



Wieber, S. (2015) The warp & the weft: tradition and innovation in Skaerbaek tapestries, 1896-1903. *Journal of Design History*, 28(4), pp. 331-347.

There may be differences between this version and the published version. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite from it.

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/106897/>

Deposited on: 18 April 2016

Enlighten – Research publications by members of the University of Glasgow  
<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk>

## The Warp & the Weft: Tradition and Innovation in Skærbæk Tapestries, 1896-1903

*Honour Women!  
They plaid and weave  
Celestial roses into mundane life,  
Weaving the bond of the most blessed love,  
Veiled in the Graces' most modest attire  
Watchful they nourish the everlasting fire  
Of beautiful feelings with their sacred hands.*

Friedrich Schiller, 1795<sup>1</sup>

Tapestry played a key role in the articulation and dissemination of a distinctly modern style that rejuvenated late nineteenth-century design practices across Europe under the banner of International Art Nouveau. In Germany, this phenomenon was known as Jugendstil and tapestries such as Otto Eckmann's *Five Swans* (1897) were given pride of place in international exhibitions of this 'modern style' (Figure 1). My essay traces the genesis of key Jugendstil tapestries to a weaving workshop founded 1896 in the small town of Skærbæk (Scherrebek) on Denmark's Jutland Peninsula. The workshop represented a prominent site for Jugendstil experimentation and had close links to international reform movements of the day. Although scholars are increasingly interested in Art Nouveau's local contexts and manifestations, the production and reception of Skærbæk tapestries remains largely unexplored by design and textile historians alike.<sup>2</sup>

This apparent critical amnesia can be attributed to art history's insistent focus on a disembodied design vision of the 'heroic' (male) avant-garde artist, which effectively removed Jugendstil tapestries from the creative, ideological and practical decisions involved in their production.<sup>3</sup> My essay aims to re-dress this imbalance by consciously shifting our attention back into the clutter, noise and sweat of the tapestry workshop to anchor Skærbæk's history in the material properties of its tapestries. This

approach calibrates the workshop's economic and pedagogical ambitions within larger socio-cultural contexts for the reception of Jugendstil tapestries in Germany and abroad. This approach also opens up fascinating new insights into late nineteenth-century debates around national identity, class politics and gender relations that were precariously negotiated under the banner of international design reform.<sup>4</sup>

### **Founding the Skærbæk Weaving School and Workshop**

In 1895, the young Norwegian art historian and curator Jens Thiis (1870-1942) embarked on a government sponsored study trip across Europe to survey the Continent's most recent artistic developments.<sup>5</sup> In Hamburg, he became acquainted with a group of progressive cultural reformers congregating around the eminent museum director Justus von Brinckmann (1853-1915), who promoted public education and international modernism in Germany – at a time when this was a highly contested endeavour.<sup>6</sup> Thiis served a four-month curatorial apprenticeship under Brinckmann at which point the two men discovered shared a passion for traditional Scandinavian hand weaving. Thiis had been instrumental in the founding of Christiania's (now Oslo) chapter of the *Norske Husflidsforening* in 1891. This organisation promoted 'home craft' (*Husflid*) and was closely connected to the Norwegian painter Gerhard Munthe (1849-1929) and the hand-weaver Frida Hansen (1855-1931). Brinckmann was keen to initiate a similar support system for local weavers in Northern Germany because he was alarmed by what he conceived as the rapid deterioration of local handicraft skills and industries.

Brinckmann soon decided to establish a hand-weaving school and workshop in rural Schleswig Holstein and enlisted the help of Thiis and Friedrich Deneken (1857-1927),

his curatorial assistant at the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe. Like many applied arts reformers of his day, Brinckmann was influenced by the writings of William Morris (1834-1896) who advocated utopian communities of free craftsmen modelled on medieval guilds and, ideally, located far away from the ostensibly corrupt forces of modern cities.<sup>7</sup> The Hamburg group was also indebted to German Life Reform philosophies (*Lebensreform*) through Brinckmann's close relationships with the Worpswede artists' colony founded near Bremen in 1889.<sup>8</sup> Deneken's childhood friend Pastor Johannes Jacobsen (1854-1919) suggested his parish of Skærbæk (Scherrebek) as a viable contender for their plans and the group secured his support. Skærbæk was a small town about fifteen kilometres inland from the Wadden Sea that had recently been connected to the imperial railway (1887). Although Skærbæk had no links to Germany's historical weaving industry, Jacobsen was keen to procure employment for local women who had suffered greatly when the area's bobbin lace manufacture collapsed in the 1850s.

Thiis asked his friend Frida Hansen to train Skærbæk's first generation of weavers. But the doyenne of Norwegian hand-weaving was incensed at Thiis' 'crazy (*gal*)' idea of sharing Norway's national traditions<sup>9</sup> with his German friends. Hansen's dismissal not only revealed her strong patriotism but might also indicate a certain fear of international competition. Eventually, Thiis' sister-in-law Katrine Dons, who had studied under Hansen, temporarily moved to Skærbæk.<sup>10</sup> Dons brought a number of traditional Norwegian high-warp tapestry looms and carefully sourced plant-dyed, natural yarns. After numerous logistical nightmares and setbacks, the school finally opened its doors on 18 February 1896. National newspapers and applied art journals introduced Skærbæk's new 'School for Artistic Hand-Weaving' (*Schule für*

*Kunsthandweberei*) to their readers and praised its ambition to revive traditional weaving techniques as well as regional motives to secure the future of this craft.<sup>11</sup>

### **People, Processes and Techniques**

The first generation of Skærbæk's exclusively female students arrived from local communities and from across central Europe. Most students hailed from upper middle class families because they could afford the tuition fees and the material costs.<sup>12</sup>

Pupils received intensive theoretical and practical instruction for four to six weeks before they were allowed to sit an exam testing a range of hand-weaving techniques.

Certified weavers could either stay at the Skærbæk workshop or set up their own studios modelled on the British cottage industry. Weavers had to sign a contract affirming that they would not pass on their knowledge and that they would only sell their tapestries through the association.<sup>13</sup> In return, they were allowed use Skærbæk's trademark (Schleswig-Holstein's blue-white-red flag), which was usually woven into the tapestry's lower left-hand corner and identified the piece as a 'genuine' item woven by a licensed weaver.

The workshop was committed to providing weavers with designs and materials, and accepted any tapestry produced by their certified weavers. Over time, this business model proved highly problematic because quality control was a constant struggle and surplus stocks a regular state of affairs. Not surprisingly, Skærbæk never turned a profit and eventually went bankrupt in 1903. Despite its relatively short tenure (1896-1903), Skærbæk represented one of central Europe's most dynamic and innovative tapestry production sites of its day and irrefutably altered the course of Germany's hand-weaving industry for decades to come.

The weaving workshop enlisted Jugendstil artists from across Germany to provide cartoons for many of the now iconic tapestries such as Eckmann's aforementioned *Five Swans*. Designers usually sold the copyright to their cartoons to Skærbæk, which meant that the workshop could subsequently weave the design any number of times and in any colour combinations. Once a cartoon entered the workshop, it was traced onto squared paper and passed to a weaver. More complex designs were up-scaled so that weavers could work from a 1:1 ratio. Skærbæk weavers usually warped their looms with linen and used wool imported from Norway for their wefts until local fleeces were procured from a small mill in Toftlund, forty kilometres north of Skærbæk. The weaving technique employed in all of Skærbæk's tapestries was that of slit weaving (*Schlitzweberei* or *Schichtweberei*) named after the vertical slits that form when a new colour is introduced into the weft. These slits can either be left open (kilims) or sewn shut (gobelins). The design emerged on both sides of the tapestry, although on the back the design is inverted and the weft threads are often not sewn in.

Skærbæk's *Schlitzweberei* revived an age-old technique that had been pioneered in Scandinavia and brought to Skærbæk by Katrine Dons. Brinckmann admired the subtle colour schemes of early Scandinavian tapestries and thus stipulated that all yarns used by Skærbæk weavers had to be dyed with natural dyestuffs. This traditional method of extracting colour from plants (including lichen) and animals (such as dried cochineal bugs imported from Central and South America) was in line with the workshop's revivalist philosophy and produced more lightfast colours than recently developed synthetic dyes: 'colours have to be absolutely genuine and must not fade or change during washing. For this reason, aniline dyes must be rejected in

favour of plant dyes, even if they are slightly duller, but much deeper and fuller than aniline dyes.’<sup>14</sup> From a purely aesthetic point of view, natural dyes offer harmonious colour palettes that never clash with one another and generated Skærbæk’s characteristically soft-hued tapestries.<sup>15</sup>

A small Norwegian panel in Glasgow’s Burrell Collection from the seventeenth century serves as a good example of the kinds of design languages and techniques that Skærbæk tapestries emulated (Figure 2). The panel shows how slits organise the religious scene into geometric colour fields. This inseparable relationship between technique and design was much admired by late nineteenth-century design reformers who embraced such pre-industrial tapestries as ‘honest’ and ‘truthful’.<sup>16</sup> Even though Skærbæk weavers worked from cartoons, there was considerable scope for individual adjustment and choice. While the names of individual weavers have been lost in the maelstrom of history, each tapestry features their signature in, for example, something as simple as the tightness of the weft, the tidiness of the slits, and the precision of a colour change. Today, hand-weavers such as Anne Jackson describe weaving as ‘visual thought, caught and beaten, wefts pushed down like geological layers. The warp that was previously exposed is now covered. The idea conceived by the artist is a day closer to being fully expressed.’<sup>17</sup> Jackson’s take on contemporary weaving allows us to think about the materiality and creative processes driving the actual production of Jugendstil tapestries. Viewed from this perspective, a Skærbæk weaver made countless creative decisions every time she sat down at her loom and it becomes increasingly untenable to ignore her agency in the articulation of Jugendstil’s distinct design language.

## **Contested Cultural and National Identities**

In its identity as a school and a workshop, Skærbæk represented Germany's earliest modern design 'lab' experimenting with stylistic developments that would soon be labelled by contemporary critics as Jugendstil. Indeed, Munich's United Workshops for Art in Handicraft (*Vereinigte Werkstätten für Kunst im Handwerk*), which is traditionally seen as the cradle of German Jugendstil, was founded one year after Skærbæk.<sup>18</sup> Eckmann's Skærbæk tapestry *Forest Pond in Moonlight* (1896/97), for example, featured prominently at Munich's 'Seventh International Art Exhibition' in 1897 and sparked the interest of contemporary collectors and museum curators across Germany and northern Europe. This signals the importance of international exhibitions to open up new markets for Jugendstil objects and to firmly weave Skærbæk into the commercial and ideological fabric of International Art Nouveau.

Unfortunately, this kind of internationalism was offset by a staunch parochialism that was fed by deeply fraught German-Danish relations in the region. Today, the town of Skærbæk is located in Denmark, but during the time period discussed in this essay, it had been annexed by the German Empire in 1864 (Austro-Prussian War) and was actually called Scherrebek.<sup>19</sup> But the area continued to be inhabited by a majority of Danes with strong anti-Prussian and anti-German sentiments. To combat this nascent Danish nationalism, the German government pursued an active policy of 'Germanification', which included the deportation of politically active Danes, the closure of Danish schools, the prescription of German as the official language (Language Act of 1888) and the re-settlement of German farmers and Catholics onto Protestant Danish lands.<sup>20</sup> Pastor Jacobsen politically aligned himself with these oppressive imperial and religious forces. He lobbied for Skærbæk as an ideal site for

the tapestry school and its adjacent workshop precisely because he wanted to harness Brinckmann's project to a patriotic fight for the injection of German culture into a 'hostile' Danish environment.

Jacobsen focused his efforts on young Danish women because he recognised their potential as cross-generational conduits of social and political reform. Although Jacobsen's politics were regressive and deeply gender biased, he cleverly couched his ambitions in a more palatable rhetoric of philanthropy. He promoted the revival of traditional hand-weaving as a means for securing an education and work for the region's local (female) populations:

From a philanthropic point of view, the school fulfils an important function in our local region: it enables women and girls to have a solid income; [it] cannot be contested from a health point of view; and [it] does not disrupt family life.<sup>21</sup>

Jacobsen ultimately failed in his attempts to 'Germanify' the region's deeply rooted Danish populations. To make matters worse, the school never attracted enough local pupils because the region's socio-economics was largely based in agricultural labour, and families simply could not afford to send their daughters away. But let me now turn to Skærbæk's contemporary critical reception to show how its supporters were deeply implicated in Jacobsen's problematic rhetoric.

### **Folk Art, National Romanticism and Cultural Identity**

Munich's applied arts journal *Kunst und Handwerk* first introduced German readers to Skærbæk in 1897, when its renowned critic Ernst Zimmermann discussed the school's ambitions in a feature-length essay.<sup>22</sup> Zimmermann opened his piece with a photograph of a pillow cover woven in a geometric design after what he called an 'old

Schleswig-Holstein peasant pattern' (Figure 3).<sup>23</sup> He used this tapestry to link

Skærbæk's output to craft practices of the past as follows:

In the rural districts of Schleswig-Holstein's West Coast, a whole range of domestic artwork (*Kunstarbeit*) blossomed in former times. Men occupied themselves during the long winter evenings by making wooden tools that they decorated with carved ornamentation and often painted in merry colours. Women were experts in fine canvas embroideries and bobbin lace. On their looms, they not only produced fabrics for clothing, but also works that combined a practical purpose with decoration: smooth and plush covers for chairs, benches and carts; pillows and two-coloured curtains with geometric patterns, flower motifs and figurative representations of biblical and mythological content.<sup>24</sup>

Although Zimmermann's cosy view of domestic crafts had little to do with the harsh realities of peasant life, he located Skærbæk tapestries within a larger, pan-European discourse that advocated the revaluation of folk art as a viable source for modern design practices. During the 1890s, applied arts reformers across Europe embraced often highly nostalgic and contrived notions of their own national pasts to engage with modernity and the present. Art historians have labelled the material output of these endeavours as 'National Romanticism', a style of architecture and design that used indigenous styles and materials to inject a new life force into modern design. As such, National Romanticism was both traditional/national (in its forms) and international (in its endeavours). In Germany, the search for a distinctly modern style that drew on pre-industrial, vernacular design languages was rooted in the philosophy of early nineteenth-century Romanticism, ethnographic research and the country's recent political unification as the Second German Empire in 1871.<sup>25</sup>

Zimmermann carefully aligned Skærbæk with these endeavours by foregrounding the *Hamburg Pillow's* reputed pedigree in eighteenth-century decorative motifs native to Schleswig-Holstein.<sup>26</sup> He argued that the retrieval of vernacular materials and styles through a modern design language was linked to Germany's quest for a (culturally

based) national identity. Ironically, Skærbæk was historically Danish. This raises the intriguing questions of how applied arts reformers tried to appropriate carefully chosen elements from Danish folk culture to signal ‘German-ness’? They did so by mobilising the ideologically laden terms ‘Heimat’ (homeland) and ‘Volk’ (the people) to envelope regional diversity within a seemingly coherent notion of what it meant to be German. Danish traditions thus ‘became’ German in origin. This process lines up with Michelle Facos’ argument about the importance of language, customs and geography in national identity formations across nineteenth-century Europe.<sup>27</sup> By mobilising terms such as folk- and peasant art, folklore (*Volkstum*), home arts (*häusliche Kunst*) and industriousness in the home (*Hausfleiss*), Skærbæk’s supporters appropriated historical modes of production and material objects for their vision of Germany’s contemporary craft practices.<sup>28</sup>

In Hamburg, the intellectual birth place of Skærbæk, this folk art revival was driven by a group of reformers who believed that amateur art associations, exhibitions, publications and enterprises such as the tapestry school at Skærbæk would further their cause. The artist Oskar Schindrazheim (1865-1952), for example, (somewhat naively) advocated a renewal of folk art at the socio-economic level of the peasantry and called for the preservation of pre-industrial, vernacular ways of life. In a lengthy polemic in Ferdinand Avenarius’ (1856-1923) influential art journal *Der Kunstwart*, he argued in 1901 that he did not believe in a city-led revival of (rural) folk art and that regeneration must come from within the peasantry. Contrary to Brinckmann, Schwindrazheim believed that aesthetic education was detrimental to peasant art as he thought these efforts precipitated the loss of folk art’s inherent ‘primitivism’:

If we want to help peasant art, then this must happen from below and from within. [...] A wild flower does not tolerate artificially prepared garden soil, it

dies or it turns into a Latin garden flower, [...], it is no longer the lovely, humble creation, which is beautiful simply because it flowered where we found it.<sup>29</sup>

Schwindrazheim's vigorous rebuttal of peasant art as a point of departure for the development of a modern design language aligned him with Germany's culturally and politically conservative forces whose members were keen to turn back time to a pre-industrial moment. Their morally charged discourse idealised peasant culture for its alleged simplicity and naivety. This rhetoric built on Julius Langbehn's notorious anti-liberalism, anti-modernism and anti-Semitism advocated in his book *Rembrandt as Educator* (1890), in which he denounced what he called 'degenerate modernity' in lieu of reclaiming local traditions as the foundations of a healthy German nation.<sup>30</sup>

Schwindrazheim and his supporters imbued 'untainted' folk art with restorative powers, but they refused to postulate a creative relationship with modern craft practices as they saw them tinged by commercialism. Schwindrazheim was therefore rather critical of Skærbæk:

The tapestry workshop holds no traces of a folk art and is nothing but a factory – designs by ultra-modern painters, who are completely disconnected from the soul of the folk, executed in foreign techniques [and] made for the salons of millionaires – how does any of this generate a sense of the folklore (*Volkstümlichkeit*)?<sup>31</sup>

This quote clearly signals Schwindrazheim's problem with Skærbæk's international artistic and economic currencies, which he felt uprooted the tapestries from their local contexts as folk art. Skærbæk tapestries troubled his ideological framework precisely because they were designed by international artists, woven under license in workshops across Germany, disseminated through international exhibitions/galleries and ultimately displayed in prominent upper middle class homes.

Brinckmann had a very different relationship to folk art and considered local cultural traditions as vital points of departure for international modernism rather than Schwindrazheim's antidotes to modernity. He believed that local vernacular objects should serve as technical and stylistic inspirations for contemporary design practices. He facilitated access to regional material cultures spanning the ages through his museum, for which acquired Northern German folk art (alongside Japanese objects and textiles from across the world).<sup>32</sup> Brinckmann's collecting impulses were partially rooted in the scathing reception of contemporary applied arts at the first Universal Exposition in 1851. This international event served as a painful reminder of the Industrial Revolution's detrimental effects on local handicraft practices and jolted ethnographers, museum curators and collectors across Europe into acquiring 'authentic' historical artefacts from rural regions to serve as inspiration for contemporary designers.<sup>33</sup> Reformers argued that craftsmen should not directly copy these objects but deduce their 'material truth' and underlying design principles as a basis for the development of a modern design language.<sup>34</sup> By the 1890s, access to 'authentic' folk art was readily available in Hamburg across a number of sites such as Brinckmann's museum, the Altonaer Museum, the Johanneum and local heritage associations.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Role of Women in Brinckmann's Reform Movement**

With these collections in place, the question arises of how Brinckmann and his circle envisioned the 'translation' of historical weaving motifs and techniques into modern art tapestries (*Kunstweberei*). The concept of dilettantism featured prominently in the Hamburg group's discussions of design reform. To us, the term 'dilettante' negatively connotes someone who dabbles in an area without any real commitment or

knowledge. But during the final decades of the nineteenth century, dilettantism encapsulated a phenomenon that fostered amateur interest in the arts – either as collectors or producers – and was closely linked to art reform.<sup>36</sup> A dilettante practiced an art or a craft without formal training and outside the institutional art world – two key tenets of German design reform’s ideological programme.<sup>37</sup>

From the 1850s onwards, amateur art associations sprung up across Europe and had close links to dilettantism and philanthropy. In Hamburg, Alfred Lichtwark founded the Society of Hamburg Friends of the Arts (*Gesellschaft Hamburger Kunstfreunde*) in 1893 and its privileged, upper middle class members instigated cultural preservation projects, organised exhibitions and advised Lichtwark on acquisitions for his museum, the Hamburger Kunsthalle. These associations represented one of the few institutional networks within which women were able to make concrete cultural interventions either as dilettante-artists or philanthropists since more traditional venues such as art academies and museum boards were still largely closed to them.<sup>38</sup> Brinckmann recognised and mobilised the potential of these association for his design reform efforts.

During the nineteenth century, weaving was by no means an exclusively female mode of production but Brinckmann and his allies actively conceived it as such at Skærbæk. They modelled their endeavours on the recently founded Scandinavian home craft associations such as Christiania’s *Norske Husflidsforening*, a quintessentially upper middle class initiative designed to foster traditional skills by providing training and sales opportunities for local craft communities. The *Husflidsforening* shared many characteristics with other European philanthropic endeavours such as, for example,

the British and Irish Home Arts and Industries Associations, and they were closely tied to dilettantism.<sup>39</sup> Some reformers dismissed these institutions as elitist pursuits that actually hastened the death of a genuine folk spirit. Hermann Muthesius (1861-1927), for example, believed that dilettantism produced little more than fashionable commodities and thus simply fed cultural elites and urban market forces.<sup>40</sup> His rhetoric, using terms such as ‘fashionable’ and ‘consumer markets’ was gendered and classist.<sup>41</sup> Viewed from this perspective, it could certainly be argued that much of the reformist rhetoric camouflaged Skærbæk’s socio-economic reality as a commercial enterprise run by urban, upper middle class individuals and geared towards an elitist international art market. This is not to suggest that Brinckmann’s intentions were necessarily fraught, but rather to point to some of the discontinuities between his fervent idealism and Germany’s socio-economic realities. A closer look at a few Skærbæk tapestries will enable us to assess how Brinckmann’s ambitious reform ideologies were – literally and metaphorically – woven into the workshop’s iconic Jugendstil pieces.

### **Skærbæk Tapestries as Jugendstil Objects**

Some of the most important archival resources (besides the objects themselves) are Skærbæk’s richly illustrated annual sales catalogues, which carefully presented the workshop’s substantial output.<sup>42</sup> The 1901 catalogue, for example, featured a total of one hundred and eleven designs listed according to motif (animal, landscape, fairy tale, geometric), category (wall- or pillar hanging, pillow, piano cover etc.), artist and price. Since Skærbæk was committed to purchasing all tapestries woven by their licensed weavers, its storerooms were usually overflowing. Potential customers either purchased their tapestries directly from the catalogue or put in custom orders.

Unfortunately, local markets were virtually non-existent and Skærbæk's much praised rural location proved as a serious handicap, despite increasing numbers of tourists coming into the area (enroute to the Wadden Sea). In an effort to secure profits, Pastor Jacobsen lobbied some of Germany's leading commercial art galleries and upmarket interior design shops to carry Skærbæk tapestries, and the 1901 sales catalogue lists a remarkable selection of international agents.

Three iconic names stand out from this list: the Hohenzollern Department Store run by Hermann Hirschwald in Berlin, the United Workshops for Art in Handicraft in Munich, and Siegfried Bing's Maison de l'Art Nouveau in Paris.<sup>43</sup> These three establishments represented some of Europe's leading commercial supporters of International Art Nouveau and to find Skærbæk tapestries in their spaces signals their high esteem amongst progressive tastemakers of the day. A photograph of Hirschwald's Berlin premises published in the British design journal *The Studio* in 1898 offers visual evidence that Skærbæk tapestries could hold their own in relation to such iconic tapestries as, for example, Edward Burne-Jones' and William Morris' panels pictured in the lower left hand corner (Figure 4). Alfred Mohrbutter's *Heath Mill*, Otto Eckmann's *Chestnut* (modelled on the *Hamburg Pillow*), and Ida Brinckmann's *Hollyhocks under a Tree-of-Heaven* chime seemingly effortlessly with a Richard Riemerschmid chair (United Workshops for Art in Handicraft), a Jugendstil brass lamp, and a French Art Nouveau cabinet filled with Sèvres porcelain and Emile Gallé glass (Nancy) in this staged sales interior. Obviously, these commercial venues catered towards a luxury market and Skærbæk's 'reformed' tapestries remained out of most people's reach – despite Brinckmann's desire to anchor a modern style in the very fabric of the nation.

As the photograph of Hirschwald's commercial gallery shows, Skærbæk tapestries with landscape designs were particularly popular. Representations of the North Sea's coastline with its characteristic dunes and intertidal mudflats, its flat agricultural plains and windmills, its heathlands and distinct birdlife provided some of Skærbæk's most economically viable designs. Wealthy collectors from across Germany sought these tapestries as they generated an emotional response that was anchored in their often nostalgic memories of summers spent on the Jutland Peninsula exploring tidal pools, hiding in the dunes or watching wildlife. Skærbæk's geographically distinct land- and nearby seascapes thus participated in the articulation of a national design language that embraced regional habitats as the cultural foundations of what was seen as a quintessentially German character.

Alfred Mohrbutter's (1867-1916) aforementioned design *Heath Mill* (1896) serves as an interesting example of the ways in which Skærbæk's tapestries materialised an overarching sense of German national identity that was deeply anchored in emotionally vested identifications with geographical place (Figure 5).<sup>44</sup> The tapestry shows a windmill atop a hill of blue, brown and olive green colour-fields, alluding to the region's marshlands although hills are absent from this topography. In the background, a bright yellow wheat field recedes towards the horizon. The windmill stands proudly against a pale blue sky laced with thin white cirrostratus clouds. This scene is framed by three smaller panels: the bottom panel shows a bright red setting sun about to disappear behind a gently undulating hillside and the two side panels echo the woodlands in the main panel, although in a much paler shade of blue and viewed from higher vantage points. Human figures are completely absent. The

tapestry's overall palette conveys a sense of calm, which is achieved by Skærbæk's naturally dyed wool. *Heath Mill*'s idyllic landscape includes local markers (such as the windmill, the wheat field) that were specific and generic at the same time.

The tapestry's geometric simplification in the form of flat planes of colour, clearly delineated contours and lack of shading imbue the piece with a poetic lyricism that exceeded the scene's specific setting in terms of place and time. The power of association was an important, and ideologically deeply vested, strategy of certain late nineteenth-century landscape painters who suffused their works with metaphysical and religious meanings. The Berlin landscape painter Walter Leistikow (1865-1908), for example, moved away from naturalism's investment in topographical veracity and instead foregrounded subjective experience, composition and technique to saturate his works with emotionally charged moods or *Stimmungen*. A recent exhibition of symbolist landscape painting proposed that during the 1890s, Nordic countries continued to draw on a romantic tradition that instilled nature with a deeply rooted connection to geographical location as the physical and spiritual nucleus of national identity.<sup>45</sup> Emotionally charged representations of nature in literature, painting, poetry and, in this case, weaving therefore attempted to forge ideological and spiritual ties to the soil that literally made up a nation.<sup>46</sup> Viewed from this perspective, Skærbæk tapestries physically and spiritually rooted their beholders in an experience of their *Heimat*, although technically, this *Heimat* did not belong to them as Schleswig-Holstein had been forcefully taken from Denmark. In this instance, a representation of space could lay claim to ownership of the place.<sup>47</sup>

Representations of fairy tales were closely linked to Skærbæk's subjective landscapes, but emerged from a different artistic trajectory. Skærbæk's sales catalogues advertised many tapestries featuring classic German fairy tales such as *Cinderella*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *The Frog Prince*, *The Seven Ravens*, and *The Three Princesses*. Throughout the nineteenth century, fairy tales played a key role in the revaluation of vernacular culture and literary scholars as well as ethnographers carefully inventoried these oral traditions across Europe. In Germany, Jakob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) Grimm are probably two of the most renowned advocates of these endeavours.<sup>48</sup> At Skærbæk, fairy tale motifs could mask some of the more blatant political frictions between German and Danish cultural traditions by retreating to events from a mythological past located way before recorded history. Heinrich Vogeler's (1872-1942) design for *The Promenade* (1898/99) serves as a good example of this type of motif, which became increasingly popular in the late 1890s (Figure 6). Vogeler was a prominent member of the Worpswede artists' colony and renowned for his fairy-tale subjects.

Vogeler's tapestry shows three individuals in profile with slightly downcast faces. An older man in an ermine coat and a tight red cap with a simple crown leads a young couple. The woman, following a few paces behind him, has long red hair that cascades down her shoulders and covers her delicately patterned green dress. Her companion wears a burnt-orange coat topped with a blue neck-guard and an olive-green helmet. This identifies him as either the king's son or one of his knights. The space between the solitary king and the couple is occupied by a green marshland that opens into what looks like a canal carrying a double-masted sailing boat reminiscent of the familiar peat-barges navigating through Schleswig-Holstein's canals. Although

the scene is drawn from the mythic past, Vogeler located it in a clearly recognisable landscape. This allowed contemporary viewers to establish an emotional bond with the scene that was based not only on a nostalgic longing for a lost past but also played with an emotive response to their local culture and geography, their *Heimat*. The tapestry thus functioned similarly to Mohr's afore-discussed *Heath Mill* tapestry. Blue sky fills the middle section of the tapestry and culminates in a wide band of heap clouds in various shades of white – again, a typical weather pattern along the North Sea coastline and its inland. The tapestry's pictorial space is extremely flattened and the scene is presented in overlapping layers reminiscent of a stage set.

An indigo-blue border decorated with two looping orange and red bands culminating in two stylised poplar trees frames this narrative scene. Such simplified graphic elements and primary shapes were regularly used by German Jugendstil artists and marked their distinctive contribution to International Art Nouveau.<sup>49</sup> The tapestry's non-descript title does not allude to a particular story, but it could be a representation of the epic poem *Tristan and Isolde* popular since the twelfth century and recently revived by Richard Wagner's music drama of the same title (1857/59). Vogeler's tapestry captures the mood and mysticism of a medieval legend, both in terms of subject matter and technique (simplified forms, flatness, patterning evoking medieval manuscript illumination). Vogeler's design was also influenced by Gerhard Munthe's and Frida Hansen's hugely popular Norse mythology tapestries produced around the same time. Brinckmann had commissioned Munthe's iconic *Daughters of the Northern Lights* tapestry in 1895 and the recent revival of Norwegian hand weaving was widely discussed in applied art journals across Germany.<sup>50</sup> Vogeler's progressive artistic language of a flattened pictorial space and boldly outlined forms also chimed

beautifully with the tapestry's materiality as *Schlitzweberei*. In this case, innovative design languages complimented traditional weaving techniques and produced an iconic Jugendstil object.

Landscapes and fairy tales took centre stage in the afore-discussed revival of vernacular culture as one possible cultural response to the perceived ills of modernisation and urbanisation. In this context, the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' (1855-1936) writings offer a particularly productive point of departure. He described some of the incisive changes to traditional ways of life generated by capitalism and industrialization in his influential book *Community and Society* (1887).<sup>51</sup> He was especially concerned with the breakdown of traditional communities, which, he argued, severed modern individuals from the emotional sustenance derived from close kinship relations and cultural, religious and ritual practices. Tönnies believed that spiritual ties and cultural traditions forged communities while capitalist society rewarded individualism, benefitted the affluent elite and destroyed the peasantry. His critique expanded on German Romantic traditions that pictured the nation as a family bound by cultural and spiritual ties.<sup>52</sup> Taking this critique into account, Germany's new industrial elites and educated upper middle classes responded to this disconnect by 'inventing' their own foundation myths and cultural traditions.<sup>53</sup>

In a thought-provoking essay on Finnish textiles, Charlotte Ashby recently argued that fairy tales' mythopoetic images conjured up an imagined past that was both nostalgic and utopian.<sup>54</sup> As in Finland, fairy tales and myths played a key role in German reformers' attempts to deploy a shared past to justify present socio-political

conditions because they were located outside the disciplinary boundaries of historical discourse. These texts did not carry the baggage of concrete historical associations and could therefore be readily appropriated to foster a sense of cultural and national belonging (as well as escape from everyday reality) during a time of transition and uncertainty. Skærbæk's woven fairy tales played an active role in conjuring up a similar sense of nostalgia for a distant past that might possibly be compared to our present-day appetite for fantasy fiction such as the immensely popular book series *Game of Thrones* (now in its fifth season on television).<sup>55</sup>

### **Skærbæk Tapestries at the 1900 Universal Exposition**

Most of Skærbæk's tapestries were produced for private collectors, but Jacobsen also tried to secure backing from the public sector, which was financially more lucrative. Although regional and national institutions across Germany supported Skærbæk's endeavours and museums actively collected Skærbæk tapestries, local governments were not as forthcoming with commissions. Jacobsen's break came in 1898 when he was told that Brinckmann had successfully negotiated Skærbæk's inclusion in the German Pavilion at the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris.<sup>56</sup> This represented an extraordinary opportunity to showcase Skærbæk tapestries to audiences from across the world and to potentially tap into new markets. It was a well-known fact that success at a Universal Exposition tended to generate commissions from one's home government(s). To maximise this potential, Jacobsen encouraged Germany's leading Jugendstil artists to conceive new designs for one-off tapestries especially woven for the Universal Exposition. These were to be displayed alongside examples from the workshop's regular range. Eckmann responded to this call and designed *The Fairy Tale* tapestry as Skærbæk's most ambitious, technically challenging and expensive

piece in the workshop's history (Figure 7).<sup>57</sup> This tapestry also negated Skærbæk's trademark slit-weaving technique in favour of a more sophisticated Gobelin weave.

In style, Eckmann's tapestry departed from Skærbæk's graphic Jugendstil idiom and consciously linked itself to French Art Nouveau's sinuous lines and nature-inspired shapes. Without a doubt, Eckmann was keen to be seen as an active participant in international artistic developments and endeavoured to showcase his fluency across a number of different design languages. *The Fairy Tale* won a Gold Medal and put Skærbæk on the radar of international observers. The important French critic M.-P. Vèrneuil, for example, noted in the French leading applied arts journal *Art et Décoration* that he struggled to find modern impulses in French tapestries but was struck by the innovative and artistically sophisticated revival of Skærbæk tapestries.<sup>58</sup> In light of France's self-declared position of cultural superiority in late nineteenth-century Europe, this was quite an extraordinary statement. Not a word was lost, of course, on the weavers who had actually translated his highly complex design onto the loom.

Unfortunately, Jacobsen's hopes for an economic windfall from the 1900 Universal Exposition did not materialise. Although Skærbæk was celebrated in the press as a resounding success in terms of reform and a distinctly German manifestation of International Art Nouveau, the workshop's finances continued to deteriorate. After seven years in business (1896-1903) and at the vanguard of progressive design and craftsmanship, Jacobsen was forced to declare bankruptcy in 1903. Skærbæk's head weaver Maria Luebke and her daughters continued to weave tapestries under the Skærbæk trademark, but the overall enterprise had officially failed. As was the case

with many of the reform workshops founded across Europe during the 1890s, the cost of production was simply too high to compete with factory-produced objects and the elite client base was too small to maintain financial buoyancy.

Although Skærbæk represented only a short-lived experiment in a small town on the Jutland peninsula, the ‘School for Artistic Hand-Weaving’ deserves our attention.

Skærbæk was Germany’s first workshop initiative that aimed to halt the detrimental effects of the country’s rapid industrialisation on products and workers alike.

Brinckmann, Deneken and Thiis strove to liberate Skærbæk weavers from mind-numbing factory work and provided a space for the production of high-quality tapestries – in terms of design, materials and execution. Here, it should be stressed that the workshop was run by and for women, and that the Hamburg reformers were particularly keen to provide an education and work for women across the German Empire. Brinckmann’s efforts ultimately changed the direction of German hand-weaving by reviving tapestry as an artistically viable mode of production (*Kunstweberei*) and he thus planted the seeds for future generations of prominent German hand-weavers making their marks after the First World War such as Elisabeth Lindemann, Helene Börner, Benita Koch-Ottes, Lisbeth Oesterreicher, Annie Albers and Gunta Stölzl.

Without a question, the Skærbæk weaving school and workshop was fraught with tensions along class and national lines, but this makes Brinckmann’s reform project all the more interesting to study. By shifting the historian’s focus away from the workshop’s avant-garde designers and into the production and reception of Skærbæk tapestries, I tried to re-inscribe into the historical fabric a (female) weaving

community with an international profile that left their mark on key turn-of-the-last century discourses on design reform, cultural and national identity, taste and technology.

---

## Endnotes

I wish to thank the Pasold Research Fund for supporting my research, the anonymous reviewers for their astute engagement with my work, and Gemma Blackshaw and Allison Morehead for reading earlier drafts of this essay.

All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

<sup>1</sup> Schiller's first stanza of 'Würde der Frauen' (1795). F. Schiller, *Werke und Briefe in zwölf Bänden*, Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, Frankfurt, 1992, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Even German scholars have paid scant attention to Skærbæk, with the exception of Gabriele Howaldt and Ernst Schlee. G. Howaldt, *Bildteppiche der Stilbewegung* Roether, Darmstadt, 1964 and E. Schlee, *Scherrebekers Bildteppiche*, Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Münster, 1984. For an excellent recent exhibition see D. Brieske (ed.), *Scherrebek: Wandbehänge des Jugendstils*, Museumsberg, Flensburg, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> See for example F. Ahlers-Hestermann, *Stilwende: Aufbruch der Jugend um 1900* (1941) Reprint, Ullstein, Ullstein, 1981; S. Tschudi Madsen, *Jugendstil: Europäische Kunst der Jahrhundertwende*, Kindler, Munich, 1967; H. Selig, *Jugendstil: Der Weg ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Keyser, Munich, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> A discussion of the consumption of Skærbæk tapestries exceeds the parameters of this essay, but interesting work on the consumption of culture has emerged in the past decade. For a helpful assessment of the burgeoning literature see M.L. Roberts, 'Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture', *American Historical Review*, vol. 103, 1993, pp. 817-844 and L. Tiersten, 'Redefining Consumer Culture: Recent Literature on Consumption and the Bourgeoisie in Western Europe' *Radical History Review*, vol. 57, 1993, pp. 116-159.

<sup>5</sup> Thiis had just secured a post as conservator at the Trondheim Applied Arts Museum (*Nordenfjeldske Kunstindustrimuseum*) and was about to launch his career as one of Norway's most prominent museum men of his day. He eventually became the director of the National Museum in Kristiania (*Nasjonalgalleriet*) and supported Edvard Munch as well as the international avant-garde. O. Maehle, *Jens Thiis: En Kunstens Forkjemper*, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1970.

<sup>6</sup> A. Lichtwark (ed.), *Justus Brinckmann in seiner Zeit*, Hans Christians Verlag, Hamburg, 1978 and H. Spielmann, *Justus Brinckmann*, Ellert & Richter, Hamburg, 2002.

- 
- <sup>7</sup> W. Morris, *News from Nowhere*, Reeves and Turner, London, 1891.
- <sup>8</sup> F. Berchtig, *Künstlerkolonie Worpswede*, Prestel, Munich, 2006 and D. Hansmann, *The Worpswede Artists' Colony*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2011.
- <sup>9</sup> Hansen quoted in Schlee, p. 31.
- <sup>10</sup> M. Brinckmann, 'Die Geschichte der Handweberei in Schleswig-Holstein', *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 31, no. 19, 1930, p. 107.
- <sup>11</sup> For example P. Jessen, 'Scherrebek', *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, vol. IX, no. 9, 1897/98, pp. 153-156; A. Lamm, 'Die Scherrebeker Webereien', *Das Atelier*, vol. VII, no. 7 1897, p. 6; E. Zimmermann, 'Scherrebeker Kunstwebereien', *Kunst und Handwerk*, vol. 42, no. 3, 1897/98, pp. 79-85.
- <sup>12</sup> Students had to cover rent for their loom as well as the cost of the yarns. Schlee, p. 77.
- <sup>13</sup> Op. cit., p. 78.
- <sup>14</sup> Schlee, p. 80.
- <sup>15</sup> For a fascinating discussion of women's natural dye practices in the British Arts and Crafts movement see K. Diakick Casselman, 'Women in Colour: Perceptions of Professionalism in Natural Dyeing during the Arts and Crafts Period', *Textile History*, vol. 39, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 16-44.
- <sup>16</sup> Truth and honesty were two highly charged concepts in late nineteenth-century design reform debates. See L. Topp, *Architecture and Truth in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004.
- <sup>17</sup> A. Jackson, 'The Power of Slow', The American Tapestry Alliance Tex@ATA: [http://americantapestryalliance.org/exhibitions/tex\\_ata/the-power-of-slow/](http://americantapestryalliance.org/exhibitions/tex_ata/the-power-of-slow/) [Accessed 07 February 2015].
- <sup>18</sup> S. Wieber, 'The German Interior at the End of the Nineteenth Century', in *Designing the Modern Interior: From the Victorians to Today*, P. Sparke and T. Keeble (eds.), Berg, Oxford, 2009, pp. 53-64.
- <sup>19</sup> D. Showalters, *The Wars of German Unification*, Arnold, London, 2004. Southern Jutland went back to Denmark after WWI (Schleswig-Holstein Plebiscites of 1920).
- <sup>20</sup> K. Sievers, 'Die Köllerpolitik und ihr Echo in der deutschen Presse 1897-1901', PhD dissertation, Philosophische Fakultät, Kiel, 1961.
- <sup>21</sup> Jacobsen quoted in Schlee, p. 60.
- <sup>22</sup> Zimmermann, op. cit.

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> The literature on the ‘rediscovery’ of vernacular craft traditions by late nineteenth-century applied arts reformers is rich. See for example N.G. Bowe, *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn-of-the-Century Design*, Irish Academic Press, Blackrock, 1993; J. Howard, *Art Nouveau: International and National Styles in Europe*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1996; J. Purchla and J. Pilawski, *Vernacular Art in Central Europe*, International Culture Centre, Cracow, 2001; B. Miller Lane, *National Romanticism and Modern Architecture in Germany and Scandinavian Countries*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000.

<sup>26</sup> Textile historians are not actually convinced that the *Hamburger Pillow* was modelled on a local traditional design and Schlee suggests that its pattern was imported from Scandinavia. Schlee, p. 307.

<sup>27</sup> M. Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998.

<sup>28</sup> These fascinating debates around design reform were conducted across Europe but the dialogue between tradition and modernity resonated differently in distinct national contexts and was often riddled with inconsistencies.

<sup>29</sup> O. Schwindrazheim, ‘Läßt sich die Bauernkunst wiederbeleben?’ *Der Kunstwart*, vol. 15, no. 4, 1901/02, p. 140.

<sup>30</sup> J. Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1890. See also B. Behrendt, *Zwischen Paradox und Paralogismus. Weltanschauliche Grundzüge einer Kulturkritik in den neunziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel August Julius Langbehn*, Lang, Frankfurt, 1984.

<sup>31</sup> Schwindrazheim, p. 143.

<sup>32</sup> Lichtwark, *Justus Brinckmann in seiner Zeit*, Christians, Hamburg, 1978.

<sup>33</sup> These efforts were aided by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl’s (1825-1897) multi-volume study of German customs *Naturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Socialpolitik* (1851-1869) and eventually culminated in the founding of ethnographic museums (*Völkerkunde Museen*) across Germany in the 1890s.

<sup>34</sup> It is important to note that this discourse also formulated a series of arguments around biologically driven notions of cultural supremacy that were inextricably tied to colonialism and nationalism.

<sup>35</sup> For an excellent discussion of Hamburg’s diverse institutional landscape and key art political players see J. Jenkins, *Provincial Modernity: Local Culture and Liberal Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Hamburg*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2003.

---

<sup>36</sup> H.R. Vaegt. 'Der Dilettant: Eine Skizze der Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte,' *Schiller Jahrbuch* 14, 1970, pp. 131-158.

<sup>37</sup> A number of recent publications discuss women's close involvement with the Arts and Crafts movement as artist-designers, patrons or activists. See for example J. Attfield and P. Kirkham (eds.), *A View from the Interior: Women and Design*, The Women's Press, London, 1989 with key essays by A. Callen and Lynne Walker; E. Cumming, *Hand, Heart and Soul*, Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2006; E. Cumming and W. Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1991; P. Kirkham (ed.), *Women Designers in the USA, 1900-2000*; C. Zipf, *Professional Pursuits: Women and the American Arts and Crafts Movement*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 2007.

<sup>38</sup> G. Pollock, 'Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity,' in *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*, Routledge, London, 1988, pp.50-90.

<sup>39</sup> A. Thue, *Frida Hansen: Europeeren I Norsk Vevkunst*, Kunstindustrimuseet, Oslo, 1973 and J. Helland, *British and Irish Home Arts and Industries 1880-1914: Marketing Craft, Making Fashion*, Irish Academic Press, Sallins, 2007.

<sup>40</sup> Muthesius discussed British dilettantism but his argument also held true for the German context. H. Muthesius, *Der kunstgewerbliche Dilettantismus in England* W. Ernst & Sohn, Berlin, 1900.

<sup>41</sup> M.L. Roberts, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> Copies of the 1899 and 1901 catalogues are at the Museumsberg Flensburg and the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg respectively. These are invaluable archival resources.

<sup>43</sup> Siegfried Bing (1838-1905) was actually born in Hamburg and Brinckmann's close friend. See G. Weisberg, E. Becker and E. Possémé (eds.), *L'Art Nouveau: La Maison Bing*, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, 2004.

<sup>44</sup> Mohrbutter studied under Leopold von Kalckreuth in Weimar (1887-1890) and under William-Adolphe Bourguereau at the Académie Julien in Paris (1893). He served on Skærbæk's board and even learned how to weave to provide better tapestry designs. C. Meyer-Tönnemann, *Alfred Mohrbutter 1867-1916*, Landesbank, Hamburg, 1987.

<sup>45</sup> R. Rapetti, 'Landscapes and Symbols', in R. Thomson et. al., eds., *Van Gogh to Kandinsky: Symbolist Landscape in Europe 1880-1910*, Thames & Hudson, London,, 2012, p. 26.

<sup>46</sup> See M. 'Facos, op. cit.

<sup>47</sup> *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, A. Gupta and J. Ferguson (eds.), Duke University Press, Durham, 1997.

---

<sup>48</sup> *The Brothers Grimm and Folk Tale*, J. M. McGlathery et.al. (eds.), University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1991.

<sup>49</sup> F. Schmalenbach makes this argument about German Jugendstil's roots in the graphic arts to distinguish it from French Art Nouveau's floral design language in his iconic book *Jugendstil: Ein Beitrag zur Theorie und Geschichte der Flächenkunst*, K. Triltsch, Würzburg, 1935.

<sup>50</sup> See for example Anon., 'Norwegische Webarbeiten', *Dekorative Kunst*, vol. 7 1901, pp. 30-37.

<sup>51</sup> F. Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, Leipzig: 1887.

<sup>52</sup> See for example Gottfried Herder in *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774).

<sup>53</sup> I obviously build on E. Hobsbawm's iconic book *Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, but I use the term 'invented tradition' in a looser sense to signal the adaptation of fairy tales and myths that have been in circulation since the Middle Ages to specific late nineteenth-century, socio-political needs rather than arguing for a difference between 'authentic' and 'invented' fairy tales. B. Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London, 1983 also informed my discussion here.

<sup>54</sup> C. Ashby, 'Nation Building and Design: Finnish Textiles and the Work of the Friends of Finnish Handicraft', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2010, pp. 351-365. See also T. Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited*, Verso, London,, 1997.

<sup>55</sup> Recent publications on antimodernism provide rich entry points into these issues, which unfortunately cannot be discussed here. See for example L. Jessup (ed.), *Anti-Modernism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2001 and J. Lear, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994.

<sup>56</sup> Schlee, p. 64.

<sup>57</sup> It was woven in silk and wool, with seventy-five warps per ten centimetres and later retailed at 2500 Marks.

<sup>58</sup> M.-P. Verneuil, 'La Manufacture des Gobelins à l'Exposition de 1900,' *Art et Décoration*, vol. VII, Janvier-Juin 1900, p. 122.