

AN UNEXPLAINED INTIMACY WITH NATURE

Artists' colonies in the Netherlands

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Nature tolerates you spying on her, not demystifying her.

Pythagoras

The ideas of the Barbizon painters, fed by the realism of seventeenth-century Dutch painting and English landscape painting, gradually spread across Europe. The *plein air* painting had come from England to France; aided by the advent of the paint tube – no more hassle with mixing colours – it found its way across the continent. Communities of artists arose in all corners of Europe, and often on the coast. Initially they were mainly formed by painters, later representatives of other disciplines joined them and in some cases they had an idealistic objective as a basis.

How such a community developed depended not only on its compilers, their starting points, objectives and possibilities, but was also largely determined by the topographical and social environment. How far was the rural environment from an urban one and what scenic features did the region exhibit? Were there inns or hotels where the artists could find shelter, country houses where they could stay? Could one rent a room or a house for little money, in the town itself or in a neighbouring village? How involved did the artists become with each other and with the local community? The distinction between painters' villages and Artists' Colonies is not always easy to determine. This article examines five Dutch Artists' Colonies that can clearly be defined as such.

Oosterbeek

The first Dutch Artists' Colony developed in Oosterbeek, also known as 'the Hollandsche Barbizon'.¹ The desire to leave the academic schooling behind and to experience nature as the most important teacher easily found a footing in the varied, almost un-Dutch landscape of the Veluwezoom. 'The favourite place of our landscape painters', as Jacobus Craandijk wrote in *Wandelingen door Nederland met pen en potlood* (*Walking through the Netherlands with pen and pencil*), 1880:

where wild pines spread their broad branches over beautiful slopes, where in mysterious depths the brook murmurs, where wonderful moors wave, fringed with dark woods, intersected with picturesque sand tracks, furnished with grazing flocks of sheep.²



Pieter Adrianus Schipperus, *Den Rijn van den Doorwertschen Berg gezien* / *The Rhine, seen from the Doorwerth Mountain*, no date, lithography, in: Jacobus Craandijk, *Wandelingen door Nederland met pen en potlood*, volume 5, Haarlem: Kruseman & Tjeenk Willink, 1880, opposite 333, fragment.

From 1841, the landscape painters came there to work for the first time, alone or together, in the open air and thus formed the beginning of the Artists' Colony. They

influenced each other, returned more often and in some cases even came to live in Oosterbeek. It was not difficult to find shelter at the Veluwezoom, there were plenty of stopping places. Due to the presence of wealthy and art-loving Amsterdam and Utrecht second home owners, the inspiring environment became even more attractive to them.³

For Rhine travellers, Oosterbeek was on the route to Germany. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Dutch painters studied at the Düsseldorf Academy, where history and genre painting initially flourished and from the late 1920s landscape painting. According to Barend Cornelis Koekkoek (1803-1862), who settled in Kleef (Kleve) in 1834 and started an academy there in 1841, the Dusseldorf School of Painting (die Düsseldorf Malerschule) portrayed nature too staged. Still too steeped in German romanticism, which was perhaps also perceptible in Oosterbeek in the choice of subjects, but showed in the elaboration on the spot a more realistic, more French and English-oriented observation of nature.⁴ Koekkoek had a great influence on the painters who worked in Oosterbeek, including the brothers Willem, Mathijs and Jacob Maris and Willem Roelofs.



Accompanied by his teacher Hendrikus van de Sande Bakhuyzen and his colleague Jan van Deventer, Willem Roelofs (1822 -1897) visited Oosterbeek during a Rhine trip in 1841 and painted on the heath and in the pine forests near Wolfheze. From 1847 to 1887, he would live in Brussels; the summers he spent in the Netherlands, often on a study trip in the province of Gelderland.

Roelofs fulfilled a pioneering role for his Dutch painter friends. In the years 1851, 1852 and 1855 he worked in Barbizon, where Willem and Jacob Maris as well as Jozef Israëls (1824-1911) also spent some time.⁵

Willem Roelofs, *Meisje in landschap met windmolen / Girl in landscape with windmill*, no date, oil on canvas, ICEAC CFVV.

Israëls had already been there for a first visit in the mid-1840s, during a study period in Paris. On a study trip to Düsseldorf around 1850, he visited Oosterbeek on his way back. There he became acquainted with the Dutch Barbizon and met the landscape painter Johannes Warnardus Bilders.⁶

Until well into the 1860s, Roelofs, Israëls, the Maris brothers, Paul Gabriël, Jan de Haas, Hendrik Willem Mesdag and Anton Mauve – all of them worked in Oosterbeek – were as the first generation of The Hague School focused on French nature painters, thereafter they turned in a different direction. The accent shifted from the uneven, versatile forest and river landscape to the flat Dutch polder landscape and the fishermen's life on the North Sea coast, mainly immortalized in green and grey tones.⁷

The Dutch Barbizon

Warnardus Bilders (1811-1890) was the centre of the Artists' Colony in Oosterbeek. He arrived there in the summer of 1841 from Utrecht for a temporary stay, but remained longer than intended and a few years later would buy the idyllically situated house De Parre, close to the old village inn De Ploeg where his painterly friends could stay. His wide circle of acquaintances included the writer Johannes Kneppelhout (1814-1885), who from 1848 lived on the De Hemelsche Berg estate, and the writer and draftsman Alexander Ver Huell (1822-1897).

Bilders was a late romantic. In his house there was talk for hours about the greatness of nature and the correct representation of spots of light and shadow.⁸

Things were different in the house of his colleague Frederik Hendrik Hendriks (1808-1865), who, together with Jacobus Pelgrom (1811-1861), was also one of the early painters who resided in Oosterbeek. Both knew the area from earlier times. When the very religious Hendriks settled in Oosterbeek in 1845, he soon gathered a group of students around him and taught them to look at nature from a religious point of view. In his house, discussions started with the Bible in hand.⁹



On the left De Parre, the house of the Bilders family next to De Ploeg.

<http://www.heemkunderenkum.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/036.jpg>.

Frederik Hendrik Hendriks, *Landschap / Landscape*, 1840-1865, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

In 1853 the painters Jan de Haas, Paul Gabriël and Hendrik Dirk Kruseman van Elten travelled from Haarlem, where they followed an education, to Oosterbeek. They found shelter not far from Warnardus Bilders' hospitable home.

Five years later, in the summer of 1858, Paul Gabriël (1828-1903) took his friend Anton Mauve (1838-1888) to Oosterbeek. Unlike his colleagues, Mauve would not only work there in the summer, but also in other seasons. He made friends with Willem Maris (1844-1910), whose work inspired him to a looser drawing and painting method, and with Gerard Bilders, the son of 'the old Bilders'. Initially Mauve, De Haas (1832-1908) and Bilders Jr painted very accurate cattle pieces in Oosterbeek, later their many cows, sheep and goats would become more of a facet of the landscape. It was not uncommon for the painters to upholster each other's landscapes.¹⁰

Gerard Bilders (1838-1865) was a protégé of Kneppelhout, who made it possible for him to study in The Hague. From 1857, Bilders Jr regularly worked in Oosterbeek. In 1860, he and his father attended the Exposition Générale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels,

which showed work by Barbizon artists such as Corot, Troyon, Millet, Diaz, Dupré and Rousseau. He wrote to Kneppelhout:

I have seen paintings there which I did not dream of and found in them everything my heart desires and which I almost always miss with the Dutch painters. [...] So now I am good French, but just by being good French I am good Dutch, because the great French of today and the great Dutch of the past have much in common. Unity, tranquillity, seriousness and above all an inexplicable intimacy with nature struck me in those paintings.¹¹

That intimacy with nature was what all the artists in Oosterbeek were looking for.

The Amsterdam painter Maria Vos (1824-1906) fell somewhat outside the Oosterbeek painting community. In 1854 she settled in Oosterbeek with her friend, the painter of flowers and still lifes Adriana Haanen (1814-1895). Maria had made some name in Amsterdam as a still life artist; in addition she painted portraits and cityscapes. In the wooded area of the Veluwezoom she also devoted herself to landscapes, often in pencil sketches and watercolours, but also in oil.

The friends gave drawing lessons to children of wealthy Amsterdam families with a country house in the area. In 1870 they had a villa built in Oosterbeek, which was called a true 'Künstlerheim' when Maria Vos died in 1906.¹²



Gerard Bilders, *Bosvijver bij zonsondergang* / *Forest pond at sunset*, ca. 1862, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

A lee and a new impetus

Until the mid-sixties Oosterbeek flourished as an Artists' Colony. 'Everything then went to Gelderland', recalled the Hague painter Bernard Blommers in later years. 'There was nature; everywhere else the pure nothingness.'¹³ Bilders Sr, however, had moved with his family to Amsterdam in 1858. His wife died there in 1861. Four years later, his son Gerard and his daughter Caroline, who was married to Jan de Haas, died of tuberculosis. Bilders remarried in 1880 with his pupil Marie van Bosse (1837-1900). With her he moved to Oosterbeek.

In the summer the painters came again, but in a looser context than before. Since the replacement of the horse tram by a steam tram in 1875 and the opening of the Arnhem-Nijmegen railway in 1879, also more and more tourists visited Oosterbeek and the surrounding area, which for the painters often meant a disturbance of their peace and inspiration. Mauve and Roelofs continued to visit and colleagues such as Mesdag, his wife Sientje Mesdag-van Houten and the Amsterdam artist Thérèse Schwartz also visited the Bilders family.¹⁴

It was a great shock to the old Bilders when Mauve died unexpectedly in 1888. Anton Mauve had moved with his family from The Hague to 't Gooi in 1885, where he had been working since 1882 and had become an example to and source of inspiration for many colleagues.¹⁵

In the early 1990s, the 'tree painter' Théophile de Bock (1851-1904) settled in Doorwerth and a few years later Renkum.¹⁶ This regular Barbizon-goer had in 1891 taken the initiative to found the Haagsche Kunstkring. Like Bilders, he gathered a group of landscape painters around him at the Veluwezoom. And so the Artists' Colony gained a new impetus.



Théophile de Bock, *Wit huis in het bos*, / White house in the forest, no date, oil on canvas, Museum Veluwezoom, Doorwerth.

Euprosine Beernaert, *Duinenbosjes in Domburg* / Dune bushes in Domburg, Walcheren, 1873, oil on canvas, Mu.ZEE, coll. Provincie West-Vlaanderen and Stad Oostende BE.

One of those painters was the Belgian artist Euprosine Beernaert, who painted the landscape of Oosterbeek and the moors and mysterious 'Wodanseiken (Wodan oaks)' near Wolfheze around 1879 and in 1884–1885. In those years and earlier, Beernaert stayed several times in the Artists' Colony Domburg.¹⁷

Although the painters went out with a sketchbook and easel in all kinds of weather, salon pieces were often completed – and not without difficulty: how do you capture unique moments of nature? – in the studios.¹⁸ It would take some time before landscape scenes spontaneously created in the open air, were regarded as up to par in art circles.

The Hague School

The Hague School flourished in the 1870s; thanks to the art trade and international exhibitions, its fame also reached abroad. Its representatives continued to portray light and atmosphere in subtle 'greens and greys' and eschewed 'worldliness'.

With their romantic-realistic approach and loose, slightly impressionistic touch, they determined the art climate in the Netherlands for several decades.¹⁹ The increasingly busy city life in the second half of the nineteenth century caused them to seek their inspiration outside The Hague, including untouched places that were developing into painters' villages, such as Zweetloo in Drente and Heeze and Dongen in Brabant, or to Artists' Colonies, such as Laren in 't Gooi and Nunspeet in the Veluwe.²⁰



Anton Mauve, *Rit langs het Scheveningse strand / Ride along the Scheveningen beach*, 1876, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Katwijk

Katwijk was of a different calibre. As Saskia de Bodt in *Schildersdorpen in Nederland (Painters' villages in the Netherlands)*, 2004, rightly points out, the emphasis in places like Katwijk and Volendam was not on the influence of (unspoilt) nature, but on the exceptional, on the ethnologically and folkloristic characteristic.²¹

Jozef Israëls had visited the fishing village since 1856. His followers included a number of younger Hague School painters, such as the aforementioned Bernard Blommers (1845-1914), who initially worked in Scheveningen but also chose Katwijk in the late 1890s. His paintings continued to maintain a romantic angle. This also applied to the work of his later son-in-law Jan Zoetelief Tromp (1872-1947), who from 1905 worked summers in Katwijk and settled there permanently in 1919 with his family.²²

Under the influence of Israëls, idyllic, romantic beach scenes were now alternated with realistic depictions of the hard life of fishermen. The departure of the fishermen, the tense wait for the return of the fleet, the net menders and the shell fishermen, the fish auction on the beach and the fishing barges became themes that attracted attention at international exhibitions and lured foreign painters to Katwijk.

As elsewhere along the Dutch coast in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, artists in Katwijk were already busy capturing the sea and the dunes with the Dutch skies above them and the population. Until the nineteenth century, this was almost always done by order. It was only as a result of the Enlightenment, with the French Revolution and the romantic era, that room was created for the artist to make his own creative contribution.



Jozef Israëls, *Moederweelde / Maternal wealth*, 1890, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

From 1860 Katwijk started to develop as a seaside resort. In 1830 a road was built from Katwijk Binnen to Katwijk aan Zee. In addition to the Groot Badhotel, which was built in 1845, small guesthouses were created and rooms were rented out in the village. In 1885 the Hotel Du Rhin was added. A steam tram connection from Leiden to Katwijk aan Zee, which was established in 1881, and finally a steamboat connection from 1897 made the fishing village even more accessible.²³ In 1898, 878 bathers were registered, among them 61 artists from home and abroad.²⁴



German Grobe, *Meisje, verpozend in de duinen / Girl, relaxing in the dunes*, no date, watercolour on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Max Liebermann, *Netzflickerinnen / Female net menders*, 1887-1889, oil on canvas, Kunsthalle Hamburg.

Foreign artists

The Berlin artist Max Liebermann (1847-1935) painted almost every summer in the Netherlands between 1871 and 1914, especially in Scheveningen, Laren and Noordwijk. In The Hague he met Jozef Israëls, thanks to whom he probably came to Katwijk in the period 1887–1889. His younger colleague German Grobe (1857-1938) from Düsseldorf was an annual summer guest in the fishing village for almost 50 years, from 1888 to 1936. Just as the Düsseldorf Malerschule had attracted Dutch painters, the Düsseldorf artists trained by the landscape painters Andreas Achenbach (1815-1910) and Eugène Dücker (1841-1916) were inspired by seventeenth-century Dutch painting and attracted by the North Sea coast and The Hague School. Achenbach was in Katwijk in 1862, Dücker in 1903 and 1908.

Hans von Bartels (1856-1913), professor at the Academy in Munich from 1892, stayed there between 1887 and 1913; Gerhard 'Morgentjerne' Munthe (1875-1927), child of a Norwegian father and a Dutch mother, lived there from 1901-1908 with his family and the marine painter, graphic artist and sculptor Paul Wallat (1879-1966) from Rostock worked there in 1909, 1910 and 1912.²⁵



Paul Wallat, *Katwijk aan Zee*, ca. 1910, etching on paper, 24 x 19 cm, ICEAC CFVV.

Katwijk aan Zee, Beach Boulevard (Strandboulevard), ca. 1910, on the right Jan Toorop's studio De Schuur and on the far left Huize Sigrid van Gerhard 'Morgenstjerne' Munthe, picture postcard.

Following in the footsteps of Israëls, Liebermann and Von Bartels put emphasis on their models, which they sought out among the local population. Although Grobe has depicted figures, his attention was mainly focused on beach and village views and fishing barges. He is related to Munthe in his choice of subjects and smooth brushwork. Where he adapted his use of colour to that of The Hague School, Grobe used a richer, lighter colour palette. Like Von Bartels, Wallat probably made small oil paintings *en plein air*, which he developed into large canvases in his studio.²⁶

British, American and Belgian artists and a few artists of other nationalities also found their way to Katwijk and the surrounding area.

'Americans, Germans, French, Belgians and Scots find their subjects here', Hendrik de Veer wrote in 1905 in the magazine *Eigen Haard*. The white church, characteristic streets, shell carts and the 'bomb' fishing boats were popular subjects:

It is typical how, when a barge is in sight, heavily packed with folding chair, parasol, easel and painting box, they are waiting for the arrival. No sooner is the barge ashore than the painting begins, not to end until the sun is long below the horizon.²⁷

At least about twenty British painters were registered in the nineteenth century, but only a few of them seem to have been part of the artistic community at all. An example is the Scotsman Robert McGowan Coventry (1855-1914), a painter of city and harbour views, who worked in Katwijk in 1896, 1897 and 1899 and seems to have been influenced by the late Hague School in his oils and watercolours.

Between 1883 and 1914, numerous painters, illustrators and photographers came to Katwijk from America for short visits. Things were different for Charles Paul Gruppe (1860-1940), who moved from Rochester, New York, to The Hague in 1889, where he was educated at the Academy of Fine Arts, learned to speak Dutch fluently and found a teacher and friend in Mesdag. He developed into a Hague School painter and, like his friends, he worked in Katwijk or Laren in the summer. In the years 1898–1899 and 1906–1909 he lived in Katwijk; about 1910 he returned to New York.

Walter Castle Keith (1863-1927) from Detroit, Michigan, also moved to the Netherlands after being educated in London and Munich. In 1901, he came to Katwijk for the first time; he also worked in Amsterdam, Heeze, The Hague and Laren. His portrayal of fishermen's life at sea lacked drama, details were missing in the often sun-drenched scenes. In 1920 he returned to the United States.



Edgard Farasyn, *Katwijk bij avond / Katwijk at night*, no date, oil on canvas, ICEAC CFVV.

Belgian painters – who often stayed in Zeeland for a longer period of time – were also visitors, such as Franz Courtens, Henri Cassiers and Edgard Farasyn, but they remained passers-by in Katwijk, did not settle down. An exception is probably the landscape and marine painter, also architect Paul Hermanus (1859-1911), in whose oeuvre you can regularly see views of the fishing village.²⁸

The Dutch core

A number of Dutch artists had a studio house built, preferably on the Boulevard, among them Willy Sluiter, Evert Pieters and Louis Hartz. Hendrik Willibrord Jansen rented housing and Blommers from 1900 moved into his newly built Villa Thérèse in the summer months.

Willy Sluiter (1873-1949) was the great pacemaker in the Katwijk painters' colony. His house became a gathering point for the artists, who also liked to gather in the taproom of the old De Zwaan inn. Sluiter was a versatile draftsman of posters, advertising messages, political prints and book bindings. He received his education at the Academy of Visual Arts and Sciences in Rotterdam (Academie voor Beeldende Kunsten en Wetenschappen) and at The Hague Academy (de Haagse Academie). In Katwijk he also mainly drew and painted the fisherman's life. He made his first visit to the colony in 1898; he lived there from 1901 to 1910. In that last year he moved to Laren.

Although he was initially a landscape and genre painter, Evert Pieters (1856-1932), who was educated in Belgium, also looked for his themes in the fisherman's life, with great dedication. After a two-year stay in Paris and Barbizon, he settled in Blaricum in 1897. From 1905 to 1908 he lived in Katwijk, then Laren. There he too continued to paint shell fishermen, tough 'klijnhaalders' (they anchored the returned boats) and sea and beach views.

Hendrik Jansen (1855-1908) won a gold medal in 1891 for a painting at the International Exhibition in the Glaspalast in Munich. His name was established early on thanks to his powerful paintings of sailing and steamships, shipyards and ports. A few years after the death of his first wife, he married his wealthy student Sophie Grothe. They both took part in the sensational National Fishing and Painting Exhibition (*Nationale Visscherij- en Schilderijen-Tentoonstelling*) of 1902 in Katwijk, a professional exhibition organised by Sluiter, Munthe and Jan Toorop at the initiative of Katwijk's mayor T.A.O. de Ridder. From 1903 to 1906, the Jansen couple rented accommodation in the village during the summer.

Louis Hartz (1869-1935) was admitted to the State Academy of the Fine Arts (Rijksacademie van Beeldende Kunsten) in Amsterdam at the age of 14 and was also taught by his cousin 'le nabi hollandais' Meijer de Haan, who with Paul Gauguin would work in Pont-Aven and Le Pouldu in 1889 and 1890. Hartz made study trips to France, Spain, Italy, Tunisia and Egypt. In 1898 he married the pianist and music educator Sara Rebecca Isaacson. They settled in the Watergraafsmeer near Amsterdam. In 1907 and 1908 Hartz spent the summer holidays in Katwijk with his family and in 1912 he had a house built there.

Eight years later the family moved to Heemstede; not long afterwards, the Katwijk house with studio burned down and many hundreds of paintings and drawings were lost. Hartz's work is characterised by warm, harmonious colours, applied with a broad touch. His Katwijk oeuvre also applies to fishermen's life. After the studio fire, he mainly focused on painting portraits.²⁹

Jan Toorop (1858-1928), whose name is mainly associated with the Artists' Colony Domburg, spent some time in 1889 with his wife Annie J. Hall in Katwijk; he lived there from 1890 to 1892 and from 1899 to 1904. During his first period in Katwijk he lived in a boarding house, during the second in a house built for him by the architect H.P. Berlage. His daughter Charley was born in the fishing village in 1891.

The very versatile Toorop was at the height of his fame around 1900. He participated in exhibitions all over Europe and was friends with artists of all kinds of disciplines. In Katwijk he sought the company of the Leiden painter Floris Verster, the young poet Henriette van der Schalk, later Roland Holst, and the man of letters and poet Albert Verwey and his wife Kitty van Vloten. He could often be found in Verwey's Villa Nova

in Noordwijk aan Zee, a stopping place for befriended Dutch and foreign writers, poets, painters and composers.

Initially Toorop made very special symbolist work in Katwijk, later impressionist and neo-impressionist techniques received more attention – again. It was he who had brought Seurat's pointillism to the Netherlands. Techniques that he would further develop in Domburg.³⁰



Jan Toorop, *Portret van Stefan George en Albert Verwey* / *Portrait of Stefan George and Albert Verwey*, 1896–1902, drypoint on paper, private coll.

Jan Toorop, *De jonge generatie* / *The young generation*, 1892, chalk and oil on canvas, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam; [http://collectie2008.boijmans.nl/en/work/2337%20\(MK\)](http://collectie2008.boijmans.nl/en/work/2337%20(MK))

The end of a period

Outside the small group of artists who settled around the Boulevard, one could not speak of close connections and close, mutually reinforcing collaborations in Katwijk. For charities, people sometimes got together a group, but for example the Kunstvereeniging Katwijk, an art association founded in 1908, died after three seasons. This heralded the end of Katwijk's heyday as a painters' colony, which lasted about 25 years.³¹ In the same period, an Artists' Colony in 't Gooi – Gooiland – in North Holland and one on the Zeeland peninsula Walcheren experienced new developments. Laren and Domburg were discovered by the painters at about the same time, around the 1870s.

Laren

As in Katwijk, Jozef Israëls was in Laren one of the first painters to work in the village, and also in the heath landscape of 't Gooi. He was soon followed by his colleague Albert Neuhuys (1844-1914), who had received his education in Utrecht and Antwerp. Neuhuys was ignited by Israel's enthusiasm for the farming and weaving village. This romantic realist worked there from the end of the 1870s and settled there in 1883. He

developed a moderate impressionistic style, which has become characteristic of the Larense or Gooise interior art.

Among others, he found followers in Hein Kever and Evert Pieters.³² Neuhuys in turn took Anton Mauve with him. His technique had loosened up over the years. With his *plein air* technique acquired in Oosterbeek and the 'silver' tonality of his Hague School works as a basis, the landscape painter Mauve was able to devote the last three years of his life in particular to capturing the flocks of sheep on the hilly sandy soils and moors, that surrounded the village. His attention to the population was new; under the influence of Neuhuys he also made some domestic scenes.³³

Hein Kever (1854-1888) worked regularly in Laren from the beginning of the 1880s as well; in 1905 he settled in the village. Influenced by both Mauve and Neuhuys, his work focused on interiors and sunny scenes with children, which sold well.³⁴



Albert Neuhuys, *Bij de wieg / At the cradle*, 1897, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Evert Pieters' work in Laren was also characterized by the loose painting method of The Hague School on the one hand, and the fluency and lightness of French impressionism on the other. Like Neuhuys and more of his colleagues, he had reconstructed a farmer's room in his studio so as not to have to work in less hygienic conditions. His work was also successful and reached America in the wake of Neuhuys and Mauve.³⁵

With the commissioning of the Gooische Stoomtram in 1882, a direct connection with Amsterdam was established, which brought not only artists but also tourists to Laren. They got off at the lodging house De Vergulde Postwagen, which was driven by the widow Hamdorff with her daughter Leentje and son Jan.

The inn, from 1901 Hotel Hamdorff, would become the social centre of the village. The artists met in the hotel's café, Het Kroegie (The small pub). Jan Hamdorff, who took over the enterprise, supported them in finding studio space and models and also mediated in the sale of works. He later created his own studios, including one in a former flax shed, which was immortalized by Max Liebermann.

The success and growing reputation of Neuhuys and Mauve – not only in the Netherlands and the United States but also in France and England – led to an influx of interior and landscape painters to the village. Houses, studios and villas arose in Laren and neighbouring Blaricum. The art trade capitalised on it; around 1900 this development would even lead to so-called 'pot boilers': paintings of lesser quality made on request, which gave Laren a bad name. The art dealer Nico van Harpen also saw possibilities. He opened an Art Gallery (the Larensche Kunsthandel) in 1905 and from 1906 published a bulletin that he called *Het Land van Mauve*.³⁶

Female artists

Etha Fles and Wally Moes, who trained at the Amsterdam Academy, came to Laren in 1884. At the invitation of Fles, Moes had just been in the village for a few days when Max Liebermann visited Laren for the first time, during his honeymoon. From 1886 he would return regularly. His interest was in the interiors and village scenes traditional for Laren, but he focused in particular on group scenes.³⁷

During her time at the academy, Etha Fles (1857-1948) came into contact with the The Eighties (de Tachtigers), a group of authors who, from about 1880 to 1894, brought about an impressionistic, revolutionary innovation in Dutch literature and maintained close ties with the visual arts. Younger fellow students such as Jan Veth, Richard Roland Holst and Antoon Derkinderen, as well as Jan Toorop, became lifelong friends. But the Academy oppressed Fles, in Laren she went in search of new impulses. Jan Veth (1864-1925) also came to Laren in the autumn of 1884. With Fles he not only shared an interest in an impressionistic working method in the arts, but also a great admiration for Mauve's 'purely lyrical talent', especially because he 'does not paint a landscape with fabrics, but the idyllic coexistence and the growing together of humans and animals with nature'.³⁸



Etha Fles, *Chimère van de Notre Dame / Chimera of Notre Dame*, 1900, drypoint on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Wally Moes, *Slapend kind / Sleeping child*, no date, pencil with (pastel) chalk on paper, 27 x 35 cm, ICEAC CFVV.

Wally Moes (1856-1918) was educated not only in Amsterdam, but also in Dusseldorf. Before coming to Laren in 1884, she worked for several months in Paris, where Millet's work made a great impression on her and, when she met him in Laren, almost immediately gave her a sense of kinship with Mauve.³⁹

In 1885, Arina Hugenholtz (1848-1934), an older colleague of Fles, Moes and Veth, for the first time travelled to Laren. She would return every year and in 1894 took up

residence in Hotel Hamdorff, with a studio in the village. Hugenholtz was a good friend and one of Mauve's few pupils. Like Wally Moes, she was often unsure about her work and sought Mauve's advice. In her paintings she focused on impressions of the Laren population and village views. After Mauve's death, according to Moes 'the soul of the circle', she became a kind of hostess for the painters who gathered in Hamdorff.⁴⁰

At Mauve's request, Fles and Moes in 1886 rented the house next to his house, where Neuhuys had lived. After Mauve's death, Fles left Laren, but she continued to visit her friend, who had meanwhile moved into new housing. When Moes settled permanently in Laren in 1898, she and Hugenholtz became the focus of the artists who frequented Hamdorff.



Ferdinand Hart Nibbrig, *Krijn Koster aan zijn weefstoel* / Krijn Koster at his loom, ca. 1893, oil on canvas, Singer Museum, Laren.

Wally Moes specialized in portraits and genre paintings, from 1904 with special attention to more social themes, such as the spinning mill in Laren and the knitting school in Huizen. The latter theme could also be observed, but designed in a different way, with Jozef Israëls, who immortalized the sewing school in Katwijk. Spinning or weaving was not often captured on canvas in Laren.

Moes had to give up painting in 1910 because of a rheumatic disease. She then devoted herself to writing until that was no longer possible either. In her writings she shows a direct social involvement that many painting colleagues in Laren seemed to lack. Someone who did have a feeling for it, was her fellow artist Suze Robertson (1855-1922) from The Hague. She also came to Laren in the 1880s to paint the population.⁴¹ Her realistic, sober and expressive compositions are often reminiscent of the work of Käthe Kollwitz.

A centre of world reform

Although the painters in general did not pay much attention to the poverty of the peasantry, 't Gooi would develop into a true 'centre of world reform' around the turn of the century.⁴² In 1898 the psychiatrist and writer Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932) founded the socialist colony Walden in Bussum, based on communal land ownership. He had taken the name from Henry David Thoreau's novel *Walden, or, Life in the Woods* (1854). A year later, the Amsterdam histologist Jacob van Rees (1854-1927) – the father of the artist Otto van Rees – established the colony of the International Brotherhood of Christian Anarchists (de Internationale Broederschap van Christen-Anarchisten) in Blaricum, drawing on Tolstoy's writings on charity and a simple country life. Its community showed great kinship with the Monte Verità colony, which was founded in 1900 in the Swiss fishing village of Ascona. Both Dutch colonies failed; the Monte Verità survived into the 1920s, and now houses a conference centre, hotel and museum.⁴³ Otto van Rees (1884-1957) received his first painting lessons from the artists Herman Heijenbrock and Jan Toorop. In 1904 he followed Toorop to Domburg.⁴⁴

The socially committed Herman Heijenbrock (1871-1948) lived in 't Gooi from his marriage in 1899 until his death in 1948. He had contact with both Jacob van Rees and Frederik van Eeden and also with Rik and Henriette Roland Holst. This 'painter of light and labour' sought his subjects in the role of the workers in industry, in factories, mines and machines – not in 't Gooi, but, among other places, in the Ruhr area.⁴⁵



Herman Heijenbrock, *Die Hermannshütte in Hörde vom Remberg aus gesehen / The Hermannshütte in Hörde seen from the Remberg*, 1913, oil on canvas, Hoesch Museum Dortmund (Prov. Fam. Van Vloten). The brothers-in-law Frederik van Eeden, Willem Witsen and Albert Verwey.

The Movement of Eighty

This group, with its opposition to existing social and cultural values, its glorification of individual artistry and its bohemian lifestyle, was unprecedented for the Netherlands. While all kinds of new literary movements developed abroad, the climate of the 'clergyman culture' dominated in the Netherlands for a long time. The Eighties changed that. Especially in writings the young guard drew the sword; their foremen had started their own magazine, *The New Guide (De Nieuwe Gids)*, 1885–1894. The very versatile Frederik van Eeden was one of its founders, as was his later brother-in-law Albert Verwey. Jan Veth and Willem Witsen – the latter also a future brother-in-law of Van Eeden – contributed about art.⁴⁶

The development in painting, however, was more gradual. The Hague School was still leading; around the mid-1880s, Amsterdam impressionism began to emerge, akin to The Hague School but focused more on city life and current events than on nature. In addition, the manner of expression became freer, people oriented themselves more internationally and sought new angles. Thus painting came to the *l'art pour l'art* principle; the desire to create in complete freedom, based on one's own feelings or ideas.

The essential, according to Jan Veth, did not lie in the outside world, it lay in the artist's own perceptions.⁴⁷

The stilled work of Willem Witsen, which was reminiscent of The Hague School but had a depth effect and also seemed to have a symbolist aspect, was an example of this. Until 1888 Veth worked in Laren, then in Bussum. Although he initially wanted to become a landscape painter, he eventually focused only on portrait painting and lithographies of well-known contemporaries. He worked out his painted portraits symbolically for some time, then realistically and in detail. His oil painting *Larens meisje met korenbloemen* / *Laren's Girl with Cornflowers*, ca. 1886, is an example of non-detailed work that above all reflects the artist's perception and thus achieves the depth and stillness mentioned by Veth. From 1891 his lithographs by well-known contemporaries appeared in the opinion weekly *De Amsterdammer*.



Jan Veth, *Larens meisje met korenbloemen* / *Laren's Girl with Cornflowers*, ca. 1886, oil on canvas, Singer Museum, Laren.

Jan Veth was friends with Willem Witsen and had gotten to know Mauve through him.⁴⁸

Just south of 't Gooi was the Ewijkshoeve country estate of the Witsen family, where many artists, writers and poets came together. Mauve visited Witsen there from the summer of 1884 onwards; Witsen, in turn, was from 1885 until after Mauve's death registered at his address in Laren, where he probably worked several times.⁴⁹ The painter, etcher and photographer Willem Witsen (1860-1923) founded the Dutch Etching Club (de Nederlandsche Etsclub) in 1885 with Veth, Antoon Derkinderen and Philippe Zilcken; it existed until 1896. An annual exhibition was organised and portfolios with graphics by national and foreign artists were presented.⁵⁰

In the first half of the 1890's, the group of artists around *De Nieuwe Gids* began to disintegrate, due to relocations, marriages, new connections and the like, but above all due to a changing attitude towards absolute individualism: social commitment started to count, community art was on the rise. As we have seen, Jan Toorop had arrived at a very special symbolism through his first neo-impressionist phase. While for a number of young painters his symbolism would lead to a socially or religiously oriented community art and to various forms of applied art, in Domburg he himself would arrive at a new – Dutch – form of luminism.

Innovators

The new movements – already mentioned by Jan Veth – arrived in Laren with Ferdinand Hart Nibbrig and Co Breman, and with Richard ('Rik') Roland Holst, Antoon Derkinderen and Sigisbert ('Gijs') Bosch Reitz.

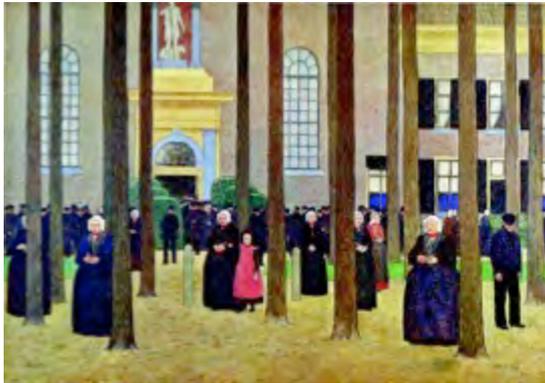


Rik Roland Holst, *Portret van Harpje, oud vijftien jaar / Portrait of Harpje, aged fifteen*, 1895, mixed media on paper, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The cyclist-painter Ferdinand Hart Nibbrig (1866-1915), who was educated at the Amsterdam Academy and in Paris, became a pioneer in neo-impressionism for the Netherlands, like Jan Toorop. Bicycle trips through the flower fields south of Haarlem and a stay with his colleagues Rik Roland Holst and Gijs Bosch Reitz in the sun-drenched Gooiland had given the impetus. In his endeavour to express the 'perfect conception of Light', the method was of secondary importance. He painted both naturalistic and neo-impressionistic, which several times led to a kind of realistic luminism. His landscapes often seemed to be bathed in light pointille touches, while his portraits were often characterized by a refined symbolism. From 1894 he lived in Laren; in 1910 he founded an art school there together with Simon Moulijn (1866-1948). A year later he would become involved in the organisation of the so-called Domburg Exhibitions (Domburgsche Tentoonstellingen) in Domburg.⁵¹

Co Breman (1865-1938) was educated in Paris and Brussels. Initially, like many of his colleagues, he worked as a decorative painter, but neo-impressionism also got a hold of him. He applied his own, 'sunny' pointillist style to Gooi landscapes and village views. From 1897 he lived and worked in Blaricum, from 1914 in Laren.⁵²

Symbolism had emerged in the Netherlands around 1890. Gijs Bosch Reitz (1860-1938) was one of the representatives of this direction. He had not only tasted the art climate in Paris and Munich, but also worked in Pont-Aven, Walberswick, St. Ives and Katwijk before having a studio and country house built in Laren in 1893. His friend Rik Roland Holst was responsible for 'the decorative, strictly drawn element' in his work. While Roland Holst focused on an art in the service of society, Bosch Reitz seemed to be primarily concerned with the decorative aspect of symbolism – (technical) beauty in itself. An example of this is the oil painting *Kerkuitgang van de Oude St. Janskerk te Laren / Church exit of the Oude St. Janskerk in Laren* from 1893, in which the very balanced composition and the almost total stillness of the performance stand out. Bosch Reitz's flat decorative floral paintings are partly influenced by Japonism.⁵³



Gijs Bosch Reitz, *Kerkuitgang van de oude Sint-Janskerk te Laren / Church exit of the Oude St. Janskerk in Laren*, 1892-1893, oil on canvas, Singer Museum, Laren.

Rik Roland Holst, *Huizer meisjes / Girls from Huizen*, 1895, lithography on paper, 26 x 21 cm, ICEAC CFVV.

Rik Roland Holst (1868-1938) lived from 1902 to 1919 with his wife, the aforementioned poet and socialist Henriette Roland Holst-van der Schalk, in Laren. In his view, art had an idealistic, serving task, which had to come about through collaboration between artists from different disciplines. In his woodcuts, posters, murals, stained glass windows and book binding designs, he particularly strove for traditional purity and a harmonious composition.⁵⁴

Around 1890 Antoon Derkinderen (1859-1925), who had gone to Brussels with Jan Toorop in 1882 to take lessons at the Drawing Academy (Teekenacademie) for a year, settled in Laren. With the medieval guilds in mind, he worked as a painter, graphic artist, glazier and bookbinding designer. In 1907 he was appointed director of the State Academy in Amsterdam.⁵⁵

The American art collector and painter William Henri Singer Jr (1868-1943), who probably became acquainted with Mauve's work in America, had a different perspective. In 1902 he travelled with his wife Anna Brugh and the American artist of Norwegian descent Martin Borgord via Paris to Laren. There, in 1902, he painted the particularly large work *Heidelandschap bij de Tafelberg te Blaricum / Heather Landscape near the Tafelberg in Blaricum*, in which Mauve's influence can be recognized. After several trips to Europe and America, the Singers had the villa De Wilde Zwanen built in Laren in 1911, with a double studio in the garden for Singer and Borgord. Martin Borgord (1869-1935) had been Singer's teacher in America. In Laren he painted realistic portraits and worked as a sculptor of figures à la Rodin. He returned to the United States in the 1920s.⁵⁶

The Amsterdam modernist Jan Sluijters (1881-1957) lived with his girlfriend Greet van Cooten in Laren from 1909 to 1911. His ultra-modern style of these years is clearly influenced by Van Gogh and Fauvism. After 1913 his experimental avant-garde method gradually changed into expressionist realism.⁵⁷ Like Mondrian, he did not interfere much with others in Laren.

Piet Mondriaan (1872-1944) had occasionally been to Laren and the surrounding area before he lived there between 1915 and 1919. He was almost always busy with his work there – in order to earn a living he had regularly to make copies on commission

– and trying to put into writing his ideas about Neo-Plasticism which he had acquired in Domburg and Paris. The few contacts he seems to have maintained besides his boarding housekeepers included the composer Jacob van Domselaer and his wife, the artists Peter Alma and Bart van der Leek, the philosopher Mathieu Schoenmaekers and the collector Sal Slijper, who would purchase many of his works. His outings included dancing to jazz music in Hamdorff. The surroundings of 't Gooi have not led to new works; Laren was an intermediate station for him. He wanted to return to Paris as soon as possible. That wish came true in 1919.⁵⁸

During and shortly after the First World War, a couple of Belgian artists who had been expelled from their homeland via Amsterdam also came to 't Gooi. Gustave De Smet (1877-1943) and Frits Van den Berghe (1883-1939) abandoned their traditional working methods in the Netherlands in favour of a developing Flemish expressionism based on Dutch – Amsterdam-Bergense – and German expressionism. Work by both would be presented in 1921 in Domburg at the first Domburgsche Exhibition of that year.



Gustave De Smet, *De maaier / The mower*, 1919, woodcut on paper, 28 x 28 cm, ICEAC CFVV.

After the First World War, the Laren Artists' Colony also lost its vitality. Memories of that period are still evoked by the painting *Het Kroegje / The small pub* from 1921 by the self-taught Cornelis Vreedenburgh (1880-1946) and village views such as *Het oude dorp. Laren in de sneeuw / The old village. Laren in the snow* from 1929 by his colleague David Schulman (1881-1966).⁵⁹

Their work seems rooted in The Hague School, with which it all started in Laren: the intimacy with nature, the picturesque landscape and then the village view, next the transition to the interior, all together the themes of the so-called Laren School. Renewal came in the form of neo-impressionist, luminist and symbolist influences and, finally, ultra-modernism also left some traces.

What was it like in Domburg, which also developed into an Artists' Colony in the 1870s and, like Laren, was allowed to sniff ultra-modernism?

Domburg

Of old, artists have roamed Walcheren, attracted by the untouched beauty of nature, the special light along the coast and its reflection over the flat land. The capricious dune landscape, the sea that always seems different and the old forests that surround the villages, especially inspired painters, but also poets, composers and writers.

Domburg's tradition as a seaside resort had begun in 1834; the first artists to work together from nature came in the 1870s.



Emile Claus, *Gezicht op Domburg / View of Domburg*, 1879, oil on canvas, private coll.

From the early 1870s, the successful Antwerp businessman Emile De Harven regularly rented a country house in Domburg where he spent the summers with family and art friends. In Domburg, which was still difficult to reach, these included in addition to his niece Euphrosine Beernaert, Théodore Baron, Camille Van Camp, Emile Claus, Edgard Fasaryn, François Lamorinière and Charles Tschaggeny. Together or alone, the artists set out to explore the Walcheren dunes and to sketch and paint there.⁶⁰ On the whole, they represented a naturalistic realism leaning towards impressionism. Emile Claus (1849-1924) stood out, he mastered a luminous colour palette that made him a progressive impressionist and led to the epithet 'sun painter'.⁶¹ He continued to come to Domburg, even when De Harven no longer did.

In a looser context, artists from all kinds of disciplines visited Domburg in the period 1875-1900. It was undoubtedly Henry Van de Velde (1863-1957) who drew Jan Toorop's attention to Domburg. Van de Velde stayed in Domburg several times, including in 1884 and 1896. In that last year Toorop visited him while passing through. Around 1890, both artists got impressed by William Morris' Arts & Crafts movement and started to express this in their lives and work.⁶²

Where Toorop is, there is space

Two years after his flying visit, Jan Toorop stayed in Domburg at the invitation of his later pupil and muse Mies Drabbe (1875-1956). Between 1903 and 1922 he could be found in the seaside resort for a longer or shorter period of time almost every year. In the spring of 1904 he had already left for Domburg for six months with his wife Annie and their daughter Charley, who would follow in her father's footsteps. He was welcomed with open arms, followed over the years by colleagues, students, friends, art collectors, art lovers and critics.



Jan Toorop, *Johan en Mies Drabbe in de tuin te Domburg / Johan and Mies Drabbe in the garden in Domburg*, 1898, black chalk with pencil and pastel on paper, coll. H.F. Elout.

After graduating from the Rijksacademie in Amsterdam, Toorop settled in Brussels and almost immediately became involved with the artists' group L'Essor and its successor Les Vingt, a group of twenty progressive artists that exhibited annually. Via England, he returned to the Netherlands, where he was soon seen as the innovator of Dutch art. In those early years, a hint of symbolism could already be recognized in his work, in addition to the refined analysis of colour. In the period 1883-1893 he mainly exhibited in the Netherlands, Belgium and France, after his transition to symbolism he exhibited throughout Europe. At the Vienna Secession of 1902 he even had his own hall.⁶³



Jan Toorop, *De Zaaier / The sower*, 1895, lithography on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Jan Toorop, *Dijkweg bij Westkapelle / Dike Road near Westkapelle*, 1910-1911, oil on board, MKDW Alkersum auf Föhr DE.

Toorop had also picked up pointillism again, developed it into the colourful divisionism that would become a hallmark of Dutch luminism in the early twentieth century. At the strikingly progressive St. Lucas exhibition of 1908 in Amsterdam, his modern-French oriented canvases gave an extra dimension to the work of emerging Amsterdam modernists such as Jan Sluijters and Piet Mondrian. Toorop was known for always being interested in young people, showing them their value and never appearing overbearing.

After his death, the critic Albert Plasschaert wrote: 'He came in, and sent out space from him (most of them absorb space!).'⁶⁴

Jan Toorop, the great man of the fin-de-siècle, was admitted to the Catholic Church in 1905. This gave him a basis for 'the inscrutable mystery of life'; for his work it meant a narrowing. It would increasingly focus on mystical-religious subjects and drawn portraits. After 1911 Toorop was no longer an innovator, but he would remain an inspiration and centre of a large circle.

Seaside resort and Artists' Colony

In the meantime Domburg had changed from a lovely rural coastal town into a flourishing seaside resort. Not only had the journey to Walcheren been made easier by the construction of a railway to Middelburg in 1872 and to Vlissingen in 1874, the internationally renowned physician Johan Georg Mezger (1838-1909) also attracted guests. He had a summer residence built on the edge of Domburg in 1886, where he received his patients. The result was that high-ranking people from all over Europe came to consult him in the seaside resort or looked for a place to stay in the village and followed a bathing cure. Elisabeth zu Wied (1843-1916), the wife of Carl von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, King Carol I of Romania, visited Domburg in 1889. As a writer she became known as Carmen Sylva ('the singing forest').⁶⁵



Statue of dr Mezger on 't Groentje in Domburg.
The Domburg Art Hall (1911-1921) in its surroundings.

What made Domburg so attractive to the artists in addition to a potential clientele, was aptly expressed by Toorop:

It is so beautiful outside of colour, colour, colour and sun ... one becomes intoxicated. The quiet is beyond words here. Your inner beauty keeps you so occupied, and outside the sun is contending with all the autumn colours ...⁶⁶

In short: again the inexplicable intimacy with nature.

The artists around Toorop came together in the studio of Mies Elout-Drabbe – who had been married since 1902 to Paul Elout, the director of the Domburg Sea bath Service (Domburgsche Zeebadinrichting) – in the house of her friend Bine de Sitter, who had lived in Domburg from 1910 onward, and with Toorop. His permanent residence was ‘an old-fashioned stately mansion, low and simple in construction’ on the Market.⁶⁷

For hours art and related matters were talked about. Not only were the developments in the Amsterdam and the international art world discussed, plans were also made for an annual summer exhibition.

In the years 1907-1915/1916, Dutch art was in a state of rapid succession of colourful and form-free experiments that followed each other at lightning speed. In the Dutch modernism of those years, two main trends can be distinguished: an Amsterdam one, which was determined by cubism, German expressionism and futurism and which manifested itself in particular at the exhibitions of the Moderne Kunstkring between 1911 and 1913; and a Paris–Domburg one, which was mainly characterised by luminism and an initiation to cubism.

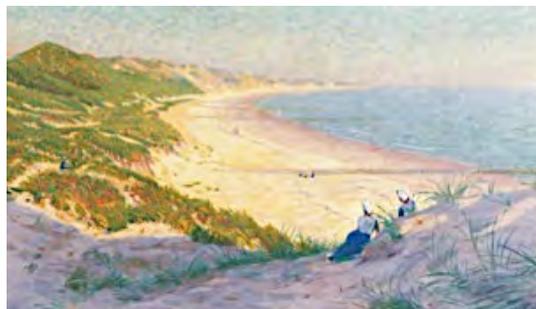
Dutch luminism was inspired by Van Gogh and the modern French movements. It aimed for a new light rendering and a more personal expression. As a new movement in painting, it was based on Walcheren and experienced its peak years in the period 1908–1911. The foremen Jan Toorop and Piet Mondriaan (1872-1944) not only wanted to show the effect of light, but also what they experienced, the sensation of it.⁶⁸

The Domburg Exhibitions

From 1911 to 1921 – with the exception of 1918 – the Domburg Exhibitions took place in a specially designed whitewood ‘art hall’, which was erected diagonally opposite the Badpaviljoen. Toorop developed the plans, with Mies Elout at his side and Paul Elout, who was well introduced into Domburg’s affairs, as his backing.

The 1911 exhibition turned out to be a very successful experiment; in 1912 a permanent organisation committee was therefore set up that consisted of the artists Jan Toorop, Ferdinand Hart Nibbrig, Jacoba van Heemskerck, Mies Elout and Jan Heyse.

Hart Nibbrig spent summers with his family in Zoutelande in Zeeland since 1910. There he mainly painted sunny neo-impressionist dune landscapes, village views and figures. His oil painting *Zoutelande*, ca. 1910–1915, hung in the 1912 exhibition as *Late zon / Late Sun*. This special work, again executed in a mixture of techniques, is reminiscent of Toorop’s *Duinen en zee bij Zoutelande / Dunes and sea near Zoutelande*, bathing in warm light, from 1907.⁶⁹



Jan Toorop, *Duinen en zee te Zoutelande / Dunes and sea near Zoutelande*, 1907, oil on canvas, Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

Ferdinand Hart Nibbrig, *Duinen en zee bij Zoutelande / Dunes and sea near Zoutelande*, no date, oil on canvas, Singer Museum Laren.

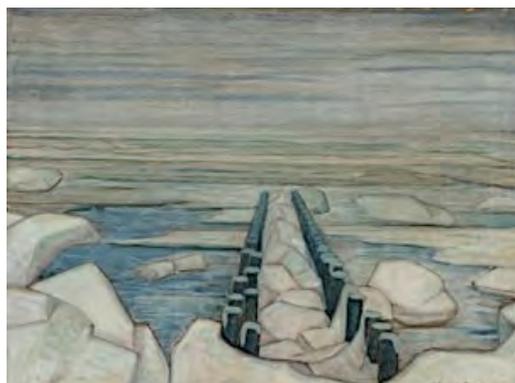
Jacoba van Heemskerck (1876-1923) from 1908 onward regularly spent summers in Domburg with her friend the art collector, patron and agricultural pioneer Marie Tak van Poortvliet (1871-1936), who had the Villa Loverendale built next to the Badhotel. Van Heemskerck initially worked in a naturalistic way – partly influenced by the lessons Hart Nibbrig had given her in Laren in the period 1901-1904 – but she too fell under the spell of luminism in Domburg. She searched for a long time for her own style and eventually found it in Herwarth Walden's expressionist Berlin group Der Sturm. From 1914 she rarely gave her works a substantive title. An oil painting from 1915 of white sailing ships on a lake is called *Bild no. 23 / Image no. 23*. Van Heemskerck often borrowed her motifs from the Manteling forests and sea near Domburg, so eminently suitable for the woodcut on which she would focus in particular.⁷⁰



Jacoba van Heemskerck, *Bild [Landschap met Boom] / Image [Landscape with tree]*, 1915, oil on canvas, MTVP Museum Domburg.

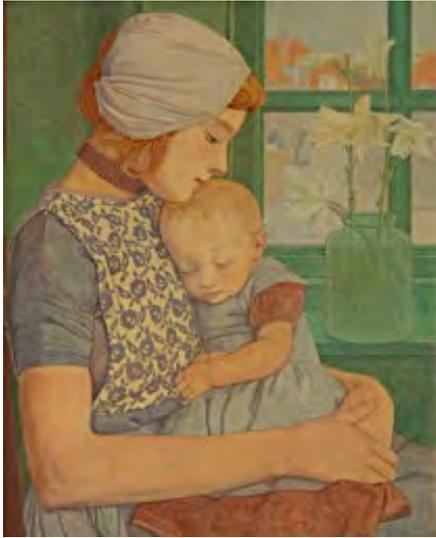
Jacoba van Heemskerck, *Bild no. 23 [Zeilboten] / Image No. 23 [sailboats]*, 1915, oil on canvas, Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

Mies Elout had received her first drawing and painting lessons as a private pupil from the Middelburg painter Willem Schütz; on Toorop's advice, she took several courses at The Hague Academy in the period 1899–1901. She used pointilles until around the First World War, mostly in oil paintings and coloured pencil drawings of landscapes and village views. Her still lifes she often painted in oil and naturalistic, sometimes with a symbolist touch. Toorop has exerted a huge influence on her drawing, and has brought about subtle nuances in it. From Mondrian she learned to see her subjects more monumentally, to work more with contrasts and to test the meaning of a single line. The latter led her to experiment with form, as is clearly visible in the 1916 oil painting *Frozen Sea*.⁷¹



Mies Elout-Drabbe, *Portret van Piet Mondriaan / Portrait of Piet Mondrian*, 1915, charcoal and black chalk on paper, Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

Mies Elout-Drabbe, *Bevroren zee / Frozen Sea*, 1916, oil on canvas, ICEAC CFVV.



Jan Heyse (1882-1954) was an artist and a craftsman. Not only did he master many techniques, he also applied them with an almost medieval patience. There is a piety in his work, which seems to be separate from a directly religious meaning and symbolism.

Jan Heyse, *Arnemuidische met kind / Woman from Arnemuïden with child*, 1909, tempera on panel, private coll.

A striking example of this is the tempera painting *Arnemuidische met kind / Woman from Arnemuïden with child* from 1909, which hung at the first Domburg Exhibition.⁷²

Initially, the exhibitions had a 'Walcheren' character: the participants lived or worked on Walcheren in the summer. From 1915 onward, artists who had fled from Belgium were also included. Among them were Emmanuel Viérin (1869-1954) from Kortrijk and his colleagues Jozef Posenaeer (1876-1935) and Frans Willems (1877-1945) from the surroundings of Antwerp. Later, Jean Gouweloos (1868-1943) from Brussels joined them – via Amsterdam and the fishing and painting village of Volendam. Also from Belgium came the Hungarian artist Maurice Góth (1873-1944), with his wife Ada and daughter Sárka. This painter, who was trained in Munich, Vienna, Szolnok, Nagybánya and Paris, as well took part in the 1915 exhibition, where he surprised the critics with a special oil painting of his wife Ada, *Strandbeeld / Beach view*, from 1915.



Maurice Góth, *Strandbeeld / Beach view*, 1915, oil on canvas, private coll.

Although direct ties with abroad by the First World War were broken, art life in Domburg after 1914 still was versatile and significant. Next to Toorop, the artist Lodewijk Schelfhout (1881-1943), who lived in Paris from 1903 to 1913, and his colleague Conrad Kickert (1882-1965), also art critic and collector, who lived there mostly after 1912 and especially from 1919, played an important role in international contacts.⁷³

From 1916 the exhibitions became broader in scope and artists not working on Walcheren were also invited. With Jan Sluijters, the Amsterdam direction was brought in in 1916 and from 1917 followers of the French painter Henri Le Fauconnier (1881-1945) were also welcome. Le Fauconnier himself took part in the Domburg Exhibitions of 1914 and 1917. The latter exhibition included the painting *Jonge Boerin* or *Zeeuwsche Boerin*, which was executed in powerful brushstrokes with a lot of attention to light and shadow effects. The Jawlensky shrouded eyes are reminiscent of the work of Le Fauconnier's wife, the Russian artist Maroussia Barannikoff; her pastels are characterized by it.⁷⁴



Henri Le Fauconnier, *Zeeuwsche Boerin* / *Zeeland farmer's wife*, ca. 1914, oil on canvas (marouflé), Galerie Het Noorderlicht Domburg.

Carry van Biema, *Mäberin*/ *Female mower*, no date, oil on board board, private coll.

By 1915 most modern Dutch painters had returned to a more subdued painting style, with a few exceptions. During his stay in the Netherlands from 1914 to 1920, Le Fauconnier left an important mark on the prevailing artistic climate, setting the tone for the calmer waters in which Dutch art found itself: a figurative Expressionism that was soon imitated and a muted colour scheme that would culminate in what was later described as the Bergen School. Artist associations such as Het Signaal and De Branding emerged from this.⁷⁵

A final chord formed the two exhibitions of modern international graphic art, which were held in 1921 in the Domburg art hall. Mainly submitted were contributions by Dutch and Belgian artists; Gustave De Smet and Frits Van den Berghe, among others, were represented with respectively woodcuts and drawings. Special was the presence of the Hanoverian artist Carry van Biema (1881-1942) with some watercolours.

It was not the national character that bound the participants, Marie Tak van Poortvliet wrote in the magazine *Op de Hoogte*, but the equality of striving in which 'the individual acts creatively out of an inner urge to shape what lives and tosses in him as an idea.'⁷⁶ The way seemed to be open for the latest developments. But when the building threatened to collapse after violent storms in the winter of 1921-1922, the decision was made to tear it down and not rebuild it. Thus, with a certain symbolism, the exhibitions came to an end.

A multitude of styles is generally characteristic of the Domburgsche Tentoonstellingen; the level of the works on display varied widely. Quality was not the connecting factor; it rather was in mutual friendships, love for the Walcheren land and pleasure in the work. The Domburg painting exhibition of 1911 had been innovative in Dutch luminism, but the first exhibition of the Moderne Kunstkring in Amsterdam in the autumn of that year had already shown that luminism no longer was the newest direction. However, with the onset of cubism in the following year, the first Domburg Exhibitions confirmed their avant-garde character. A character that was perhaps most strikingly reflected in the solitary development that Mondrian during the First World War went through in Domburg.

Piet Mondrian participated in the Domburg Exhibitions in 1911 and 1912. Deeply impressed by Toorop's Zeeland works at the St. Lucas Exhibition of 1908, he for the first time travelled to Domburg in September of that year. He would regularly spend longer periods there until about 1916.

In 1908 Mondrian was considered an established painter. After starting in the tradition of The Hague School, from 1897 he began to paint more freely, more fluently and more schematically, and partly because of his interest in theosophy also symbolist. His forms became increasingly simple, colour contrasts increasingly sharp. Fauvism did not miss its effect on him, but luminism in particular inspired him. Initially he gave it his own direction; after his acquaintance with French cubism, around 1912, his work would take on a direction of its own. Mondrian was well aware of the fact that he had taken a lonely road in search of 'the right visualisation' and that it was still far from clear where it would lead.

The beginning had been the replacement of the natural colour with the 'pure' colour and then the natural form with the 'pure form'. His monumental and at the same time confrontational *Zeeuwsche Kerktoren / Zeeland Church tower* from 1911 hung in the 1911 exhibition and in the one of 1912, the spacious and soothing-looking *Duinen near Domburg (Duin V) / Dunes near Domburg (Dune V)*, from 1910; both works are steps in the direction of the Neo-Plasticism.⁷⁷



Piet Mondriaan, *Zeeuwsche Kerktoren / Zeeland Church tower*, 1911, oil on canvas, Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

Piet Mondriaan, *Duinen bij Domburg [Duin V] / Dunes near Domburg [Dune V]*, 1909-1910, oil on canvas, Kunstmuseum Den Haag.

At the end of 1911, Mondrian left for Paris, from where he made flying visits to the Netherlands and Domburg in 1912 and 1913. His short visit to the Netherlands in the summer of 1914 turned into a four-year stay, at least until early 1915 in Domburg, then divided between Laren and Amsterdam with perhaps a single visit to Domburg.

In 1914-1915 he was able to stay in Bine de Sitter's house, where Mies Elout saw him at work. Mondriaan had little contact with his colleagues in Domburg, just like later in Laren, but he did occasionally walk along the sea with Mies Elout, a sketchbook in hand.⁷⁸

It was not until 1919, when the borders had reopened after the war ended and life had somewhat normalized, that Mondrian, as we have seen, returned to Paris. World War II would take him from Paris to London and finally to New York.

Overall, the exhibitions continued to appeal to a diverse audience. Toorop was a huge attraction and there were always beautiful works to be seen. The average visitor did not care that the avant-garde character did not last. The exhibitions were regularly discussed in the newspapers and art magazines; some of them were more interesting in composition than others and many well-known names could be found among the participants.

The 1914 exhibition, for example, could have broadened the field with the participation of American, English, French and German artists working on Walcheren and the presence of a collector such as the Amsterdam diamond merchant Willem Beffie, who was interested in Le Fauconnier and French developments as well as for the German Expressionists, but the outbreak of the First World War made short work of that.

The two graphic exhibitions of 1921 deviated from regularity, not only because of their focus on graphics but also and above all because they once again put their finger on the pulse of the times and seemed full of promises for the future. That future was there, but no longer in Domburg.

As was true for most Artists' Colonies in Europe, the First World War for Domburg slowly ushered in the beginning of the end. After the war, the idyll of country life no longer satisfied the artists; they sought the harsh reality of life in the city. This gradually applied to Domburg in the Netherlands, which had remained neutral. The environment remained as great a source of inspiration as before. It was mainly Jan Toorop, the main connecting factor, who fell away. In 1922 he probably for the last time stayed in the seaside resort for a longer span. After that, his closest art friends kept coming, but less and less often. The Domburg Artists' Colony made way for the family seaside resort.

Bergen

It was only in the 1920s that an artists' community arose around the so-called Bergen School in the North-Holland village of Bergen, which cannot therefore be counted as one of the classical Artists' Colonies. It is true that painters and writers had already settled in the sheltered village before that time, but initially with too little cohesion to be able to speak of a community, let alone a colony.⁷⁹



The Hoflaan in Bergen NH.

The first artists to live in Bergen around 1900 did so for personal reasons. Jaap Veldheer and Job Graadt van Roggen married girls from Bergen and the surrounding area.⁸⁰ They had

met each other at the Amsterdam Academy. Deaf from a young age, Graadt van Roggen (1867-1959) originally focused on the etching technique, but after a visit to Barbizon in the summer of 1904, he too began to go outside to paint. From 1910 he came under the influence of luminism to a light and summery use of colour.⁸¹ Veldheer (1866-1954) is best known for his illustrative woodcuts, which he printed on his own press.⁸² These artists still worked relatively traditionally; between 1907 and 1912 a younger guard settled in Bergen, which would form the basis of the Bergen School.

Charley Toorop (1891-1955) is often considered to belong to the School, but she probably did not belong to it any more than Leo Gestel, although they both lived in Bergen and were yet influenced by the School. Leo Gestel (1881-1941) was one of the important innovators in the period just before the First World War. His landscapes, nudes, portraits and flower still lifes are special in their highly expressive processing of pointillist, fauvist, luminist, cubist and futurist influences. In 1911, he came to Bergen for the first time, in 1921 he settled there. After a major fire in 1929 destroyed his studio, with more than 400 works of art, he moved to Blaricum.⁸³



Leo Gestel, *Drie paarden / Three horses*, 1929, mixed media on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Matthieu Wiegman, *Verbrande Pan / Burnt Pan*, Bergen N.H., no date, watercolour on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Charley Toorop had just married when she moved to Bergen with her husband in 1912. In Domburg she often accompanied her father to the dunes to paint; from Bergen she continued to participate in the exhibitions in the coastal town of Zeeland. Experimenting with different movements, she during this period began to develop into an artist with a very personal expression.⁸⁴ In 1921 her father had a house built for her in Bergen.

The Bergen School

Henri Le Fauconnier and Piet van Wijngaerdt had laid the foundation for the Bergen School with their ideas, which among other things had been published in an edition of *Het Signaal*. They promoted internalisation and expressiveness, which had to be achieved through an enhancement of colours and lines, a play of light and shadow and the use of dissonances. Trained at the Amsterdam Academy, Van Wijngaerdt (1873-1964) sought a simplification of form. He painted his landscapes and flower still lifes in a cubist-expressionist style with unexpected colour contrasts and attention to

the effect of light and dark. In 1917 he took part in the Domburgsche Tentoonstelling of that year with an example of both.⁸⁵

There is no fixed line discernable in the list of painters who belong to the Bergen School, but for instance Arnout Colnot (1887-1983), Dirk Filarski (1881-1941), Matthieu Wiegman (1886-1971), Elsa Berg (1877-1942) and Mommie Schwarz (1876-1942) are often mentioned.⁸⁶

Colnot's cubist expressionism is decidedly powerful and dark, as is Filarski's work, which, however, shows more 'temperament'. Wiegman brought a religious element to his paintings, not always consistently following the dark colour scheme of the School. The work of Elsa Berg breathed a mystical and romantic atmosphere in this period, between symbolism and expressionism; in her colour scheme she followed Le Fauconnier. Her cousin, and later husband, Mommie Schwarz was particularly influenced by Gestel and Charley Toorop. He preferred to work as an illustrator.⁸⁷



Dirk Filarski, *Landschap / Landscape*, 1919, woodcut on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Elsa Berg, *De Processie / The Procession*, 1919, woodcut on paper, ICEAC CFVV.

Wim Schuhmacher (1894-1986) is not often counted as part of the School. Initially, like many of his colleagues, he worked as a decorative painter. In 1916 and 1917 he lived in Schoorl, where Elsa Berg, Mommie Schwarz and Dirk Filarski also lived at that time. In his free painting, he switched from luminism to the dark-toned cubism of the Bergen School around 1916. The oil painting *Boerderij / Farm* was probably created in 1916, on the eve of his dark-tinted cubist period.⁸⁸ Schumacher's cubist period would after 1925 make way for a magic-realistic approach.

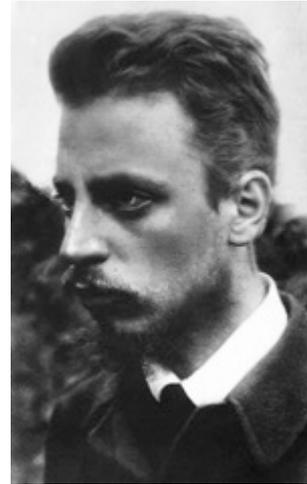
The followers of the School usually sought their subjects in still lifes, figures and village scenes. For example, the Oude Hof in Bergen has been captured on canvas many times, including in a powerfully expressive way by Matthieu Wiegman and Mommie Schwarz.

From 1917 there was more cohesion, after the collector and patron Piet Boendermaker bought a house in Bergen. He had a small room added to his villa to house his growing Bergen School collection.⁸⁹

The name 'Bergen School' was first used four years later, in 1921, by Friedrich Markus Huebner in his publication on modern art in private Dutch collections.⁹⁰ There are different views about the Bergen School and Bergen as an artists' village or colony, but it is certain that the artist community flourished there between 1915 and 1925.

Nature tolerates your spying on her, not your demystifying her

It was Rainer Maria Rilke who, in his 'Requiem' for Paula Modersohn-Becker, focused on the realisation that the essence of all great art is that things have their secrets, their silent wonders, and to reproduce them at their core without touching them, affecting them, that's what it was all about. He glimpsed it in the works of his Worpsweder friends, who appreciated the inhospitable moorland and rugged inhabitants of the North German colony, but not as exquisitely as Paula did.⁹¹



Memorial for Paula Modersohn-Becker by Bernhard Hoetger, 1916-1919, Worpswede cemetery.
Paula Modersohn-Becker, *Selbstbildnis am 6. Hochzeitstag / Self Portrait on 6th Wedding day*, 1906, oil on canvas, Paula Modersohn Museum Bremen.
Rainer Maria Rilke in 1900.

Gerard Bilders was touched by the inexplicable intimacy with nature expressed in the works of a number of French Barbizon artists. Nature as a teacher and as a muse – it, no she has remained so over the years. In Oosterbeek she was portrayed with awe, in Katwijk she did not count for the artists, except when the violence from the sea could not be controlled, and in Laren she was initially the basis, but human activities prevailed, in Domburg she remained consciously or otherwise all-determining, even in Mondrian's plus-minus works, and finally in Bergen, half counting, she was brought forward from a general dark palette to serve the experiment, but then from the primal form and always outwardly recognisable. All these directions testified to an intimacy with nature, which respected nature. This also applies to Mondrian, who in his spiritualisation process admittedly disliked nature and the colour green, but in his cosmic pursuit of the harmony of the 'universal', the search for the core, certainly seemed to integrate the concept of nature.⁹²

¹ Jeroen Kapelle, 'Oosterbeek kritisch bekeken', in: Jeroen Kapelle (red.), *Magie van de Veluwezoom*, Arnhem: Terra Lannoo BV, 2006, 141-159, 155.

² Jacobus Craandijk, *Wandelingen door Nederland met pen en potlood*, deel 5, Haarlem: Kruseman & Tjeenk Willink, 1880, 335.

² Saskia de Bodt, 'Oosterbeek – Magie am Rand der Veluwe', in: E.A. Luinstra (red.), *Im Lichte von Barbizon. Landschaften aus den Künstlerkolonien Tervuren, Kronberg und Oosterbeek*, Den Haag: Art Projects, 2000, 23-29, 23; Victorine Hefting, *Schilders in Oosterbeek 1840-1870*, Zutphen/Arnhem: De Walburg Pers/St. De Gelderse Bloem, 1981, 8, 9. See also Saskia de Bodt, 'Oosterbeek en Wolfheze. Een magische streek', in: Saskia de Bodt (red.), *Schildersdorpen in Nederland*, Warnsveld: Terra Lannoo BV, 2004, 14-20.

⁴ Jeroen Kapelle, 'Kijkend naar Duitsland', in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 69-83, 69-75. The Düsseldorf Malerschule is the name for a group of painters who were associated in one way or another with the Königlich-Preußische Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf between 1819 and 1918.

⁵ Jeroen Kapelle, 'Vernieuwing op de Veluwezoom', in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 107-139, 109. Bakhuyzen (1795-1860) and Van Deventer (1822-1886) also would regularly return to the Veluwezoom; Else Maas, *Kneppelhout en de Veluwe schildersbent*, Heelsum: Stichting 'De Haagsche School', 1983, 57-58; Saskia de Bodt, *Halverwege Parijs. Willem Roelofs en de Nederlandse schilderskolonie in Brussel 1840-1890*, Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1995, 137; Anne Tabak, 'Willem Roelofs (1822-1897)', in: John Sillevius & Anne Tabak, *The Hague School Book*, Zwolle/The Hague: Waanders/Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 2004², 205-215, 209.

⁶ Kapelle (69-83), in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 71, 82 (noot 4); John Sillevius, 'Jozef en Isaac Israëls: zo vader, zo zoon', in: John Sillevius (red.), *Jozef en Isaac Israëls. Vader & zoon*, Zwolle/Den Haag: Waanders/Gemeentemuseum Den Haag, 2008, 27-42, 27. Israëls wordt meestal zonder trema geschreven.

⁷ Hans Kraan, 'Nederland en Barbizon. Kunstenars gaan en komen', in: John Sillevius & Hans Kraan (red.), *De School van Barbizon. Franse meesters van de 19^{de} eeuw*, Den Haag: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1985, 89-104, 91-92. With Israëls, the basis for his sentimental approach to the hard life of fishermen was probably already laid in Düsseldorf. He has had great success with it at home and abroad, Sillevius (27-42), in: Sillevius (red.) 2008: 28, 30.

⁸ Hefting 1981: 17; Kapelle (107-139), in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 107.

⁹ Kapelle (107-139), in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 107-110.

¹⁰ Idem: 119-120. Mauve became quite one of the family at the Bilders family's home; for a time he was in love with the eldest daughter Elisabeth. See also Anne Tabak, 'Anton Mauve (1838-1888)', in: Sillevius & Tabak 2004²: 289-299, 290.

¹¹ Letter from Gerard Bilders to Johannes Kneppelhout, d.d. Sept. 28, 1860, Kraan (89-104), in: Sillevius en Kraan (red.) 1985: 90.

¹² L. Alleman, 'Maria Vos 1824-1906', in: Anneke Oele, Miriam van Rijsingen & Hesther van den Donk (red.), *Bloemen uit de kelder. Negen kunstenaressen rond de eeuwwisseling*, Zwolle/Arnhem: Waanders/Gemeentemuseum Arnhem, 1989, 19-23.

¹³ Kapelle (107-139), in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 134.

¹⁴ Ingelies Vermeulen en Ton Pelkmans, *Marie Bilders-van Bosse 1837-1900. Een leven voor kunst en vriendschap*, Oosterbeek: Uitgeverij Kontrast, 2008, 32, 35, 38; Jeroen Kapelle, 'Het schilderachtige landschap van de Veluwezoom', in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 15-51, 20, 42-43.

¹⁵ Emke Raassen-Kruimel, 'Mauve en de schilders van Laren', in: Saskia de Bodt & Michiel Plomp (red.), *Anton Mauve 1838-1888*, Bussum: Uitgeverij Thoth, 2009, 98-129, 98. Zie ook noot 10.

¹⁶ Jeroen Kapelle, 'Epiloog', in: Kapelle (red.) 2006: 195-201, 197.

¹⁷ Norbert Hostyn, *Euphrosine Beernaert. Landschapschilderes 1831-1901*, Oostende: Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1990, 42-45; 65; 123-131; 135. In addition, Beernaert painted decorative landscape paintings in a private house in Wolfheze, Francisca van Vloten, 'Euphrosine Beernaert. Oostende 11 april 1831 – Elsene 7 juli 1901', in: Francisca van Vloten (red.), *Een tere stilte en een sterk geluid. Domburgse dames en Veerse joffers*, Deventer: De Factory, 2009, 23-25.

¹⁸ De Bodt (23-29), in: Luinstra (red.) 2000: 23, 26.

¹⁹ Ronald de Leeuw, 'Introduction', in: Sillevius & Tabak 2004²: 7-13, 7-8.

²⁰ Laren is one of the colonies discussed in this chapter, Nunspeet is discussed in the chapter on the Association of European Artists' Colonies EuroArt.

²¹ Saskia de Bodt, 'Inleiding. Schildersdorpen in Nederland', in: De Bodt (red.) 2004: 8-11, 9-10.

²² Zoetelief Tromp lived from 1899 till 1919 in Blaricum, Emke Raassen-Kruimel, 'Künstlerkolonien in den Niederlanden', in: Claus Pese (red.), m.m.v. Matthias Hamann & Ruth Negendanck, *Künstlerkolonien in Europa. Im Zeichen der Ebene und des Himmels*, Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2001, 93-100, 96.

²³ Ibidem; Jan van Brakel, 'Katwijk, een schilderachtig dorp', in: Freek Wagter & Thea Deckers (red.), *Katwijk in de schilderkunst*, 2011⁴, 9-29, 16-17.

²⁴ Among them thirteen artists from England, twelve from Germany and twelve from America, André Groeneveld, 'Katwijk, een kunstenaarsdorp met een lange en rijke traditie', in: Francisca van Vloten (red.), *Nieuw Licht! Jan Toorop en de Domburgsche Tentoonstellingen 1911-1921*, Deventer: De Factory, 2011, 15-21, 16.

²⁵ Liebermann would return to Katwijk in 1894; Bartels made a study trip to Walcheren in 1889; Munthe came to Katwijk with his parents as a child, he also had a studio house built on the Boulevard of the village, Tiny de Liefde-van Brakel, 'Schildersezels langs de vloedlijn', in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴, 31-51, 35; Van Brakel (9-29), in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴: 20-21; Werner Mayer, 'Andere Duitse schilders', in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴: 103-121, 115, 118.

²⁶ Von Bartels often developed the oil sketches into watercolours and/or gouaches, André Groeneveld, 'Catalogus Katwijk', in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 39-61, 50-51, 54-59.

²⁷ Th. (Hendrik) de Veer, 'Katwijk aan Zee', in: *Eigen Haard*, 31 (1905), 583-586.

²⁸ Even a couple of Central European, Scandinavian, Russian and Japanese artists were registered in Katwijk, Michael Kitson, 'Britse kunstenaars in Holland, speciaal met betrekking tot Katwijk', in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴, 63-81, 80, 81; Annette Stott, 'Amerikaanse kunstenaars', in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴, 123-135, 123, 125, 128-129; Norbert Hostyn, 'Belgische kunstschilders', in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴, 137-149, 141, 144, 147.

²⁹ Jan van Brakel, 'Katwijk internationaal', in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴: 151-159; Van Brakel (9-29), in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴: 21; Groeneveld (39-61), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 40-41, 46-47, 52-53; De Liefde-van Brakel (31-51), in: Wagter & Deckers (red.) 2011⁴: 48; 'Notes par Louis Jacob Hartz', <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/fr/stamboom-waard/I3654.php>. See also Arend-Jan Sleyster, Arend-Jan Sleyster, Annemarie Kingmans-Claas & André Groeneveld (red.), *Kunst, Visserij en Handel. Toorop, Sluiter, Munthe en de schilderijtentoonstelling 1902*, Katwijk: Katwijks Museum, 2002.

³⁰ Francisca van Vloten, 'Tussenstation Wenen: Jan Toorop van Katwijk naar Domburg', *Zeeuws Tijdschrift*, 49 (1999) 1, 12-21, 15; Saskia de Bodt, 'De sterke vrouwen van Katwijk', in: De Bodt (red.) 2004: 44-51, 48; André Groeneveld (39-61), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 39-61, 39.

³¹ Over the years, however, one could find names of painters who also worked in other artists' villages on the guest lists. So in a sense there were cross-pollinations, Saskia de Bodt, 'De sterke vrouwen van Katwijk', in: De Bodt (red.) 2004: 44-51, 47; Groeneveld (15-21), in: Van Vloten (red.), Deventer: De Factory, 2011, 15-21, 20-21.

³² André M.M. de Valk, 'Albert Neuhuys', in: *Beeldende Kunstenaars Laren-Blaricum - Holland tussen 1890-heden/De Valk Lexicon kunstenaars Laren-Blaricum*, <http://www.devalk.com/kunstenaars/neuhuys/neuhuys.html>.

Neuhuys got the inspiration for his specialization in interior scenes with figures a.o. in Nunspeet.

³³ See a.o. Jeroen Kapelle, 'Oosterbeek, Amsterdam, Den Haag', in: Saskia de Bodt & Michiel Plomp (red.), *Anton Mauve 1838-1888*, Bussum: Uitgeverij Thoth, 2009: 32-67, 61, 67; en Emke Raassen-Kruimel, 'Mauve en de schilders van Laren', in: idem, 98-129, 107, 111.

³⁴ Emke Raassen-Kruimel, 'Laren in het voetspoor van de Haagse School', in: Anne van Lienden & Marja Jager (red.), *Made in Laren. Mauve tot Mondriaan*, Bussum: Thoth, 2014, 13-51, 33.

³⁵ Raassen-Kruimel (13-51), in: Van Lienden & Jager (red.) 2014: 37.

³⁶ See a.o. Renske Cohen Tervaert & Chris Stolwijk, 'De "fabriek"'. Anton Mauve en zijn handelaren', in: De Bodt & Plomp 2009: 136-145; Ann Blokland, 'Laren', in: *Van Barbizon tot Laren*, Singer Bulletin 15, maart 2002, 19; Raassen-Kruimel (13-51), in: Van Lienden & Jager 2014: 14-15; J.P. Koenraad, 'Jan Hamdorff Story', *De Valk Lexicon kunstenaars Laren-Blaricum*, <http://www.devalk.com/kunstenaars/hamdorff/hamdorff.html>.

³⁷ Raassen-Kruimel (13-51), in: Van Lienden & Jager 2014: 43.

³⁸ Suzette Haakma, *Leven voor de kunst. Etha Fles, een portret*, Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 2001, 34, 21-32; 33-42.

³⁹ Carole Denninger-Schreuder, *Schilders van Laren*, Bussum: Thoth, 2003, 31.

⁴⁰ Wally Moes, *Heilig ongeduld. Herinneringen uit mijn leven*, Amsterdam/Antwerpen: 1961, 190.

⁴¹ Denninger-Schreuder 2003: 33-36; Raassen-Kruimel (13-51), in: Van Lienden & Jager 2014: 14, 25, 33-37; https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arina_Hugenholtz; Haakma 2001: 39-40.

⁴² Denninger-Schreuder 2003: 7, 46-51.

⁴³ See for Ascona a.o. Claus Pese, 'Artist Colonies in Europe. An Overview', in: Francisca van Vloten & Lloyd Nick (red.), *Masterpieces from European Artist Colonies*, Atlanta GA: Oglethorpe University Museum of Art, 2005, 13-16, 16.

Frederik van Eeden visited Ascona and its colony in March 1904, Frederik van Eeden, *Dagboek 1878-1923*, H.W. van Tricht (red.), m.m.v. Hans van Eeden, dl. 2, 586. See for the Dutch colonies also Lien Heyting, *De wereld in een dorp. Schilders, schrijvers en wereldverbeteraars in Laren en Blaricum 1880-1920*, Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1994, 57-96.

See for Otto van Rees a.o. Ida Boelema, Irène Lesparre (red), *Otto van Rees*, Zwolle/De Bildt: Uitgeverij Waanders/Van Rees Stichting, 2005.

⁴⁴ Francisca van Vloten, 'Dromen van weleer. Kunstenaars in Domburg 1898-1928', in: Ineke Spaander & Paul van der Velde (red.), *Reünie op 't duin. Mondriaan en tijdgenoten in Zeeland*, Zwolle/Middelburg: Waanders/Zeeuws Museum, 1994, 11-71, 18.

⁴⁵ At the Van Eedens – see ann. 50 – Heijenbrock had met Martha's eldest brother Willem van Vloten, who was director of the Phoenix blast furnace in Hörde near Dortmund and invited Heijenbrock to come and work there. Impressive 'Industriebilder' were created in Hörde. Besides Germany, Heijenbrock travelled through Belgium, Great Britain and Sweden. His collection of tools, machines and raw materials formed the basis for the Museum of Labour, which was established in Amsterdam in 1930, Joh. Jansen, 'Heijenbrock, Johann Coenraad Hermann', BWSA 4 (1990), 81-86, <https://socialhistory.org/bwsa/biography/heijenbrock>. See also Cat. tent. *Herman Heyenbrock (1871-1948). Industriebilder*, Dortmund: Hoesch Museum, 1990.

⁴⁶ See ann. 50.

⁴⁷ G.H.C. Stemming [Jan Veth], 'Tentoonstelling-Vereschagin in Arti', in: *De Amsterdammer*, [dagblad], 3 maart 1887. Enno Endt e.a., Richard Bionda, Carel Blotkamp & Ineke Middag (red.), *De schilders van Tachtig. Nederlandse schilderkunst 1880-1895*, Zwolle/Amsterdam: Waanders/Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, 1991; Francisca van Vloten, 'Wars van 't algemeen erkende mooi. De schilders van Tachtig', in: *Zeeuws Tijdschrift*, 41 (1991), 104-110.

⁴⁸ See for Jan Veth a.o. Fusien Bijl de Vroe, *De schilder Jan Veth 1864-1925. Chroniqueur van een bewogen tijdperk*, Amsterdam/Brussel: Rap, 1987; Haakma 2001: 36-40.

⁴⁹ See Rein van der Wiel, *Ewijkshoeve. Tuin van tachtig*, Amsterdam: Querido, 1988; Raassen-Kruimel (98-129), in: De Bodt & Plomp (red.) 2009: 99.

⁵⁰ Etha Fles and Wally Moes were present at the founding meeting of the Etsclub; they would join Suze Robertson as well, Haakma 2001: 37. The etching club was disbanded in 1896 because the aim – to draw attention to the art of etching among the young artists – had been achieved.

Willem Witsen became a brother-in-law of Van Eeden and Verwey through his marriage in 1893. They were married to the sisters Betsy, Martha and Kitty van Vloten respectively. Only Albert and Kitty's marriage would last. The 'Meisjes van Vloten' (Girls van Vloten) were daughters of the theologian, Spinozist and man of letters, Johannes van Vloten (1818-1883), whose two-volume *Nederlandse Aesthetika or Leer van 't Schoon en den Kunstmaak, naar uit- en inheemsche bronnen* (1881-1882³), was the most comprehensive and popular Dutch book in this field in the second half of the nineteenth century and most probably also compulsory subject matter at art academies, Carel Blotkamp, *Mondriaan in detail*, Utrecht/Antwerpen: Veen/Reflex 1987, 13-15. See also Cornelia van Uuden & Pieter Stokvis, *De Gezusters Van Vloten. De vrouwen achter Frederik van Eeden, Willem Witsen en Albert Verwey*, Amsterdam: Bakker, 2008⁴; Francisca van Vloten, *Mondig voorwaarts. Johannes van Vloten en zijn kinderen*, Deventer: De Factory, 2011. Special for those years was Van Vloten's striving for an equally good education for his daughters as for his sons.

⁵¹ Zie o.m. Cat. tent. *Ferdinand Hart Nibbrig 1866-1915*, Laren: Singer Museum, 1996; Caroline Roodenburg-Schadd, 'Niet het landschap, maar de "geest". De moderne kunst in Laren en Blaricum, circa 1890-1930', in: Van Lienden & Jager (red.) 2014: 55-147, 66-70; Francisca van Vloten, 'Catalogus Domburg', in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 64-181, 95-96.

⁵² Roodenburg-Schadd (55-147), in: Van Lienden & Jager (red.) 2014: 70-75. Breman was a member of the Gooise artists' association De Tien (The Ten), founded in 1903, which organized group exhibitions to create a larger market for the work of its members. The association did not last long; the exhibitions in the art hall built by Hamdorff in 1913 near his hotel were successful, J.P. Koenraad, 'Jan Hamdorff Story', De Valk Lexicon kunstenaars Laren-Blaricum, <http://www.devalk.com/kunstenaars/hamdorff/hamdorff.html>.

⁵³ Rinus Ferdinandusse & Ann Blokland, *Bosch Reitz. Schilder en wereldreiziger rond 1900*, Amsterdam: Six Art Promotion, 2002; Francisca van Vloten, 'Van Haringvloot tot chrysanten en papavers. De schilder en verzamelaar S.C. Bosch Reitz (1860-1938)', in: *Zeeuws Tijdschrift*, 52 (2002), 5/6, 32-35.

⁵⁴ See a.o. Lieske Tibbe, *R.N. Roland Holst. Arbeid en schoonheid vereend. Opvattingen over gemeenschapskunst*, proefschrift, Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1994.

⁵⁵ See a.o. Maureen S. Trappeniers, *Antoon Derkinderen 1859-1925*, Den Bosch: Noordbrabants Museum, 1980.

⁵⁶ After the Second World War, Anna Singer-Brugh founded the Singer Laren museum, which still houses an important part of the original collection of the Singers, Raassen-Kruimel (13-51), in: Van Lienden & Jager (red.) 2014: 47-51.

⁵⁷ Roodenburg-Schadd (55-147), in: Van Lienden & Jager (red.) 2014: 78-83. Frederik van Eeden, who had initially admired Van Gogh, later rebelled against him and even more so against Jan Sluijters and Piet Mondrian in: Frederik van Eeden, 'Gezondheid en verval in de kunst (naar aanleiding der tentoonstelling Spoor – Mondriaan – Sluijters)', in: *Op de Hoogte*, 6 (1909) 2, 79-85, 82. See also Francisca van Vloten, 'Stirb und werde! De gelaagdheid in Mondriaans Zeeuwse werk', in: *Subliem Zeeland. Zeeuws Tijdschrift*, 57 (2007) 1/2, 63-69.

⁵⁸ Heyting 1994: 197-236.

⁵⁹ Vreedenburgh painted above all cityscapes of Amsterdam, Raasen-Kruimel 13-51), in: Van Lienden & Jager (red.) 2014: 26.

⁶⁰ Van Vloten 2009: 5-7, 23-25; Hostyn 1990: 42-45; See for Domburg as an Artists' Colony and the Domburg Exhibitions also Van Vloten (11-71), in: Spaander & Van der Velde (red.) 1994; Van Vloten: 2004, passim; Van Vloten 2011: passim; Francisca van Vloten, *Een levendig kunstgedoe. Handboek Domburgsche Tentoonstellingen 1911-1921*, Domburg: De Factory, 2016.

⁶¹ See for Emile Claus a.o. Johan De Smet, *Emile Claus 1849-1924*, Willy Van den Bussche e.a. (red.), Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1997; Johan De Smet, 'Emile Claus. Denken en voelen in kleur', in: *Ons Erfdeel*, 40 (1997), 57-65.

⁶² Van Vloten (11-71), in: Spaander & Van der Velde (red.) 1994: 18, 35. Van de Velde would found the Kunstgewerbeschule in Weimar in 1906. From 1883 the *Domburgsch Badnieuws* registered the (stated) visitors to Domburg, before that one had to make do with guest lists, which have been preserved only sporadically. In 1877 Johannes van Vloten stayed with his family in the Badhotel, in 1878 the church painter Johannes Bosboom and his wife, the novelist Truitje Bosboom-Toussaint came to the seaside resort for a stay, Carmen Sylva – see note 65 in the text – in 1888 and 1889, the American painter James McNeill Whistler spent a week there with his friend Jerome Elwell in 1900, the widow of Johannes van Vloten stayed in the same year with the painter Marie Wandscheer in Hotel het Schuttershof, where the Belgian painter Henri Cassiers, who often worked in Katwijk and Veere, had also taken up residence.

⁶³ Bertha Zuckerandl, 'Die Wiener Seession', in: *Die Kunst für Alle*, 17 (15 jan. 1902) 8, 186-188, 186; Van Vloten 1999: 18.

⁶⁴ Manuscript of Plasschaerts "In Memoriam Jan Toorop (1858-1928)", private collection, Francisca van Vloten, *Heimwee houdt ons gevangen. Kunstenaarsbrieven aan Mies Elout-Drabbe in Domburg*, Slibreeks nr. 49, Middelburg: SBK-Zeeland, 1990, 78-79. Cited by Mies Elout-Drabbe as "Waar Toorop is, daar is ruimte", in: N.N., 'Mevrouw Elout-Drabbe over Toorops Zeeuwse tijd', in: *Provinciale Zeeuwse Courant*, 30 nov. 1950.

⁶⁵ Van Vloten (11-71), in: Spaander & Van der Velde (red.) 1994: 14.

⁶⁶ Letter of Oct. 5, 1908 from Jan Toorop to his colleague Kees Spoor, Francisca van Vloten, 'Colour, Colour and Sun. Introduction by the Editor/Farbe, Farbe und Sonne. Einleitung des Herausgebers', in: Francisca van Vloten (red.), *Colour and Sun! Artists' Colonies by the Sea/Farbe und Sonne! Künstlerkolonien am Meer. Domburg – Nidden/Nida – Ahrenshoop 1870-1930*, Deventer: De Factory, 2007, 9-11.

⁶⁷ Maria Viola, 'Kunst te Domburg', in: *Van Onzen Tijd*, 11 (1910-1911), 52, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 1, 409-411, 409. The writer Arthur van Schendel, a friend of Toorop, also regularly visited Domburg with his family from 1911. Later, the historian Johan Huizinga and Rik Roland Holst would also join the circle of friends around Toorop, Mies Elout and Bine de Sitter.

⁶⁸ Francisca van Vloten, 'Inleiding. Domburg, bakermat van het Nederlandse luminisme', in Van Vloten (red.) 2011, 7-13, 8; Francisca van Vloten, 'Jan Toorop en de Domburgsche tentoonstellingen', in: idem, 23-29, 25.

⁶⁹ Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 95-96.

⁷⁰ Jacoba van Heemskerck acted as a committee member until 1915, as a participant in the exhibitions until 1914; it was only in 1920 that she would rejoin the committee and the participants; Van Vloten 2009: 43-49. See also A.H. Huussen jr. en J.F.A. van Paaschen-Louwerse, *Jacoba van Heemskerck van Beest 1876-1923. Schilderes uit roeping*, Zwolle: Waanders, 2005.

⁷¹ Van Vloten 2004: passim; Van Vloten (23-131), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2009: 27-35.

⁷² Francisca van Vloten, *In schoonheid verstillt. De kunstenaar Jan Heyse 1882-1954*, Zeeuwse Katernen nr. 12, Middelburg: Stichting Zeeuwse Katernen, 1996; Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 150-151.

⁷³ It had been Kickert, who had founded the Modern Art Circle in Amsterdam in 1910, together with Jan Toorop, Jan Sluijters and Piet Mondriaan. He had moved to Paris in 1909, but initially he stayed there sporadically. For more information about Schelfhout and Kickert and for the Belgian artists, see the chapter about the Domburg Artists' Colony in this publication. See for the Belgian refugees also Francisca van Vloten, *Tijdelijk thuisland. Belgische kunstenaars in Domburg 1914-1918*, Francisca van Vloten (red.), with a contribution by Alex Elaut, Domburg: De Factory, 2014².

⁷⁴ Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 140-143.

⁷⁵ Arnold Ligthart, *Henri Le Fauconnier (1881-1945). Kubisme en Expressionisme in Europa*, Bussum: Thoth, 1993, 40-48; Van Vloten (23-29), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 27. In the article 'La sensibilité moderne et le tableau' from 1912, Le Fauconnier turned against theories and abstraction and argued for 'feeling', Piet Spijk, *De Bergense School en Piet Boendermaker. Kunstverzamelaar in Amsterdam en Bergen*, Zwolle, Waanders, 1997, 31.

⁷⁶ Marie Tak van Poortvliet, 'Graphische kunst te Domburg', in: *Op de Hoogte*, 18 (1921), 254-255, 254. See for Carry van Biema a.o. Francisca van Vloten, 'Carry van Biema (1881-1942): Portret van een vergeten Duitse kunstenaar', in: *Jong Holland*, 19 (2003) 1, 30-38; Van Vloten 2009: 125-131; Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 170-171.

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- ⁷⁷ Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 92-93. See for Mondriaan also J. M. Joosten en R. P. Welsh, *Piet Mondrian. Catalogue Raisonné*, Blaricum: V+K Publishing/Inmerc, 1998.
- ⁷⁸ Thus Mies Elout to Bram Hammacher, A.M. Hammacher, 'Piet Mondriaan 1872-1944', in: *Kroniek van kunst en cultuur*, 8 (1947) 9, 233-237, 233-234; communication from Renilde Hammacher-van den Brande.
- ⁷⁹ See also Renée Smithuis, *Bergense School. De eerste Hollandse expressionisten 1914-1925*, Zwolle/Laren: Waanders/Singer Laren, 2015. Etha Fles came to Bergen in 1907, from 1910 the poets Herman Gorter and Henriette Roland Holst followed, and in 1913 among others the artists Matthieu and Piet Wiegman. See also ann. 75 in the text.
- ⁸⁰ Frits David Zeiler, *De eerste kunstenaars in Bergen (NH) rond 1900*, Cahier nr. 9, Bergen: Museum Kranenburgh, 2000, 3-4. Veldheer and Graadt van Roggen both participated in the Domburgsche Tentoonstelling.
- ⁸¹ Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 97.
- ⁸² R.W.P. de Vries jr., 'De moderne Nederlandsche houtsnede. Inleiding (Slot)', in: *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, 35 (1925) 69, 173-181, 173-176.
- ⁸³ Caroline Roodenburgh-Schadd & Anne van Lienden, *Leo Gestel 1881-1941*, Bussum: Thoth, 2015, 155-157, 157; Renée Smithuis, 'Catalogus Bergen', in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011, 184-211, 200-201.
- ⁸⁴ Nico J. Brederoo, *Charley Toorop. Leven en werken*, [Amsterdam/Utrecht]: Meulenhoff/Landshoff, 1982, 24-28; Van Vloten (23-131), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2009: 51-57.
- ⁸⁵ Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 144-145; Smithuis (184-211), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 198-199.
- ⁸⁶ Renée Smithuis mentions a maximum of 16 painters, who formed the core of the Bergen School from 1914 to 1920, Smithuis 2015: 9-11.
- ⁸⁷ Spijk 1997: 46-47; Van Vloten (64-181), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 146-147; Smithuis (184-211), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 188-192; 196-197; 202-203, 206-207.
- ⁸⁸ Smithuis (184-211), in: Van Vloten (red.) 2011: 192-193.
- ⁸⁹ Spijk 1997: 59.
- ⁹⁰ F.M. Huebner, *Moderne Kunst in den Privatsammlungen Europas*, Band I: Holland, Leipzig: 1922, 81.
- ⁹¹ Rilke wrote his 'Requiem für eine Freundin' at the end of October/beginning of November 1908 in Parijs. See also Rainer Maria Rilke, *Worpswede. Fritz Mackensen, Otto Modersohn, Fritz Overbeck, Hans am Ende, Heinrich Vogeler*, Bielefeld/Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1903; Francisca van Vloten, *Het Zingen der Dingen. De kunstenaarskolonie Worpswede*, Deventer: De Factory, 2012, 5-11, 11.
- ⁹² 'For in nature the surface of things is beautiful but its imitation is lifeless. The objects give us everything, but their depiction gives us nothing', Piet Mondrian, *The New Art – The New Life. The Collected Writings of Piet Mondrian*, edited by Harry Holtzman and Martin S. James. Documents of 20th-Century Art. Boston: G. K. Hall and Co, 1986, 17.