele Münter: Die Jahre mit Kandinsky: Photographien 1902-1914* (Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus; Verlag Schirmer/Mosel, 2007), pp. 43-54. Friedel’s article opens with a long quotation from a review of the 1899 Munich Secession exhibition which Kandinsky published in a Russian newspaper that same year and in which he argues that photography has become an authentic medium of artistic expression. Cf. Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography* (as in note 26 above): “It was not the photograph *per se* which nettled the *avant-garde*. Many of them through the nineteenth century and in the twentieth were captivated by the evocative images and the peculiarities of form to be found in photographs. Indeed, photography not only served painters who continued to work in the tradition of naturalism, but it was exploited as well by those who rejected that tradition. What these artists deplored above all was the orthodoxy which had been imposed upon them by an insistence on imitative form *underwritten* by the photographic image.” (p. 198)

²⁸ Still, that documentary function was not dismissed out of hand. Münter took photographs recording the first exclusively Blue Rider exhibition in 1911/12 at the Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser in Munich. (See <http://www.lenbachhaus.de/collection/the-blue-rider/introduction/?L=1>) Equally, however, in a 1977 exhibition at the Kunsthaus Zürich, Münter was recognized as a painter who was also at times a photographer, along with such figures as Bonnard, Degas, Eakins, Vuillard, and Münter’s German contemporary, the avant-garde *Brücke* artist Emil Ludwig Kirchner; see *Malerei und Photographie im Dialog von 1840 bis heute* (Zürich, 1977, exh. cat., pp. 96-97)

meaningful contour lines that she developed a little later, it seems that photography contributed decisively to that development.”²⁹ In other words, it was precisely by way of her activity as a photographer that Münter learned to follow the “laws of image-making” and prize the pertinent symbol out of the external appearance. “Centering and focusing on the object to be photographed results in a definite tightening of the pictorial composition,” Hoberg explains, “whereby human figures -- as is often the case with Münter -- acquire, thanks to a slight lowering of the angle of vision, an unusual degree of plasticity and a well-defined position in the space of the picture.”³⁰ The text announcing the upcoming Münter exhibition at the Lenbachhaus is unambiguous on this score: “Gabriele Münter was a photographer before she was a painter. She took her first pictures around 1900, during a stay in the United States. [. . .] Photography was her first creative medium, a fascination that left lasting traces in her paintings; so a small section will be dedicated to the photographs she took in 1899–1900 during her trip to the United States.”³¹

While some of Münter’s photographs do have the character of snapshots, many will strike the viewer as composed or pointed toward their subjects with some care. In an analysis of the three main categories of Münter’s American photographs – individual and group portraits, both posed and un-posed, landscapes, and scenes of labor – the art historian Isabelle Jansen emphasizes “their painterly and compositional qualities,” which “already point to the further development of a budding painter.” The posed portraits, Jansen claims, belong in a long tradition of portrait painting, while a photograph of a woman in a

²⁹ Hoberg, “Gabriele Münter in Amerika,” p. 26. “A humble dilettante without any artistic pretention” (“bescheidener Dilettant ohne künstlerische Absichten”) was Münter’s own description of herself even after briefly taking lessons in Düsseldorf. (“Bekenntnisse und Erinnerungen,” as in note 15 above)

³⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

³¹ <http://www.lenbachhaus.de/exhibitions/vorschau-2017/gabriele-muenter/?L=1>

landscape holding an umbrella (fig. 88) could have been suggested by a favorite motif of some Impressionists.³² Even those photographs that purport to convey movement, it could be added, are distinguished by the arrangement and balancing of the parts in the space of the image, the relation of horizontals and perpendiculars, the interplay of light and shade. (Figs. 92-96) Münter's aim, it might well seem, was to get, through her photography, to the heart of the rough, still largely undeveloped environment in which most of her American family lived and labored (figs. 57, 59, 61-65, 97-99), and to convey something of the freedom and lack of constraint they enjoyed,³³ even while maintaining close family ties and personal dignity. (Figs. 52-56, 83, 92-96) At the same time, her portraits of individuals are comparable with the work of many distinguished contemporary photographers: thanks to their beautiful and careful composition, they hold the viewer's interest and arouse feelings of respect and admiration. (Figs. 55-56, 105-110)³⁴

Getting to what she experienced as essential about the world around her - a landscape, an interior, an object, a person - was her goal as a painter, Münter declared on several occasions. This meant doing more, she explained, than simply

³² Isabelle Jansen, "Die Bilderwelt der Amerika-Photos von Gabriele Münter" in *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (as in note 8 above), pp. 179-87, on pp. 180, 183-84. It is worth recalling in this connection the work of O.G. Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson, whose "composite" photographs of the 1850s through 1880s, based sometimes on previously drawn sketches, deliberately aimed to "make photography an art." (See Alex Strasser, *Victorian Photography* [London and New York: The Focal Press, 1942], pp. 60-64, 117) Some of Julia Cameron's photographs are obviously inspired by pre-Raphaelite painting (e.g. "Rosebud Garden" [1868] or "St. John the Baptist" [1872]). While this "painterly" approach to photography was severely criticized by other photographers, notably P. H. Emerson, Emerson was no less committed than those he criticized to the idea of photography as art.

³³ Cf. Annegret Hoberg, "Gabriele Münter in Amerika" (as in note 8,) p. 27: "The mentality and distinctive character of her American relatives, the open and unspoiled nature of the young people, the relaxed sense of who he was of an Uncle Joe, for example, the quiet competence of the older women, such as Mrs. Allen, naturally appealed strongly to Münter." The unconstrained, natural movements and expressions of the models in Münter's photographs is also testimony, Hoberg adds, to the "open-mindedness and naivety, in the best sense of the word" with which Münter engaged with her models.

³⁴ This feature of her portraiture extends to the few photographs Münter took of black Americans, though it is true that these seem to be limited to women and children. (Figs. 111-114) A much later (1930) painting of a "Negerdame" (see fig. 115) is marked by the same simple respect.

representing what her eye beheld or reproducing a sensuous impression; it involved a passage through her, a process of internalization and recreation. It thus overcame the separation and opposition of subjectivity and objectivity, interiority and exteriority, the “spiritual,” as Kandinsky would have said, and the material, in such a way that, in Münter’s own comments on the topic, “realism” (the meticulous “counterfeiting” of visible reality) was transcended by the representation of a particular artist’s experience and insight into the essence of a landscape, an individual, or a situation. Like the work of the great photographers since the invention of photography, many of Münter’s photographs, including the more carefully composed of those taken on the American “*Vettterlesreise*,” may well have been inspired, albeit not yet consciously perhaps, by the goal she later professed to have pursued as a painter. One is not surprised to learn from scholars who have closely examined her collection of photographs in the Gabriele Münter-Johannes Eichner Stiftung in Munich that she occasionally “improved” a photograph by cropping.³⁵ Nor is it surprising that photographs sometimes replaced sketches as the preparatory guide for a woodcut or a painting by the developing artist.³⁶

Münter could well have been aware, moreover, of the work of the numerous professional and gifted amateur photographers active in the nineteenth century, especially as a significant number of them, from the outset, were women, access to the new medium being considerably easier for women than access to traditional media, such as painting and sculpture -- albeit the participation of women appears to have been less significant in Germany

³⁵ Isabelle Jansen, “Die Bilderwelt der Amerika-Photos von Gabriele Münter” in *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900* (as in note 8 above), pp. 179-87, on pp. 179, 182. There was, however, it seems, no question of re-touching, which a whole school of photographers at the time rejected as incompatible with the true nature of photography.

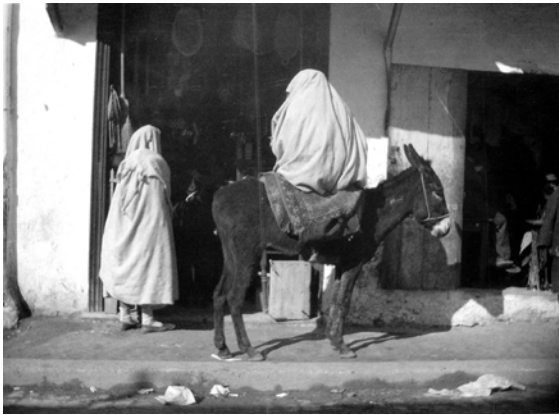
³⁶ See Reinhold Heller, *Gabriele Münter. The Years of Expressionism 1903-1920* (as in note 25), p. 62.

than in Britain, France, or the U.S.³⁷ Individual and group portraits (figs. 52-56, 100-110), people photographed next to their dwelling places or framed in doorways or windows (figs. 100, 107, 108), scenes of labor (figs. 61, 99), posed and un-posed photographs of children (figs. 65, 82, 108, 111, 114) -- the types of image Münter produced with her simple Kodak box camera as she and Emmy traveled from place to place and family to family in the southern and southwestern United States -- were among the preferred subjects of both professional and amateur photographers since the invention of photography in the late 1830s. (Figs. 116-134) Münter might also have had some knowledge of the intense ongoing debates about the status of photography: was it an art, as even a number of painters acknowledged, or a mere mechanical process, a typical feature of the more and more materialist and philistine society and culture that modern art was reacting against?

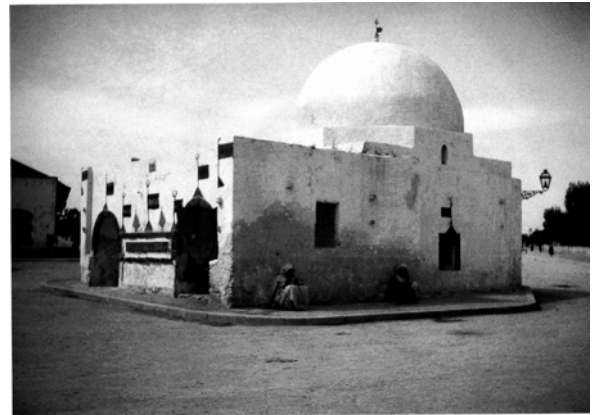
In sum, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that -- even if unconsciously or without acknowledging it -- Gabriele Münter, the aspiring art student and future associate of Kandinsky, Macke, Marc, Jawlensky, Werefkin, and Klee, did seek to take photographs that she and others would appreciate not only for their documentary value but as modest works of visual art revealing not so much passing external appearances as a particular and probing vision of persons and landscapes. For while they have certainly preserved a historically valuable documentary record of people and landscapes in the old South and South-West of more than a century ago, many of Münter's photographs are also evocative of the inner experience of the people represented in them as well as of the inner

³⁷ On women in photography, see the outstanding studies of Anne Tucker, *The Woman's Eye* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973); Constance Sullivan, *Women Photographers* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990); and Peter E. Palmquist and Gia Musso, *Women Photographers: A Selection of images from the Women in Photography International Archives* (Arcata, CA, 1987). In *Women of Photography: An Historical Survey*, intro. by Margery Mann (exh. cat., San Francisco Museum of Art, 1975), it is reported that a German reviewer of the Secessionist photographs at the Hamburg Society Jubilee Exhibition in 1903 "lamented the absence in Germany of women photographers of the quality of Mrs. Käsebier, Mrs. Mathilde Weil and Miss Erma Spencer." (p. 9 of unnumbered pages)

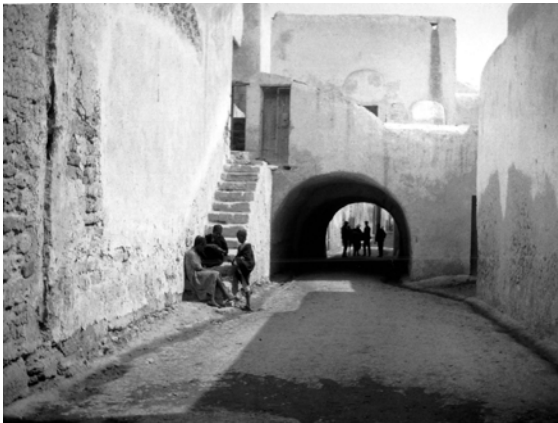
experience of the photographer who selected, and to a non-negligible extent created the images. They thus offer the special satisfaction and pleasure that are aroused by any fine creative composition, any instructive or innovative ordering or re-ordering of conventional ideas and perceptions, and that have long been aroused by Münter's work as a painter.



66. Two figures in burnous with a donkey in front of a store. Tunisia. 1905.



67. Mausoleum with two squatting figures. Tunisia. 1905.



68. Street scene with children playing. Tunisia. 1905.



69. Snow on bench at beach, Rapallo. 1905-6.



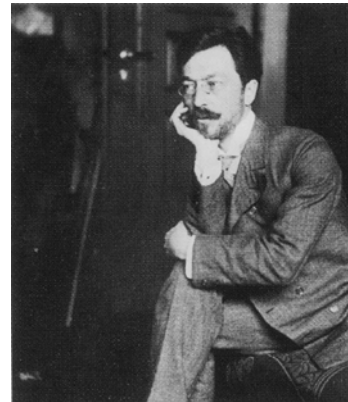
70. Boat in the snow. Rapallo. 1905-6.



71. House with stone stairway. Near Rapallo. 1906.



72. (left) Wassily Kandinsky rowing, probably at Rapallo. 1905-6



73. (right) Kandinsky in Dresden. 1905.



74. Kandinsky with Olga and Thomas von Hartmann. Ainmillerstrasse, Munich. 1911-12.



75. Kandinsky in Bavarian costume with his mother. Murnau. 1913.



76. (above) Kandinsky in evening wear. Munich. 1913.



77. (left) Kandinsky standing before one of his paintings. 1913.



78. (left) Kandinsky and mother at tea table. 1913.

79. (right) Friends of the Blue Rider on the balcony of Münter's and Kandinsky's apartment in Ainmillerstrasse, 36, Munich. 1911-12. *Left to right:* Maria and Franz Marc, Bernhard Koehler, Heinrich Campendonk, Thomas von Hartmann. *In foreground, seated:* Kandinsky.



80. Friends of the Blue Rider and the Modern Bund of Zürich on the balcony of Münter's apartment in Ainmillerstrasse, Munich. 1912. *Left to right:* Cuno Amiet, Kandinsky, Helmuth Macke, Heinrich Campendonk, Louia Moillet. *In foreground:* Mme Amiet and August Macke.



81. Maria and Franz Marc in apartment of Münter and Kandinsky in Ainmillerstrasse, Munich. 1913.



82. "Dallas on hog and Johnnie having a good old time." Guion, Texas. 1900.



83. "Peachbloom. Jane Lee, Willie Graham, Johnnie, Dallas, Emmy." Guion, Texas. March 11, 1900



84. Roller coaster. St. Louis. 1900.



85. Ships on the Mississippi. East Bridge in background. St. Louis. 1900.



86. Paddle steamer on the Mississippi, near St. Louis. 1900.



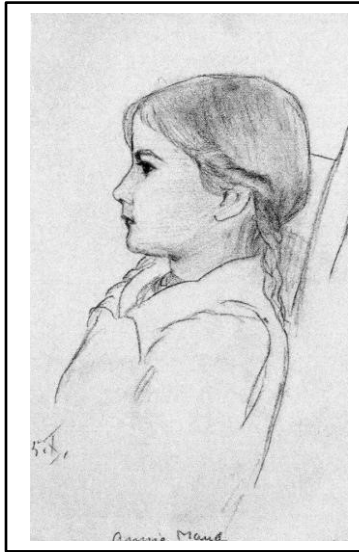
87. Banks of the Mississippi. Men on pier near St. Louis. 1900.



88. Woman with umbrella on high bank above the Mississippi near St. Louis. 1900.



90. Going to the pleasure steamer on the Mississippi. St. Louis. 1900.



91. Portrait of Annie Maud Hamilton Davidson. Pencil drawing. 1899. Private collection.



92. Theatrical parody-Dance. Marshall, Texas. 1899-1900.



93. Four street musicians and a small child. St. Louis. 1900.



94. Four street musicians. St. Louis. 1900.



89. Crowd at Mississippi quayside. St. Louis. 1900.



95. Three street musicians. St. Louis. 1900.



96. Four street musicians, two dressed as women. St. Louis. 1900.



97. "Jane Lee's 'shanty' in snow." Guion, Texas. March 15, 1900.



98. Texas frt. house. Horse train with dog in foreground. Plainview, Texas. 1899.



99. "Plantin' taters." Guion, Texas. April 2, 1900.



100. The Wade family. Schreiberhill, near Moorefield, Arkansas. July 1900.



101. Group of people on a stand, Plainview, Texas. 1899.



102 and 103. Festive Picnic. Probably Plainview, Texas. 1899.



104. After Church. Moorefield, Arkansas. 1899-1900.



105. Bessie Allen and Jennie Lee. Marshall, Texas. 1899-1900.



106. Willie Graham on the floor of his bedroom, reading. Guion, Texas. Early 1900.



107. Young woman seated in a doorway. Marshall, Texas. 1899-1900.



108. Young girl, with braids, on a veranda. Moorefield, Arkansas. 1899-1900.



109. Seated couple (the Wades?). Moor field, Arkansas. 1899-1900.



110. Portrait in profile of a woman reading. Moorefield, Arkansas. 1899-1900.



111. Two Negro boys on a donkey. Marshall, Texas. 1899-1900.



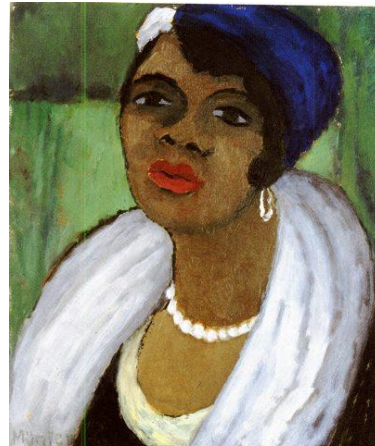
112 Three Negro women in their Sunday best. Marshall, Texas. 1899-1900.



113. Susie and Sullivan. Texas. 1899-1900.



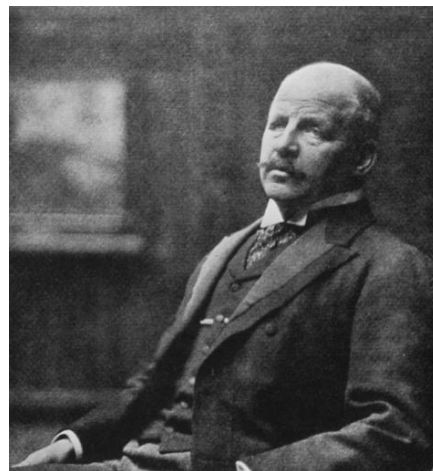
114. Three Negro boys in their Sunday clothes. Probably St. Louis. 1900.



115. Negerdame. Oil on canvas. 46.5 x 38 cm. 1930. Private Collection.



116. Zaida Ben Yusuf. Portrait of Minnie Maddern Fiske, seated. 1896. "Love finds a way."



117. Rudolf Dührkoop. Portrait of Alfred Lichtwark [Director of Hamburg Kunsthalle]. 1899.



118. Alfred Stieglitz. Artists at Mount Kisco. 1912.



119. Evelyn Cameron. The Tusler family. Montana. 1898.



120. Alexander Gardner. Four officers. 1863-1864.



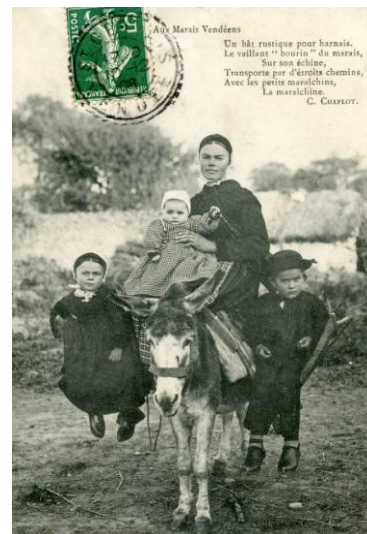
121. Sir Benjamin Stone. Solar eclipse station, Brazil. 1893.



122. Adeline Boutain. Portrait de famille à la plage.



124. (left) Evelyn Cameron. Homestead of a farming couple. Eastern Montana. c. 1900.



123. Adeline Boutain. Postcard, mailed in 1908.



125. Evelyn Cameron. Family in front of their log house. Montana. 1902.



126. P.H. Emerson. Poling the Marsh Hay. c. 1885.



127. P.H. Emerson. Women raking. c. 1890.



128. P.H. Emerson. The Mangold Harvest. 1887.



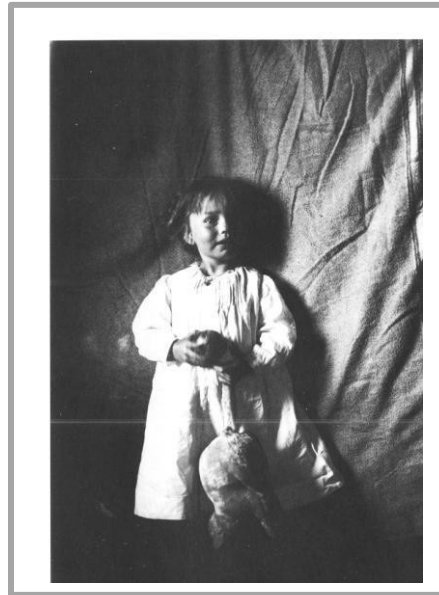
129. Hill and Anderson. The Misses Grierson. 1845.



130. Ludwig Taescher. Portrait of a child. c. 1873.



131. Unknown photographer, Frankfurt am Main. Children picking fruit. 1890.



132. Evelyn Cameron. Portrait of a child.

133. Evelyn Cameron.
Downtown Fallon,
Montana. 1904.



134. Evelyn Cameron.
Family portrait of
Hamblins and Braleys.
Near Terry, Montana.
1902.



Gabriele Münter

Recollections of America³⁹

My brother Carl noted down what my father told him, in the year before he died, about his personal history. In addition, now and again, my mother would tell me something of the past, and that can help to fill out the picture. My mother was the oldest of the nine children of J.B. Scheuber, a master carpenter, who emigrated to America in 1846, with his family and a few assistants. Minna was already nine years old at the time and there were already five children in the family. From an early age she looked after her younger siblings. When Carl F. Münter sought her hand in marriage, her parents expressed their concern as to what would happen if Minna got married, since their second child, Al, who was the family member in charge of serving customers, could not take her place. Aunt Al told me that herself in St. Louis. Al heard these nightly conversations and determined that she would take Minna's place. [. . .] While we were out walking by the banks of the Rhein in Coblenz my mother told me that the first time she saw my father was when she was sitting in her schoolroom on the day of her graduation party. A young man with big, bright blue eyes looked in through the window of the classroom and made an impression on her. It was, to be sure, some time afterwards that the same man invited her to join him on a buggy ride and proposed to her. She discovered only later that he had already sought her hand in marriage from her father and that did not please her at all. She set up home there, ran the house and the practice with the help of negro slaves, and everything went very well. The War and the fact that my father had to help out on the side of the South, whereas his sympathies were with the North, led him to return to Germany. And so they sailed across the ocean. On the crossing the ship was hit by a storm. "All hands to the pumps" -- it was a situation of great danger; the ship could go under. My father divided out his money in case they should be separated. But everything worked out all right and they made it to port. Then came the successful years of life in Berlin -- he was one of the three American dentists ["American dentists" in English in the text] -- in the '60s and '70s. My father served patriotically in the war [of 1870-71] until he returned to the Ruhr, his old home. Two sons and two daughters arrived in '63, '66, '67 and '77 and in '78 the family moved to my father's native Herford and settled in a stately house with a large garden on the Bielefeld Road, alongside which the river Aa flows.

(4-page handwritten manuscript, 15 November, 1956)

³⁹ *Gabriele Münter. Die Reise nach Amerika: Photographien 1899-1900*, ed. Helmut Friedel (Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus; Schirmer/Mosel Verlag, 2006), pp. 217-220. Translation by L.G.

My father was the oldest of the five children of a civil servant in Herford. He was apprenticed to a merchant. He was not happy with the government and made his opinions known. His father was alerted by his superiors to the danger of the situation and advised to send the young man abroad. He was outfitted, given the needed clothing and both parents took him to Bremen where he was to board ship. Here his mother secretly slipped him her savings (five Thaler), so that he would not be completely without means. They took a room at an inn. The parents slept in the bed, the young man camped on the floor in front of the bed. On arrival in New Y. he was able to visit the city thanks to the money he got from his mother, then he met a German peddler who filled his bag, in order to help him out. Once he had successfully sold the goods at a profit and settled with the peddler, he set out on his own with his share of the profit. Then he got a job with a merchant in Tennessee. He became acquainted with a Prof. at the dental college who observed with admiration his manual dexterity and suggested to him that he take up dentistry and become his assistant. And so he began his studies, which he completed with distinction. After he had served out his time as an assistant, he set up on his own, stayed on in the country, married, and soon earned a fortune. (+ Traveled home, bought his parents a house, a piano, and took his brother Gustav, who in the meantime had become a doctor, back with him to America; although in the end Gustav preferred to settle down as a successful doctor in Herford.) My father was driven out by the Emancipation War [i.e. the Civil War], in which he had to participate on the side of the Southern states; he disposed of his possessions with the loss of most, and settled successfully in Berlin as one of three American doctors of dental surgery. ["American doctors of dental surgery" in English in the text] He served in the war of 1870, got sick in the course of it, and in 1877, in my first year of life, retired to our house on Bielefeld Road in his hometown of Herford. But the world there had become too small for him. My brother August wanted to join my mother's relatives in America and he completed his studies there. He caught pneumonia there and my mother crossed the ocean to take care of him. In 1882-83, our first years in Koblenz, Aunt Jettchen came to run our house until Mother's return. I was seven, Emmy fifteen. Charly had completed his one-year of army national service in Giessen and had come home, where Father had the opportunity tell him his life story. Charly later wrote it up. August received the news of Father's death in America and, deathly ill already, came home to Mother. He was musically and artistically gifted. My first experience of being admired in an understanding way was when August accidentally got to see a childish little drawing I had made "for fun." I couldn't do that, he said.

(4-page handwritten manuscript, fragment, 15 April, 1956)

August was thirteen or fourteen years older than me. He had pneumonia. I remember how Mama treated his illness at home with eggs and cognac. But he wanted to get away from Father's strictness by going over to Mother's siblings in America. So that he would be allowed to undertake the journey, he intimidated Uncle Gustav into pronouncing him in good health. He was much loved by the relatives in America, but he did not exercise caution and fell seriously ill

again. He passed his exam with distinction and Mama traveled over to the U.S. to nurse him back to health. During her absence, Aunt Jettchen took care of her brother's household in Coblenz. That must have been in 1884 or 1885. Mama was back home again when, in 1886, my father suddenly died. At that point August came home. Mama's heart had been affected by all the agitation. August was deathly ill. Both he and Mama had to be hospitalized. Charly, Emmy and I made the move, in all probability without them, from Schlossstrasse to 1 Clemensstrasse. Charly (born October, 66) was more than ten and Emmy (born June, 69) almost eight years older than me. At one point we spent the night in a hotel and had our evening meal and tea served by the waiter upstairs in our room. Emmy and Charly carried on as if I were their child. (Charly had a separate bedroom.) Later, once we had settled into the Clemensstrasse, Mama and August came to live with us again.

August died in 1887 or 1888. Very hard on Mama. We were all very attached to her – she lived only for us. Charly too was a very good son. Out of consideration for her, he did not marry until after her death. He could not bring himself to do so before that. Mama had given Emmy permission to travel to the U.S.A. to visit our relatives there. We had moved to the Kurfürstenstrasse in the new suburb. Suddenly, in the fall of 1887 [error for 1897], Mama died. She was buried in Herford. Emmy was determined to make the family visit to America and began preparing for the trip. Out of the blue, on a visit to us in Coblenz, the oldest of our Herford cousins said to me: Surely you won't let your only sister travel to America on her own. You must go with her. And so I asked Emmy if she would like me to go along with her and she said she would. So the two of us went there together. In the fall of '98 I was 21 years old and she was 29. During the first days on ship I was seasick, though not too seriously, and slept a lot while she had a good time and flirted. There was an interesting young Dutch fellow on board. Emmy later confessed to me, after they became engaged, that she had thought it was me he was interested in. But she had to give him up, as Charly naively and as if it were perfectly natural told her to in a letter. He (Charly) had made inquiries and had received unfavorable reports about the man and he warned Emmy that he was a dowry hunter and had an old and strong relationship with a woman in Holland. Emmy would have to console herself. She got over it. The Dutchman invited us both (since I was needed as a chaperone) to travel with him to Niagara Falls. We stayed first with Aunt Al, our girl cousins and our young boy cousin Conrad – then John came and took us to Moorefield. Emmy monopolized him completely and he was completely taken by her. Aunt Carrie came up with the phrase "Emmy will put out Ella [i.e. Gabriele] of anything" [in English in the text]. Little Ida told me that. I stayed home while Emmy went on trips with John in the "buggy" (a two-seater). On one occasion the horses were harnessed to the cart and thus Ida and I could go along with them to Batesville. I felt sorry for John, for he was serious about Emmy and she was not serious about him, and I said as much to Emmy. She got angry and mean and I wanted to leave her. She was afraid she would be disgraced and begged me to stay with her, and I yielded to her entreaties. After that we were reasonably at peace with one another.

(5-page handwritten manuscript, partly sing both sides of the page, 26-27 March, 1959)

I have been awake for a long time and am telling myself stories from the past.

(. . .) Our first stop was in St. Louis, with Aunt Al, Mama's oldest sister, the next in line after her – so, born at the end of the 1850s. (. . .) She was the one who placed herself in front of her father when the soldiers set him on the bridge to be shot, and so saved his life. Aunt Al had four children. 1) Lulu – about Emmy's age. Worked in a men's clothing factory. She later married. A policeman. Not a good marriage. One son. Supposedly didn't do well. 2) Kate – already married. Nice man. Joe Buchheimer, a glassblower. A five-year-old daughter Mildred. Likeable kid. Supposedly became a singer and was twice married. 3) Bertie. Never married. Very pleasant girl. 4) Conrad. A glassblower like his brother-in-law. A nice, quiet young fellow. About my age at the time, around 21. He later married and died young. Our cousin Leila Hamilton-Davidson from Plainview was in St. Louis at the time – a young widow with a five-year-old child, Annie Maud Davidson. We met them again in their home in Plainview. John Schreiber came and took us to Moorefield. While I was sleeping and paying no attention, Emmy was already forming a friendship with John. John owned the mill in Moorefield, purchased with money that Mama had lent him. In Moorefield there were John, Annie (Schreiber) Wade, who soon after bore her son, Paul. At that time, John's business was the leading one. Minnie, 18 years old, was at times not there – was she in service? Ida was part of the time in Moorefield, part of the time up at Schreiberhill. As long as it was winter and there was (less often) snow, we were in John's wooden house, under which the pigs wandered around. A small stove – which I have eternalized in a drawing of it -- was set in the little living room, "for the German girls" [in English in the text]. Aunt Carrie lived with her "old man" [in English in the text] at Schreiberhill. It was probably through Ida that I learned of remarks made by Aunt Carrie: "Emmy will put Ella out of anything" [in English in the text]. Ida's own comment was "Cousin Ella is always alright, Cousin Emmy wants to be patted" [in English in the text]. I had left my bicycle, which I handed over to Lulu on our return journey, in St. Louis and Emmy had her violin with her. I scratched on it a few times, though Emmy wanted none of it, and in this way I became a little acquainted with the violin.

In St. Louis I had rented a piano and composed a song on it entitled "The River and I" [in English in the text] with a three-part chorus "Silently flows the river" [in English in the text]. It was a lot of work. When I finally made a clean copy of it, I destroyed the clean copy instead of my scribbled notes and I took the matter so tragically that I also destroyed the notes, which were hardly usable any more. So both in St. Louis and in Moorefield I kept myself busy at home with drawing and music, while Emmy was out being entertained.

(4-page handwritten manuscript, 6 April, 1956)

That was in the years 1898-1900 when, with my older sister Emmy, I made a little family trip [Vetterlesreise] to my mother's relatives, who had all become Americans. My father had met

my mother in Savannah in the state of Tennessee and brought her back to Germany during the slave wars [i.e. the American Civil War]. Her sisters and brothers were all settled over there, married, and working as bankers, tradesmen or small farmers. We spent most of our time in the countryside in Arkansas and Texas, in primitive conditions, in houses without any plumbing, and devoid of all comfort. You rode for hours across the prairie to get a sack of flour. I did it once and the sack fell from the horse. Getting it back up again was quite a feat, since it was too heavy for me to lift. But the freedom we enjoyed in the vastness of nature was beautiful. And the good people were fun to be with.

There was genuine breaking-in there of wild mustangs, as we see it often in the movies, in the form of a grand performance that makes us laugh till the tears start running down our cheeks. The young horses, which have never yet carried a rider on their back, are ridden for the first time bareback. When the animal feels a weight on it, it starts to rear up, kick, jounce, and leap wildly around in order to shake the rider off its back. A hard battle begins between man and horse – more entertaining to observe than to engage in. Sometimes the rider flies off into the dust. We also went once to Niagara Falls and admired the spectacle of nature. I have retained no memories of that. I have never cared much for grand photographic views. For that reason the impression has not stayed with me.

I did a lot of sketching at that time. I sketched portraits of all my relatives, the old folk and the babies alike. These are straightforward, objective pieces of work, free of any artistic concern with composition, but they have the advantage of offering lively images of the people represented in them.

By that time I had had a little instruction in drawing. When I came home after school, and gradually came to find reading, music, horse-riding, bicycling, dancing and excursions on the Rhine and into the Moselle valley too boring, my older brother arranged for me to go to the nearest art city, Düsseldorf, for art lessons. But the instruction there was disappointingly dull and dreary. I gave up after a few weeks, just when my mother died. (My father had already died when I was ten years old.)

I did not begin my true study of art until I was 24. That was in Munich, in the Easter of 1901. At the time the Art Academy did not accept female students. So they found a substitute in the League of Lady Artists School, where they received instruction from highly capable teachers. After one semester I was promoted to the class of Angelo Jank and, under him, from the head modeling class to the class where students worked from nude models. But I found the weeks-long fiddling over a drawing from a model too boring. In my third semester I had a passing shot in a school at woodcutting, then sculpture, and by chance landed up with Kandinsky at the Phalanx school in the summer of 1902.

(6-page typescript with inscription, in Münter's hand, "Eichner Draft of Münter Autobiography" [Eichner Entwurf zu Mü Autobiogr.]) L.G. expresses his thanks to Dr. Annegret Hoberg for granting permission to translate these documents, first published by her, from the original German.)

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Figs. 1-4. Stiftung Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner.

Fig. 5. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich. <https://www.wikiart.org/en/wassily-kandinsky/gabriele-munter-painting-1903>

Fig. 6. Caricature of Münter and Kandinsky at the painting easel. Tunis, 7 March 1905. Pencil drawing. 8.7 x 8.6 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich. Reproduced in Gisela Kleine, *Gabriele Münter und Wassily Kandinsky: Biographie eines Paares* (Frankfurt a.M.: Insel Verlag, 1990), p. 219.

Figs. 7-12. G.F. Hartlaub, ed., *Gabriele Münter: Menschenbilder in Zeichnungen. Zwanzig Lichtdrucktafeln* (Berlin: Konrad Lemmer Verlag, 1952).

Fig. 13. Marguerite Duthuit-Matisse and Claude Duthuit, *Henri Matisse. Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre gravé* (Paris, 1983), vol. 1, p. 45, fig. 53.

Fig. 14. Mallarmé, *Poésies: Eaux-fortes originales de Henri-Matisse* (Lausanne: Skira, 1932), Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York. Also *Matisse: I Capilavori della grafica*, ed. Micchele Tavola (Pavia: Silvana Editoriale, 2010), Exh. cat. p. 34.

Fig. 15. © 2016 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York, Courtesy American Federation of Arts. Also: Aragon, *Henri Matisse: A Novel*, trans. Jean Stewart (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), vol. II, p. 39, fig. 34

Figs. 16-21 Princeton University Art Museum.

Figs. 22-28. Milwaukee Art Museum.

Fig. 29. Courtauld Institute Art Gallery, London.

Figs. 30-33. Private Collection.

Fig. 34. Sprengel Museum, Hanover.

Fig. 35. University of Illinois, Krannert Art Museum. Gift of Albert L. Arenberg.

Figs. 36-37. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.

Fig. 38. Milwaukee Art Museum.

Fig. 39. <http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/willy-spatz/die-heilige-familie-r%C3%BCstet-sich-zur-flucht>

Fig. 40. <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/HERDSMAN-WITH-DOG/F541B98C4478E464>

Fig. 41. Princeton University Library.

Figs. 42-90. Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung.

Fig. 91. Private Collection.

Figs. 92-114. Gabriele Münter und Johannes Eichner Stiftung.

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Fig. 119. Donna M. Lucey, *Photographing Montana 1894-1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron* (New York: Knopf, 1991), p. 22.

Fig. 120. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

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Fig. 124. Donna M. Lucey, *Photographing Montana 1894-1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron*, p. 171.

Fig. 125. Donna M. Lucey, *Photographing Montana 1894-1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron*, p. 33.

Fig. 126. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Fig. 127. <https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Woman-raking/ED8D9424566F4661>

Fig. 128. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 129. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Fig. 130. *Frühe Photographie 1840-1914*, ed. Eva Moser (Friedrichshafen: Verlag Robert Gessler, 1985), p. 75.

Fig. 131. Source unknown

Fig. 132. Donna M. Lucey, *Photographing Montana 1894-1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron*, p. 136.

Fig. 133. Montana Memory Project
(<http://mtmemory.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p267301coll3/id/4074/rec/1>)

Fig. 134. Donna M. Lucey, *Photographing Montana 1894-1928: The Life and Work of Evelyn Cameron*, p. 34.