

**The Beginnings:
Paul Klee and America before 1920**



In January 1914 Paul Klee sent twenty-five watercolors by American Express to the well-known American collector Arthur Jerome Eddy, a legal advisor on cartel issues and a partner in a Chicago law firm (fig. 2).¹ He pinned high hopes on the shipment. In contrast to his fellow artists Vasily Kandinsky and Franz Marc—the organizers of the Blaue Reiter exhibition, whose paintings were distinguished by their expressive colors and formal daring—Klee’s idiosyncratic drawings, many of them only postcard size, had as yet excited little interest on the part of collectors of contemporary art, meeting with slight notice or even rejection from the art press.

Klee had studied art on his own for four years while living at his parents’ house in Bern, Switzerland. Then in late November 1906 he had moved with his wife, Lily, to Munich, where he tried to find a foothold—at first with little success—in the local art world. As late as 1911, Klee’s friend Hans Bloesch, editor of *Die Alpen*, a Swiss cultural monthly in Bern, still found it necessary to challenge the public’s lack of understanding of Klee (fig. 1). He wrote that the response to Klee’s art “has always been a cautious silence on the part of the critics and helpless mystification on the part of the public, which after the initial shock, in its hunger for making aesthetic judgments, has turned either scornfully or dismissively toward more familiar grazing spots.... What Paul Klee is striving to do is to express in art his own subjective way of seeing; his is an

honest search for the appropriate means of expression for such seeing and feeling.”²

By the end of 1913, despite repeated efforts, Klee had captured the interest of only a single well-known collector, the Blaue Reiter patron Bernhard Koehler, to whom he sold nine works. And it was only recently that he had begun making a few straggling sales from the exhibitions mounted by gallery owners Hans Goltz in Munich and Herwarth Walden in Berlin. Given this situation, the fact that a high-profile collector like Eddy had expressed interest in Klee’s work seemed promising indeed. Eddy had begun collecting art in 1884 at the age of twenty-five, had commissioned portraits of himself from Auguste Rodin and James McNeill Whistler (fig. 3), and had caused a stir in Munich’s avant-garde circles in 1912 with his great enthusiasm for the work of Kandinsky.³ The large shipment that immediately went to Eddy was part of Klee’s strategy of demonstrating the diversity of his offerings and thereby stimulating the buyer’s interest.

Germany—Mecca for Nineteenth-Century American Artists

A full two years earlier, Klee had made the following interesting observation in *Die Alpen* regarding the importance of American collectors to the Munich art market: “Munich has seen a number of inroads made on its reputation as a fine art center, mainly as a result of the broad dissemination of French Impressionism. Evidence

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USS Leviathan steams into New York City harbor, 1925.

Cablecar turnabout, Powell at Market Streets, San Francisco, c. 1925.

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Cover and page 171 of *Broom* 4, no. 3 (February 1923). Klee’s *Selbstmörder auf der Brücke* [Suicide on the Bridge] (1913.100) is reproduced.

Fig. 1
Paul Klee in Bern, Switzerland, 1911.



of this is the ominous fact that it is now Germany that is primarily involved in the local market and no longer America as before.”⁴ Klee’s statement suggests that things had once been better in large part because American artists and collectors had enlivened the local scene. Until the 1890s, when Impressionism began to draw their attention to Paris, Munich had been the chief focus of their interest.

It was not the first city in Germany to attract American artists. In the mid nineteenth century, an art center had developed in Düsseldorf around an academy whose faculty enjoyed an outstanding reputation.⁵ The most important outlet for this school of painters was New York’s Düsseldorf Gallery, which dominated the city’s art market at that time—it was there that the young Henry James developed his artistic tastes.⁶ But in the second half of the century, Düsseldorf’s position as a magnet for American artists and collectors was taken over by Munich. Between 1870 and 1900, nearly five hundred American painters and sculptors (roughly a third of them of German ancestry) came to the Bavarian capital for brief or extended stays, studying either at the academy or privately.⁷ Some American painters grouped themselves around their countryman Franz Duveneck, adopting his free painting style and developing an expressive, imaginative form of landscape painting (they came to be known as the “Duveneck Boys”). Others made their way to the Bavarian village of Polling, which became an American artists’ colony dominated by J. Frank Currier.⁸

Klee first went to Munich in 1898 to study in the private painting class of Heinrich Knirr and with Franz von Stuck at the academy. At that time a number of Americans were still studying there, even though the American art world had largely shifted its attention to Paris. One of Klee’s fellow students in Knirr’s class was an American by the name of David Karfunkle, who was later active in New York as a painter.⁹

German Avant-Garde in Early Twentieth-Century America

Because of the shift of interest from Munich to Paris in the closing years of the nineteenth century, the art of Germany’s early twentieth-century avant-garde was slow to find admirers in the United States. Movements like the Secession, to say nothing of such avant-garde groups as Die Brücke or Der Blaue Reiter, made their impact there considerably later than they had in Europe.¹⁰ Instead American notions of the European avant-garde were mainly influenced by

Fig. 2
Arthur Jerome Eddy, n.d.

Fig. 3
James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Brown: Portrait of Arthur Jerome Eddy*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 81 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (210 x 93 cm). Art Institute of Chicago, Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection, 1931.501.

French modernism. All the more remarkable, then, was the “Exhibition of Contemporary German Graphic Art” assembled by the German art dealer and critic Martin Birnbaum on the model of the Berlin Secession’s “Black-White” exhibitions. He presented the exhibition at the New York branch of the Berlin Photographic Company in the winter of 1912–13. The core of his selection of 370 works was made up of pieces by such artists as Max Klinger, Käthe Kollwitz, Max Liebermann, and Heinrich Vogler, but there were also works by Marc, Kandinsky, Lyonel Feininger, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Moritz Melzer, Emil Nolde, and Max Pechstein, to name only the most prominent, all of them exhibiting for the first time in America.¹¹

However limited it was, Birnbaum’s view of the essence of German art—in his foreword to the catalogue, he insisted that “Germany’s artistic genius has always been distinctly graphic”¹²—was in accord with contemporary thinking. Birnbaum’s annual trips to Europe took him to Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Scandinavia rather than Paris, and despite his narrow focus, he proved to be a profound connoisseur and admirer of contemporary German art movements. This was in contrast to Walt Kuhn, the organizer of the Armory Show that opened in New York a few months later in February 1913. Kuhn showed little interest in current developments in Germany, and except for Kandinsky’s legendary *Improvisation No. 27* (1912), he paid no notice to the German avant-garde. Birnbaum’s show had already included Kandinsky, exhibiting the artist’s color lithograph *Composition No. 4* (1911), which had been reproduced in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac. In his memoirs Birnbaum rightly emphasized his trailblazing role: “The Armory Show, a turning point in the development of American art, had not yet familiarized us with the work of these [German artists], who are now enthusiastically accepted but were then treated like Anarchists.”¹³

Eddy and Klee

The exhibition at the Berlin Photographic Company definitely piqued the interest of people like photographer Alfred Stieglitz, whose Galerie 291 was just around the corner.¹⁴ But Eddy’s first exposure to the German avant-garde was paradoxically through the Armory Show.¹⁵ Although the twenty-five works Eddy bought at that exhibition were almost exclusively French, it was Kandinsky’s *Improvisation No. 27*—bought by Stieglitz—that most impressed him. As a result, he called on Kandinsky in Munich that same year and returned to America with eighteen of the artist’s works.¹⁶ Through his interest in Kandinsky and Marc, Eddy also became acquainted with Klee, whose work he might have seen in the second group show of the Munich gallery Neue Kunst Hans Goltz and whom he possibly even met in Munich.¹⁷

Soon after Eddy’s return to Chicago, Klee’s American Express shipment arrived. The range of the work astonished Eddy. Klee had deliberately larded his selection with color or tonal watercolors, assuming that they would appeal to the collector more than drawings. And Eddy appeared to confirm those suspicions, writing to Klee: “I have never bought either etchings or small drawings, because I cannot afford to buy all forms of art, so I confine myself almost exclusively to paintings.”¹⁸ Despite this reservation, Eddy asked the artist to send him a number of black-and-white works as well, a request that Klee complied with by return mail. After tough negotiations, which tell us something of the two protagonists’ highly developed business sense, Klee and Eddy finally agreed on the purchase of six works for a total of 400 marks (fig. 4).¹⁹ In his choices Eddy was intent on securing a representative overview of Klee’s work from the previous years.²⁰ His selection included the important *Steinhauer II (getont)* [*Stonecutters II (tinted)*] (1910.74), the only work of Klee’s that had been reproduced in the *Der Blaue Reiter* almanac, which gave it a certain documentary value.

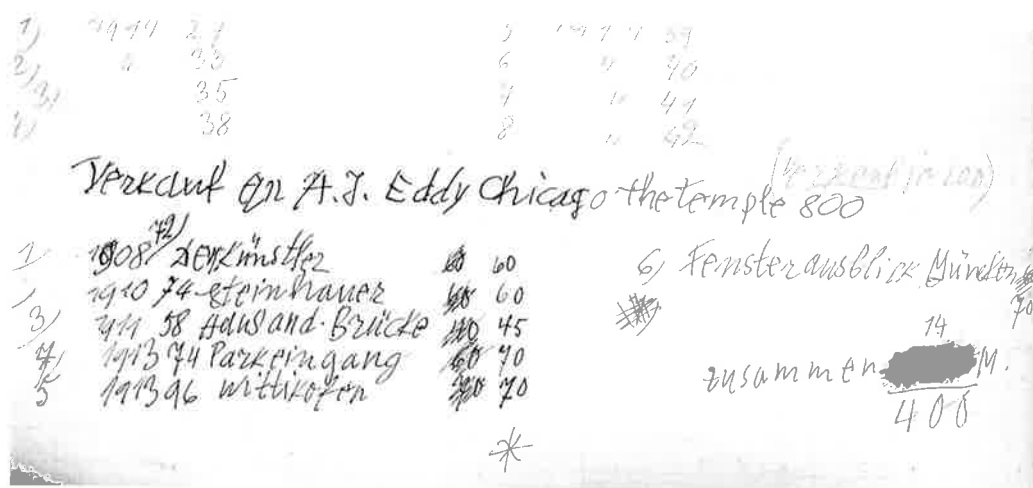


Fig. 4
Paul Klee’s entry regarding sales to
Arthur Jerome Eddy, *œuvre catalogue*,
Katalog A 1 1883–1918.

"Cubists and Post-Impressionism"

In his epoch-making book *Cubists and Post-Impressionism* (1914), Eddy devoted a full four pages to Klee's work in the chapter "The New Art in Munich," as much space as he allotted to Gabriele Münter or Marianne von Werefkin—a clear judgment of Klee's high value for him.²¹ By comparison, he gave Marc and Alexei Jawlensky a page each, whereas Kandinsky, Eddy's favorite, received a full twenty-four.²²

Of Klee, Eddy wrote: "There is another and almost unknown artist, P. Klee, who is very highly esteemed by the most advanced men. There is certainly an exquisite refinement to his line; it is so alive it scintillates."²³ Eddy definitely tagged Klee, whose artistic importance he found difficult to assess, as a draftsman rather than a painter. Furthermore, the attribute "exquisite refinement" had a somewhat negative connotation in Eddy's terminology, suggesting that he had certain reservations about Klee's idiosyncrasy. Significantly, he reproduced Klee's pen-and-brush wash drawing *Das Haus an der Brücke* [*The House by the Bridge*] (1911.58, fig. 5) in the chapter "What Is Cubism," which was devoted to Pablo Picasso, and not where it rightly belonged, in "The New Art in Munich."²⁴ Apparently Klee's delicate "Post-Impressionist" drawing did not fit into Eddy's concept of the new art in Munich, which he described, using the example of Kandinsky, as "spiritual . . . based on the inner [world]" and future-oriented ("before him an unlimited view").²⁵ This was in contrast to the Cubism of Picasso, which he characterized as "physical" and "based on the outer world"

—further describing Picasso's work as at an "impasse," with the explanation that "further progress is impossible, further scientific subdivision is unattainable, his art in that direction is finished."²⁶

Eddy represented the type of middle-class collector that was typical of America but new to Europe, collectors who had amassed a considerable fortune as entrepreneurs, merchants, or attorneys. In the eyes of established European collectors, who came from the nobility and the upper class, these Americans were parvenus lacking in family tradition. But it was precisely this supposed lack that proved to be these collectors' strength. They viewed the artists they supported as kindred spirits who, like themselves, had shrugged off inherited values and traditions to seek new ways of self-realization as individualists capable of taking risks. In his foreword to *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, Eddy explicitly referred to this spiritual affinity between the rising class of business and professional people in America and contemporary artists: "The young painter looks at the great painters of yesterday and exclaims, 'What is the use? I cannot excel them in their way; I must do something in my own way.' It is the same in business; the young merchant studies the methods of the successful men in his line and says, 'It is idle form to copy their methods. I will do something in my own way,' and he displays his goods differently, advertises differently, conducts his business differently, and if successful is hailed as a genius, if a failure he is regarded as a visionary or an eccentric—the result making all the difference in the world in the verdict of the public."²⁷

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symbol. Without the double delight—the combination of these two quite distinct delights, there can be no art.

To the writer of prose there may come a beautiful fancy; he delights in it and hastens to record his thought. He may write the most flowing, the most perfect prose, but as he writes he is still occupied with his thought; his sole object is to find words which will but express it. The same fancy comes to the poet; he, too, delights in it, and seeks to record it; but when the poet touches pen to paper he is seized with a new and an entirely distinct delight, a delight in his method of expressing his thought; he may even permit his delight in his symbol, the flow, rhythm and ring of rhyme, to sweep him onward in forgetfulness of his first fancy—literature is filled with such examples.

Now and then a writer of prose expresses himself so finely, writes so well, that we feel instinctively and immediately not only the delight in the thought, but also a certain amount of delight in the manner of expressing the thought, in the style, . . . and to the extent of the double delight such prose is art, for art, as we shall see, is by no means confined to the five so-called fine arts.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between that which is art and that which is not art, the one leads imperceptibly into the other.

And farther on in the same little volume:*

The current notions of art are such and the current notions of labor are such that it may seem to most of you as though any attempt to discuss the two together could result only in a waste of words; yet time was when art and labor were so intimately united in the great domain of human effort that the one almost invariably implied more or less of the other; and the time will yet be when there will be no labor without at least some art, even as there is now and ever has been no art without at least some labor.

Art lies not in the employment, but in the manner of the employment of the powers of nature for an end; not in the task, but in the attitude of the worker towards his task.

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Whether a Cubist painting is or is not art does not depend upon the opinion of either critic or multitude; if it did it would be art to one man and not to another, art to one generation and not to another—an illogical conclusion.

* "Delight; the Soul of Art," lecture V, "Delight in Labor."

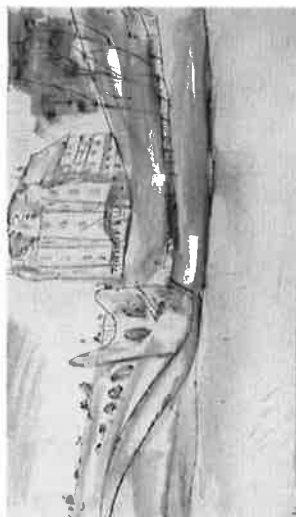


PLATE 102
House by the Bridge

Fig. 5
Paul Klee, *Das Haus an der Brücke* [*The House by the Bridge*], 1911.58. Pen and brush wash on paper mounted on cardboard, dimensions unknown. Location unknown. Reproduced in Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1914), 87–88.

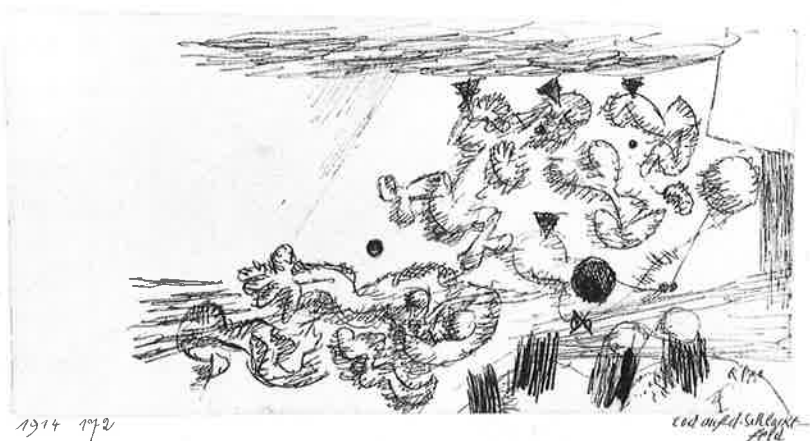


Klee and America

But what was Klee's relationship to American culture? His intellectual and artistic consciousness was informed by the classic Western intellectual and educational canon—even though, in the manner of Friedrich Nietzsche, he was wholly critical and confrontational in his approach to it. Yet his engagement was largely with European artists and thinkers. In his creative work, in his writings—some several thousand pages of them—and in his personal library, there are only marginal traces of any reaction to America before 1920. He mentioned Whistler (who was American by birth, to be sure, but was considered an English painter)²⁸ and made passing reference to Loie Fuller, the American dance icon of the Belle Époque whom Klee had seen in Rome in 1902.²⁹

This relative indifference to American culture was in contrast to his friends Münter and August Macke. Münter, who had visited her relatives in Texas with her sister Emmy in 1898, encountered important stimuli during her stay, while Macke, Klee's friend and traveling companion in Tunisia in 1914, adored the writings of Walt Whitman and the world of the American Indian, both of which left their mark on his art (fig. 6). Klee's attitude was also quite unlike that of such fellow painters as George Grosz, Otto Dix, or Rudolf Schlichter, who were fascinated by the myth of the "Wild West" and who saw America as a source of artistic inspiration, a screen on which to project one's ideal of a free, self-directed life.³⁰

Fig. 6
August Macke, *Indianer [Indians]*, 1911. Oil on canvas, 34¼ x 27¼ inches (88 x 70 cm). Private collection.



The Coming of the First World War

Artistic exchange between Germany and the United States came to an abrupt end with the outbreak of World War I. Relations between artists and collectors from the two countries were almost completely severed in 1917 as the two nations became enemies battling each other with propaganda. Under the circumstances, Herwarth Walden was taking a risk when he gave Feininger his first one-person show in the Galerie Der Sturm in Berlin in September 1917, succeeding only because in Germany Feininger was not perceived as American. Once the United States entered the war, however, the artist himself came under police surveillance as an enemy alien.

As a reservist, Klee was drafted into the German army on March 11, 1916. A week before, the artist Marc, who had welcomed the war as an act of major renewal, had been killed at the front near Verdun. In contrast to his friend, Klee saw the war as a senseless human catastrophe instigated by the great powers, and he portrayed it in that light in his work (fig. 7). At the same time—in a wholly different way—Marsden Hartley, one of the few American abstractionists at the Armory Show in 1913, was also dealing with the militarization of Germany, where in 1912 he had become fascinated with Kandinsky's artistic concepts. On a return trip in 1914–15, he noted the military splendor of Berlin at the beginning of the war, and he would later transform the display of such military insignia as medals, banners, and flags into emblematic, brightly colored paintings that absorb the abyss of war into their pattern of ornamental decor (fig. 8).³¹

Fig. 7
Paul Klee, *Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld [Death on the Battlefield]*, 1914.172. Pen on paper on cardboard, 3½ x 6⅞ inches (9 x 17.6 cm). Zentrum Paul Klee, Livia Klee Donation, Bern, Switzerland.

Klee's Connection with Albert Bloch, the American Blue Rider

Klee's relationship with America during the war years and up until 1920 was limited to his encounters with the American painter Albert Bloch, who lived in Munich between 1909 and 1921. Bloch was the son of a St. Louis wholesale grocer of Bohemian Jewish ancestry.³² He had moved to Munich with the financial support of his patron William Marion Reedy, editor-in-chief of the weekly *Mirror*. Bloch had worked for the *Mirror* as a caricaturist and illustrator from 1905 to 1909 after studying for a short time at St. Louis's School of Fine Arts.³³ Until 1912 he served as a reviewer for the journal, writing essays on the art scene in Germany.

In 1911 Bloch became acquainted with Kandinsky and Marc. They saw Bloch's anti-academic, almost raw and "primitive"—in the positive sense—way of painting as an important instance of the new "spiritual" art they meant to show in their programmatic "First Exhibition by the Blaue Reiter Publishers."³⁴ That legendary show was held in Munich's Galerie Thannhauser from December 1911 to January 1912 and included six Bloch paintings—an astonishingly high number. Eight more were shown in the second Blaue Reiter exhibition held in Hans Goltz's gallery from February to April 1912.³⁵ By contrast, Klee was not represented at all in the first show, although he had seventeen works in the second one.

Bloch later discounted this association with Munich and the Blaue Reiter.³⁶ He did, however, value his friendship with Marc. In his reminiscences of his Munich years, Bloch wrote: "Only of Franz Marc may I say that our acquaintance deepened to something like true friendship."³⁷ After Marc's death in Verdun, Bloch drew somewhat closer to the deceased artist's best friends, Heinrich Campendonk and Klee. "With Klee, who joined the circle later, I exchanged pictures and visits, and found him an altogether delightful acquaintance,"³⁸ he wrote, and went on to describe Klee's art as follows: "Perhaps Paul Klee is the strangest figure in all that group of painters, who were my friends and comrades in Munich. Whimsical, winsome, wayward, his little sheets of drawing and watercolor, with an occasional small picture painted in oil, look at first sight like the daubs and scrawls of a willful, destructive child—of a child never grown up, living alone, walled off from the world in some undreamt garden of wonderland, or in some forgotten corner of hell.... Upon me the work of Paul Klee has from the beginning



Fig. 8
Marsden Hartley, *The Iron Cross*, 1915. Oil on canvas, 47¼ x 47¼ inches (120 x 120 cm). Washington University Gallery of Art, St. Louis, University Purchase, Bixby Fund, 1952.

exerted a strange fascination, as great a fascination as the man himself, with his rare, impish humor.”³⁹ Bloch’s retrospective judgment of Klee as a wondrous mystic who created his works as though in a dream was influenced by the portrayal of the artist in the first monographs on him, which appeared just after the First World War, a portrayal encouraged by Klee himself.⁴⁰

Early in their friendship, Klee and Bloch shared the two-person show “Paul Klee and Albert Bloch,” mounted in March 1916 by Walden in Berlin’s Galerie Der Sturm.⁴¹ The exhibition featured sixteen paintings by Bloch and forty-five watercolors, drawings, and paintings by Klee. The Berlin press responded favorably to Bloch’s work, but harshly criticized Klee’s.⁴² Out of solidarity with Klee, Bloch wrote a letter of protest to Walden: “It is unbearable to me to be praised this way in contrast to Paul Klee.... I would like to protest publicly.... The only things that prevent me are my dread of coming forward in such a personal matter and my fear of giving the impression that Paul Klee in any way requires the assistance of others.”⁴³ Walden promptly published the letter in the April issue of his journal *Der Sturm*.⁴⁴

As the relationship between the two artists intensified during the war years of 1917–18,⁴⁵ Bloch’s pictorial vocabulary began to approach more closely that of Klee. Bloch’s paintings from these years—with their stylized plants or cipherlike trees blending with architectural elements, small houses, and churches in fantastic, often nocturnal landscapes—greatly resemble Klee’s painting of the time both in form and subject matter (figs. 9 and 10; see also *Schulhaus [Schoolhouse]* [1920.23, pl. 4]). This affinity culminated in an untitled work from 1918 that Bloch considered an “homage” to Klee, which he gave to him (fig. 12). He also presented Klee with the watercolor and pen drawing *Zum Klownbild VI [For the Clown Picture VI]* (1914), while it is probable that Klee left Bloch three works as gifts.⁴⁶ Bloch’s “homage” to Klee shows two men, two houses, and a cow in a mountain landscape. Annegret Hoberg interprets the figure on the left, wearing a hat, as a self-portrait of Bloch, and she suggests that he is wishing he could hold back the Paul Klee figure, with the characteristic dark beard, who has turned his back and is walking away from him. The ciphers for trees and the whitish, transparent silhouettes of the houses look as if they could have been taken from a picture by Klee. A photograph of Klee’s atelier in Schlösschen Suresnes in Munich from



Night in the Valley 1917
Kunstmuseum, Basel
Kunstmuseum, Basel



Deserted Village 1917
Kunstmuseum, Basel

Fig. 9
Paul Klee, *Landschaft der Vergangenheit [Landscape of the Past]*, 1918.44. Watercolor and gouache on paper on cardboard, 8 7/8 x 10 3/4 inches (22.6 x 26.3 cm). Private collection.

Fig. 10
Photograph from Albert Bloch’s record book, vol. 2; top: *Night in the Valley*, 1917; bottom: *Deserted Village*, 1917.



Fig. 11

Paul Klee's atelier in Schlösschen Suresnes in Munich, 1920; to the left of the door frame in the bottom row: Paul Klee, *Zerstörtes Dorf* [*Destroyed Village*], 1920.130; to the left of that: Albert Bloch, *Untitled (Landscape with Two Men, Two Houses, and a Cow)*, 1918.

Fig. 12

Albert Bloch, *Untitled (Landscape with Two Men, Two Houses, and a Cow)*, 1918. Oil on canvas, 11¼ x 18¾ inches (29 x 48 cm). Kunstmuseum Bern, Gift of Livia Klee.

1920 (fig. 11) shows how much Klee valued Bloch's present, for he hung it next to his own oil painting *Zerstörtes Dorf* [*Destroyed Village*] (1920.130). That Klee should have placed precisely this work next to Bloch's landscape may have had to do with the fact that Bloch usually gave titles to his pictures that reflected the horrors of the war, like *Deserted Village*, *Deserted Villa*, and *Night in the Valley* (see fig. 10).⁴⁷

Conclusion

The Klee works that once belonged to Eddy are now lost.⁴⁸ Records of those works, along with the memory of the friendship between Klee and Bloch, provide the few, nearly vanished traces of Klee's first weak contact with America. Yet they also serve as a prelude, as it were, to the lively appreciation that Klee's work would meet with in America in the 1920s.

For Eddy, the European avant-garde served as a stimulus to American artists: "The net result is that American art has received another impulse forward; it will do bigger and finer and saner things. It will not copy the eccentricities, the exaggerations, the morbid enthusiasms of [Europe], because America as yet is not given to eccentricities and morbidness—though it may be to a youthful habit of exaggeration. America is essentially sane and healthful—say quite practical—in its outlook, hence it will absorb all that is good in the extreme modern movement and reject what is bad."⁴⁹

That willingness to absorb the "good" in the European avant-garde led both to Bloch's modernist-influenced paintings during his German sojourn, and to the early and tentative appreciation for the works of Klee on the part of collectors like Eddy. Indeed it was in part his unshakable optimism and faith in progress that enabled Eddy to risk embracing the unconventional in art, and that would make a subsequent understanding of Klee in America possible.

NOTES

1. Eddy wrote to the German artist Gabriele Münter, Vasily Kandinsky's lifetime companion and a friend of Paul and Lily Klee's: "I have just received notice from the American Express Co. that Paul Klee has shipped 25 watercolors. I am surprised he sent so many because I suggested his sending only two or three for my inspection." Arthur Jerome Eddy to Gabriele Münter, January 17, 1914, Gabriele Münter- und Johannes Eichner-Stiftung, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich.
2. Hans Bloesch, "Ein moderner Graphiker," *Die Alpen* 6, no. 5 (January 1912): 264–65.
3. Impressed by what he saw of their work at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, Eddy came to admire Edouard Manet and Claude Monet in addition to Whistler and Rodin, and would soon buy works from them in Paris. Around the turn of the century, Eddy withdrew somewhat, devoting more of his time to his own professional advancement. It was after an encounter with the work of Arthur Dove, the first American abstractionist, and that of the Dutchman Otto van Rees that he turned his attention to modernism and artists like Kandinsky.
4. Paul Klee, "München," *Die Alpen* 6, no. 3 (November 1911): 184.
5. Most of the young painters who descended on Düsseldorf then were of German ancestry. They followed in the footsteps of such illustrious countrymen as Emanuel Leutze and Albert Bierstadt, acquiring an introduction to narrative and landscape painting. The best known of them were Karl Friedrich Lessing, Carl Ferdinand Sohn, and Eduard Julius. See Katharina Bott, *Vice Versa: Deutsche Maler in Amerika/Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland 1813–1913*, exh. cat. (Munich: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 1996), 11–16.
6. "The Düsseldorf school commanded the market, and I think of its exhibition as firmly seated, going on from year to year—New York, judging now [in 1910] to such another tune, must have been a brave patron of that manufacture; . . . though of what particular sacrifices to the pure plastic or undraped shocks to bourgeois prejudice the comfortable German genius of that period may have been capable history has kept no record." Henry James, *A Small Boy and Others* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 266.
7. From 1820 to 1920, in what has been called the "century of immigration," 5.5 million Germans emigrated to America. The first surge came in the period after the revolutionary upheaval of 1848, followed by another in the years between 1880 and 1890, when roughly 1.5 million German immigrants entered the country. Recent research has determined that 1,336 artists emigrated from Germany to America between 1813 and 1913. See Bott, 11.
8. In addition to Duvneck and Currier, a number of other famous American artists belonged to the Munich "American Artists' Club" in the closing years of the nineteenth century, including John White Alexander, Otto Henry Bacher, William Merritt Chase, Joseph DeCamp, Julius Roishoven, Joseph H. Sharp, Walter Shirlaw, John H.

Twachtman, Theodore Wendel, and Theodore Wores. Most of them returned to the United States in the 1880s or 1890s, bringing back with them a free approach to painting that sparked violent controversy even before the appearance of the Impressionists. Currier, Duveneck, and Chase, as typical representatives of the Munich avant-garde, were the target of bitter attacks by the New York press. The resulting furor led American art dealers and collectors to shift their attention away from Düsseldorf to the Munich scene; the important art dealer Samuel P. Avery began to regularly visit the Bavarian metropolis on his trips to Europe. Close ties between American painters and Munich's art scene also stimulated the market for the works of their models and teachers. Chase, for example, bought works by Karl von Piloty, Wilhelm von Kaulbach, Ludwig Knaus, and Eduard Grützner for his patron Samuel A. Coale Jr., as well as two Wilhelm Leibl works for himself. America's appreciation for German art in the late nineteenth century paralleled its respect for German universities.

9. See Paul Klee, *Tagebücher 1898–1918*, ed. Wolfgang Kersten (Stuttgart/Teufen, Germany: Paul Klee-Stiftung, Kunstmuseum Bern, 1988), entries 70, 79, and 409. Few documents track Karfunkle's artistic activity in New York. In the 1910s his name turned up in the catalogues of Martin Birnbaum's exhibitions at the Berlin Photographic Company. Some of his works later found their way into the Museum of the City of New York. His best-known work is the fresco *Labor*, painted for the Harlem Court in New York around 1938.

10. For example, at the St. Louis World's Fair (Louisiana Purchase Exhibition) in 1904, the only moderately progressive German artist admitted was Adolf Hölzel. The Berlin and Munich Secessions were first shown in New York in 1909, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition "Contemporary German Art." Financed by the German-American businessman and collector Hugo Reisinger, the show featured the works of Wilhelm Leibl, Max Liebermann, Fritz von Uhde, Arnold Böcklin, Max Klinger, and Franz von Stuck. See Penny Joy Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates: Factors Influencing the Introduction of Modern Art from Germany to New York City, 1912–33: Major Promoters and Exhibitions" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1990), 40–49.

11. The exhibition traveled in 1913 to Buffalo, New York, and Chicago.

12. Martin Birnbaum, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Contemporary German Graphic Art*, exh. cat. (New York: Berlin Photographic Company, 1913), 3.

13. Martin Birnbaum, *The Last Romantic: The Story of More than a Half-Century in the World of Art* (New York: Twayne, 1960), 52.

14. Stieglitz's parents were from Hessen. Stieglitz graduated from high school in the United States and then went to Germany to study mechanical engineering, but soon switched to photography. He had first been mainly interested in the French avant-garde. On his regular trips to Europe, he was one of the first to appreciate the pathbreaking artistic departure of Kandinsky. In 1912 he translated a passage from Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1911) for his quarterly *Camera Work*, having presumably bought the book in Germany the previous winter. *Camera Work* 19 (July 1912): 34.

15. Paul Kruty, "Arthur Jerome Eddy and His Collection: Prelude and Postscript to the Armory Show," *Arts Magazine* 61 (February 1987): 40–47. At the Armory Show, of which he was a fervent advocate, Eddy bought works by Marcel Duchamp, Emilie Chamy, Maurice Denis, André Derain, Albert Gleizes, Leon Kroll, E. M. Manigault, Francis Picabia, Segonzan, Amadeo de Souza-Cardozo, W. L. Taylor, Jacques Villon, Maurice de Vlaminck, and Edouard Vuillard. Kruty, 43.

16. According to Carter Harrison, "Eddy swept the [Kandinsky] studio clean." Carter Harrison, *Growing Up With Chicago* (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1944), 216.

However, Vivian Barnett maintains that at that point Kandinsky was not even in Munich. Vivian Barnett, *Kandinsky: Watercolors and Drawings* (Munich: Prestel, 1992), 45.

17. "Second Group Exhibition," Galerie Neue Kunst Hans Goltz, Munich, April 8–10, 1913.

18. Arthur Jerome Eddy to Paul Klee, February 17, 1914, Archive of the Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern, Switzerland.

19. Eddy first selected eleven works from the two shipments and offered Klee 400 marks for the lot, which was the amount he had forwarded to the artist as an advance payment in February. From the entry in his handwritten oeuvre catalogue, it is clear that Klee did not agree to the lump sum offer and insisted on the prices he had set for the various genres. For his part, Eddy was unwilling to pay more than 400 marks total, and after receiving Klee's price list, he limited himself to six works, sending back the rest. Arthur Jerome Eddy to Paul Klee, February 17, 1914, and April 20, 1914, Archive of the Zentrum Paul Klee. The six works were: *Der Künstler (Dichtermal) [The Artist (Poet-Painter)]* (1908.72); *Steinhauer II (getont) [Stonecutters II (tinted)]* (1910.74); *Das Haus an der Brücke [The House by the Bridge]* (1911.58); *Parkeingang (Seiteneingang) [Entrance to the Park (Side Entrance)]* (1913.74); *Bei Bern [Near Bern (Wittighofen)]* (1913.96); and *Fensterausblick (München) [View from a Window (Munich)]* (1913.125).

20. Eddy wrote: "I have tried to make the selection in such a way that the individual phases in your work are represented." Arthur Jerome Eddy to Paul Klee, April 29, 1914, Archive of the Zentrum Paul Klee.

21. Arthur Jerome Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1914), 88 and 114.

22. See also Susan J. Nurse, "Arthur Jerome Eddy: Patron of Modern Art" (master's thesis, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1994), 37–58.

23. Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 114.

24. Reproduced in Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 88.

25. Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 123.

26. Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 123.

27. Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 2.

28. Klee, *Tagebücher* (no. 644), 493 and 512.

29. Klee, *Tagebücher* (no. 403).

30. See *Envisioning America: Prints, Drawings and Photographs by George Grosz and His Contemporaries 1915–1933*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, Mass.: Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, 1990).

31. See also Patricia McDonnell, *Painting Berlin Stories: Marsden Hartley, Oscar Bluemner, and the First American Avant-Garde in Expressionist Berlin* (New York: P. Lang, 2003).

32. See Annegret Hoberg and Henry Adams, eds., *Albert Bloch: Ein amerikanischer Blauer Reiter*, exh. cat. (Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 1997), 54, note 5. A smaller exhibition, "Albert Bloch: The American Blue Rider," traveled to the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, January 26 to March 16, 1994. See Frank Baron, Helmut Arntzen, and David Cateforis, eds., *Albert Bloch: Artistic and Literary Perspectives*, exh. cat. (Lawrence, Kan: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Kansas; and Munich: Prestel, 1997).

33. Bloch's portraits for the *Mirror* attest to his strong interest in the caricatures in Munich's satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*, most apparent in his appropriations from the styles of Olaf Gulbransson and Thomas Theodor Heine.

34. In Munich Bloch first adopted the highly simplified, almost posterlike style of painters like Alexander Kanoldt and Adolf Erbslöh.
35. Along with Marsden Hartley, who spent the first years of the war in Berlin, Bloch was one of the most important American modernists working in Germany.
36. In 1955 he described Marc and Kandinsky's invitation to take part in the Blaue Reiter exhibitions as a misunderstanding: "The point of Marc's and Kandinsky's misconception about me was simply that they believed in all good faith that I was a 'modern,' that it was my ambition to paint 'modernist' pictures, whereas I desired to do no such thing. I was not a modern in any real sense of the word. . . . I was in actual fact . . . a traditionalist to the core." Albert Bloch to Edward Maser, June 20, 1955; reproduced in Hoberg and Adams, 204.
37. Albert Bloch, quoted in Hoberg and Adams, 206.
38. Bloch, quoted in Hoberg and Adams, 207.
39. Bloch, quoted in Hoberg and Adams, 204.
40. See Hermann von Wedderkop, *Paul Klee*, Junge Kunst 13 (Leipzig, Germany: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1920); and Leopold Zahn, *Paul Klee: Leben, Werk, Geist* (Potsdam, Germany: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1920).
41. "Paul Klee und Albert Bloch. 39. Ausstellung" was held at Galerie Der Sturm, Berlin, in March 1916.
42. See Oscar Bie, "Bildende Kunst: Von Spitzweg bis in den Futurismus. Kunstausstellungen," *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 48 (March 5, 1916): 1st insert, 7f.
43. Albert Bloch to Herwarth Walden, March 29, 1916; quoted in Hoberg and Adams, 69–70.
44. *Der Sturm* 7, no. 1 (April 1916): 11.
45. A passage from a letter from Lily Klee to Marianne von Werefkin shows that she, too, participated in the friendship with Bloch: "Bloch asks me to send you greetings—
- he had a retrospective show in Munich, at the Reich. He is striving and struggling very hard—has worked a lot. I see him now and then." Lily Klee to Marianne von Werefkin, August 22, 1918, Lietuvos Nacionalinė Martyno biblioteka, Vilnius; quoted in Annkathrin Merges-Knoth, "Marianne Werefkins russische Wurzeln—Neuansätze zur Interpretation ihres künstlerischen Werkes" (inaugural diss., University of Trier, 1996). I am grateful to Osamu Okuda for this reference.
46. They were: *Pferderennen I [Horse Race I]* (1911.47), *Landschaft mit Bergen [Landscape with Mountains]* (1917.139), and *Ein Knabe in jungem Wald [A Boy in Young Forest]* (1920.16).
47. Bloch destroyed many of the works he produced in 1917–18, but he documented the majority of them in photographs in his "record books." Klee could be critical of Bloch's painting, as is indicated by his comments on Bloch's one-person show in the Kunsthaus Reich in Munich from March to April 1918. In a letter to his wife, Lily, Klee wrote: "The exhibition in the 'Reich' for example, turned out better than I expected. Only Bloch once again hung in the left corner opposite the entrance some colored foolishness of the kind that only a person who understands little about color can produce. Who can make an exhibition? That is one of the most difficult things of all. Kandinsky could do it." Paul Klee to Lily Klee, May 1, 1918, Archive of the Zentrum Paul Klee; reprinted in Paul Klee, *Briefe an die Familie 1893–1940*, ed. Felix Klee, vol. 2 (Cologne: DuMont, 1979), 918.
48. Eddy died of acute appendicitis in 1920. Part of his collection went to the Art Institute of Chicago. The six works by Klee were still in the possession of the family until the early 1930s, but since then there is no trace of them. See *The Arthur Jerome Eddy Collection of Modern Paintings and Sculpture*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1931); and *Exhibition of Paintings from the Collection of the Late Arthur Jerome Eddy*, exh. cat. (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1922).
49. Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 3.