

# **Disputed Ownership. On the provenance of two works by Jan Toorop in the Boymans Museum: the painting titled The Thames (1885) and the drawing known as Faith in God (Godsvertrouwen) (1907)**

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# I. Foreword

The return of art and cultural artefacts that have illegally changed ownership for any of a variety of reasons is currently the focus of attention. In the Netherlands the spotlight has recently been turned on the outcome of the request by the heirs of the Amsterdam art dealer Jacques Goudstikker (1897-1940) for the return of the works of art that had come into the national collection after 1945. The Dutch government decided to give back a total of 202 works of art to the heirs. Museums have frequently been in the news in recent years because of claims relating to acquisitions made during or around the time of the Second World War. The Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam is no exception. The descendants of several pre-war collectors claimed works of art that this museum acquired during or before the war or received later as a bequest. The heirs of the French collector Adolphe Schloss, for instance, demanded the return of a still life by the seventeenth-century painter Dirck van Delen from the bequest of Vitale Bloch (1900-1975) to the museum. Christine Koenigs, a granddaughter of the banker Franz W. Koenigs (1881-1941), who lived in the Netherlands from 1922 until his death, requested the return of both that part of her grand-

father's former collection of drawings and paintings that had been owned by the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation since the end of 1940, and the recovered works that were lent to the Boymans Museum from the national collection after 1945. And the descendants of the Jewish businessman Ernst Flersheim (1862-1944) claimed, through his grandson Walter Eberstadt, two works of art by the artist Jan Toorop (1858-1928). A great many issues relating to the Second World War proved not to be the closed chapters that many people had long taken it for granted they were.

This publication looks specifically at the questions that arose about the two works by Jan Toorop that originally belonged to the collector Ernst Flersheim: the painting titled *The Thames* of 1885 and the drawing known as *Faith in God* of 1907 (fig. 1, 2). These works of art were acquired in 1937 and 1943 by the Boymans Museum and the Boymans Museum Foundation (on behalf of the Boymans Museum) respectively.

Detailed research has been undertaken into these two acquisitions as part of an ongoing investigation into the acquisitions of modern art in the museum.<sup>1</sup> Information about the circumstances in which these purchases



Fig. 1 Jan Toorop, *The Thames*, 1885, oil/canvas, 95 x 180.5 cm, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam

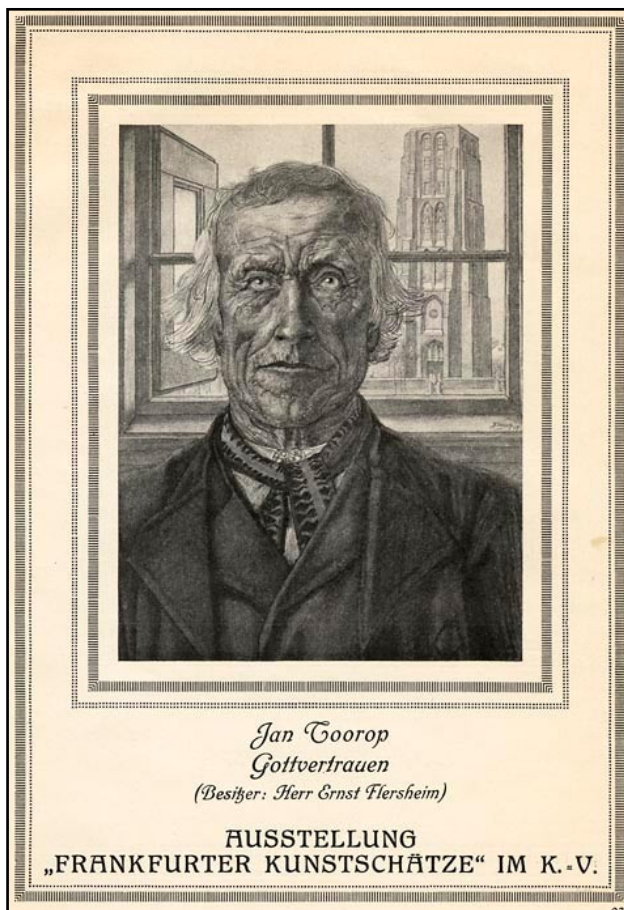


Fig. 2 Jan Toorop, *Faith in God*, pencil, black and coloured chalk, 57.9 x 43.5 cm, ill. in *Frankfurter Kunstschatze im Kunstverein*, catalogue of the exhibition in Frankfurt (Frankfurter Kunstverein), July-September 1913

came about made it possible to significantly flesh out the general view of the Boijmans Museum, which in this period was headed by Dirk Hannema (1895-1984) as its director. This research was also desirable because the report of the investigation into these acquisitions that was published in 1999, following an initial claim by the Flersheim heirs, had not been able to answer several important questions and had at the same time raised a number of new ones. This report also proved to contain various inaccuracies with regard to the acquisition of *The Thames*. In short, there was every reason to carry out additional research into the two Toorop acquisitions and to try to provide access to the data retrieved that was as factual and as clear as possible.

The main question in this investigation was how *The Thames* found its way into the art trade in 1937 and eventually ended up in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum. The research also turned up new information and sources about the drawing *Faith in God* and two other works by Jan Toorop, the painting *Saying Grace* and the drawing *Paul Preaching on the Areopagus*. These supplementary data are also presented here as fully as possible. As a general introduction we give a brief outline of the development of the Dutch policy on restitution, since current views of this have changed rapidly. Undertaking good provenance research has never been so topical. These developments prompted museums to carry out more research into their own

collections and to ensure that the findings are well documented and made accessible.

This publication has received the support of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum from the outset. For this I am grateful to former director Chris Dercon and his successor Sjarel Ex, who has been in charge of the museum since 1 July 2004. He joins me in thanking in particular the private individuals to whom I was able to address more specific questions and who made their archives and records available for this research – in the first place Wil van Eck-Nieuwenhuizen Segaar and Jan Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, the children of the art dealer G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, and the heirs of Edgar Fernhout who gave me unrestricted access to the archives of Charley Toorop and Edgar Fernhout. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my special thanks to J.C. Ebbinge Wubben, former director of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, for his generosity and patience in answering countless remaining questions and Gerard van Wezel for the opportunity he gave me to check the assembled data against his documentation.

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## II. Disputed ownership: the museum guidelines and Dutch restitution policy

Public cultural property is by definition shared property and can only flourish when it is undisputed. Where doubt exists, ‘thorough research’ is desirable and the ‘necessary measures’ have to be taken ‘to arrive at a fair and reasonable decision about the right of ownership’. Since the autumn of 1999 this principle has been followed as a guideline by Dutch museums – specifically and with priority in respect of objects that entered the museums’ collections during or shortly before or after the Second World War or were acquired later but changed hands during this precise period.<sup>2</sup> The guideline, which was formulated by the Netherlands Museum Association (NMV) as a rider to the general museum code of conduct, calls for museums to ask critical questions about the provenance of these objects and to undertake research into it. This watchful attitude to wartime art and the provenance of cultural heritage in general is new. Painsstaking investigative journalism has increased our awareness of the issue. This change in thinking prompted the development of the present restitution policy.

### A legacy of shame

One of the earliest clarion calls was an article about the Mauerbach case. In the mid nineteen-eighties, following in Simon Wiesenthal’s footsteps, the American journalist Andrew Decker demanded the world’s attention for the fate of some eight thousand works of art that were leading a shadowy existence in the monastery of Mauerbach near Vienna. After the Second World War these items, which had been looted and confiscated chiefly from Jewish citizens by the Nazis, were the last to be transferred from one of the Allies’ art collecting points to Austria (in 1955 when Austria gained her independence), so that they could be returned to the original owners or their heirs. Decker’s investigation revealed, however, that since that time the Austrian government had made virtually no effort to return any of these works, despite the fact that this was an important element of the international agreements. Because of the silence surrounding this depository, the whole lot was in danger of being quietly transformed into state property. Decker’s long and detailed article in *Art News* in December 1984 ultimately led to the reopening of the possibility of presenting claims for restitution and the active tracing of possible descendants. Prompted by this case the Austrian government set up an official commission to investigate any remaining claims there might be.<sup>3</sup> The outcome of the restitution claims by the heirs of the

Jewish couple Adele and Ferdinand Bloch-Bauer and Alma Mahler-Werfel attracted widespread international attention.

But in the mid nineteen-nineties there were even more distressing revelations. The international press published reports of gold ingots worth billions in Swiss bank vaults, deposited by the Nazis and left untouched there ever since. There were also said to be other valuables for which no (Jewish) claimants had come forward after 1945. Under the weight of public opinion, the Swiss banks, which had until then insisted that they were bound by the banker’s duty of secrecy, were compelled to undertake a major investigation into possible legitimate owners. This front page news was followed by a string of reports about other ‘dormant’ accounts – balances belonging to Jewish war victims that were lodged with banks, insurance companies and government agencies in various European countries.<sup>4</sup> This helped awaken public interest in these issues and opened our eyes to the shortcomings of the redress made after the war.

### The Dutch restitution policy

In consequence of the publication in 1995 of an article by the French journalist Hector Feliciano about postwar recovery and restitution in France, *Le musée disparu* (*The Lost Museum*), the French national museums staged a series of exhibitions in Paris in April 1997. They featured all the remaining works of art previously recovered by the French state – all told some 2000 pieces that had not been claimed or for other reasons had not been restored to the original owners or their heirs.<sup>5</sup> This extraordinary event received wide coverage and almost immediately provoked critical questions in the Netherlands.<sup>6</sup> How did the Dutch stand when it came to dealing with claims to the art recovered from Germany and Austria after the Second World War?

The initial press reports were not very encouraging. A random check revealed, for instance, that the records of the collections in the Dutch museums contained few if any data about the provenances of the works of art recovered from Germany by the Netherlands after 1945. Since 1948 and 1952, after the restitution claims had been settled, these works (known as the ‘NK’ works from the abbreviation for Dutch National Art Collection) had been housed in the museums as permanent loans from the state. This raised the question as to whether the Stichting Nederlands(ch) Kunstbezit (SNK), the organization charged by the government during this

period with restitution to the rightful owners, had had more information at the time and, if so, what had happened to it. It did not take newspapers very long, nor much digging, to come up with other examples of the less than satisfactory handling of postwar restitution requests. Further investigation, spurred on by a number of national papers, foremost among them the *NRC Handelsblad* and *De Volkskrant*, revealed that there were still works from former Jewish collections in the national Dutch art collection that should not have been there.<sup>7</sup> These reports led to questions in the Dutch parliament in June 1997 and to the decision by the then state secretary Aad Nuis to institute an initial official investigation into the provenances of these national collection works on the basis of a random sample. The possibility of submitting restitution claims, which still existed, was also brought up again.

### Provenance Wanted

The findings of the trial investigation into a total of 113 works of art by the first advisory committee headed by Rudi Ekkart, director of the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) were published in the report *Herkomst gezocht* (Provenance Wanted) in April 1998 and led to the establishment of the fullest possible follow-up investigation into the provenances of the whole NK collection. The *Herkomst Gezocht* project office was set up that same year, and a second advisory committee was appointed.<sup>8</sup> An investigation into the way the SNK went about its work was also considered desirable. The most important question here was how the SNK had interpreted the terms ‘forced’ and ‘voluntary’ loss of property – crucial criteria in the decision as to whether or not to return a work of art – and whether the most exhaustive enquiries possible had been carried out in all cases. There was also the question as to whether, when a restitution claim was inadequately documented, sufficient account had been taken of the circumstances at the time when the property had left the owners’ hands or had been sold. Not infrequently, after all, the necessary factual information needed to make this strict distinction would not have been present.<sup>9</sup>

The second advisory committee (popularly known as Ekkart II) was also charged with the task of making recommendations to the government, on the basis of the ongoing investigation, about the restitution policy it should pursue. The results of the investigation by the *Herkomst Gezocht* advisory committee into the provenances of the NK works were recorded in six interim reports and a final report in 2004.<sup>10</sup> All the committee’s recommendations were accepted by the government. This also meant that in 2001 the then State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science, Rick van der Ploeg, set up an Advisory Committee for Cultural Goods and Second World War Restitution Claims. This committee,

known for convenience as the Restitution Committee, began its work on 1 January 2002 and was guided in its recommendations regarding the restitution requests submitted to it via the state secretary by the government’s extended policy framework based on the various recommendations of the Ekkart Committee. In recent years the Dutch government has thus adjusted the postwar restitution policy step by step on the basis of these investigations.

### Museum research into provenance

During this same period, the Dutch museums were examining their own consciences. At a meeting of museum directors in March 1998 it was decided to start a general museum investigation into the provenances of the works of art acquired by the Dutch museums themselves during and shortly after the 1940-1945 period. This investigation, conducted under the auspices of the Netherlands Museum Association, resulted in January 2000 in the report *Museale Verwervingen 1940-1948* (Museum Acquisitions 1940-1948).<sup>11</sup>

Shortly before, Rotterdam had become the first local authority in the Netherlands to take the initiative to carry out a general investigation into the provenances of the art objects collected by the four municipal museums during and soon after the Second World War. An academic researcher appointed specifically for the task, the historian Dr A.J. (Hans) Bonke, systematically inventoried and checked the provenances of all the municipal acquisitions in each museum – altogether some 5000 works of art – that had been registered in the 1940-1948 period. In the his report that followed, *De herkomst van de aanwinsten van de Rotterdamse gemeentemusea* (The provenance of the acquisitions in Rotterdam municipal museums), published in October 1998, it emerged from the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum collection data that there were four works that were clearly ‘black’ and still in the museum. These acquisitions, which were purchased in 1943, proved to be Jewish property that had been confiscated and stolen by the German occupying forces: two watercolours by Marius Bauer, a drawing by G.H. Breitner and a painting by Nicolaas van der Waay. These works have meanwhile been restored to their rightful owners by Rotterdam City Council.<sup>12</sup> Many Dutch museums and foundations have meanwhile undertaken in-depth research into the provenance of the items in their collections that were acquired during or around the war years. Nevertheless there are still ‘numerous cases’, in the words of Ronald de Leeuw, director general of the Rijksmuseum, in his foreword to the report *Museale Verwervingen*, that ‘merit closer attention or a follow-up investigation’.



### III. Disputed ownership: the painting *The Thames* (1885) and the drawing *Faith in God* (1907)

At the end of 1998 heirs of the German Jewish collector Ernst Flersheim caused attention to be focused on the two aforementioned works by the artist Jan Toorop in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum collection: *The Thames* and *Faith in God*. The question was whether these works, acquired in 1937 and 1943 respectively, could have come directly from Flersheim's holdings and whether they might have entered the museum collection by way of confiscation and subsequent sale. The Rotterdam local authority was asked to investigate this. Consequently, in the period from January to June 1999 the historian Hans Bonke conducted a second, more far-reaching investigation into the provenance of the two works, paying particular attention to the question of exactly how and when these works of art – and possibly other works by Jan Toorop with the same provenance – had ended up in the Rotterdam museum collection.<sup>13</sup> At virtually the same time, in a letter of 26 January 1999,<sup>14</sup> Ernst Flersheim's heirs, his grandchildren Walter Eberstadt and his sister A.J. (Bridget) Collier-Eberstadt, submitted a claim to the two Toorops. Their request for the return of the works was to drag on for years, this while Bonke's research fairly quickly produced an initial clarification.

#### Notes to the Flersheim claims

It was not until September 2001, after prolonged consideration and considerable debate, that the trustees of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation acceded to the claim to the drawing *Faith in God*.<sup>15</sup> The request for the return of the painting, *The Thames*, purchased for the Museum Boijmans in 1937 with local authority funds, had however been turned down by Rotterdam City Council on 16 November 1999. It was argued that on the basis of the data that had been uncovered the possibility could not be ruled out that the painting had not been confiscated in Germany – as the Flersheim heirs assumed – but had in fact been sold voluntarily by Ernst Flersheim himself before or at the beginning of 1937.<sup>16</sup> With regard to the acquisition of the drawing *Faith in God*, though, essential information had come to light. So how did things stand?

#### Faith in God

It appeared that there had been earlier enquiries about the provenance of the drawing – in 1953 by Walter Eberstadt's father, Georg Eberstadt (who died in 1962) and his wife Edith Eberstadt-Flersheim (1895-1992), Ernst Flersheim's eldest daughter. On that

occasion it had emerged that the drawing acquired by the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1943 and listed as a gift from two members of the Board of Trustees of the Boymans Museum Foundation to the Foundation, had come from the Hague art dealer H.E. (Herman) d'Audretsch (1872-1966).<sup>17</sup> Georg Eberstadt had written to D'Audretsch asking for information, and the art dealer had replied that he had bought the drawing from a dealer named Lintergern shortly before he offered it to the Boymans Museum.<sup>18</sup> This purchase took place in October 1942 in the Amsterdam Carlton Hotel where, according to D'Audretsch, Lintergern had an apartment.<sup>19</sup> The Carlton Hotel was commandeered by the occupying forces in June 1940 and became the headquarters of the German air force in the Netherlands, the Luftgau Holland.<sup>20</sup> This means that Lintergern was probably a German.

Although this information slots almost seamlessly into the general description of the acquisition in the Foundation's minutes and the background to the acquisition in itself also gave cause to regard it as possibly illegal – all financial transactions with the occupying forces were declared invalid by the Dutch government in exile in a decree issued on 7 June 1940 – the request for restitution was rejected in a meeting of the then Board of Trustees of the Foundation in April 1954. Dirk Hannema, arrested in May 1945 because of his conduct during the war and dismissed from his post as director, but appointed to the Board of Trustees in 1952, observed on this occasion that he was not convinced of the merits of the claim. He wanted to see proof that the drawing had indeed been confiscated or stolen and not sold voluntarily.<sup>21</sup> The verdict handed down by the court in Frankfurt, the Wiedergutmachungskammer of the Landgericht Frankfurt a/M., on 22 August 1955, ordering the Foundation to return the drawing was set aside by the Board of Trustees of the Foundation. Its chairman Mayor G.E. van Walsum and vice-chairman W. (Willem) van der Vorm observed that the case came under the jurisdiction of Dutch law.<sup>22</sup> The Flersheim heirs then abandoned their efforts to get the drawing back on legal grounds.

In 1999 the Board of Trustees of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation also initially reacted to the renewed claim with a formal rejection, referring to the good faith of the two donors. It was only after a lengthy tug-of-war – made much of by the press – that the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation finally handed the drawing *Faith in God* over to the heir,

Walter Eberstadt, in November 2001.<sup>23</sup> This took place on payment of the same sum (2000 guilders) that was very probably paid for it by the then members of the Boymans Museum Foundation, the two donors, in 1943.

### The Thames

The question of *The Thames*, however, remained unresolved. According to the records of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, the painting entered the collection in 1937 by way of or following an exhibition at the art gallery of Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar in The Hague. After the official opening on Saturday, 27 March, this exhibition, entitled *Three Generations: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout*, was open to the public from Tuesday, 30 March until 1 May 1937. In the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum's files, however, there were no proofs of purchase or invoices relating to the purchase, nor could any additional information about the provenance be found elsewhere. The researcher Hans Bonke did, however, suggest in his 1999 report that here again the seller had probably been Herman d'Audretsch.

His source for this was a letter from Kunstzaal H.E. d'Audretsch dated 15 January 1937. In this letter, the same art dealer who was later to sell *Faith in God* to director Dirk Hannema said he could offer 'a very important work' by Jan Toorop painted in 1885. As far as he had been able to discover, the work was 'still wholly unknown and never yet exhibited in Holland'.<sup>24</sup> Bonke assumed in his report that the reputable D'Audretsch then gave the painting – at that time (January 1937) still unsold and possibly *The Thames* – to his younger colleague in The Hague, the art dealer G.J. (Gerrit) Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (1907-1986), on commission as a loan for the exhibition of the three Toorop generations that was to open in March.<sup>25</sup> This was how, Bonke felt, the painting that according to the Flersheim heirs had been confiscated in Germany could have been brought to the attention of potential interested parties. But he had to leave open questions about the provenance and the way D'Audretsch had come by the work, and how the subsequent purchase by the Boymans Museum came about.<sup>26</sup>

### Renewed claims

Following the rejection of his claim to *The Thames*, in 2002 Walter Eberstadt again called attention to the issue and submitted a new request for the return of the painting in June and November 2002.<sup>27</sup> This second request was rejected by Rotterdam City Council in March 2004 on the basis of a follow-up investigation that had revealed that *The Thames* came to the Netherlands from London and not from Germany in 1937, and that the painting had been sold to the art dealer Nieuwenhuizen Segaar by Flersheim personally, before the exhibition at his gallery in The Hague.<sup>28</sup> In the course

of 2004-2005 a few more pieces of information came to light. In 2001 the Dutch government accepted new guidelines concerning the restitution of works of art that had been sold in circumstances directly related to the Nazi regime. It was decided that sales of property belonging to Jewish private individuals that dated from before 1940 in Germany and Austria, if they had taken place since 1933 and 1938 respectively, would also be regarded as sales under duress, unless there was clear evidence to the contrary. Citing circumstances of this kind, in 2005 Walter Eberstadt, on behalf of the Flersheim heirs, submitted a third, amended claim to *The Thames*, together with a request for the return of Jan Toorop's *Saying Grace* (fig. 3), which is in the collection of the Zeeuws Museum in Middelburg. The latest, newly substantiated claim to *The Thames*, dating from 20 July 2005, was recently put before the Dutch Restitution Committee, formerly known as the Polak Committee, by the Flersheim heirs together with the Rotterdam City Council in consultation with the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum.

The matter is complicated by the fact that in the meantime various research data have been erroneously linked and have taken on a life of their own. For instance, Bonke's report on the claimed Toorops raised the possibility that, like Dirk Hannema, Charley Toorop was aware of the purchase of *The Thames*, given her friendly relations both with the Flersheims and with the museum director.<sup>29</sup> She could therefore have played a part in the sale of the painting. The Flersheim heirs then concluded in an official response to the report that Charley and Hannema had deliberately engaged in a 'suspect' transaction: 'Conclusion: Hannema and Charley Toorop must have known that "the Thames" was confiscated Jewish property'.<sup>30</sup> Flersheim's grandson Walter Eberstadt moreover thought he remembered that the relationship between Charley and his grandparents had been difficult in the years following the sale of *The Thames*. This proved not to be the case. The supposed link between Nieuwenhuizen Segaar and D'Audretsch is also based on an error of interpretation.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, further research revealed that the work referred to in the letter from H.E. d'Audretsch was another, likewise important work by Jan Toorop. This canvas, which can be identified as *The Arrest*, found its way into the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague as a purchase that year. *The Thames*, in contrast, was never in the possession of Kunstzaal d'Audretsch. In what follows I shall untangle these incorrect connections step by step. With the aid of various recently discovered sources I have tried to ascertain how and when these various works by Jan Toorop came on to the art market in the Netherlands.

### The Flersheim Collection

According to the heirs, in the mid nineteen-thirties

Jan Toorop's *The Thames*, *Faith in God* and *Saying Grace* were all still in the collection of Ernst Flersheim (1862-1944) and his wife Gertrud Flersheim-Freiin von Mayer (1872-1944). At that time the couple were living at Myliusstrasse 32 in Frankfurt am Main. Ernst Flersheim and his brother Martin Flersheim (1856-1935) ran a business in the city trading in raw materials for industry.<sup>32</sup> The two brothers gained control of the business in 1892, the year Ernst and Gertrud married. Advances in transport helped the firm to flourish at the end of the nineteenth century. In this period, with their multi-million enterprise, the Flersheims were among the city's economic elite. They were also prominent on the cultural scene. Interested in the art and culture of their day, they each built up a collection. Ernst and Gertrud Flersheim's collection focused on works by nineteenth and early twentieth-century German artists, among them Hans von Marées, Max Slevogt, Hans Thoma, Wilhelm Trübner and Albert Weisgerber, but there was also a small nucleus of international modern art; works by painters like Max Alfred Buri, Paul Gauguin, Ferdinand Hodler and Ignacio Zuloaga, as well as by the Dutch artist Jan Toorop.<sup>33</sup> We can identify the works in this collection through the various exhibitions for which Ernst

Flersheim lent paintings, including those put on by the local Frankfurter Kunstverein, and from the records of the sale of part of his holdings that was held in Frankfurt in May 1937.<sup>34</sup> After 1945, moreover, his heirs compiled lists from memory that give an idea of the original size and quality of the collection.<sup>35</sup> From these sources it emerges that Ernst Flersheim started collecting in about 1900 and, with the exception of the works by Jan Toorop, built up his collection chiefly through purchases at the major contemporary art exhibitions in Germany. His brother Martin Flersheim, with his English wife Florence Livingstone, likewise played an active part in the artistic life of the city. They even held 'salons' at their house, in which they had had a special art gallery built. This collection seems to have been slightly more impressive. It included, for instance, works by Arnold Böcklin, Max Liebermann and Franz von Stuck (who painted Martin's portrait), the French fauvist Charles Camoin and, again, work by Ferdinand Hodler and by the painter Jakob Nussbaum, who was a personal friend of the two brothers.

As the anti-Semitic measures started to bite in Germany and the various Flersheim families found themselves compelled to flee the country, they had to



Fig. 3 Jan Toorop, *Saying Grace*, 1907, oil/card, 74 x 100 cm, Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg, purchased with the assistance of the Vereniging Rembrandt (photo: Ivo Wennekes, Middelburg)



leave a great many of their possessions behind. Ernst Flersheim settled in Amsterdam in early March 1937. He was joined there by his wife in 1938, after she had travelled back and forth to Frankfurt am Main on several occasions and spent some time in London.<sup>36</sup> Their two daughters, Edith Eberstadt-Flersheim (1895-1992) and Margarete Wertheim-Flersheim (1904-1940), left Germany with their husbands and children somewhat earlier, in 1936, and settled in London and Brussels respectively. They would probably have had a chance to take a significant proportion of their possessions with them.<sup>37</sup> All the members of the Wertheim-Flersheim family in Brussels died during the war. Ernst and Gertrud Flersheim died in Bergen Belsen in 1944. Their son Hans had already died in 1933. Only the Eberstadt-Flersheim family in London survived the Nazi regime. Ernst Flersheim's brother Martin died in 1935. Martin's son Friedrich (Fritz) managed to get out of Germany in May 1937, and he also settled in Amsterdam. From there he and his mother were able to get to New York in 1940, taking part of the family property with them.<sup>38</sup>

On 11 May 1937, when Ernst Flersheim himself was already in the Netherlands, the mainly German part of his collection left behind in Frankfurt (41 works and a number of *objets d'art*) were auctioned at his request by Hugo Helbing's auction house.<sup>39</sup> Some of them (18 works) failed to sell. According to various postwar statements, after the sale these unsold works of art were put into storage with the H. Delliehausen shipping agency in Frankfurt, together with an unspecified number of works from the collection (the international works of art and sculptures by Ernst Barlach) that had not been put up for auction.<sup>40</sup> These remaining works that were put into store at Delliehausen's – some items, it has been suggested, possibly prior to the sale – are said to have been seized at some point by the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei) instead of, as was probably the intention, being shipped to a new address for the Flersheim family. However, there are no precise details; Delliehausen's files and those of the Staatspolizeistelle Frankfurt am Main were lost during the war.<sup>41</sup> Several of the German works sold at auction and some of those left unsold and put into store have meanwhile been recovered.<sup>42</sup>

More information has survived about the contents of the Flersheim family home. The household goods were put into storage with the international furniture transport and shipping company H. & C. Fermont, likewise in Frankfurt am Main. They were seized on 11 May 1938. After the couple had been declared 'ausgebürgert' in June 1938, their property was sold at auction by the firm of August Danz in Frankfurt in 1939 on the orders of the Gestapo.<sup>43</sup> These dates of seizure and stripping of citizenship and the Gestapo's application to do this on 22 March 1938 prove to correspond with the time that Gertrud Flersheim was given a residence permit (10

March 1938) and registered as a resident of Amsterdam (12 March 1938), so that both husband and wife were now officially living in the Netherlands.<sup>44</sup>

According to Ernst and Gertrud Flersheim's heirs, the works of art left behind in Germany and possibly seized from Delliehausen's included *Faith in God*, *The Thames* and *Saying Grace* by Jan Toorop, as well as various etchings and drawings by the same artist, among them portrayals of the twelve apostles.<sup>45</sup> It has been assumed that this was how these works came on to the art market – by way of seizure, possibly looting, and subsequent dealings in the Netherlands. It is more likely, however, that one way or another the items went with the Flersheim family. In any event this is certainly true of *The Thames*, which was in London. The other two Toorops, the drawing *Faith in God* and the painting *Saying Grace*, it has been established, turned up together with one of the apostle drawings, *Paul Preaching on the Areopagus*, in an art dealer's in The Hague in the course of 1942. This was the year before Ernst and Gertrud Flersheim were picked up in a raid in Amsterdam and taken to the Westerbork transit camp. Until now there has been virtually no information about how these works by Toorop got into circulation. First to surface were some additional details about the drawing *Faith in God*.

#### **Faith in God and the Boymans Museum Foundation**

Thanks to the minutes of the Boymans Museum Foundation we have fairly precise information about how the acquisition of the drawing *Faith in God* came about. The director of the Boymans Museum, Dirk Hannema, proposed the purchase of the drawing at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation on 21 January 1943. This was clearly not regarded as just any sketch. He introduced the work as the 'well-known coloured drawing *Faith in God* made by Jan Toorop in Westcapelle in 1907'. The minutes tell us that the work was 'universally admired' and an effort would be made to acquire 'this masterpiece' for the Foundation.<sup>46</sup> The attempt succeeded the very next day. On 22 January Hannema was able to write to the Foundation's trustees who had been absent from the meeting to tell them that the drawing by Jan Toorop had been donated by two fellow trustees, Han van Beek and Willem van der Vorm, both of Rotterdam.<sup>47</sup> In the next meeting of the Foundation on 15 April 1943, these two donors were specifically thanked for their gift and Jan Toorop's work was described as 'a happy addition to the museum's modern art department'.<sup>48</sup>

The Boymans Museum Foundation (now the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation) was founded in 1939 in part to promote just this sort of support for the museum by private individuals. For years the Rotterdam authorities had been unwilling to earmark

any additional funds for purchases by the museum (for example through the revenues from admission charges) and in the period from 1936 to 1938, forced in part by the worsening economic situation, it had simply dropped the item 'expansion of the collection' from the budget altogether.<sup>49</sup> Without the financial support of well-to-do Rotterdam citizens, chief among them Daniel George van Beuningen and Willem van der Vorm, who were known to have a deep distrust of the left-wing city council, efforts to add to the collection the top-flight works that Hannema wanted, like the recently 'discovered' *Christ and the Disciples at Emmaeus*, the supposed Vermeer, were doomed to failure. During the opening of the Christmas Exhibition of 1939, the first mounted under the auspices of the Boymans Museum Foundation, Hannema also referred to this reason for the establishment of the Foundation.<sup>50</sup> It was gratifying, he stressed, 'that in difficult times like these, when the local authority finds itself compelled to practise economy, a Boymans Museum Foundation can do complementary and at the same time pioneering work'.<sup>51</sup>

In the regulations formulated at its establishment on 19 July 1939, this endeavour was set out as the main principle of the Foundation: the promotion of the growth of the Boymans Museum, among other things by acquiring works of art appropriate to the museum's collection.<sup>52</sup> The works of art purchased by the Foundation would then be entrusted to the permanent care of the museum director appointed by the local authority. He, as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation and as director of the museum, and by virtue of that capacity as secretary, was also part of the Foundation's Executive Committee. This construction (with the dual position of the director) took account from the outset of the possibility that the Rotterdam authorities could in the near future transfer the overall management of the museum and the municipal art collection to the Foundation: with Hannema as the director.<sup>53</sup> In the war years it did, in fact, almost come to this.

In November 1943, during the chairmanship of the mayor F.E. Müller, who had been appointed by the German authorities and was *ex officio* a member of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation (as the immediate successor to P.J. Oud, who had been dismissed in October 1941), the municipal Supervisory Committee was officially disbanded at Hannema's instigation. By then this committee had not met for more than two years.<sup>54</sup> After this, important decisions for the museum – in so far as he did not take them independently – were presented by Hannema to the Board of Trustees of the Foundation. As director, Hannema also put the proposed purchases that he had selected personally before the board of the Foundation and explained them, usually stressing their outstanding quality or great rarity. After assent was given, and probably after discussion by the Executive Commit-

tee, acquisition generally followed. However, it was often necessary at the end of a meeting to find funding for the proposed acquisition through the members of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation, either privately or by way of the funds they represented.<sup>55</sup>

This was how the drawing *Faith in God* by Jan Toorop was acquired for the museum collection in 1943. For their financial gift, which made the purchase possible, Messrs Van Beek and Van der Vorm received a vote of thanks from the chairman of the Foundation, Mayor Müller, who added that this drawing, 'one of the artist's most important works', was 'among the finest pieces of modern art that the Boymans Museum owns'.<sup>56</sup> In neither the minutes of the Foundation, the acquisitions book nor the annual report is there any information about the immediate provenance of the drawing. Formally, after all, this was a gift not a purchase, and it is quite possible that nothing at all was said about the provenance of the work during the meeting.

Hannema, who was absolutely delighted with the acquisition, did know the source, though, and referred to it when the drawing was handed over to the curator of the Print Department, Coert Ebbinge Wubben (1915), who had only been in his post since 1 May 1941 and was later to succeed Hannema as director. It was because of this that in 1953, when the Flersheims' son-in-law, Georg Eberstadt, enquired at the museum about Toorop's *Faith in God* on behalf of his wife Edith Eberstadt-Flersheim, Ebbinge Wubben was able to tell him that it was the art dealer Herman d'Audretsch who had offered the drawing for sale. After that, he went on to say in a letter to mayor G.E. van Walsum, the 'reputable art dealer' had himself told Eberstadt in so many words that he had bought the drawing from the said Lintergern shortly before he offered it to Hannema.<sup>57</sup> The note of 9 October 1942, concise to the point of curtness, in which D'Audretsch urged Hannema to do business, has survived: 'Dear Sir, Would you come and have a word about the Toorop?'<sup>58</sup> Evidently the acquisition of the work, for which Ebbinge Wubben thought he recalled an asking price of 2000 guilders, was by then already on the cards.

This information about the provenance was supplemented by new research in 2001. It was revealed that in early 1943 Gertrud Flersheim had written from Amsterdam about the confiscation of *Faith in God*. Enclosed with a letter of congratulations on the announcement of the marriage on 26 March of that year of the daughter of the De Pagter family in Domburg, the owners of the Pension Golfzicht where the Flersheims had spent a holiday in 1930, she sent an illustration of the drawing and said that the original version had been seized.<sup>59</sup> The Flersheims had obviously kept in touch with this family in Zeeland when they reached the Netherlands.<sup>60</sup> This may indicate that they had only just found out about the loss of the drawing at the time of writing and that the

work was confiscated in Amsterdam, not in Germany. Other data appear to point to the same conclusion. This additional information means that there can now be virtually no doubt about the involuntary aspect of the sale. What is surprising is that even at that time, at least in a limited circle, there was absolutely no misapprehension about what had happened.

### D'Audretsch and Charley

This is evident from a recently recovered letter from Jan Toorop's daughter, Charley Toorop (1891-1955), to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, the art dealer who in 1937 organized the *Three Generations* exhibition at which *The Thames* was shown and Charley also exhibited some of her work. In this letter, which dates from 11 November 1946, she criticized the sale of the drawing in these words: 'The drawing *'Faith in God'* by my father. That farmer with that Tower behind him was indeed purchased in a scandalous fashion by d'Audretsch from a *German art dealer*, who of course had got it from the confiscated property of the Flersheim family! D'Audretsch then sold it to Hannema for the Boymans Museum, which now owns it, while the *real* owner, the good Mr Flersheim, was carted off by the Hun!! They read in the paper how their property was bartered here between a Dutch art dealer and a Dutch museum!!' She continued, 'I was very angry about it at the time and will never set foot in d'Audretsch's again, and before that I left him in no doubt about my opinion as to the truth of the matter.'

Charley wrote this letter, as becomes clear, in response to rumours that *The Thames* had been traded during the war by way of German confiscation.<sup>61</sup> She went on vehemently, 'What a lot of nonsense, and a *completely garbled story*!! It was *not* the Thames that was sold from Jewish property during the war!!! All that was done with the late Mr Ernst Flersheim together with you and myself too!! But of course Mr Dekker has confused two paintings that I told him about ... for I was absolutely furious about it at the time ... It is *very irritating* when Mr Dekker gets it so wrong ... when he repeats things like this!! I shall write to him about it straight away and put it right!' Her past rage clearly surfaced again when she was writing the letter (fig. 4). The question is exactly what it was that prompted Charley to write this letter and how she knew all this.

The first report about the museum's new acquisition, with an illustration of the drawing *Faith in God*, appeared in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*. Hannema usually gave stories to this paper first. The press release, which he probably wrote himself, appeared on 29 January 1943. The same announcement (without the illustration) was also published the following day, Saturday, 30 January, in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* in an edition given over almost entirely to the report of the celebra-

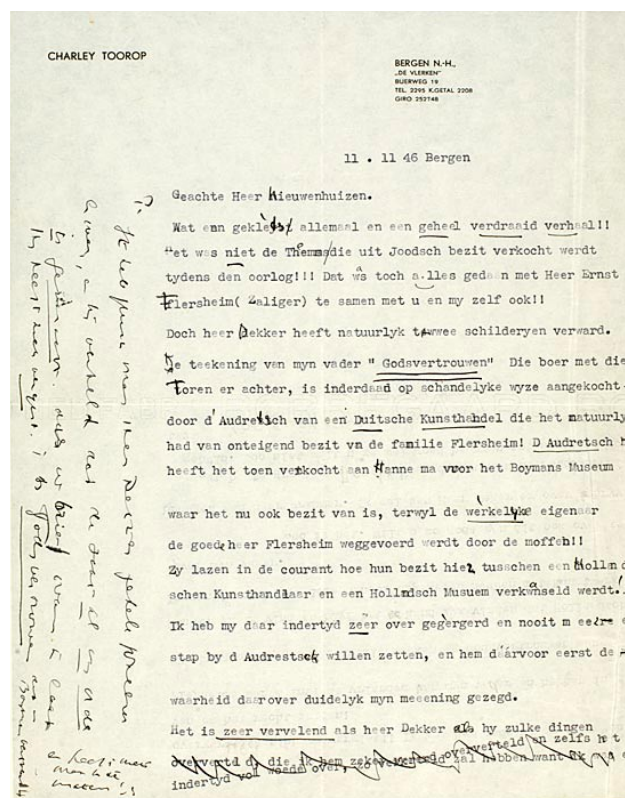


Fig. 4 Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 11 November 1946, private collection

tions marking the tenth anniversary of Hitler's election as Chancellor in 1933. The opening sentence, which must have provoked Charley's annoyance, contained the announcement that the Boymans Museum Foundation had received 'as a gift from Messrs W. van der Vorm and H. van Beek of this city the crayon drawing "Faith in God" by Jan Toorop', after which it dwelt on the qualities of the drawing.<sup>62</sup> There is nothing in the report about the provenance or the seller. The name of H.E. d'Audretsch does not appear in any document in the museum records of the acquisition. Charley must have known from another source that he was the seller.

She evidently already knew that the work had still been in the possession of Ernst and Gertrud Flersheim not long before. Charley may have been in touch with them in Amsterdam around this time, after she had to leave her house in Bergen because of an evacuation order.<sup>63</sup> During the same period she also stayed once or twice in Wassenaar with the timber merchant Cornelis Dekker (1898-1953), according to Charley the source of the 'nonsense' about *The Thames*. Charley Toorop had become close friends with him and his wife, Leopoldine Fernanda Weinberg (1906-1959), who was Jewish, in the second half of the nineteen-thirties. She stayed with them in their house in Victorialaan – the art critic Bram Hammacher, another friend, also lived in this street at the time – on several occasions and painted portraits of their two children.<sup>64</sup> She evidently went to stay with them shortly after the report of the new home for Toorop's *Faith in God* had appeared in the paper and then, having made enquiries about the whole business

(probably at the Boymans Museum and subsequently with D'Audretsch), indulged in a 'furious' outburst. As she stresses at the end of the letter, 'I think and will always think it scandalous that Dutch institutions got mixed up in this trade in works of art by my father. And that's that.'<sup>65</sup>

### Kunstzaal d'Audretsch

Charley's outrage was directed first and foremost at the Hague art dealer Herman d'Audretsch. She and her son Edgar had exhibited at his art gallery in the elegant house at Noordeinde 119 several times since 1930, Edgar most recently in 1940.<sup>66</sup> D'Audretsch had also sold numerous works by her father.<sup>67</sup> As we have already seen, the art dealer, who was married to the left-wing sculptor Hildo Krop's sister, had a good reputation and was preeminent in contemporary art in The Hague at this time.<sup>68</sup> Ever since he founded his business in 1913, D'Audretsch had staged exhibitions not just of local and more established artists but also of a more explicitly modern kind, among them the legendary second *Sturm* exhibition in 1916 featuring work by Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky.<sup>69</sup> Later he garnered favourable reviews for the exhibitions of international classical modern art, chiefly of French masters, that he put together.<sup>70</sup> The retrospectives of artists like Hannah Höch, Vilmos Huszár, Bart van der Leek, the sculptor Han Wezelaar and, it goes without saying, his brother-in-law Hildo Krop he organized in the nineteen-thirties would certainly have appealed to Charley Toorop.<sup>71</sup> In 1939 D'Audretsch had shown work by the Jewish artist Uriel Birnbaum (1894-1956), who had fled Austria and managed by the skin of his teeth to get a residence permit in the Netherlands. Charley had been one of those who worked to bring this about.<sup>72</sup> When D'Audretsch's involvement in the sale of *Faith in God* was revealed in 1943 it must have come as a severe blow to her.

This is still surprising, even now, given the art dealer's universally acknowledged good reputation. It is now moreover clear from photographs taken at the time that in the same year D'Audretsch had had two other Toorops from the Flersheim Collection in his hands. One of them was *Saying Grace*, painted in Domburg, which is now in the Zeeuws Museum in Middelburg.<sup>73</sup> According to various documents in the files of the photographer Lex Dingjan (1893-1966), who also worked in The Hague – among them the job books of completed assignments – H.E. d'Audretsch asked Dingjan to photograph this painting in November 1942 and again in January 1944. The numbered glass negatives, which correspond with the order numbers of D'Audretsch's jobs, have survived, including those of *Saying Grace* (fig. 7).<sup>74</sup> This painting, which still adorned the Flersheims' house in the nineteen-twenties (fig. 5), may have been sold and possibly bought back around or

between the stated months in 1942 and 1944. A card on the back of the painting, probably attached after the war, provides imprecise information about the painting's having been in Dutch collections.<sup>75</sup> What is certain is that the painting was sold to Kunsthandel Ivo Bouwman, The Hague, in 1975 by one of D'Audretsch's heirs, after which it was acquired by the Zeeuws Museum in 1981.<sup>76</sup>

From a Dingjan order number in the job book for the first years of the war, it can at the same time be deduced that in March 1942 D'Audretsch also got him to photograph a drawing of an apostle by Toorop.<sup>77</sup> Dingjan's surviving glass negative reveals that this was the drawing of the apostle Paul titled *Paul Preaching on the Areopagus*. The drawing is dated right of centre as 1912 (fig. 8). It was precisely this rendition of St Paul preaching, a subject that Toorop drew several times but only once in 1912,<sup>78</sup> that was described by Toorop's friend Miek Janssen in 1920 as being in the Flersheim Collection in Frankfurt: 'He stands there like the rocks ..., the glittering eyes wide open, with penetrating gaze, and the *right hand* [my italics] pointing sternly upward.'<sup>79</sup> The first piece of information that reveals with certainty that it was indeed this version that was in the Flersheims' collection, dates from as early as February 1914.<sup>80</sup> In 1923, on a postcard to his friend Anthonij Nolet, Toorop himself listed not only *The Thames*, a 'large canvas', *Saying Grace* and *Faith in God* but also the 'Large Paul (preaching on the Areopagus)' among 'the fine large works in Frankfurt a/m with Flersheim'. No further reference to it after 1925 has been found.<sup>81</sup> In the light of the order for a photograph from Lex Dingjan, we can assume that the apostle drawing was at Kunstzaal d'Audretsch in 1942. It is quite probable that it was this very monumental sheet (the 1911 versions were not on the market at this time) that was subsequently bought by the Boymans' director Dirk Hannema for his private collection: in December 1942 Hannema added a drawing of St Paul from his own holdings to the annual Christmas exhibition at the last moment.<sup>82</sup> In 1949 the St Paul drawing of 1912 was on sale at Kunsthandel Huinck & Scherjon in Amsterdam. The drawing surfaced again in 1980, this time at a sale at Sotheby's Amsterdam.<sup>83</sup> By way of a private collector the fairly large piece was acquired in 1984 by the Commanderie van Sint Jan Museum (now Het Valkhof Museum) in Nijmegen.<sup>84</sup>

How it came about that several of the works that were originally in Ernst Flersheim's collection ended up in Kunstzaal d'Audretsch at this time has remained a mystery. We know that Herman d'Audretsch was in contact with the Jewish dealer Myrtil Frank (1893-1961), who had come to the Netherlands in March 1933 because of the situation in Germany. Myrtil Frank had worked first in Frankfurt am Main and then in Berlin as a businessman and grain dealer on the exchange. In the





Fig. 5 Wedding photograph of Edith Flersheim and Georg Eberstadt, Frankfurt am Main 1920, private collection



Fig. 7 Jan Toorop, *Saying Grace*, 1907, oil/card, 74 x 100 cm, Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg, scan from Dingjan negative no. 421946



Fig. 6 Photograph of Jan Toorop, Gertrud Flersheim, Ernst Flersheim and Jakob Nussbaum on the veranda of the Strand Hotel, Domburg 1908, Toorop Collection, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

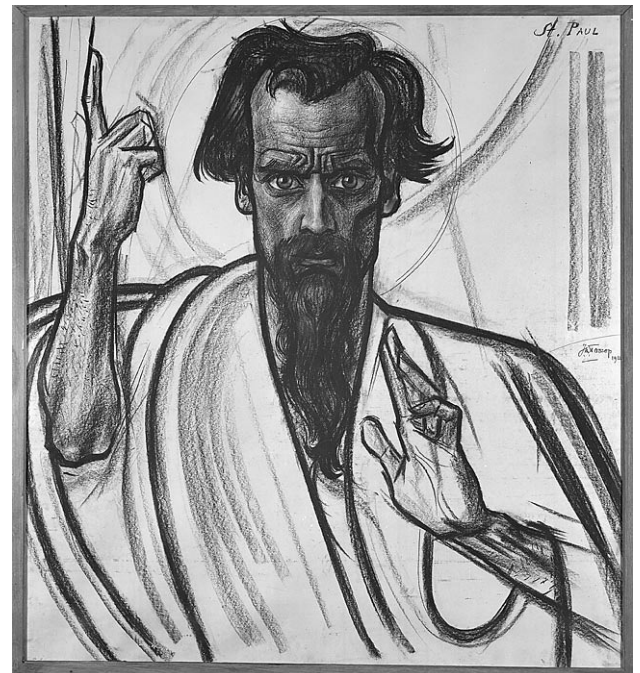


Fig. 8 Jan Toorop, *Paul Preaching on the Areopagus*, 1912, black chalk, 109 x 101.3 cm, Het Valkhof Museum, Nijmegen, scan from Dingjan negative no. 42590

Netherlands, where he lived first in Scheveningen and during the war at a secret address in The Hague, Frank resumed this latter occupation. When the grain trade became less profitable, he switched to art dealing.<sup>85</sup> By selling works of art to the German occupying forces, particularly to the Dienststelle Mühlmann (the 'Mühlmann Department') in The Hague, he managed to safeguard himself.<sup>86</sup> It is known that in one case an attempt was made – in vain – to prevent the deportation of a Jewish family by offering art. D'Audretsch was among those involved in this transaction.<sup>87</sup> Frank also did a great deal of business with Karl Legat, an art dealer of German origin with premises in Zeestraat, the continuation of Noordeinde, in The Hague.<sup>88</sup>

D'Audretsch's relationship with the Dienststelle Mühlmann may have put him under pressure. In July 1942 his only son (born in 1919) was taken hostage, in his place, by the Germans, who were building up a stock of hostages to be shot in reprisal for possible acts of sabotage. He was taken to the seminary in Haaren, not far from Sint Michielsgestel.<sup>89</sup> The son was released in October 1942, but not before hostages in this internment camp were shot on two occasions. He then had to go into hiding several times. An explanation for D'Audretsch's behaviour might also be found in his relations with the Communist circles in which his brother-in-law Hildo Krop moved – a connection that may have made the art dealer vulnerable.<sup>90</sup> In this quarter, as it later emerged, there were various contacts with agents of the Russian intelligence service, the GPOe (later the KGB). A senior agent working for the Russians, Walter Krivitsky, actually lived in a building in The Hague that was co-owned by H.E. d'Audretsch.<sup>91</sup>

Shortly after the war the elderly D'Audretsch ended his career as an art dealer. A number of favourable articles devoted to the illustrious past of his art gallery appeared on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday in 1947, when he himself had already left the city 'quietly and unobserved' to settle in Amerongen,<sup>92</sup> but virtually no information about his activities during the war has survived. The letter from Charley Toorop that referred to this was written in a period when purges and denunciations were in the news almost daily. Like everyone else, Charley Toorop followed the outcome, critically and emotionally involved.<sup>93</sup> When she wrote her letter in November 1946 she was exhibiting in the Gemeentemuseum in Hague in the exhibition *Mature Art*. It may be that at this time the memory of the vexed question surfaced in the mind of the Wassenaar timber merchant Cornelis Dekker, a loyal customer of Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's. At this exhibition hung not only Charley Toorop's 1940 *Self-Portrait with Fur Collar* and the portrait of the Dekker children from the Dekker Collection, but also her painting *Clown Among the Ruins* of 1940-1941 (fig. 15), in which Charley openly condemned the

misery of war.<sup>94</sup> No doubt she met various of the lenders, among them Dekker and Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, at the festive opening of this exhibition on 11 October – which marked the reopening of the museum after four years.<sup>95</sup> It is possible that the rumour to which she reacted so fiercely in her letter was circulating here.

### Flersheim and the Toorops

In the same letter Charley added some information about the bond between her father and Flersheim and the provenance of Toorop's drawing: 'the Flersheims were intimate friends of my father's and bought that drawing, "Faith in God", from him at his studio in Domburg'. This additional note finally allows us to establish the year Ernst Flersheim acquired the sheet.

Jan Toorop met the Flersheims in Frankfurt, probably during his exhibition there in 1905,<sup>96</sup> and invited them to spend a holiday on the coast of Zeeland. We know that the Flersheim family went to Domburg for the first time in the summer of 1908 (fig. 6).<sup>97</sup> It was then that they bought *Faith in God* and possibly also Toorop's canvas *Saying Grace*, which likewise dates from 1907. The works were both in Amsterdam at the major Toorop retrospective in the Larensche Kunsthandel in 1909 as loans from the Flersheim Collection. In the summer of 1911 the Flersheims went back to the popular spa resort. Again some works by Jan Toorop were added to the Flersheim Collection.<sup>98</sup> Ernst and Gertrud Flersheim stayed in Domburg one last time, with their children and grandchildren, in the summer of 1930. But then everything was different, as Flersheim himself recalled in his 'Memoirs'.<sup>99</sup> This time their friend Jan Toorop, who died in 1928, was not around. It is possible that Charley, who spent some time in the village of Westkapelle that year, met them there.<sup>100</sup> Certainly the Flersheim and Toorop families kept in touch. For the time being interest in Jan Toorop's art did not diminish in the Netherlands. At the time several museum directors were desperately keen to get hold of a representative Toorop for their collection. It is in the light of this growing reputation, the reception of Toorop's early work, that the purchase of *The Thames* has to be seen. But how did this painting by Jan Toorop eventually end up in Dutch public ownership?

### Kunstaal d'Audretsch and Jan Toorop

On 15 January 1937, Herman Eduard d'Audretsch did indeed sit down in his art gallery in Noordeinde in The Hague and write a note to Hannema telling him that he had 'a Toorop' available for the museum: 'We have a very important work by Toorop dating from 1885. As far as we can tell, it is entirely unknown and not yet exhibited in Holland'.<sup>101</sup>

It must have been quite difficult for Hannema to ignore brief notes like this, usually no more than a few

lines long, from the art dealer who was known for his good eye.<sup>102</sup> He had been familiar with the Kunstzalen d'Audretsch, which had begun operations under that name on the Hooze Wal in The Hague in 1913, since his youth.<sup>103</sup> He seems, particularly during his early years as director in Rotterdam in the nineteen-twenties, to have drawn inspiration from what was exhibited there. For instance, the Boymans was the first museum to exhibit early sculptures by Hildo Krop, Johan Polet and John Rädecker, which D'Audretsch was showing at that time. The same applies to various of the combinations exhibited in the Noordeinde gallery; mixed shows like the one in 1921, with murals by Willem van Konijnenburg and statues by Joseph Mendes da Costa, were subsequently also to be seen in the Boymans Museum.<sup>104</sup>

It was through D'Audretsch that Hannema succeeded around 1930 in laying his hands on various key pieces for the museum collection. They include representative, now classic modern works by Paul Signac and Kees van Dongen and a standing nude by Théo van Rysselberghe. By means of an exchange he acquired from D'Audretsch for his private collection a bust of a woman by Charles Despiau and the famous nude by André Derain, works that he also wanted to add to the museum collection in the future.<sup>105</sup> During this period Hannema was still able to use outstanding gifts and potential support from benefactors of the museum to further a common Rotterdam interest: the ambition to make a good showing as a city at the opening of the new museum building in 1935. Thereafter, however, the ongoing economic crisis, which forced people to pull their horns in, made it more and more difficult to tactfully solicit and obtain donations. This not only meant that Hannema had to pass up D'Audretsch's offer of the Toorop, in the same period he similarly had to forego other purchases suggested by the art dealer, among them 'a superb Modigliani', a 'superb little painting by Braque' and a Marie Laurencin of 'exceptionally beautiful colouring'.<sup>106</sup> All of them artists for whom Hannema had been looking out for some time, and for whose works he had put out feelers on the museum's behalf with an eye to an acquisition. This while D'Audretsch, with his international and modernist orientation, did succeed in finding customers even in these difficult times. In 1930 Hélène Kröller-Müller bought Picasso's early *Portrait of a Woman* (1901) and a painting by Odilon Redon from him for her Foundation. The Gemeentemuseum in The Hague, which had acquired Jan Toorop's fine *Trio Fleuri* of 1885-1886 in the early nineteen-twenties, bought works by Aristide Maillol and Redon from D'Audretsch in the thirties.<sup>107</sup> And in these years D'Audretsch also managed to find homes in various Dutch private collections for other great works of French art, including paintings by Pissarro, Gauguin, Daubigny, Cézanne, Corot and Van Dongen.

When Hannema failed to take up the offer of the Toorop, Herman d'Audretsch changed tack. Barely a week after his note of 15 January, a report about the work in question, a street scene entitled *The Arrest (La débâcle)*, which was indeed dated 1885, appeared, with a picture, in the papers.<sup>108</sup> The surfacing of the slightly earlier *Arrest*, a monumental canvas measuring almost one and a half by two metres, was hailed in the press as an important discovery, a work until then unknown to the best experts: 'of a size and subject that was certainly highly unusual for the time and for this country'. There was also mention of the great interest that the painting, displayed at D'Audretsch's gallery, was attracting. On 29 January, before the month was out, director H.E. (Hendrik Enno) van Gelder was able to announce that he had acquired the magnificent canvas from Toorop's early Belgian period for the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague.<sup>109</sup>

The painting proved to have come from the collection of the Belgian painter Anna Boch (1848-1936), who had died in February 1936. It had not been seen in public since she bought it at an exhibition of Les XX in Brussels in 1885. There was a very good reason why the Hague museum responded so swiftly to the offer. At the sale held in December 1936, some months after Anna Boch's death, the Toorop had been knocked down for almost four times the estimated value. There was evidently a great deal of interest in Toorop's early period. This helped to determine the price. The Hague museum paid D'Audretsch 3000 guilders for the work.<sup>110</sup>

The note from D'Audretsch of January 1937 consequently did not relate to *The Thames*, but to a totally different work by Toorop with an entirely different provenance, and there was no purchase by the Boymans Museum, as has been suggested. Hannema would certainly have been interested in the offer, though, and he undoubtedly went to see the painting in the gallery in The Hague. It is debatable, however, just how interested he would have been, had he had sufficient funds, given the social realism of the composition, the arrest of a down-and-out – a record of something the artist had actually seen.

### Haags Gemeentemuseum: early works by Jan Toorop

For the Haags Gemeentemuseum the purchase was a masterstroke. It was an important addition to Toorop's *Trio Fleuri*, painted much more freely and with a spontaneous palette knife technique, which had been purchased in 1922, and the announcement of the acquisition in February 1937 brought the museum an immense amount of publicity and appreciative reactions.<sup>111</sup>

The favourable response prompted the museum staff to put together a small, rapidly improvised exhibition focusing on the artist's early realistic works. The

exhibition contained some forty works, announced Van Gelder on 21 February 1937 in a press release, most of them dating from Toorop's earliest period, 1884, 1885 and 1886. This, went on the press release, was a follow-up to the latest exhibition at the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam where Jan Toorop's 'most important works of his Divisionism period' had recently been exhibited.<sup>112</sup> It was also explained that the exhibition was at the same time intended as a homage to the artist on the occasion of the approaching commemoration of the anniversary of his death on 3 March in The Hague, the date on which it was hoped to unveil a monument to Toorop. The limited exhibition, to which more works had been added in the meantime and which closed on 14 March, was widely reviewed.<sup>113</sup>

The placing of the new acquisition in the perspective of Jan Toorop's first period led to a reappraisal of the early work and also provided a new view of his art. In the previous decades, most exhibitions of Toorop's work had focused on the later religious works, mostly drawings and sketches. The conclusion now was that Toorop had to be seen again as a painter. 'It appears that one can be admired and famous, and nonetheless misunderstood', wrote the critic Cornelis Veth. The later cult had in his opinion obscured the proper view of the artist. It was time, he said, that people started to see Toorop as he was, 'not as a virtuoso, not as an experimenter and not as a religious sentimentalist, but as a great artist'.<sup>114</sup> This, in the words of another reviewer was 'the second new aspect' that the exhibition revealed: 'he proves to have been much more of a painter by nature than he later became, when little by little the line increasingly came to dominate the paint'.<sup>115</sup>

The austere style and Symbolist secret language had clearly lost some of their appeal. For many people, the early work on show had thrown light on the pictorial side as a connecting thread in Toorop's oeuvre. The work from this period also seemed to have stood the test of time better than expected, and bore witness to Toorop's skill as a painter and his authentic, individual contribution to Impressionism.<sup>116</sup> In that respect, the special retrospective in The Hague was also a logical follow-up to the earlier exhibition of Divisionism in the Boymans Museum, which had likewise reminded people, according to one critic, of 'Toorop's great talent as a painter'.<sup>117</sup>

### The Boymans Museum and Jan Toorop

The exhibition in the Boymans Museum the critic was referring to was the Christmas exhibition *Schilderijen uit de divisionistische school van Georges Seurat tot Jan Toorop* ('Paintings of the Divisionist school from Georges Seurat to Jan Toorop'), which had closed not long before, on 25 January 1937. On this occasion the event, which Hannema organized each year, had been

compiled primarily from works in the collection of the Kröller-Müller Foundation in The Hague. Among the eighty-plus important loans, the exhibition included a strikingly large number – twelve all told – of Neo-Impressionist works by Jan Toorop. This extensive representation unquestionably reflected Hannema's desire to retain something from this selection for the museum.

On his appointment in December 1921, the young director Dirk Hannema had already let it be known that, unlike his immediate predecessor Frederik Schmidt-De-gener, he wanted to give space in the Boymans Museum (then still located in the Schielandshuis) to more recent art forms. Old and modern art alike should be represented in the collection by outstanding works.<sup>118</sup> Consequently in 1924, Hannema, having initially cleared a few walls in the confined downstairs galleries of the seventeenth-century building for the moderns, annexed a building in the Van Hogendorpplein nearby and filled it entirely with contemporary works of art.<sup>119</sup>

Jan Toorop was among the artists for whom he had a particular liking. Thus we see that from the outset Hannema looked for opportunities to represent the extremely popular Toorop in the museum's collection. He frequently asked for loans of works by Toorop for a temporary display in the museum's permanent galleries or for the annual Christmas exhibition.<sup>120</sup> As a result of agreements that had been made (in 1923 in connection with the gift from A.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis) and contrary to what one might expect in the light of the extent to which the museum's collection grew during his watch, from the beginning of his time in the post until the late nineteen-thirties Hannema had no access to the annual municipal acquisitions budget.<sup>121</sup> Through carefully selected loans he tried to persuade benefactors to make gifts or provide additional funding. By these means Hannema ultimately succeeded in acquiring fifteen paintings and drawings by Jan Toorop. This does not include prints; in about 1900 the then director had built up a collection of Toorop's graphic art that was virtually complete at that time.<sup>122</sup>

The Christmas exhibition of 1936-1937 caused a stir not just in the Netherlands, but on the international scene too.<sup>123</sup> The event in December was a perfect opportunity to try to bind benefactors to the museum. When one reads Hannema's opening speech, for instance, one is struck by the way he paid special attention to one of the exhibited works in particular: Jan Toorop's early painting *Broek in Waterland* (1889). In Hannema's view this work was a fine example of Neo-Impressionist style elements such as a 'simple, usually disciplined structure', 'distinction' and a controlled 'rhythmic composition'.<sup>124</sup> He had borrowed the serene evening landscape from the collection of C. van Stolk of Rotterdam (formerly in the Sijthoff Collection) once before for a Christmas exhibition. That time, too, sadly without



achieving a result for the museum.<sup>125</sup> The work is now in the Art Institute in Chicago. It is also clear from the museum correspondence that Hannema was equally keen to get Toorop's more coarsely pointillist *Doorkeepers of the Sea* (1901) in the J.H. Jurriaanse Collection, which he had exhibited before, on long-term loan after the exhibition. This campaign finally bore fruit and later resulted in the donation of the work.<sup>126</sup>

### Universal appreciation

This growing interest in Toorop's early work and the significance of his art was given an added boost in 1937 by the long-awaited unveiling and official presentation of the monument to Jan Toorop on 3 March in The Hague. On 27 March, the exhibition of the three Toorop generations, which had likewise been a long time in the preparation, opened at Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (fig. 10). It was on this occasion that Hannema acquired *The Thames* by Toorop for the Boymans Museum, the first painting by the artist in his museum. His interest in precisely this period of the artist's work, preceding his Symbolism – the riverscape is painted with an assured Impressionist touch – fitted seamlessly into the prevailing universal appreciation of a moderated realism in art, as 'the' conception in which skill and craftsmanship were expressed. In February 1935, for example, in a lengthy lecture on Jan Toorop at Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, the art teacher and pundit H.P. (Henricus Petrus) Bremmer (1871-1956), famous in well-to-do circles in The Hague since the end of the nineteenth century, singled out his early work for praise and described the phase around 1900, after the artist had renewed his approach 'by a return to reality', as 'more vital and more natural'.<sup>127</sup> By way of explanation during the lecture Bremmer had also drawn the attention of the large audience to an illustration of Toorop's 'Port of London', now known as *The Thames*.

### G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar: Three Generations

At this time G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's art gallery (fig. 9), located diagonally across from the Peace Palace in Anna Paulownastraat, not far from Bremmer's house, had only been open a few years, since September 1933. Gerrit Nieuwenhuizen Segaar started out in Leiden in 1928 at the age of twenty-one as a publisher of prints and books on art. He published work by artists popular in Bremmer circles like Dirk Nijland, Simon Moulijn, Jan Sluijters, Charley Toorop and the less well-known Anna Egter van Wissekerke.<sup>128</sup> The young publisher owed these contacts to the much older network of H.P. Bremmer. As a young man Nieuwenhuizen Segaar had taken art appreciation lessons with W.C. (Wim) Feltkamp, Bremmer's nephew, who following in Bremmer's footsteps and at his request gave art appreciation courses in and around Leiden. It was on this network, which to

a large degree overlapped Bremmer's, that Nieuwenhuizen Segaar called for the next stage of his career.<sup>129</sup>

He appears to have involved Charley Toorop in this at a fairly early stage, having published various of her lithographs between 1929 and 1931. In 1932-33 Charley helped Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to set up a new, and not very imaginatively named, Nieuwe Schilders- en Beeldhouwerskring (New Painters and Sculptors Circle, initially abbreviated to N.S.B., later N.S.B.K.).<sup>130</sup> This society, of which Nieuwenhuizen Segaar was the secretary, was the launch pad for the establishment of his art gallery in The Hague. Bremmer faithfuls like Johan Altorf, Henri van Daalhoff, Truus Hettinga Tromp, Bart van der Leek, Raoul Martinez, Joseph Mendes da Costa, Jacob Nieweg, Carel Willink, the sculptor John Rädecker, Bremmer's son Rudolf and the painters whose work Nieuwenhuizen Segaar published all joined. It was from this group – 'The Bremmerite Society' would have been a better name was, as might have been expected, the immediate comment<sup>131</sup> – that Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, having put together several group exhibitions in 1933, made the selection for the opening exhibition of his new art gallery in The Hague in September of that year.<sup>132</sup>

For her part Charley Toorop increasingly called on Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to organize transport and exhibition loans, and lastly – economic conditions made this a difficult time – as an additional sales outlet and exhibition venue for her work, alongside Kunstzaal Van Lier and Kunsthandel J. Goudstikker in Amsterdam and Kunstzaal d'Audretsch's in The Hague.<sup>133</sup> In these early years the fledgling art dealer himself would also have been looking out for chances to strengthen his position. He must have seen the impending erection and unveiling of the Toorop monument in The Hague as an attractive opportunity.

The decision to erect a memorial to Toorop was taken in 1928, shortly after the artist's death, by a Toorop Committee formed from among the members of the Pulchri Studio art society.<sup>134</sup> Charley was involved in this initiative from the outset and at a certain point also gave John Rädecker, who was awarded the commission in 1930, support and advice.<sup>135</sup> In 1933 Nieuwenhuizen Segaar exhibited one of Rädecker's preliminary studies, the Toorop head in bronze (fig. 11), at the exhibition to mark the opening of his gallery.<sup>136</sup> For all sorts of reasons the execution of the commission was delayed, but in 1935, after the opening of the new Gemeentemuseum, the date of the unveiling of the monument (for which a spot near the museum had been earmarked) at last seemed to be approaching.<sup>137</sup> Reports to this effect may have prompted Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's plan to stage an exhibition of the three generations of Toorops. He doubtless thought that he could take advantage of the public interest that the erection and expected unveiling ceremony would generate in the city, unaware that the acceptance of the



Fig. 9 Frontage of Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Anna Paulownastraat 107, The Hague 1955, private collection

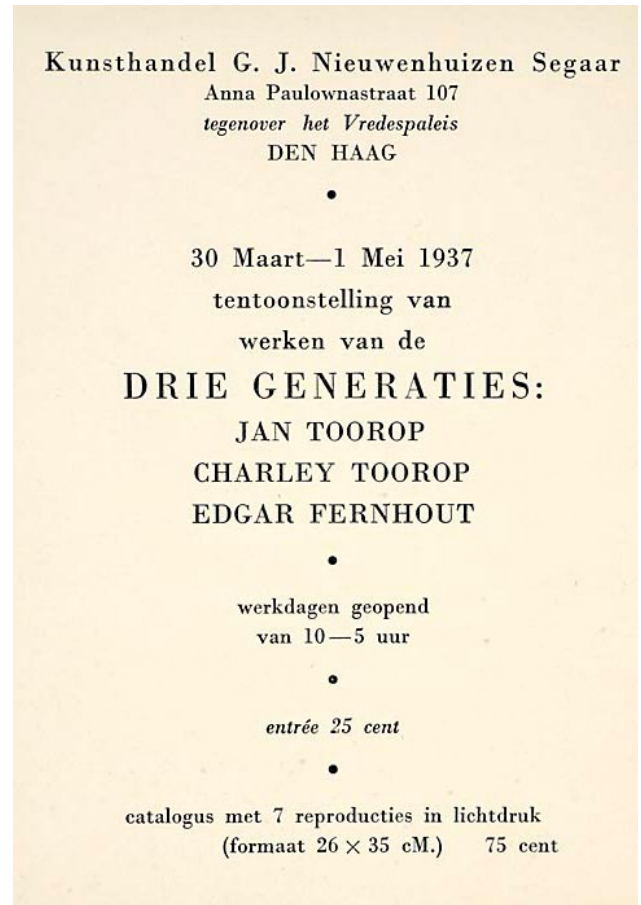


Fig. 10 Announcement of the exhibition *Three Generations: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout*, The Hague (Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar) 1937, private collection



Fig. 11 John Rådecker, *Mask of Jan Toorop*, 1931-1933, bronze, 90 x 52 x 24 cm, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam

memorial would run up against opposition in the Hague city council. It was not until November 1936, when the Provincial Executive also approved the installation of the work, that Rådecker was able to make a start on the final stages of his commission.<sup>138</sup>

### The exhibition

When Nieuwenhuizen Segaar first communicated with Charley Toorop about this plan, in a letter written in December 1935, the artist was exhibiting her most recent work at Kunstzaal d'Audretsch and the same gallery was preparing for an exhibition of works by her son Edgar Fernhout. 'No,' she replied on 10 December, 'there can obviously be no question of an exhibition like this for the time being! That would be all too tasteless, to do this again immediately! I have only just had an exhibition in The Hague, and Eddy the whole month of January! – It is out of the question – before the beginning of 1937.'<sup>139</sup> In the same letter she then went on to suggest the next potential opportunity. 'The idea has been around for a long time. It can be discussed in due course – The best thing might be to wait until my large new painting of the Bremmer group is finished – something like this has to be very well prepared, otherwise it does more harm than good –.'<sup>140</sup> Nieuwenhuizen Segaar stuck to his plan, however, as his reply of 11 December makes clear. 'This is much too important to me to let it fall through, because I can see a great deal in it on all sides. What's more there hasn't been a decent exhibition of your father's work since 1928, so that it doesn't seem tasteless to me to mount one now. You write that the idea isn't new; all the more reason for me not to wait any longer.'<sup>141</sup> In a subsequent letter Charley finally agreed. 'There's no doubt that an exhibition like this will be interesting, *providing* it's well organized –.'<sup>142</sup> However, it would have to include enough good, new things by her and Eddy.<sup>142</sup> And, she again stressed, there had to be sufficient distance from the earlier shows at D'Audretsch's. An exhibition like this could be staged at the beginning of 1937 at the earliest, but 'then again, as late as possible – preferably April or May rather than March. We're both busy in February; we're exhibiting together in Utrecht then'.<sup>143</sup>

Among the express conditions she set were that everything had to be thoroughly thought through beforehand, that the exhibition had to present a good picture of the work of all three of them (the *Cheese Market* and *Recumbent Nude* were absolute musts for Charley herself) but above all that the presentation of her father would be as good as possible. And 'if you were to do it,' Charley went on, 'there would have to be a few *very* prominent works by my father in it, which of course would *not* be for sale – otherwise it would be unfair to him. For instance "The Young Generation" and that superb large painting "The Doorkeepers" that Jurriaanse has. And there can still also be all sorts of things in it that *are*

for sale'.<sup>144</sup> Here she was thinking about drawings and prints from her own collection.<sup>145</sup>

Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's persistence paid off. By sticking to his proposal, he strengthened his bond with Charley and eventually succeeded in getting her for his gallery exclusively. Charley's next solo exhibition in The Hague, in 1939, was not held at Kunstzaal d'Audretsch as her previous ones had been, but at Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. And in the end, as a result of the postponement she had insisted on, the planned exhibition devoted to the three generations of Toorops did indeed virtually coincide with the unveiling of the Jan Toorop monument. The emphasis that the art dealer placed on Jan Toorop's early work was also a hit, as is clear from the reactions. Although the exhibition did present the third 'early Jan Toorop' in a row in a very short space of time, as one comment had it, the exhibition was still interesting because of the inclusion of various less well-known, early representative works.<sup>146</sup>

### The right choice

The exhibition *Three Generations: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout* had all the right ingredients to make it a success. Critics praised the ambitious concept as a most interesting, charming conceit. There was only one sour note.<sup>147</sup> Despite its limited scope and the more or less random nature of the selection, there was just enough to be able to see, so it was felt, how closely the work of father, daughter and grandson was linked.<sup>148</sup> To accompany the exhibition Nieuwenhuizen Segaar produced a well-illustrated catalogue, which gained extra cachet from the fact that the introduction was written by H.P. Bremmer. At that time this art pundit was still widely known for his courses and lectures throughout the country. The exhibition was officially opened by A.M. (Bram) Hammacher (1897-2002), an art critic and writer of similar eminence, and his speech was reported at length in several papers the following day.<sup>149</sup> The crowd that came to the opening included numerous painters, well-known figures in the art world and no fewer than three museum directors, Dirk Hannema, Hendrik van Gelder and Wilhelm Martin (1876-1954) of the Mauritshuis.

The event opened on Saturday, 27 March, and in its evening edition of that same day the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* was able to report that the modern art department of the Boymans Museum was richer by 'two important acquisitions ... a large painting, depicting a view of the Thames in London by Jan Toorop', and a 'portrait of a woman by B. van der Leek'.<sup>150</sup> The next day there was a follow-up to this report, announcing that four of the works in the exhibition had been sold immediately after the opening, 'among them the large View of the Thames by Jan Toorop'.<sup>151</sup> The exhibition opened to the public on 30 March – the Tuesday after the of-

ficial opening on the Saturday – but the extensive press coverage meant that all eyes were on it from the outset.

### Reception in the press

These initial reports were immediately followed by series of lengthy and appreciative reviews. Bram Hammacher's nuanced opening speech appears to have set the tone for various of these reactions. After emphasizing the artistic independence of each of the three artists and discussing their work in broad outline, the critic looked at what linked the three generations with one another in terms of their art. In his view, this was their ever-present, absorbing and passionately felt concern for the life around them: 'here again is what is evidently the indestructible possession of the Toorops, the life-accepting positive power of observation'.<sup>152</sup> Following this line, several reviews referred to the similarity between the three artists in the handling of colour or composition, although there were differences in expression.<sup>153</sup> Hammacher specifically referred to the large view of the Thames in London as a powerful example of Jan Toorop's original compassion and lively vision – a rendition in which the intensity of the first impression was preserved, 'went on vibrating'. Almost all the reviews discussed this painting.

In view of this intense interest, it is all the more striking that no questions were asked about the provenance of *The Thames*, which had so surprisingly come to light. This aspect was, though, touched on in the introduction to the exhibition catalogue and in the press release put out by the Boymans Museum. 'The first painting [*The Thames*] attracted attention some forty years ago at various exhibitions, but was sold abroad and has never been seen here since. It is one of the masterpieces of Jan Toorop's early period and was painted in a symphony of greys, entirely with a palette knife, in 1885.' *The Thames*, which is in fact undated, was described in the same jubilant tones in the many reviews that followed: *The Thames* was the most important of the early works in the exhibition, as a magnificent example of Impressionism it formed the centrepiece of the show, and it was 'a worthy counterpart' to the work recently acquired by the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague. Even the ever critical Josyah de Gruyter conceded that the 'long-lost large view of the Thames is an extraordinarily fortunate discovery' and that 'in its broad, strongly atmospheric execution it can probably be called the masterpiece of the exhibition'.<sup>154</sup>

Publicly enquiring about the provenance was evidently not considered appropriate. In the final analysis, attention was focused more on the qualities of the painting itself, rather than on the work as a discovery. Additional research has now revealed that, contrary to the art dealer's usual practice, no seller or supplier's name was entered in the G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar gallery's sales and accounts payable ledgers. Similarly

there is no explanation or specified invoice from Nieuwenhuizen Segaar in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum archives. And the museum's inventory card for the painting (as is usual) contains only brief information about the provenance.

### Provenance

The current inventory card for *The Thames*, which is based on an older one,<sup>155</sup> states as the last data under *Provenance*: 'Nieuwenhuizen-Segaar, The Hague' and the exhibition 'Three Generations, 1937'. This is preceded in chronological order by: 'Private Collection in Arnhem (1898)'<sup>156</sup>, 'Ernst Flersheim, Frankfurt' and 'art trade'. Under the heading *Exhibitions* there is also a reference to a Toorop exhibition in Nijmegen in 1923: 'cat. no. 3', 'then in the art trade' has been added in clarification – incorrectly as it turns out, since this proves to relate to a different version, a smaller view of the Thames.<sup>157</sup> The 'art trade' noted under *Provenance* on the inventory card as the next owner after Ernst Flersheim was probably based on this incorrect information.

An additional piece of information was found in a dismembered copy of the *Three Generations* catalogue in the RKD collection, which probably came from the estate of the critic Albert Plasschaert (1874-1941). On the list of exhibited works on this page, the words 'comes from London' have been written in pencil beside *View of the Thames*. This item of information proves to correspond with a printed label on the back of the canvas from a firm in London: 'James Bourlet & Sons Ltd., Fine Art Packers, Frame Makers. 17 & 18, Nassau Street, Mortimer Street, W.' with a stamped number, 'E 15115'. At that time this firm, which was highly regarded internationally, was located near the British Museum. The firm still exists, but has since changed hands and location, and none of its records for this period have survived.<sup>158</sup> A former employee said that the letters of the inventory numbers refer to a year and placed the 'E' roughly in the nineteen-thirties. A second label on the verso of the canvas reveals that as well as appearing at Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's *Three Generations* exhibition, the painting was also at the Venice Biennale in 1905.<sup>159</sup> This detail led, finally, to the identification of the moment when the work ceased to be in Dutch ownership (the collection in Arnhem) and, with the artist's knowledge, 'was sold abroad'. On his own copy of a review of his Biennale exhibit in an Italian journal, Jan Toorop noted with a pen under an illustration of *The Thames*, 'sold in Venice to Frankfort a/M.'. <sup>160</sup>

In Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's sales ledger for the years 1933-December 1946 there is, however, an entry showing that the Boymans's purchase of the view of the Thames had already taken place on 24 March 1937, in other words a few days before the opening of the exhibition on 27 March, and that Dirk Hannema



paid 6000 guilders altogether for Toorop's *Thames* and the *Portrait of a Woman* by Bart van der Leek.<sup>161</sup> From various insurance data and an older inventory book of the Boymans Museum's collection it can be concluded that this sum was probably split as 5000 guilders for *The Thames* and 1000 guilders for Van der Leek's *Portrait of a Woman*.<sup>162</sup> Given the much lower sum for the portrait, which Nieuwenhuizen Segaar had exhibited several times and had consequently had on his hands for a while, this work was probably thrown into the deal to clinch the sale.<sup>163</sup> This means that the Boymans Museum paid a significantly higher price for *The Thames* (which measured 96 x 160.5 cm) than the 3000 guilders the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague paid in January 1937 for Jan Toorop's *Arrest* – a comparable work in terms of size (144 x 201 cm) and dating – which was likewise bought through the trade. This higher price must have been dictated in part by the continuing reputation of the London work and the growing interest in early Toorops.

### A rediscovery

It is not true to say, as Bremmer had guardedly suggested in the introduction to the *Three Generations* exhibition in 1937, that the painting had not been seen in the Netherlands in forty years. The painting had in fact been prominently on view as one of the principal works at Toorop's important and widely reviewed retrospective in the Larensche Kunsthandel art gallery in Amsterdam in 1909, when Ernst Flersheim was listed as the owner.<sup>164</sup> During this event there were select art appreciation evenings at which the artist himself talked about the technique he had used in painting this early work – something that was again widely reported in the press.<sup>165</sup> *The Thames* had also been in the news the year before. In a discussion of the controversial exhibition of works by members of St Luke's Guild in 1908, when Toorop's entry was described as 'the event of the exhibition' and the artist himself as 'the Luminist par excellence',<sup>166</sup> *The Thames* was singled out as an early masterpiece by the artist: '... the powerful visionary, we always see in our mind's eye ... one of his earliest paintings: a view of the Thames in London, with all its traffic of big ships ... Out of the mist thickened and darkened by murk and smoke, the floating palaces loomed up in their centaur-like guise, almost fearsome, with their threatening bows.'<sup>167</sup> The rise of Luminism clearly revived interest in Jan Toorop's Impressionist work. This also meant that for the first time in years there was room for Toorop's early work, including *The Thames*, at Toorop's retrospective at Buffa's in Amsterdam in 1904, the first devoted to him after 1900.<sup>168</sup> On this occasion, too, the river view enjoyed the attitude and the favour of the press and public. In other words, the work was far from unknown then.

### The significance of The Thames

From the outset Toorop planned his view of the Thames as a principal work. In July 1885 he wrote to his future wife Annie Hall that his 'large painting of the Thames' was almost finished. 'It's the best thing I've done in London.'<sup>169</sup> Toorop had travelled to London a few months earlier to get his entry for the Belgian Les XX show in Brussels ready. By then Toorop had been a member of this controversial group for just six months.<sup>170</sup> He had been highly motivated by the foreign works he had seen there and on previous visits to Paris to make the best possible impression at the next available opportunity to exhibit with Les XX – 'I want to maintain the position I had last year'. Toorop knew that new artists had been invited, among them 'those devils of Impressionists from Paris'.<sup>171</sup> He then submitted twenty-one works for the exhibition of Les XX in February 1886 – a very large number, almost all of them a substantial size, including street scenes and interiors, portraits and various river views, in which we can see the influence of the Impressionist art he saw in England, including work by Whistler and Turner.<sup>172</sup> His painting of *The Thames* proudly headed the list of his exhibits in the catalogue. In the more positive reviews of the exhibition this monumental work and his *Trio Fleuri* were singled out for particular praise.<sup>173</sup> The extraordinary atmosphere of bustle surrounding the ships and the execution of the dull ochre-grey water in a prominent *impasto*, a result of the palette knife technique he had used, came in for special praise – although in conservative quarters these effects were dismissed as 'mud and pebbles'.<sup>174</sup>

At the same time Toorop was also making a name for himself in the Netherlands. His entries at the first exhibition of the progressive art group, the Haagsche Kunstkring, were outstanding. And here again *The Thames* attracted attention. 'Every time I enter the exhibition galleries, right at the beginning, my eyes are drawn to that moving yellow water, right at the back, to those heaving ships and barges,' confessed a reviewer.<sup>175</sup> And after seeing a subsequent exhibition in 1891 at the Oldenzeel gallery in Rotterdam, the author Johan de Meester couched his review in literary terms and dwelt at length on *The Thames*. 'Here hangs the large painting of *The Thames*. It is the yellow-grey ochre river of London, the ancient city with the dark towers and with the eternal ever-young bustle of shipping ... the innumerable, unguarded little boats dance helplessly on the water, the larger vessels rear bonily upwards; over everything lies the mist.' This report was actually published as a separate edition.<sup>176</sup> Henceforth, however, Toorop was in the vanguard of a new movement in art and was to cause a furore with his more rarefied Symbolist work.<sup>177</sup> It is revealing that in his review De Meester had presciently observed that the artist was

first and foremost 'a draughtsman all the same'.

### The Thames ... continued

It is fascinating to see that when, shortly after the turn of the century, the next innovation in art appeared on the scene and the link with reality was again regarded as elementary, there was a re-evaluation of the 'earlier' Toorop. At the retrospective at Buffa's in 1904, which was described as 'an outstanding look at Toorop's twenty-five year career as an artist'<sup>178</sup> the art historian Willem Vogelsang said, for instance, 'And yet Toorop's art was essentially created for ready sensory pleasure and his pictorial work is actually stronger than the Mystic Symbolist art'. The critic Albert Plasschaert took the same line and wrote of *The Thames* that in his view the 'greatness' of Toorop's vision flourished 'in the realistically painted subject'.<sup>179</sup>

At around this time, either immediately by way of the Venice Biennale in the summer of 1905 or through an art dealer in Frankfurt, or possibly during the exhibition of Jan Toorop's work with two German artists in the Frankfurter Kunstverein in Frankfurt am Main in December of that year, *The Thames* eventually ended up in Ernst Flersheim's collection.<sup>180</sup> The retrospective at the Larensche Kunsthandel in Amsterdam in 1909 then provided the Dutch public with what was to be their last opportunity for some time to see the painting, as well as three other works from the Flersheim Collection: the drawing *Faith in God*, the painting *Saying Grace*, and the portrait of the Flersheims' elder daughter Edith<sup>181</sup> – a portrait that Toorop probably did during his stay in Frankfurt in late 1905 or early 1906.<sup>182</sup>

A quarter of a century later, when Nieuwenhuizen Segaar asked Charley Toorop, who had attended the last two exhibitions as a teenager and budding artist herself (fig. 12), to cooperate in a new Toorop tribute, her first response was to refuse. Eventually, however, she referred the art dealer to a number of Belgian collectors whom she thought had early work by Toorop and to Ernst Flersheim's collection, giving his address as Myliusstrasse 32, Frankfurt am Main. Evidently not fully informed, Charley also noted in her letter of 17 July 1936 that he 'had a lot of work by father'.<sup>183</sup>

### Preparations for the 'three generations'

After Charley had sent Nieuwenhuizen Segaar various addresses of owners of works by Jan Toorop, including 'those people who live outside Br.[ussels] and own a few works from the Belgian time and who are certainly willing to sell them', she seems to have concerned herself primarily with the selection of the works by herself and her son that would be shown at the exhibition.<sup>184</sup> In 1935 she had embarked on two large group portraits – a portrait of H.P. Bremmer and his wife surrounded by the artists they had sponsored, and a

portrait of the sculptor John Rådecker and his family.<sup>185</sup> The sporadic and laborious progress she made on the two works led her to ask repeatedly for the postponement of the *Three Generations* exhibition. On 17 July 1936, for instance, Charley asked Nieuwenhuizen Segaar not to hold the exhibition before mid-November or better yet 1 December of that year, because she wanted to keep on working quietly in Bergen for as long as possible.<sup>186</sup> On 6 October 1936 she asked for a new date for the opening (mid-November was too early) and a few weeks later, on 20 October, she agreed to January 1937.<sup>187</sup> Meanwhile she concentrated above all on completing the Rådecker group, which had to be finished come what may. This is why, on 24 November, Charley again asked for a delay.

'I wanted to ask you, if it's *at all* possible, to *postpone* this exhibition of ours until 1 February or better yet until 15 February, because the Rådecker family group *must* be in it and won't be ready before that; if that isn't in it I shall have virtually no new work in it.'<sup>188</sup> In mid-February she hoped to have it finished by 'about 8 March', but at the end of the month she did not think that she would be able to send the painting 'before 15 March'.<sup>189</sup> That day, though, shortly before the eventual opening on 27 March, she had to tell Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 'I'm afraid the Group Portrait of the Rådeckers isn't finished. So that *can't* go into the exhibition'.<sup>190</sup>

It was only as the year 1936 wore on that Charley started to show growing concern about the whole presentation. Pity, she wrote to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar on 8 September 1936, that nothing came of efforts to do business with the Belgian collector, Madame Hennau, and she enquired whether he had been to see the Lambo family in Brussels that she had mentioned.<sup>191</sup> About three months later, on 24 November and 12 December, having previously requested an appointment, she asked for the first time what works by Jan Toorop he was planning to show. 'Will you come over for a day to discuss it? I would like to know what sort of work by my father you're showing – and discuss with you what *I* shall lend for this exhibition – the composition of it. I should also like to discuss with you if there's anything else I can put in the exhibition from my Toorop holdings, paintings and so forth – and smaller drawings that I wouldn't mind selling. Wouldn't it be nice if the portrait drawings my father made of my son Eddy and of me – were there too? – it would be good if you could just come over –'<sup>192</sup> During this period, strikingly, she added the head of Jan Toorop to her painting of the Bremmer group, while the setting of a date for the unveiling of the Toorop monument was approaching. On 17 November 1936 the town clerk wrote to the Toorop Committee on behalf of the city council, informing them that the monument had just been officially approved.<sup>193</sup>

The fact that the two events might be made to coin-



Fig. 12 Photograph of Charley Toorop with her parents and an unidentified woman, Domburg 1908; Charley Toorop's Album, Toorop-Fernhout Archive (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague

cide (a date for the unveiling was indeed fixed at the end of November) meant that the *Three Generations* exhibition unquestionably became much more important to her. In a letter of 12 December to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, for instance, Charley wrote at length about the concept and content of the show. 'I should like to suggest that you open it in conjunction with *the unveiling* of the Jan Toorop monument by Rådecker on 3 March – After all, also the anniversary of my father's death. Doesn't that seem to you an outstanding combination in *all* respects, precisely because it's in *The Hague*? I am *personally very much in favour* of this and my son is too – I don't know what day of the week 3 March 1937 is – but it could open the day after or before – the same day is probably difficult because I myself will have to be at the unveiling – I would also like to discuss with you what's going to be in it – also what you've got by father – and what I shall hang myself. I would *still* like to have a small retrospective in this limited space and a *few* new things. When I leave I'll send you "Young Mother and Child" anyway, and a little still life, "glass of water with ferns". Please don't show that before my exhibition. The rest will come later. Shall I ask to borrow the Cheese Market, or would you prefer the big "Self-portrait with palette"? Don't you think it would be nice to add as documents the two (small) drawn portraits that my father did of me and of Edgar Fernhout? Would you be sure to reply to me about *this* by return, then I'll send them to you before I leave, because later on the house will be shut up – Obviously these are *not* for sale – so I'll include another small drawing that *is* for sale, and a few etchings and woodcuts, if you think it's a good idea – We'll discuss it later. What have you got by my father now? Shall I ask to borrow "the Young Generation" from Dr P.C. Boutens? or is there enough? Wouldn't it be good, as a comparison – to hang "*The Doorkeepers*" (Jurriaanse) and my Cheese Market? I really like the idea. There is a lot analogous in the two works.'<sup>194</sup>

In December 1936 Charley did indeed send some of her own work, and some drawings and 'a few etchings and woodcuts' by her father to The Hague.<sup>195</sup> Around this time she also went to see the Christmas exhibition in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam. 'If you were to see those paintings by Toorop, you would appreciate his greatness. He is sometimes as great as Seurat,' she wrote on 20 January to Edgar, who had been staying in Italy – Alassio – with his wife since November 1936 for the sake of her health.<sup>196</sup> In the same letter she also encouraged her son to make a good showing at Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's. '– You will have to start painting *very* hard, if you want to have *anything* saleable (apart from skull before a landscape (which I hope to buy one day (!) at the N.S. [Nieuwenhuizen Segaar] exhibition.'<sup>197</sup> And ten days later, 'Couldn't you send a self-portrait there? I think you *could*. It's a sort of retrospective exhibition because there's older work of mine, too. (Otherwise I haven't got anything) –'.<sup>198</sup> In the meantime, the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague bought Toorop's *Arrest* and decided to put together a small overview of his early work – a limited exhibition that grew in scope, however, as a result of the additional loans that were offered during the exhibition.<sup>199</sup>

The focus on Toorop that this and the preceding events brought about must have made it difficult for Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to get hold of enough Toorop works on loan for his exhibition. Jurriaanse, for example, refused to lend the *Doorkeepers*, and *The New Generation* would not be forthcoming either, as Nieuwenhuizen Segaar learned from a long letter sent by Charley from Amsterdam on 14 February 1937. 'Enclosed letter from Mr Jurriaanse – I haven't had a reply from Dr P.C. Boutens – So I very much hope that you've been able to get hold of plenty of other work, so that it will be an important exhibition of *Jan Toorop* all the same.'<sup>200</sup> The plan for her own exhibit also had to be modified. 'I haven't been able to borrow the large Self-portrait with palette from Goudstikker. So would you, in my name, too, ask Mr v. Deventer *for the loan* of the Self-portrait (with palette against the wall). I also wanted to borrow "The Apple Tree" from Dr E. v. Gelder since I don't want an exhibition of just portraits and still lifes – otherwise "the Blossoms" will have to go in –.' And, despite objections from Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, she also wanted to include another painting, the *Sunflowers* after all, '– if needs must, hang that one downstairs then'.<sup>201</sup>

In Amsterdam, where she worked on and off on her painting of the Rådecker group from January to March, Charley received some information either from or about the Jewish businessman and collector Ernst Flersheim, and probably talked to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar about it on the phone. In her next postcard, dated 23 February '37, Charley told the art dealer in The Hague that she

would get in touch with Flersheim, but gave no further explanation. ‘I shall write to Mr Flersheim in the next few days – and won’t tell anyone about it.’<sup>202</sup> She confirmed this four days later, on 27 February. ‘I wrote to Mr E. Flersheim about the paintings the day before yesterday – and that everything was in order –.’<sup>203</sup> Charley gave no more details about her contact with Flersheim. The actual reason for her letter may have been the impending unveiling of the Toorop monument, but what she went on to say appears to relate to an arrangement about paintings owned by Flersheim, possibly their transport.

### The unveiling of the Toorop monument

At precisely the same time, on 23 February, the council informed the Toorop Committee that the proposed date for the official presentation and unveiling of the monument had been accepted. This meant that the programme for the day could now be finalized. It was decided that the anniversary of Jan Toorop’s death should also be commemorated on the proposed date, 3 March, and that the whole ceremony should be conducted in the Gemeentemuseum. The invitations for the presentation, unveiling and commemoration were sent out in the next few days, between 23 and 27 February.<sup>204</sup> Among those invited, aside from official guests like the Mayor and Corporation of The Hague, the Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences and the heads of the various local authority departments, were the members of the Committee and the contributors – the people and organizations who had contributed to the creation of the monument. Ernst Flersheim came into this last category. His name occurs beside a quite significant sum – 25 guilders – on a list of contributions compiled the year after Toorop’s death.<sup>205</sup>

There can be no doubt that Charley was kept informed about the details of the ceremony. The opening date of the *Three Generations* exhibition had previously been brought in line with the day of the unveiling of the monument at her request. And around the middle of February she provided the Committee with the names of some additional guests.<sup>206</sup> Charley’s letter to Ernst Flersheim referred to above was written at precisely this time. And it was indeed followed by the businessman’s arrival from Frankfurt am Main: on 2 March, the day before the unveiling of the Toorop monument, he was in Amsterdam. According to the information on his aliens registration card, he was issued with a visa on that date. It is possible that the invitation to attend the ceremony in The Hague on 3 March was given as the reason for his visit.

### Early work and work for sale

Charley agreed with Nieuwenhuizen Segaar that they would discuss the remaining preparations for the

exhibition on the Wednesday before the unveiling in The Hague.<sup>207</sup> Until shortly before the opening, which was finally set for 27 March, she made efforts to get hold of some representative early works and then, it appears, works specifically from Jan Toorop’s English period for the exhibition. On 27 February, for instance, she asked Sam van Deventer to loan both her self-portrait and *The Flood* (1891) by Jan Toorop.<sup>208</sup> In early March, writing from Hilversum, she also got in touch with the entrepreneur W.J.R. Dreesmann. She had her eye on *Alcoholism* (1888), which she thought Toorop had painted during his time in London (which made it a candidate for the exhibition), and the Symbolist drawing *Oh grave, where is thy Victory* (1892). However, Dreesmann had to go to London on business at short notice, and although he had agreed to lend the works he was unable to keep his word.<sup>209</sup> Charley herself had meanwhile decided to add Toorop’s drawing ‘Portrait of a Woman English Period 1891’ (*Portrait d’une Anglaise*) to the selection.<sup>210</sup> By then, as a newspaper article of 2 March reveals, the first of the other Toorop works had already arrived at Nieuwenhuizen Segaar’s: the sombre romantic *Lenore* of 1892, *Les travailleurs de la mer* (known as *The Wave*) of around 1900 and a ‘Luminist Divisionist’ beach view of 1897, all three of which came from the former collection of the dermatologist Willem Leuring (1864-1936) in Mook.<sup>211</sup> In the light of the early report in the paper, it seems likely that these paintings, or in any event one or two of them, were for sale.<sup>212</sup> Possibly as a result of such initial reports about his plans, Nieuwenhuizen Segaar also received one or two spontaneous offers of loans. In mid-March, for example, he was offered *The Woodcutter* (1906) from the Ekker Collection, a painting that had been on loan to the Boymans Museum for two years. The owner asked the museum to let him have the work back with a view to a potential sale during the *Three Generations* exhibition.<sup>213</sup> The remaining gaps were probably filled at a late stage with pieces from Bremmer’s collection, which was conveniently close. Someone to perform the official opening also had to be found at the last minute – ‘either Bremmer or Hammacher’ thought Charley, although Feltkamp would be all right too, De Gruyter was also fine with her, but she felt it would be a ‘dull affair’ if nothing happened.<sup>214</sup> With the eminent Hammacher giving the address and the selection of lesser known early works he had assembled, Nieuwenhuizen Segaar had eventually got enough together to surprise the public.

### Flersheim and The Thames in the Netherlands

At the beginning of March Toorop’s *Thames* had also finally arrived at the Hague gallery from London, as a letter from Charley to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar written from Amsterdam on Friday 12 March reveals. ‘I’m glad that “The Thames” is there, and will let Mr Flersheim

know. He said that the frame was too small – it was put on later. *Here* [my italics] he can use the large frame that used to be round it. You see whether it needs a better frame round it.’<sup>215</sup> Flersheim did not bring the painting with him from Germany, nor did it reach the Netherlands by any other roundabout route. It came straight from London, where Edith and Georg Eberstadt-Flersheim were living. A few days before, on Tuesday 9 March, Charley had announced the imminent arrival of the painting, again writing from Amsterdam. ‘I have just spoken to Mr Flersheim on the phone. He has been advised that the painting of “The Thames” was sent from London by carrier today, so it will certainly come in at the end of the week.’<sup>216</sup>

The fact that they communicated by telephone indicates that Ernst Flersheim was still in the Netherlands. Following the issue of a visa on 2 March, on 12 March he was officially registered as a resident of Amsterdam and then, on 16 March, entered in the city registers. From that date he was also registered on a housing card as a permanent resident of the Amsterdam Doelen Hotel.<sup>217</sup> This Grand Hotel at number 24 Nieuwe Doelenstraat, now four-star, was also known then as one of the city’s better establishments, a ‘first-class’ hotel.<sup>218</sup> Flersheim was to live there for around two and a half years all told, until early 1940. On 10 March 1938 he was joined there by his wife Gertrud, after she had travelled back and forth to Frankfurt am Main several times. According to the details on Flersheim’s aliens registration card, she had been in England since 10 January 1938 – having gone there from Germany.<sup>219</sup> On 12 March 1938 she was officially registered as a resident of Amsterdam and an occupant of the Doelen Hotel. In 1937 the youngest son of Flersheim’s brother Martin, Friedrich (Fritz) Flersheim, also came to the Netherlands. He was registered on 12 May 1937 as having come from Frankfurt a/M and on 19 May as staying in the Amsterdam Doelen Hotel. Both members of the family probably tried to wind up affairs in Germany up to the last possible moment. Fritz arrived in Amsterdam the day after the sale of Flersheim’s collection at Hugo Helbing’s auction house, which took place on 11 May.<sup>220</sup> However, the painting of *The Thames* was already in London and was sent from there to the Netherlands, possibly originally as a loan for the exhibition at Nieuwenhuizen Segaar’s gallery. It seems, though, particularly in the light of the removal of the painting from its original frame, that the various people involved were thinking in terms of a sale virtually from the outset.

### Nieuwenhuizen Segaar – Flersheim

The Boymans’s director Dirk Hannema, always on the lookout for potential gifts for his museum, badly served by the city council as it was, was probably aware fairly early on of the upcoming *Three Generations*

exhibition, which might present new opportunities for the collection.<sup>221</sup> The Toorop event had been preceded by an exhibition of works by Jan Sluijters, which ran from January to February 1937, and as a result Hannema had just acquired Sluijters’s 1936 *Portrait of My Mother* as a gift from a benefactor. ‘Highly gratifying,’ wrote Hannema to the Supervisory Committee in April. He had tried to buy the Sluijters, which he described as ‘one of the artist’s best works’, for the museum during the exhibition, but the asking price was 3000 guilders and his funds simply did not stretch to this.<sup>222</sup> Hannema was desperately looking for greater financial scope.

In a letter dated 3 March 1937 (the day the Toorop monument was unveiled), Hannema drew the attention of the Mayor of Rotterdam, Pieter Droogleever Fortuyn, chairman of the museum’s Supervisory Committee, to the fact that Lady Käthe von Nickisch Roseneck, the widow of O.A.A. Baron von Lüdinghausen (known as Wolff), had died in Berlin not long before – on 14 February, to be precise.<sup>223</sup> The Baron had previously been married to Anna Josina Burger (1855-1882), the oldest sister of the Rotterdam shipping magnate’s son G.W. Burger (1856-1916).<sup>224</sup> As a legatee, Lady Käthe, Von Lüdinghausen’s second wife, had until then received an annuity of 6000 guilders from the interest on the capital that the wealthy Burger had bequeathed to the city. In his letter, Hannema asked the mayor to use the money released by her death for the Boymans Museum’s ‘fund for the purchase of works of art, for which, in contrast to other major national and local authority museums, there are no moneys available’.<sup>225</sup> Something over two weeks later, on Monday 22 March, he urged Droogleever Fortuyn to make a speedy decision: ‘I have just received word that we will only have the paintings by Toorop and Van der Leek in our hands until next Friday. As I have already told you, this is the last chance to acquire an important work by Jan Toorop from his early period. May I therefore urge despatch as regards the funds that have become available from the Burger bequest?’<sup>226</sup>

In the intervening period, it emerges from recently discovered correspondence, Nieuwenhuizen Segaar negotiated with Ernst Flersheim by telegram about the sum that *The Thames* would have to bring in for Flersheim himself. Shortly after he had been registered in Amsterdam, Flersheim had left the city and gone to Alassio in Italy for a stay of some weeks, possibly in the company of his daughter Margarete Wertheim-Flersheim, who was chronically ill. This is evident from the place and postmark on a picture postcard that he sent to Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar on 20 March 1937 (fig. 13).<sup>227</sup> In it Flersheim confirmed that he would go down to a final price of 3500 guilders for *The Thames* as previously agreed with the art dealer by telegram, and asked him to send a cheque for this sum, made out to him, to his son-in-law in London: ‘Ich bestätige Ihnen



unseren Telegram Wechsel. – Ich habe mich entschlossen den Preis auf äusserst f 3500 - zu reduzieren. – Ich erhalte Ihr Telegramm “Acceptiert Brief folgt.” Ich bitte Sie für den Betrag von f 3500 - einen Check an Mr. G. Eberstadt London Leadenhallstreet 148 E.C.3 für meine Rechnung zu senden –’. In a subsequent postcard to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar sent from Alassio on 3 April (fig. 14), Flersheim confirmed both the receipt of this sum and the date of his return to Amsterdam, which he had mentioned in his first postcard. He expected to be back in the Doelen Hotel on 15 April: ‘Sehr geehrter Herr! Ich habe von London Nachricht erhalten, dass Ihr Remisse von f 3500 angekommen ist. – Ich habe Sie dafür erkannt, und ist diese Angelegenheit damit erledigt. – Ich werde am 15. April wieder in Amsterdam Doelen Hotel sein- Hochachtungsvoll Ernst Flersheim Hotel Salisbury’.<sup>228</sup> It is possible that on that occasion Flersheim visited Nieuwenhuizen Segaar in The Hague, as he had said he would in the postcard of 20 March: ‘Im Laufe April werde ich Sie besuchen – Ich denke am 15. April wieder Amsterdam Doelen Hotel zu sein –.’ He may even have seen the *Three Generations* exhibition, which remained open until 1 May.

#### **The purchase and sale of The Thames: Boymans – Nieuwenhuizen Segaar**

Up to this point there had been absolutely no relaxation of the city council’s tight grasp on the purse-strings where the Boymans Museum was concerned, but now Hannema’s shrewd and timely request that the capital from the Burger fund which had unexpectedly become available should be earmarked for the museum was rewarded. Possibly as early as the day after his pleading letter, on 23 March, he heard that his request had been approved by the city council. In a letter from the town clerk dated that day he was told that, starting in 1937, he could count on the sum of 6000 guilders annually that he had requested for the museum’s acquisition fund.<sup>229</sup> Hannema immediately leapt into action. *The Thames* and *Portrait of a Woman* by Bart van der Leck were sold to the Boymans Museum for precisely this sum on Wednesday 24 March, three days before the planned opening of the Toorop exhibition.<sup>230</sup> The Van der Leck, for which the artist received 500 guilders and the museum probably paid 1000, apparently also served to enhance the overall prestige of the acquisition. Hannema was no less happy with it: ‘The portrait of a woman by Van der Leck is among the scarce works from the artist’s early period and was painted in 1905. It is still entirely naturalist in conception and light in colour.’<sup>231</sup>

While this news was widely reported and *The Thames* was pictured as a new acquisition in various dailies and weeklies, the museum was unable to pay for its purchases until several months later, in August of

that year.<sup>232</sup> The sum from the Burger capital that had been promised still had to be released. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar consequently carried the financing for *The Thames* himself for some time (the sum due to Flersheim that had been sent to London almost immediately). The art dealer had, however, been able to agree with Bart van der Leck that he would not send in his bill for the *Portrait of a Woman* until the end of July – several months after it was sold, and a date that runs virtually parallel to the Boymans Museum’s payment of the total sum to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. This detail was discovered through Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar’s sales ledger.<sup>233</sup>

#### **The Thames after the purchase**

For the time being these were the Boymans’s last important purchases of modern art. When *Supper at Emmaus* by ‘Vermeer’ and the *Man in a Red Cap*, at that time attributed to Rembrandt, surfaced later in 1937, the museum’s focus shifted almost entirely back to old masters. In 1938, for instance, in the large jubilee exhibition in honour of Queen Wilhelmina’s fortieth anniversary on the throne, *Masterpieces of Four Centuries*, Hannema set the cut-off date at 1800.<sup>234</sup> Jan Toorop’s *Thames* did not qualify and was shown elsewhere: the painting could be seen at the exhibition that the Hague art society Pulchri Studio staged in September of that year to mark the jubilee, *Exhibition of works by deceased members in honour of the fortieth anniversary of the reign of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands* (1-16 September 1938).<sup>235</sup>

The painting was on display again in The Hague in 1940 at the umpteenth Toorop exhibition, and was again requested on loan by the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague in 1945, this time for an exhibition devoted to the art that had emerged from the air-raid shelters, *The Hague Honours the Dutch Painters of the 19th Century* (25 August-30 September 1945). The work remained on loan in The Hague after the exhibition closed. On 8 October 1946, shortly before the reopening of the Gemeentemuseum, it returned to the Boymans. In the years that followed, *The Thames* was variously in store and on display, and it was shown again at a new ‘three generations’ exhibition in 1971-1972, this time without creating much of a stir.<sup>236</sup>

#### **Flersheim and Charley**

In Charley Toorop’s view, the two Toorop works from the Flersheim Collection came to the Boymans Museum by totally different routes. Unlike *Faith in God*, *The Thames*, as she emphasized in the letter of November 1946 quoted above, was sold in a transaction involving Ernst Flersheim, herself and Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. Might it be that Flersheim asked the young art dealer, who was not known internationally and was

Klassis 20. 3. 37  
 Sehr geehrter Herr!  
 Ich bestätige Ihnen meinen  
 Telegramm Wechsel. - Ich habe  
 mich entschlossen den Brief  
 auf einem f 3500- zu  
 reduzieren. - Ich erhalte  
 Ihr Telegramm, Acceptiert Brief  
 folgt. - Ich bitte Sie für den  
 Betrag von f 3500 einen Check  
 an H. G. Eberstadt  
 London, Leadenhallstreet 148  
 E.C.3  
 für meine Rechnung zu senden -  
 Im Laufe April werde ich Sie  
 besuchen - Ich denke am 15. April  
 wieder Amsterdam Ducler Hotel zu  
 sein - Hochachtungsvoll  
 Ernst Flersheim

Fig. 13 Picture postcard from Ernst Flersheim to Kunsthandel G. J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 20 March 1937, Archives Collection, Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague

Klassis 3 April 1937  
 Sehr geehrter Herr!  
 Ich habe von London Nachricht  
 erhalten, dass Ihre Remise  
 von f 3500 angekommen ist. -  
 Ich habe Sie dafür erkannt,  
 und ist diese Angelegenheit  
 damit erledigt. - Ich werde  
 am 15. April wieder in  
 Amsterdam Ducler Hotel  
 sein - Hochachtungsvoll  
 Ernst Flersheim  
 Hotel Salisburg

Fig. 14 Picture postcard from Ernst Flersheim to Kunsthandel G. J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 3 April 1937, Archives Collection, Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague

held in high regard by Charley, to do him a favour, when he found out that an exhibition of works by Jan Toorop was on the cards? On 25 February Charley wrote to Flersheim in Frankfurt am Main (after talking to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar) 'about the paintings – and that everything is in order'. She would not mention it to anyone. It is possible that Nieuwenhuizen Segaar had helped Flersheim by asking for loans of other works in his collection, by non-German artists, and thus getting them over the border. As far as *The Thames* – unquestionably an attractive contribution to the Jan Toorop homage – was concerned, he could then count on Flersheim's cooperation

The surviving correspondence does not provide us with an answer. It is, though, striking from the brief exchange of postcards between Flersheim and Nieuwenhuizen Segaar that the tone is amicable and that there was to be a visit in April (not connected in any way with paying for the purchase). *The Thames* also had to be brought over from London specially and, most exceptionally, Flersheim's name was not shown as the vendor in Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's accounts payable (purchases) ledger. Given the high probability that Flersheim was present at the ceremony to commemorate the anniversary of Toorop's death and the unveiling of the monument on 3 March, it is possible that there may have been a discussion on that occasion about

finding a taker for *The Thames* through Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. This while the question of the other 'paintings' – as referred to in Charley's note of 27 February – had already been settled. Be that as it may, it was precisely this work, a single item, that a few days later, on 9 March, was sent by carrier from London to Amsterdam at Flersheim's request. The original frame was replaced with a simpler one, and the painting was taken to The Hague for the *Three Generations* exhibition, where, as was to be expected, it was the centre of attention and a great crowd-puller.

The sale of *The Thames* to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar was agreed by telegram while Flersheim was in Italy. Two days later, on 22 March, Hannema urged the mayor of Rotterdam to make a swift decision about the capital from the Burger bequest. This note followed his earlier appeal on 3 March. Hannema wanted to have the purchase of the painting wrapped up before the exhibition opened. With time pressing, he paid – unusually for him – a relatively high price for it.

Ernst Flersheim left Germany in 1937 because of the Nazi regime and the anti-Jewish measures. He and his wife Gertrud, who officially followed him in 1938, soon had virtually no control over their fate. In March 1938, when the couple's registration as residents of a foreign country was officially recorded in Germany,

steps were taken in Berlin to strip them of German nationality and confiscate the possessions they had left behind. According to the *Reichssteuerblatt* (the official gazette) of 24 June 1938, they were declared 'ausgebürgert', which meant that their property could officially be seized.

Research into this has revealed that until that date it was still possible for them, as Jewish emigrants, to export personal possessions (free up to a value of 1000 Reichsmark) and to exchange, at a punitive exchange rate, a sum of money up to a maximum amount (8000 Reichsmark until October 1937). High transaction costs were also generally charged for transferring capital to foreign bank accounts. On top of this, 25% tax, the so-called *Reichsfluchtsteuer*, had to be paid on taxable assets in the event of official emigration.<sup>237</sup>

In order to obtain a residence permit in the Netherlands (according to the records Gertrud Flersheim left Germany on 10 January 1938 and went to London first), Jewish refugees had to be able to demonstrate that they could support themselves. Given this background and the potential need to have additional financial resources at his disposal, Ernst Flersheim actually sold *The Thames* under duress, so Walter Eberstadt argues.<sup>238</sup> Unfortunately we have no clear information about Flersheim's financial position during this period. According to his own statement, Flersheim did have access to some of his property in the Netherlands.<sup>239</sup> This leaves the question as to how the cost of board and lodging in the Doelen Hotel in Amsterdam relates to the sale of the painting. The hotel was one of the most expensive in the city.<sup>240</sup> On the other hand, we have no information as to whether the loss of capital in Germany had pushed his company to the brink of ruin and what financial obligations he had. It is therefore not clear what other underlying motives there may have been for the sale of *The Thames*. In July 2005 Eberstadt asked for the return of *The Thames* on the grounds of the possibility of involuntary sale. Both Rotterdam City Council and the Flersheim heirs, Walter Eberstadt and his sister Bridget Collier-Eberstadt, will regard a ruling by this body as binding.

### Charley ... continued

Contrary to what has been suggested, it emerges from Charley Toorop's correspondence in the nineteen-thirties and forties that she followed social and political developments with a quite critical eye.<sup>241</sup> 'Of course I know about the situation in Europe,' she wrote to her son Edgar on 28 September 1938, 'I'm not that stupid! We read *all* the papers at the moment and listen to the radio too.' In another letter, dated 15 December 1938, Charley revealed her heartfelt loathing of the developments, 'those wretched conditions in that sadistic Germany'.<sup>242</sup> She also kept in touch with the Flersheim

family after 1937, although on one occasion she did have to cancel an appointment because she was unwell, as she told Edgar on 23 April 1938. 'The Flersheims (the old man and his wife) are in Amsterdam at the moment – But I had to put them off because I can't stand any visitors for the moment. It tires me out ... I've been in a *very* bad way for a month.'<sup>243</sup> Their good relationship is also clear from Ernst Flersheim's memoirs, recorded in Brussels that same year, 'we are still friendly with her'.<sup>244</sup>

Charley tried to help Jewish refugees. In 1939 she signed a petition drawn up on the initiative of Menno ter Braak to obtain a residence permit for the Jewish artist Uriel Birnbaum. She probably also assisted in organizing the exhibition in support of the artist in May 1939 at Kunstzaal d'Audretsch in The Hague. Her confidence in the art dealer in whose gallery she had had several exhibitions was shattered during the war, however, when she found out that Toorop's drawing *Faith in God* had been sold to the Boymans Museum through D'Audretsch, as is all too clear from the letter she wrote to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar in 1946, quoted above.<sup>245</sup> In it she expressed the disgust she still felt: 'I was *very* angry about it at the time and will never set foot in d'Audretsch's again, and before that I left him in no doubt about my opinion as to the truth of the matter.' Her fury encompassed Hannema too: '...and I think and will always think it scandalous that Dutch institutions got mixed up in this trade in works of art by my father.'

Earlier, in the course of 1940, Charley had been reluctant to go ahead with a planned exhibition of her work in the Boymans Museum.<sup>246</sup> Her painting *Clown (Bumbo)* with the ruins of Rotterdam in the background (**fig. 15**), which she started in the late summer of 1940 after the bombing of the city, had originally been intended to go to the Boymans Museum with the aid of a donation. But in view of Hannema's increasingly evident pro-German stance (in letters written in May 1941 she denounced the anti-Jewish writings introduced into the museum during his tenure), Charley changed her mind and sold the work to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar in April 1941.<sup>247</sup> Eventually, in 1951, the next purchaser of the old clown, E.E. Bouwman of Leiden, offered to sell it to the City of Rotterdam.<sup>248</sup> Not long before, Hannema's successor, Coert Ebbinge Wubben, had managed to acquire Charley Toorop's important major work *The Three Generations* through Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar – with, it must be said, her full approval (**fig. 16**).<sup>249</sup> This monumental painting, depicting Charley herself, Edgar and John Rädecker's bronze head of her father, was prompted by the earlier exhibition of the same name at Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's gallery. Charley is known to have worked on this large canvas during the occupation, despite the German regulations, and she had refused to join the Kultuurkamer.<sup>250</sup> For these



and other reasons, in the years after the liberation of the Netherlands in 1945 it was generally regarded as both a personal artistic manifesto and a symbol of her indomitability. However, Ebbinge Wubben advised the city council against the proposed purchase of the *Clown* by Charley Toorop in 1951 for 'aesthetic reasons'.<sup>251</sup> Nonetheless, as an addition to the other works by the Toorops in the Boymans and as an example of Charley's artistic and political engagement during the war years, this painting would not have been out of place.

In that period the Flersheims were forced to seek other accommodation in Amsterdam on several oc-

casions. A move to a guest house in the city in January 1940 was followed in the summer of that year by various new addresses, in quick succession from August 1943 onwards.<sup>252</sup> The couple were picked up by the Germans in a raid and taken to Westerbork in December 1943; they died in Bergen Belsen concentration camp in 1944. Charley Toorop, who as far as we know never mentioned the whole subject again after 1946, died in 1955.

Translated from the Dutch by Lynne Richards



Fig. 15 Charley Toorop, *Clown (Bumbo)*, 1941, oil/canvas, 150 x 110 cm, Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo



Fig. 16 Charley Toorop, *Three Generations*, 1941-1950, oil/canvas, 200 x 120 cm, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam

# Notes

1 - \* This research was undertaken as part of a museum investigation into the acquisitions of modern art during the tenures of the Rotterdam directors Dirk Hannema (from 1921 to 1945) and J.C. Ebbinge Wubben (from 1945/1950 to 1978), with financial support from the Mondrian Foundation. The research was initially conducted at the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, subsequently at the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD), The Hague. A provisional version of this report appeared in February 2004 on the RKD Website.

The current name – Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum – is used for the museum and the foundation of the same name for the period from 1958 (the year when the D.G. van Beuningen Collection was acquired and the name of the museum was changed); the old name Boymans Museum is used for the preceding period. I am indebted to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Foundation for allowing me access to the minutes of the meetings of the Foundation's Board of Trustees.

2 - 'Richtlijn Museale Verwervingen 1940-1948', pp. 1-4 in: *Museumwijzer* (NMV publication), 1999, no. 3.

3 - Andrew Decker, 'A legacy of shame', *Art News*, 83 (1984), no. 10, pp. 55-76. For the follow-up, transfer to the Austrian community and auction, Sharon Waxman, 'Austria: Ending the legacy of shame', *Art News*, 94 (1995), no. 7, pp. 122-125 and p. 25 (editorial); Andrew Decker, 'Austria's bid for justice', *Art News*, 95 (1996), no. 11, pp. 90-97. Michel Maas, 'Erfenis van de schande', *De Volkskrant*, 25.10.1996; Karin Jušek, 'Hoge prijzen op veiling geroofde kunst in Wenen', *NRC Handelsblad*, 30.10.1996.

4 - For an overview: supplement 'Rechtsherstel', *Profiel* Wekelijkse Themabijlage, *NRC Handelsblad*, 4.5.2000. For extensive research into Nazi looting in the Netherlands and the restitution undertaken since 1945: Gerard Aalders (Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie Amsterdam), *De ontvreemding van joods bezit tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, Amsterdam 1999; *ibid.*, *Berooid. De beroofde joden en het Nederlandse restitutiebeleid sinds 1945*, Amsterdam 2001.

5 - Hector Feliciano, *Le musée disparu. Enquête sur le pillage des oeuvres d'art en France par les nazis*, Paris 1995; *ibid.*, *The lost museum. The Nazi conspiracy to steal the world's greatest works of art*, New York 1997. Exhibitions, 8 April-mid May 1997 in Musée d'Orsay, Musée National d'Art Moderne (Centre Georges Pompidou), Musée du Louvre, Paris and Musée de Céramique, Sèvres, and Musée National du Château, Versailles; with publication *Présentation des oeuvres récupérées après la Seconde Guerre et confiées à la garde des musées nationaux* (dossier).

6 - Announced in the Dutch press from 3 April 1997. For more extensive reports after that date: Marc Chavannes, 'Fransen: onschuldig aan verbergen "oorlogskunst"', *NRC Handelsblad*, 4.4; Martin Sommer, 'Gevonden voorwerpen', *De Volkskrant*, 11.4; Jhim Lamoree, 'Eens geroofd blijft geroofd', *Het Parool*, 26.4; Waldemar Kamer, 'Kunst als oorlogsbuit. Na Rusland en Duitsland nu een politiek thema in Frankrijk', *Tableau. Fine Arts Magazine*, April 1997, pp. 50-59. The reporting on the Paris exhibitions coincided in the Netherlands with publicity about the Russian Douma's decision not to return the art treasures looted in Germany at the end of the Second World War, including the Koenigs collection. The issue received added attention thanks to a conference organized by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Geneva. See among others, 'Nazi's stortten geld op banken in Zwitserland', 'Oproep op conferentie in Genève: Archieven openen voor opsporen oorlogskunst', *NRC Handelsblad*, 25 and 26.6.1997.

7 - Series of articles by Lien Heyting, 'Kunstroof en -recuperatie', I-V, *NRC Handelsblad*, 31.10, 7.11, 14.11, 21.11 and 28.11.1997. Lucette ter Borg, 'Kunstwerken met een oorlogsverleden', and 'Musea maakten zich gretig meester van oorlogskunst', *De Volkskrant*, 23.5 and 30.5.1997. Further press documentation collection, RKD.

8 - R.E.O. Ekkart et al. (ed.), *Herkomst gezocht. Rapport van het proefonderzoek naar de herkomst van de onder beheer van het Rijk gebleven uit Duitsland gerecupereerde kunstwerken*, The Hague April 1998.

9 - Results of this investigation in, Eelke Muller, Helen Schretlen, *Betwist Bezit. De Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit en de teruggave van rofkunst na 1945*, Zwolle 2002.

10 - R.E.O. Ekkart et al. (ed.), *Herkomst gezocht. Eindrapportage*, December 2004, for a summary of the interim reports I-VI, published between October 1999 and September 2004. Also the various recommendations made by the Herkomst Gezocht Committee and the government's response to them. The final report was published recently in a bilingual book, *Herkomst gezocht. Eindrapportage van de Commissie Ekkart*, Zwolle 2006, which includes a CD-ROM of the results of the research previously published in the preliminary reports. See also websites [www.herkomstgezocht.nl](http://www.herkomstgezocht.nl); [www.restitutiecommissie.nl](http://www.restitutiecommissie.nl).

11 - Eelke Muller, *Rapport museale verwervingen 1940-1948* (NMV publication), Amsterdam 1999.

12 - A.J. Bonke, *De herkomst van de aanwinsten van de Rotterdamse gemeentemusea 1940-1948*, Rotterdam 1998, pp. 4-6, catalogue data and appendices. The works were purchased by the museum from the German *Dienststelle Mühlmann* in The Hague (correspondence Eduard Plietzsch and Dirk Hannema, July 1943). The Marius Bauer watercolours were exhibited in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum in July 2000 and returned, together with the painting by Van der Waay, the same year. The rightful owners of the Breitner drawing were traced in 2001 and restitution followed. See also press documentation collection, RKD, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum file.

13 - A.J. Bonke, *De herkomst van de aanwinsten van de Rotterdamse gemeentemusea. Flersheim Collection*, s.l. 14.8.1999 (hereinafter referred to as: Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection). Walter E. Eberstadt and Matthijs van der Velden, who acting for the former asked Rotterdam City Council in December 1998 to set up an investigation into the two Toorops, both assisted in the production of this report. Letter from M. van der Velden (on behalf of W. Eberstadt) to C.H. Weeda, head of Cultural Affairs, Rotterdam City Council, 28.4.1999 (appendix 83 in Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection).

14 - Letter from Walter A. Eberstadt (on behalf of himself and his sister A.J. Collier-Eberstadt, London) to Alderman J.C. Kombrink, Rotterdam City Council, New York, 26.1.1999, Flersheim Dossier, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam.

15 - Following the Bonke report, August 1999, and after the rejection of the claim by the trustees of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation in October 1999, the claim for restoration was pressed again. In the first instance the Foundation offered to give the drawing to Eberstadt on permanent loan. On the express advice of various parties and after a solution for a possible future home for the drawing (after its return to Eberstadt) was found, the transfer was agreed in October 2001. This agreement was set down in a contract (dated 1.11.2001). The actual handover of the drawing to W. Eberstadt by chairman J. Caldenborgh on behalf of the Foundation took place in New York on 17.11.2001.

16 - Response in: Muller 1999, op. cit. (note 11), p. 170.

17 - Herman Eduard d'Audretsch, born Amsterdam 21.12.1872- died Amerongen, 19.1.1966. Registered as a resident of The Hague on 24.8.1912, as having come from Paris; from



25.4.1946 registered in Amerongen; data taken from his personal index card, Central Bureau for Genealogy, The Hague. For the establishment of the art gallery in The Hague, Companies Register of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in The Hague, access no. 3.17.13.03, inv. 421, file no. 8901, Kunstzaal d'Audretsch, National Archives, The Hague. The gallery is listed as having ceased trading as of 30.9.1945.

18 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 19. See for this letters from G. Eberstadt to J.C. Ebbinge Wubben, 23.9.1953, and G. Eberstadt to the Museum Boymans Foundation, undated (in view of the references in the letter it can be dated to early March 1954); J.C. Ebbinge Wubben to G.E. van Walsum, Mayor of Rotterdam, dated 2 and 6.3.1954. See Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendices 32, 37, 38, 68 and 69. In the typed copy of the letter from Eberstadt to the Foundation, 1943 is given as the year of acquisition by the Foundation and – erroneously – October 1953 as the date of acquisition by D'Audretsch. Ebbinge Wubben wrote in his letter (6.3.1954, appendix 38): October 1943. This has to be October 1942. In this letter from Ebbinge Wubben the name of the dealer is also spelt once as 'Lintergren' instead of 'Lintergern'. This is probably a typing error. In the letter from Eberstadt (appendix 32) the spelling is 'Lintergern'. The original version of this letter could not be traced: the correspondence of the Foundation for the 1942-1955 period is missing from the Rotterdam Municipal Archives.

19 - In his letter to Museum Boymans Foundation Georg Eberstadt wrote: 'I have contacted Mr D'Audretsch, who advised me that he himself bought the picture in October 1953 in Amsterdam from a Mr Lintergern who had an apartment in the Carlton Hotel'. See appendix 32 in Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection. The identity of this 'Lintergern' could not be established (see also note 18).

20 - For the commandeering of hotels in Amsterdam to house German officers, Annemarie Houtman, *Collaboratie of verzet bij twee Amsterdam grand-hotels: het Amstel hotel and hotel Krasnapolsky gedurende de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, dissertation RU Leiden, 1996, p. 56. For the locations of the Luftgau Holland also, Bianca Stigter, *De bezette stad: plattegrond van Amsterdam 1940-1945*, Amsterdam 2005. The Carlton, 4 Vijzelstraat, was commandeered by the Germans from May 1940 to October 1944. The hotel records were lost in a fire caused by a crashed aircraft in April 1943. See also Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 19.

21 - Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Museum Boymans Foundation, 15.4.1954, Minutes Book, Museum Boymans Foundation, Rotterdam. For Hannema's arrest and dismissal: Mireille Mosler, *Dirk Hannema, de geboren verzamelaar*, Rotterdam 1995, pp. 48-53; Max Pam, 'Dirk Hannema. De tragiek van het onfeilbare oeg', *Vrij Nederland*, 8.12.1984, pp. 4-35.

22 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 18-21 and relevant appendices, in particular

letters from W. van der Vorm to the Landgericht, Frankfurt a/M., 19.7.1955, and G.E. van Walsum to G. Kappus, the lawyer representing the family of E. and W. Eberstadt-Flersheim, 12.2.1958 (appendices 54 and 75). In the meeting of the Board of Trustees on 2.2.1956 Van der Vorm announced that the Foundation would not respond to the verdict. On the verdict of the court in Frankfurt see also W. Eberstadt to Alderman J.C. Kombrink, Rotterdam City Council, 26.1.1999; Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 19-21.

23 - New York, 17.11.2001 (see note 15). From 1999 onwards the issue received recurrent publicity. For more detailed reports: anon., 'Boijmans heeft recht op doek Toorop', *NRC Handelsblad*, 7.12.1999; Lien Heyting, 'De strijd om 'Godsvertrouwen'. Stichting Boijmans blijft claim van joodse erfgenaam afwijzen', *NRC Handelsblad*, 12.5.2000; *ibid.*, 'Resisting restitution', *Art News*, 99 (2000), no. 8, pp. 66-68; *ibid.*, 'VS eisen Toorops op uit Nederland. Steun regering VS verrast erfgenaam', *NRC Handelsblad*, 28.4.2001; *ibid.*, 'Stichting Boijmans moet iets doen', *NRC Handelsblad*, 3.5.2001; *ibid.*, 'Bestuur Boijmans wil extern advies', *NRC Handelsblad*, 29.5.2001; Mark Duursma, 'De Stichting Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Voor de bloei van Rotterdam', *NRC Handelsblad*, 1.6.2001; Robbert Roos, 'Oorlogskunst', *Kunstbeeld*, June 2001, p. 5; Ernest Beck, 'Nazi victims' grandson fights for a drawing', *The Wall Street Journal (Europe)*, 4.9.2001; Lien Heyting, 'Erfgenaam wil Toorop van Boijmans terug', *NRC Handelsblad*, 7.9.2001. Further, press documentation collection, RKD. A detail about the provenance that points to a forced sale surfaced in 2001, see Francisca van Vloten, 'Von ihrem Freund Jan Toorop. Toorop, Domburg en de zaak Flersheim', *Zeeuws Tijdschrift*, 51 (2001), no. 3-4, p. 50 (hereinafter referred to as Van Vloten 2001).

24 - Letter from H.E. d'Audretsch to D. Hannema, 15.1.1937, Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 6.

25 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 12.

26 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 2-3, 11-12, 15-16. Van Vloten 2001, pp. 41-58.

27 - Letter from Walter A. Eberstadt to Stefan Hulman, 18.11.2002, Flersheim Dossier, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Archives, Rotterdam.

28 - Anita Hopmans, 'Disputed Ownership. On the provenance of two works by Jan Toorop acquired during Dirk Hannema's tenure as director of the Boymans Museum (1921-1945): the painting *The Thames* (1885-1886) and the drawing *Faith in God (Godsvertrouwen)* (1907)', RKD Website publication, 26.2.2004.

29 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 16.

30 - Appendix 84 in Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection: M. van der Velden, *Comment on report "Flersheim Collection" by Dr. A.J. Bonke (12.6.1999)*, 22.6.1999 (interim comment in English on the Flersheim report by A.J. Bonke,

in consultation with W. Eberstadt), fol. 2 on Charley Toorop: 'Charley Toorop, who was befriended to the Flersheims, knew Hannema very well (see a.o. correspondence late 1936) and art-dealer Nieuwenhuizen-Segaar referred in a letter to Hannema that Hannema had been in his gallery "sometime ago" (letter 24 September 1937). Charley Toorop who used to be friends with the Flersheims avoided them after 1940 in Amsterdam (information family Flersheim). Conclusion: Hannema and Charley Toorop must have known that "the Thames" was confiscated jewish property'. There is a reference to a letter from Walter Eberstadt containing a similar assumption in Van Vloten 2001, p. 58, note 52.

31 - There were virtually no business dealings between H.E. d'Audretsch and the much younger G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. Just one transaction between the two art galleries could be traced in Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's accounts. This related to a sale in 1942 by Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to D'Audretsch of a painting by Truus Hettinga Tromp, an artist who usually sold her work through Nieuwenhuizen Segaar; Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar sales ledger, years 1933-December 1946, private collection.

32 - H. Riebsamen, 'Mit Peter von Zahn den Rundfunk aufgebaut. Frankfurter Emigrant Walter Eberstadt: Vom englischen Offizier zum amerikanischen Bankier', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 30.9.1998. Lien Heyting, 'De strijd om "Godsvertrouwen". Stichting Boijmans blijft claim van joodse erfgenaam afwijzen', *NRC Handelsblad, Cultureel Supplement*, 12.5.2000, p. 23; Van Vloten 2001, pp. 43-44.

33 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 5-6 and appendices.

34 - Sale, *Sammlungen und Kunstwerke aus Rheinischem und Süddeutschem Besitz*, Frankfurt am Main (Hugo Helbing), 11-13.5.1937; for the E. Flersheim collection the code no. 3 (according to the announcement in the catalogue; see also Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 28). The exhibitions listed in the sale catalogue must in many cases have been the shows where Flersheim bought the works (Münchener Sezession, Munich, in 1895 and 1902; Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung, Berlin, 1900). For loans to exhibitions from his own collection: exhib. cat. Frankfurt (Frankfurter Kunstverein), *Frankfurter Kunstschatze im Kunstverein*, 20.7-30.9.1913; exhib. cat. Frankfurt (Frankfurter Kunstverein), *Französische Meister des XIX Jahrhunderts aus Frankfurter Privatbesitz*, 1927. See further Van Vloten 2001, pp. 45-52.

35 - Lists in Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 5-7 and various appendices.

36 - For the trips to Frankfurt, Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 3 and appendices. According to the data on E. Flersheim's Aliens Registration Card and Family Card, and in the Police Archives (inv. 5225, Registered aliens index system) and the Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Amsterdam Municipal

Archives (GAA), Flersheim was issued with a visa on 2.3. and registered on 12 March; on 16 March he was entered in the Amsterdam Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages (the Bevolkingregister). According to the Aliens Registration Card his wife was issued with a visa on 10.3.1938 and entered in the Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages on 12.3.1938. On her stay in London, Aliens Registration Card for E. Flersheim, lower left: 'wife out of Germany since 10-1-'38. She was in London first'.

37 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 3, 14. Margarete was married to Rudolf Wertheim; he died in Auschwitz, their son Hans Wertheim died in Poland.

38 - For Martin Flersheim, Van Vloten 2001, p. 50. For Friedrich, born 1892, Aliens Registration Card, Police Archives (inv. 5225, Registered aliens index system), GAA. Date of registration: 12.5.1937; residence permits issued on 27.10.1938 and 27.10.1939. Date of removal from the register (according to information, left for America) 2.3.1940; private means: 15,000 guilders. Registered as a resident of the Doelen Hotel as of 19.5.1937; Residence Cards, 24 Nieuwe Doelenstraat, GAA.

39 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 6-7 and appendices. Sale, *Sammlungen und Kunstwerke aus Rheinischem und Süddeutschem Besitz*, Frankfurt am Main (Hugo Helbing), 11-13.5.1937 (viewing on 5-10.5). The sale was divided into three sections; the works from the Flersheim Collection were spread among the lot numbers being auctioned on the first day of the sale.

40 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 6-7 and appendix 11 for an annotated copy of the Helbing sale catalogue (RKD collection). For the storage of the unsold items by the firm of H. Delliehausen and a list of the unsold lots: letter from Dr Arthur Kauffmann, working for Helbing at the time, to G. Kappus, 5.5.1953; Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 28. For the storage by Delliehausen of the works of art not put up for auction: various postwar statements and lists on which some 23 items appear, Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 6, appendices 34, 35, 42, 44. When the works in the sale catalogue and the sold works that are marked are added up, it is clear that of the total number of works of art Flersheim put into the sale (including two sculptures by G. Kolbe) 18 remained unsold (and not 13; Bonke, p. 7).

41 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 6-7, and appendices. In appendix 42, letter from Kappus, 10.5.1954, there is a reference to a statement by Delliehausen about the seizure; this has not been found; see also Bonke in his notes to the appendices, p. 6 (appendix 42). In the ruling of the Wiedergutmachungskammer of the Landgericht Frankfurt a/M., dated 22.08.1955 (appendix 59A) a shipment of this kind is mentioned as a possible commission from Flersheim to Delliehausen.

42 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 8. In a letter from P.W.L. Russell to Rotterdam City Council, 20.7.2005 (concerning the request

for the return of *The Thames* by Walter A. Eberstadt and his sister A.J. Collier-Eberstadt) reference to various of the items sent for auction. The 1911 self-portrait by Albert Weisgerber referred to by Bonke (unsold in 1937; lot no. 93), was left to the Albert Weisgerber Museum St Ingbert in 1942 and remained in the museum after a financial settlement with the Flersheim heirs. Exhib. cat., *Albert Weisgerber: Gedächtnisausstellung im Heidelberger Schloss Ottheinrichsbau*, Heidelberg 1962, no. A 231. Of the two works by Weisgerber sold at the auction, nos. 90 and 91 (*Markttag in St. Ingbert and Strandszene*), later claimed by the Flersheim heirs, the former was bought back by the museum and the second was restored to the heirs. For the non-German works: Ferdinand Hodler, *Thunersee mit Niesen*, see sale New York (Christie's), 8 November 2006 (evening sale), no. 56.

43 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 7 and appendices 14, 50, 82 and 83. The furniture was delivered to the firm of August Danz, Frankfurt a/M on 6.11.1939. It is not known whether this was also the date of the sale.

44 - For these details: appendix to the Family Card of E. Flersheim in Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Amsterdam Municipal Archives (GAA); E. Flersheim's Aliens Registration Card, and in the Police Archives (inv. 5225, Registered aliens index system), GAA, note on front: 'Both "ausgebürgert" by Reichssteuerblatt n: 55 dated 24-6-38'. Here also a note that Gertrud Flersheim's German passport, renewed on 14.6.1937, was valid until 4 July 1938. For the stripping of German nationality, see also Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, p. 3, appendix 82; explanatory note by Walter Eberstadt in letter from Paul W.L. Russell to Rotterdam City Council, 20.7.2005.

45 - Lists in Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 6-7 appendices 34, 35, 44; the following are listed: 'Tischgebet, Alter Mann in Walcheren, Porträt Ernst Flersheim, Porträt Edith Flersheim, Die Themse, 12 Apostelbilder (Kohle), Zahlreiche Zeichnungen und Radierungen' 'Grace, Old Man in Walcheren, Portrait of Ernst Flersheim, Portrait of Edith Flersheim, The Thames, 12 apostle pictures (charcoal), numerous drawings and etchings'. It is assumed that 'Alter Mann' refers to *Faith in God*. See also Van Vloten 2001, p. 52. The '12 Apostelbilder' may not be twelve individual drawings (the apostles could also have been portrayed in pairs or groups); letter from Gerard van Wezel to Charlotte van Rappard, 18.7.1999.

46 - Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Boymans Museum Foundation, 21.1.1943: 'Then the suggestion was made to purchase the well-known coloured drawing Faith in God done by Jan Toorop in Westcapelle in 1907. The drawing is universally admired and we shall endeavour to acquire this masterpiece for the Foundation.' Present at this meeting: F.E. Müller (chairman), H. van Beek (vice-chairman), D. Mommaal, H. Roos, W.C. Hudig, K.P. van der Mandele (treasurer), W. van der Vorm, D. Hannema (secretary); apologies: A.J.M. Goudriaan, D.G. van Beuningen, J.C.J. Bierens

de Haan, E. Heldring. At the previous meeting on 15.10.1942, the items discussed included the purchase of eight Breitner drawings (being sold by Kunsthandel Fr. Buffa & Zonen, Amsterdam). Minute book, Boymans Museum Foundation, Rotterdam, fol. 33-36, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation Archives, Rotterdam.

47 - Letter from D. Hannema to E. Heldring et al. (A.J.M. Goudriaan, D.G. van Beuningen, J.C.J. Bierens de Haan), 22.1.1943, inv. 347, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR: 'Messrs van der Vorm and van Beek have given the Foundation a magnificent wax crayon drawing called "Faith in God", done by Jan Toorop in 1907.'

48 - Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Boymans Museum Foundation, 15.4.1943: 'The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. The chairman thanked Messrs H. van Beek and W. van der Vorm for the gift of Jan Toorop's well-known coloured drawing "Faith in God", which is a happy addition to the museum's modern art department.' Minute book Boymans Museum Foundation, Rotterdam, fol. 37, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum Foundation Archives, Rotterdam.

49 - The systematic use of income from admission charges for purchases was rejected by the Provincial Executive of South Holland in 1938; inv. 437, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. In 1939 3000 guilders was budgeted for the expansion of the collection.

50 - Exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken en teekeningen uit particuliere verzamelingen in Nederland* (Exhibition of paintings, sculptures and drawings in private collections in the Netherlands), Rotterdam (Boymans Museum; under the auspices of the Boymans Museum Foundation), 1939-1940.

51 - D. Hannema, 'Opening of the Christmas exhibition in the Boymans Museum', 23.12.1939, inv. 438, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.

52 - For the regulations formulated on its establishment, see the brochure *Stichting Museum Boymans te Rotterdam* (proof 1940). See also J.R. ter Molen, *Arti et ubi. De Stichting Museum Boymans-van Beuningen als steunpilaar onder een Rotterdams museum*, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 12-13 (hereinafter referred to as Ter Molen 1993).

53 - Regulations of the Boymans Museum Foundation Rotterdam, 1939, esp. articles 2 and 4; letter from D. Hannema to the General Affairs Department, Rotterdam City Council, 18.3.1941, in which he explained the relationship between the Museum and the Foundation, inv. 347 and 438, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. For this and for amendments to the regulations after 1945, Ter Molen 1993, pp. 13-15. For Hannema's appointment as secretary and member of the Executive Committee, minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Boymans Museum Foundation, 26.10.1939.

54 - The last meeting of the Supervisory Com-

mittee was held on 17.4.1941. From January 1941 the Supervisory Committee had met prior to the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation (on the third Thursday of the first month of each quarter). The committee was officially dissolved in November 1943. See letters from D. Hannema to F.E. Müller, 11.11.1943 (in which he proposes winding up the committee), and F.E. Müller to former members of the Supervisory Committee, 11.11.1943; inv. 347 and 439, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. According to the first regulations, the management of the Foundation was made up of a Board of Trustees with at least twelve members including the Mayor of Rotterdam and two aldermen. The latter two, who also sat on Supervisory Committee, were thus able to continue their task on the board of the Foundation.

55 - The Executive Committee was made up of the chairman, one or more vice-chairmen, a member (representing the inhabitants of the City of Rotterdam), the secretary and the treasurer. No notes of the meetings of the Executive Committee, which met more often, have survived. From 1941 Hannema and the curators made purchases out of the municipal acquisitions fund on their own authority. In 1941-1943 the local authority budgeted 4000 guilders to add to the collection. Under Mayor Müller this sum went up to 25,000 guilders for 1944 and 1945.

56 - Letter from the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Boymans Museum Foundation [F.E. Müller] to H. van Beek and W. van der Vorm, 26.1.1943, Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 17.

57 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendices 32 (letter from G. Eberstadt to the Foundation, undated; see note 18), 37 (letter from J.C. Ebbinge Wubben to G.E. van Walsum, 2.3.1954, in which he suggests, in view of the circumstances, allowing the Flersheim heirs to buy the drawing back), and 38 (letter from J.C. Ebbinge Wubben to G.E. van Walsum, 6.3.1954, in which Lintergern is referred to as the seller). Kunstzaal d'Audretsch's files were destroyed after Herman d'Audretsch's death. Some records, photographs and newspaper cuttings were all that survived and they are in private hands. No information about the purchase and sale of the drawing *Faith in God* has been found among them.

58 - Letter from H.E. d'Audretsch to D. Hannema, The Hague, 9.10.1942, inv. 351, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR; Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 15.

59 - Van Vloten 2001, pp. 48, 50 and notes 38, 45; data based on information provided by Adriana Adriaanse-de Pagter (born. 1919) to Francisca van Vloten. The letter was addressed to Adriana de Pagter (born 1919) and her future husband Jacob Adriaanse (born 1917), on the occasion of the announcement of their forthcoming marriage on 26.3.1943. The father of the bride, Pieter de Pagter, was the son of Jan de Pagter (born 1862). He was married to Catharina Provoost (born 1869), daughter of Pieter Provoost, Toorop's model for

*Faith in God*. Data verified at the Public Affairs Department, Gemeente Veere (with thanks to R.J. Sonius). Pension Golfzicht was at number E 164 Schelpweg (formerly E 150), Domburg; according to the records of the Domburg local authority, the main occupants at this address were Jan de Pagter and his wife Catharina Provoost. The family of Pieter de Pagter and his wife Cornelia Klopmeier, with their children Jan (born 1916) and Adriana (born 1919), lived at A 70 (formerly A 68 Vroonweg). Pieter stated as his occupation farmer / boarding-house keeper; evidently he ran the Pension Golfzicht with his parents. Data from Zeeland Archives, archives of the district of Domburg, register of births, deaths and marriages 1930-1939 (with thanks to Peter Blom).

60 - Van Vloten 2001, pp. 48-50 on this contact and notes 44, 45; data based on information provided by Adriana Adriaanse-de Pagter (born 1919) to Francisca van Vloten.

61 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 11.11.1946, Archives Collection, RKD. The German art dealer she mentions here may be the 'Lintergern' referred to by H.E. d'Audretsch (see notes 18 and 19).

62 - Anon., 'Museum Boymans', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 29.1.1943 (with ill.); *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30.1.1943 (the wording of the texts is identical). The announcement was followed by the information that the drawing was added to the 'Christmas exhibition of works of art from private collections' in the Boymans Museum (23.12.1942-8.2.1943). As a rule the Boymans Museum sent press releases to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* first.

63 - After the enforced evacuation of the village Bergen, which also affected Charley's studio and home 'De Vlerken', in the March and April 1943 (and possibly earlier) she stayed with her friend Do van Ravesteyn in Amsterdam; exhib. cat., M. Bosma (ed.), *Vier generaties. Een eeuw lang de kunstenaarsfamilie Toorop / Fernhout*, Utrecht (Centraal Museum) 2001, p. 85. On 7.2.1943 Charley wrote to J.G. van Gelder that she would be leaving for Amsterdam soon; J.G. van Gelder Archive, Archives Collection RKD.

64 - Nico J. Brederoo, *Charley Toorop. Leven en werken*, Amsterdam 1982, no. 128, *Portrait of Coen and Sonja Dekker*, made in 1937-1938. In Charley Toorop letters to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Archives Collection RKD, there are various references to contacts and stays with the Dekker family in the years 1937-1941 (this correspondence runs from April 1929 to the end of December 1942, and from January 1945 to the end of June 1954). The older children, Coenraad Klaas (born 1931) and Sonja (born 1933), remembered various visits from Charley, with overnight stays, and there were contacts with her son Edgar Fernhout, too. The Dekker children also knew that Hammacher lived nearby; Hammacher used to visit the Dekker family. During the war they hid Jews in their house. Cornelis Dekker collected modern art, attended lectures by H.P. Bremmer and bought several works from

Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar.

65 - Charley typed this passage in the letter twice, in the crossed-out part she said that she had exploded with rage to Dekker: 'which I will certainly have told him because I was absolutely furious about it at the time'. Her indignation in the letter also encompassed Dekker's garbled account of what she herself had said about it at the time.

66 - Exhibitions of Charley's work (1931-1939), Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 211-212; of Edgar Fernhout's (1934-1940), Mieke Rijnders, Aloys van den Berk, *In het licht van Alassio. Edgar Fernhout neo-realist*, Amsterdam-Ghent, Arnhem (Museum voor Moderne Kunst) 2002, pp. 180-183. Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 15.10.1940, Archives Collection, RKD: 'My son can't exhibit with you as long as he's taking his work to d'Audretsch, his work is going to be showing there again now'.

67 - Work by Jan Toorop hung in various group exhibitions at d'Audretsch's, in 1923 (June), 1924 (March-April), 1930 (December), 1931 (September), and on other occasions. In 1952 d'Audretsch told N.E.H.J.J. Zon, who was working on a Toorop oeuvre catalogue at the time, that he had sold all the important Toorops that passed through his hands to museums, letter Jan Toorop Collection, Archives Collection, RKD. He also pointed out that Jan Toorop sold a great deal himself (without going through a gallery) and that there was a contract between the artist and the Koninklijke Kunstzalen Kleykamp in The Hague.

68 - Peter de Ruiter, *A.M. Hammacher. Kunst als levensessentie*, Baarn 2000, p. 102. Anon. [G. Oudshoorn], 'H.E. d'Audretsch 75 jaar', *Haagsch Dagblad*, 20.12.1947; O. [G. Oudshoorn], 'D'Audretsch 75 jaar', *Het Vrije Volk*, 29.12.1947; W. Jos. de Gruyter, 'Kunsthandelaar d'Audretsch 75 jaar', *Nieuwe Courant*, 20.12.1947. H.E. d'Audretsch married Margaretha M. (Greta) Krop (1890-1971) on 5.2.1915; before this he had been married to Lucie M. Franssen (1880-1959), an author who wrote under the names Ellen Forest and Lucy Mary Pierson-Franssen. Before 1912 she and d'Audretsch lived in Paris and Antwerp. He may have met Greta in about 1912 when she was staying with her brother Hildo Krop in Paris. For Greta and Hildo Krop, E.J. Lagerweij-Polak, I. Boelema, *Hildo Krop: beeldhouwer*, The Hague 1992, p. 16.

69 - Exhibition *Der Sturm Zweiten Ausstellung. Expressionisten / Kubisten*, 1916 (March). Also exhibitions of Lodewijk Schelfhout in 1914 (April), Vereniging De Anderen (Thomas Denier, Theo van Doesburg, Vilmos Huszár, Laurens van Kuik, Louis Saalborn, Agathe Wegerif-Gravestein, Erich Wichman) 1916 (7.5-7.6; extended), Vilmos Huszár in 1919 (May) and 1924 (October), Cesar Domela Nieuwenhuis likewise in 1924 (May). For an exhibition of works by El Lissitzky, mid January-February 1924, S. Ex, E. van Hoek, *Vilmos Huszár schilder en ontwerper 1884-1960. De grote onbekende van De Stijl*, Utrecht 1985, pp. 95-

96. An exhibition of Franz Marc's work in 1913 referred to in A.B. Loosjes-Terpstra, *Moderne kunst in Nederland, 1900-1914*, Utrecht 1987 (1959), p. 119, note 11, did not go ahead (what is meant is the *Sturm* exhibition of 1916).

70 - Exhib. *Fransche stillevens*, March 1928; *Moderne Parijsche en Fransche schilders*, April 1932; *Fransche meesters*, July 1932; *Fransche schilders*, February 1937; *Fransche kunst*. Roland Oudot, March 1937. In this period there were also exhibitions of prints by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1928) and Odilon Redon (November 1932). For good reviews: Rusticus, 'Moderne schilders – Kunstzaal d'Audretsch', *Residentiebode*, 1.7.1932; Plasschaert, 'Franschen, bij d'Audretsch, Den Haag. Notities', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 16.7.1932; Jos. de Gruyter, 'Fransche schilders', *Het Vaderland*, 5.2.1937. Having lived in Paris from around 1900-1912, D'Audretsch had numerous contacts there.

71 - Exhibitions of Hannah Höch in 1934 (23.5-7.6) and 1935 (1-14.11), Vilmos Huszár in 1934 (3-22.2), Bart van der Leek in 1926 (December) and 1932 (September), Han Wezelaar in 1935 (9-26.10), sculpture by Hildo Krop, in 1930 (February), 1932 (?), 1933 (February), 1935 (March), 1936 (January) and 1938 (February). Work by these artists was also exhibited at various group exhibitions that D'Audretsch staged. See for the circle of sculptors surrounding D'Audretsch, Y. Koopmans, 'Moissej Kogan 1879-1943. Beeldhouwer zonder thuisland', *Jong Holland*, 19 (2003), no. 3, pp. 22-23.

72 - Uriël Birnbaum, the youngest son of the Zionist Nathan Birnbaum, came to the Netherlands in 1939. He was granted a residence permit thanks to a petition submitted on the initiative of Menno ter Braak, which was also signed by Cornelis Veth and Charley Toorop. His exhibition at Kunstzaal d'Audretsch was held in May 1939 (8-27.5); Persons category, Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam Website.

73 - There are photographs of this painting in surviving photographic records of Kunstzaal d'Audretsch, private collection. On the verso of these photographs there are the order numbers of the photographer A. Dingjan, Kortenaerkade 4, The Hague (numbers 421946 and 44113 respectively). For the purchase by the Zeeuws Museum, Van Vloten 2001, pp. 44, 48, 53.

74 - Dingjan Archive, Archives Collection, RKD, inv. no. 1 Job book 'Alphabetical 1936-1942', with alphabetical lists of clients by year and corresponding order numbers, and inv. no. 12, Job book '1941-1943', with order numbers by month and year, and listing the negative numbers. Negative number 421946 under order number 945 and the month of November 1942 proves to be a photograph of the painting *Saying Grace*. For this: glass negative from the Dingjan studio with this number in the RKD collection. For the photograph taken in 1944: inv. no. 2, Job book 'Alphabetical 1943-1948', order number 30, and the job book with inv. no. 13, under order number 30, a reference to the month of January 1944 and the negative number 44113. The glass plate negative with

this number from the studio of Lex (A.J.A.A.) Dingjan is also a picture of *Saying Grace*. For this archive, Niek Tom, 'Een stapeltje oude schriften', *RKD Bulletin*, 1998, no. 1, pp. 16-18, this author has entered all the legible negative numbers in the job books into a database. This (in-house) database means that when a Dingjan number is entered both the client and the date of an order can be retrieved and augmented with data from the archive. If the negative survived, the order for the photograph can be identified. With thanks to Niek Tom and Henk Platenburg, RKD.

75 - Provenance in Van Vloten 2001, p. 53; the label referred to in note 53, p. 58, is a card cut from a larger sheet, bearing the words, written in ink: 'G. Oudshoorn (Rotterdamsche Bank) 's Gravenhage.- / Collectie Mr. W.A.M. Weitjens-Nijmegen.' The painting may have been in these collections around 1942. If, as Van Vloten suggests, the latter name refers to the lawyer W.M.A. Weintjes, a member of the High Court in 1941-1946 (condemned by the Tribunal in 1948 for his actions during the war), his name is spelt wrongly on the card. G. Oudshoorn is probably the art critic G. Oudshoorn, who worked as a teller at the Rotterdamsche Bank and at the same time as an art critic for the *Haagsch Dagblad*, and later also for *Het Parool*. The art critic Gijsbertus Oudshoorn (1894-1965) bought works from Kunstzaal d'Audretsch and other dealers, but is known primarily as a collector of primitive and contemporary art. After 1945 he sold several of the early modern works he owned, some of them to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar in 1950. See Hans Redeker, 'KunstKennersKeuze', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19.12.1964; A.T. Kamphoff, 'In memoriam G. Oudshoorn', *Het Parool*, 20.2.1965; letter from J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to the author, 12.05.2006. On the verso of the work, which is painted on artist's board, there is also a customs stamp, 'Schweiz.Zollamt-Zürich-Eilgut'. Without a date, this stamp gives nothing to go on.

76 - When they acquired it neither the art dealer Ivo Bouwman nor the Zeeuws Museum was aware that the painting had been Jewish property before 1940; the reference to the Ernst Flersheim Collection in exhib. cat., *Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam (Larensche Kunsthandel) 1909, no. 52, was known. *Saying Grace* was exhibited at *Licht door kleur*, The Hague (Haags Gemeentemuseum), 18.12.1976-27.2.1977, no. 88; *Impressionists and post-impressionists from the Netherlands*, Tokyo (The Seibu Museum of Art), 19.4-21.5.1980; exhib., *Mondriaan en Toorop temidden van hun tijdgenoten in Domburg*, Middelburg (Zeeuws Museum), 17.9.1994-15.1.1995 (see p. 83, fig. 47 in Francisca van Vloten et al., *Reünie op 't Duin. Mondriaan en tijdgenoten in Zeeland*, Zwolle 1995).

77 - Dingjan Archive, Archives Collection, RKD, inv. no. 1 Job book 'Alphabetical 1936-1942', order number 168, year 1942; inv. no. 12, Job book '1941-1943', under the same order number, month March 1942, the negative number 42590, which proves to be a picture of the drawing of the apostle Paul of 1912. No

negative of the drawing *Faith in God* has been found in this collection.

78 - For two drawings of St Paul dating from 1911 (both so dated, both portrayals in which the *left hand* points upward), a version of 1913 and a later version done in 1926: Van Vloten 2001, pp. 46-47, p. 56 note 29.

79 - Miek Janssen, *Schets over het leven en enkele werken van Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam s.a. [1920], p. 23, as 'collectie Flersheim Frankfort a/M.' (without illustration). Miek Janssen first met Toorop in 1912, describes the apostle drawing in the Flersheim Collection furthermore as having been made that year and praises the powerful handling of line: two things that apply to the sheet sold by H.E. d'Audretsch. See Albert Plasschaert, *Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam 1925, p. 51, no. 14.

80 - Exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van werken van Jan Toorop met verzen van Miek Janssen*, The Hague (Kunsthandel Theo Neuhuys), February 1914, no. 5 (as 'Paulus predikende op den Areopaag – eigendom van Herrn Ernst Flersheim' ('Paul preaching on the Areopagus – property of Mr Ernst Flersheim')); Dordrecht (Teekengenootschap Pictura), April-May 1914, no. 3 (as 'eigendom van Herrn Ernst Flersheim, Frankfort a.M.' ('property of Mr Ernst Flersheim, Frankfurt a.M.')). In the copy of the catalogue held by the RKD in The Hague, which comes from the collection of Albert Plasschaert, he added: '1912 / with the raised hands'). Miek Janssen may have remembered the drawing from these exhibitions. In 1912-1913 the apostle drawing of 1912 was still in the possession of Jan Toorop himself: exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van werken door Jan Toorop*, Rotterdam (Kunstzalen Unger & Van Mens), 15.11-15.12.1912, no. 19; exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen*, Domburg, July-August 1913, no. 59. Illustrations of the drawing of Paul were published on the occasion of these exhibitions in: C.C., 'Tentoonstelling van werken door Jan Toorop. Kunstzalen Unger & Van Mens', *Wereldkroniek*, 19 (1912/1913), no. 34 (23.11.1912), p. 545 (as 'Paulus predikt op den Areopagus (1912)'); N.H. Wolf, 'Naar Domburg', *De Kunst*, 1912 / 1913 (no. 18.8.1913), pp. 725-729 (fig. p. 725, as: 'Paulus predikende op den Areopaag over den onbekenden God' ('Paul preaching on the Areopagus about the unknown God'))).

81 - Postcard from Jan Toorop to Anthonij Nolet, 10.9.1923, written in connection with possible loans for a Toorop exhibition in Nijmegen: 'There are some fine large works in Frankfurt a/m with Flersheim, the Thames (large canvas), "Saying Grace", the large Paul (preaching on the Areopagus), "Faith in God", but this may be difficult now. He lives in Myliusstrasse'; inv. 1978.08.1-240, collection of Het Valkhof Museum, Nijmegen. Plasschaert 1925, op. cit. (note 79), p. 51, no. 14 (fig.). In the end the drawing of Paul from the Nolet Collection was shown at the exhibition, see exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van werken van Jan Toorop*, Nijmegen (Gebouw der R.K. Militairen Vereeniging), 15.10-3.11.1923, no. 32 (as 'H. Paulus' ('St Paul'))).

82 - Letter from D. Hannema to the local authority records office, 21.12.1942, listed as 'Jan Toorop, Paul, drawing' (without technical data), inv. 439, Boymans Museum Archive, GAR. The drawing was reported so that it could be added to the insurance schedule for the Christmas Exhibition of 1942 (23.12.1942-8.2.1943), which was staged in the school at number 96 Hillevliet, Rotterdam, as: 'Collection of Dr D. Hannema, Javastraat 6'. The value for insurance purposes was stated as 2500 guilders (as a comparison: the paintings by Carel Willink and Pyke Koch from the Jacob Mees Collection were insured for 1500 guilders each). All told, five Christmas exhibitions were organized in 1942. In the Boymans Museum: *Schilderijen uit particuliere verzamelingen; De prentkunst rondom Rubens; De zwarte kunst prent*. In the Kunstenaarshuis, 35a Witte de Withstraat: *Gezichten in en om Rotterdam*, 'drawings and watercolours by Rotterdam artists made for the Municipal Archives as unemployment relief work'. In Hillevliet school: *Moderne schilderijen, tekeningen en grafiek*, compiled from Rotterdam private collections and curated by the Municipal Works Department. See: anon., 'Rond de Kersttentoonstellingen', *Dagblad van Rotterdam*, 24.12.1942; 'Opening der Kersttentoonstelling' (opening speech by Mayor F.E. Müller, 23.12.1942), inv. 439, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR; exhib. cat., *Kersttentoonstelling van oude en moderne schilderijen uit particuliere verzamelingen*, Rotterdam (Boyman's Museum), 1942-1943. Toorop's other drawings of St Paul were not on the market at this time or are less likely candidates for reasons of quality. See for a drawing of St Paul dating from 1911 originally in the Anthonij Nolet Collection, Nijmegen, subsequently (c. 1928/1929) in the W.J.R. Dreesmann Collection: exhib. cat., *Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1941, no. 121. According to the inventory made by N.E.H.J.J. Zon c. 1950 (Jan Toorop Collection, Archives Collection, RKD), it was still in this collection then. From 1924 the second version of 1911 was certainly in the collection of the Ministry of Public Education, Department of Fine Art (Ministerie voor Openbaar Onderwijs, Directie Schone Kunsten / Ministère Instruction Publique (Direction générale des Beaux Arts), in Brussels. For this, photographic data from the Archives Centrales Iconographiques d'Art National (now KIK) Brussels 1924 and 1953. See also Plasschaert 1925, op. cit. (note 79), p. 50, no. 6 (fig. 30). The more crudely drawn St Paul of 1913 originally belonged to Mr and. D. H. Breukink, Utrecht. This sheet was exhibited in 1928 as being in this collection. See exhib. cat., *Eere-tentoonstelling Jan Toorop*, The Hague (Pulchri Studio), 4-26.4.1928, no. 117; sale Amsterdam (Mak van Waay), 10-12.11.1970, no. 430; Amsterdam (Christie's), 26-27.05.1988, no. 174. Given its smaller size and anomalous style, the St Paul drawing of 1926 (used as a study sheet) is not to be considered a candidate for the purchase by Hannema. See for this drawing sale *Atelier Toorop*, Amsterdam (A. Mak), 15.5.1928, no. 54 (fig.) (annotated copy RKD with note: 'Spanjaard'); sale Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 1.12.1997, no. 332 (fig.) (with M.L. de Boer given as the provenance).

83 - *Tentoonstelling van Nederlandsche en Fransche Kunst*, Amsterdam (Kunsthandel N.V.), 1949 (summer), no. 28 (fig.). The drawing could have come from Hannema: after his release from an internment camp in 1946 he sold various items from his collection. For the sale in 1980, Amsterdam (Sotheby Mak van Waay), 28-29.10.1980, no. 298.

84 - J. Beugeling et al., *Thuis gebracht. Zes opstellen en zestig aanwinsten bijeengelezen ter ere van Gerard Lemmens*, Nijmegen 1998, fig. 57; Francisca van Vloten, 'Nieuwste ontwikkelingen', Appendix to Van Vloten 2001, Website Zeeuws Tijdschrift, Archive, at: volume 51 (2001), nos. 3-4; exhib. cat., Peter van der Coelen, Karin van Lieverloo et al., *Jan Toorop. Portrettist*, Nijmegen (Het Valkhof Museum) 2003, pp. 117-118, cat. no. 42B (inv. 1984.02.2; captioned 'St Paul', signed and dated 'J.Th. Toorop / 1912'; black chalk, 1090 x 1013 mm). With thanks to Peter van der Coelen, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam.

85 - Gordon F. Sander, *The Frank Family that Survived. A Twentieth-Century Odyssey*, London 2004.

86 - For the Dienststelle Mühlmann, Aalders 1999, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 82-85. Kajetan Mühlmann did not hesitate to use threats in order to put potential sellers under pressure.

87 - Muller, Schretlen 2002, op. cit. (note 9), p. 161. See also Sander 2004, op. cit. (note 85), pp. 106, 140, 148; A. Venema, *Kunsthandel in Nederland 1940-1945*, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 285-286, 288. For sales by Kunstzaal d'Audretsch to the occupying forces in 1943 (to H. Herbst, director of the Dorotheum auction house, Vienna, and H. Rudolph, Berlin) see the Herkomst Gezocht Website. H.E. d'Audretsch was a member of the Dutch Kultuurkamer, part of the occupying forces' efforts to Nazify art and culture. The formation of the Dutch Kultuurkamer was announced on 25 November 1941. With the establishment of the first guilds on 22 January 1942 the Kultuurkamer became operational and the obligation to become a member of it in order to practise a profession directly related to art and culture came into effect. On 25 April 1942 a supplementary decree governing the art trade was issued, banning any dealings in art outside the supervision of the Kultuurkamer and making the registration of all dealings compulsory.

88 - The art gallery K. Legat & Mainz had been located at 65a Zeestraat (in the same building as the Mesdag Panorama) since about 1940. The name K. Legat appears in the Hague street directories from the year 1939/1940. In these period there were no commercial dealings between Legat and Frank and Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar; see accounts book and sales ledger Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar for these years, private collection.

89 - F.C. d'Audretsch was taken hostage with 672 others on 13.7.1942; released on 23.10.1942. An initial arrest of some 450 hostages had taken place on 4.5.1942. Executions of hostages followed on 15 August (in

response to a bomb attack on a transport train in Rotterdam) and 16 October 1942 (following a number of acts of sabotage in the east of the country). See J.C.H. Blom et al., *De gijzelaars van Sint Michielsgestel en Haaren. Het dubbele gezicht van hun geschiedenis*, s.l. 1992; W. Boerhave Beekman (ed.), *Gedenkboek gijzelaarskamp Haaren*, The Hague 1947, pp. 45-51, 57-63 and p. 277 for the record of F.C. d'Audretsch as a hostage; for this also Venema 1986, op. cit. (note 87), p. 288. The Germans reported extensively on the hostage-taking and liquidations (of 5 and 15 hostages respectively) in order to intensify the threat. In the course of October 1942, however, the policy was changed and most of the hostages were released over the next few months (the largest number in December 1942).

90 - On these contacts, Igor Cornelissen, *De GPOe op de Overtoom. Spionnen voor Moskou 1920-1940*, Amsterdam 1989; on Hildo Krop esp. pp. 118-132; for Hildo Krop and the Hague-based painter Han Pieck (1895-1972), Anton Pieck's twin brother, and his role as a secret agent, pp. 59, 70, 92-117, 255; further on the friendship with John Rädecker and Charley Toorop, p. 268. On Hildo Krop's political proclivities also, E.J. Lagerweij-Polak, I. Boelema, *Hildo Krop: beeldhouwer*, The Hague 1992, pp. 70-74. H.E. d'Audretsch and his wife moreover had several close friendships with Jewish people.

91 - The house at 32 Celebesstraat was the joint property of Hendrik Krop (Hildo Krop's brother) and H.E. d'Audretsch. Walter Krivitsky is a pseudonym for Samuel Kriberg, introduced to the Krop family as Dr Martin Lessner, antique dealer. Cornelissen 1989, op. cit. (note 90), p. 188, p. 290 (note 4).

92 - Registration of Kunstzaal d'Audretsch in the Hague Chamber of Commerce Archives: Companies Register, 1921-1969, National Archives, The Hague (see also note 17). According to H.E. d'Audretsch's statement on 6 March 1946, the art dealership was wound up on 30 September 1945, on 25 April 1946 he moved to Amerongen. W. Jos. de Gruyter, 'Kunsthandelaar d'Audretsch 75 jaar', *Nieuwe Courant*, 20.12.1947.

93 - Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 161-162, 196-197; Bosma 2001, op. cit. (note 63), p. 85. See Charley Toorop to G. Knuttel, 17.7.1946, in reference to the possible inclusion of Jan Sluijters in the *Gerijpte Kunst* exhibition in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague: 'You will get and hear a great deal of unpleasantness about Jan Sluyters, it might be advisable to drop him for the time being in connection with our artists who fell in the same battle, when he behaved so spinelessly towards the enemy!'. In his reply Knuttel defended his decision and pointed out that Sluijters had been cleared; inv. 204, in Archief Dienst voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Gemeentemuseum), since 1945 Dienst voor Schone Kunsten, The Hague Municipal Archives.

94 - Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), no. 128 (*Portrait of Coen and Sonja Dekker*, 1937-1938), no. 11 (*Self-portrait with Fur Collar*, 1940),



- no. 95, (*Clown*, 1941); exhib. cat., *Gerijpte Kunst*, The Hague (Gemeentemuseum, The Hague) 12.10-17.11.1946, nos. 185, 190 and 191 respectively.
- 95 - Information about the preparations for the exhibition in inv. 202-204, Archief Dienst voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Gemeentemuseum), since 1945 Dienst voor Schone Kunsten, The Hague Municipal Archives. Lengthy reports about the reopening of the museum in *Het Vrije Volk*, 21.9.1946; *De Telex*, 12.10.1946.
- 96 - For this exhibition (with two other artists) in Frankfurt a/M., anon., 'Jan Toorop', *De Telegraaf*, 14.12.1905 (translation of a review in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*).
- 97 - Van Vloten 2001, pp. 43-44, 47-48. Around the turn of the century Domburg was popular as a seaside resort among a cultural elite, see Ineke Spaander, Paul van der Velde (ed.), *Reünie op 't Duin; Mondriaan en tijdgenoten*, Zwolle 1994.
- 98 - Ernst Flersheim, *Lebenserinnerungen* (typescript made from his dictation by Rudolf Wertheim), Brussels 1938, in Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 12: 'Ich habe eine grössere Anzahl Bilder von Toorop erworben. Unter anderem hat er Edith als 10jähriges Kind mit Farbstift mich als etwa 50jährigen Mann mit Kohle gezeichnet. Ausserdem besaßen wir eine Anzahl Skizzen von ihm aus der Domburger Gegend und der Bevölkerung, die er meist bei Spaziergängen in unserer Gesellschaft gezeichnet hat' ('I acquired a large number of pictures from Toorop. Among other things he drew Edith as a child of ten in crayon and me as a man of about fifty in charcoal. We also own a number of sketches by him of the Domburg neighbourhood and the people, which for the most part he drew when strolling in our company.')
- 99 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 12 (see also note 98).
- 100 - For her stay in Westkapelle, Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 16.7, 21.9, 26.9 and 8.10.1930; Archives Collection, RKD. A initial contingent of the Flersheim family arrived around the middle of June; the various families and partners probably remained there until about the end of July 1930; Van Vloten 2001, p. 48.
- 101 - Letter from H.E. d'Audretsch to D. Hannema, 15.1.1937, inv. 437, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR; Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendix 6. No other correspondence from H.E. d'Audretsch offering the Boymans Museum a work by Jan Toorop has been found for these years. This is borne out by the carbon copies of D. Hannema's outgoing letters, which have been preserved; Boymans Museum Archives, GAR
- 102 - W. Jos. de Gruyter, 'Kunsthandelaar d'Audretsch 75 jaar', *Nieuwe Courant*, 20.12.1947.
- 103 - On 31.7.1913 H.E. d'Audretsch took over Kunstzaal J.J. Biesing on the Hooze Wal for 800 guilders, including stock. From September 1913 onwards, Biesing advertised exclusively from his newly fitted out art gallery at Molenstraat 65a-67 in The Hague; *De Hofstad*, 23.8, 6.9.1913. On letterheads, announcements etc. the name used was Kunstzalen d'Audretsch, Hooze Wal 16-16A. Kunstzaal d'Audretsch had been at 119 Noordeinde since 1918.
- 104 - See the hanging of the annexe in Van Hogendorpplein, fig. p. 62 in J.R. ter Molen (ed.), *150 jaar Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Een reeks beeldbepalende verzamelaars*, Rotterdam 1999. Examples of early exhibitions of sculpture at D'Audretsch: January 1921 (J. Mendes da Costa, W. van Konijnenburg), May 1921 (H. Krop, J. Polet, J. Rädecker), December 1923 (J. Altorf, J. Mendes da Costa, H. Krop, Chr. van Lanooy, G. Minne, J. Rädecker, J. Vermeire, L. Zijl).
- 105 - Letters from H.E. d'Audretsch to D. Hannema, dated 1.9.1935 (Signac, *Saint Briac. Le Port-Hue*, MK 1851), 14.1.1936 (Kees van Dongen, *De gele deur*, MK 1188), 6.11.1928 (Théo van Rysselberghe, *Staan naakt voor de spiegel*, MK 1753), 29.3 and 7.4.1936 (André Derain, *Naakt*; in D. Hannema's private collection), 7.4.1936 (Charles Despiau, *Maria Lani*; in D. Hannema's private collection), inv. 305, 322, 321 and 324, 325 respectively, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. Hannema acquired the works by Derain and Despiau in exchange for a painting by Jongkind from his parents' collection, D. Hannema, *Flitsen uit mijn leven als verzamelaar en museumdirecteur*, Rotterdam 1973, p. 152. He gave the Despiau bust to the museum on permanent loan after the Christmas exhibition of 1938-1939. Exhib. cat., *Schilderijen, tekeningen en beeldhouwwerken uit particuliere Nederlandsche verzamelingen*, Rotterdam (Museum Boymans), no. 61. D. Hannema, *Beschrijvende catalogus van de schilderijen, beeldhouwwerken, aquarellen en tekeningen*, Rotterdam 1967, nos. 66, 431.
- 106 - Correspondence between H.E. d'Audretsch and D. Hannema, dated 20.12.1935 and 6.2.1936 (Marie Laurencin), 2.2.1937 (Amedeo Modigliani), 21.6.1937 (Georges Braque), inv. 324, 328, 330 respectively, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.
- 107 - For Hélène Kröller-Müller and Picasso, Jan van Adrichem, *De ontvangst van de moderne kunst in Nederland 1910-2000. Picasso als pars pro toto*, Amsterdam 2001, p. 136. For Redon, Aukje Vergeest, *The French Collection. Nineteenth-century French paintings in Dutch public collections*, Amsterdam 2000, p. 271 (no. 859). For the Gemeentemuseum The Hague see, Jonieke van Es, *Collector's items. 100+1 werken in de collectie moderne kunst van het Gemeentemuseum Den Haag*, Zwolle, The Hague 1998, for the purchase of the Redon through D'Audretsch in 1930, p. 37; for the purchase of the Maillol through D'Audretsch in 1936, p. 50; for the purchase of the Jan Toorop through D'Audretsch in 1922, p. 26. See also Albert Plasschaert on a painting by Jan Toorop that D'Audretsch had for sale in 1929 (*Interieur met drie meisjes*, of 1887); Plasschaert 1925, op. cit. (note 79), p. 34, 1887 no. 1 (annotated copy, Archives Collection, RKD).
- 108 - Cornelis Veth, 'Belangrijk doek van Toorop ontdekt', *De Telegraaf*, 23.1.1937; anon., 'Een onbekende Jan Toorop', *Haagsche Courant*, 28.1.1937; other cuttings in Exhibition documentation, *Vroege werken van Jan Toorop*, 22.2-14.3.1937, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.
- 109 - Announcement dated 30.1.1937 in *Het Algemeen Handelsblad*, *De Residentiebode*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, *Het Vaderland* and others. The large size of the canvas was stressed: 'it is probably the largest work from this period'.
- 110 - Thérèse Thomas, Cécile Dulière, *Anna Boch 1848-1936*, Morlanwez (Musée Royal de Mariemont), Tournai 2000, pp. 143-156, p. 156 for the estimated value of 2500 BF, and the selling price of 9000 BF. Sale, *Catalogue des tableaux, aquarelles, dessins, eaux-fortes par Anna Boch composant son atelier et des tableaux modernes ...*, Brussels (Galerie Le Roy), 15.12.1936, no. 129 (fig. 7). On the provenance from the Boch sale, H.E. van Gelder, 'Toorop-documentatie', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, 47 (1937) volume 93, pp. 288-289. Further Collection Records, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.
- 111 - Appreciative reactions in *Het Vaderland*, 29.1.1937, *Het Volk*, 29.1.1937, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 2.2.1937, *De Telegraaf*, 2.2.1937 and others. The report in *De Telegraaf* also mentioned the upcoming Toorop exhibition at G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's gallery.
- 112 - Anon. (H.E. van Gelder), 'Vroege werken van Jan Toorop. Tentoonstelling in het Gemeentemuseum 's-Gravenhage', *Het Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21.2.1937.
- 113 - Cuttings in Exhibition documents, *Vroege werken van Jan Toorop*, 22.2-14.3.1937, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.
- 114 - Cornelis Veth, 'Vroeg werk van Jan Toorop. Zuiverder waardeering van zijn figuur is dringend noodig', *De Telegraaf*, 2.3.1937.
- 115 - E., 'Toorop's vroege werk. Tentoonstelling in het gemeentemuseum te Den Haag', *Het Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10.3.1937.
- 116 - W. Jos. de Gruyter, 'De nieuwe Toorop in 't Gemeentemuseum', *Het Vaderland*, 29.1.1937; *ibid.*, 'Vroege werken door Jan Toorop in het Gemeentemuseum', *Het Vaderland*, 6.3.1937; H.A. Gerretsen, 'Vroege werken van Toorop in het Gemeentemuseum te Den Haag', *Algemeen Weekblad*, 2.4.1937; Jan N., 'Het vroege werk van Jan Toorop. In het Gemeente-Museum te 's-Gravenhage', *De Maasbode*, 11.3.1937. Cuttings in Exhibition documentation, *Vroege werken van Jan Toorop*, 22.2-14.3.1937, Gemeentemuseum, The Hague.
- 117 - Jan N., 'Een onbekend werk van Jan Toorop', *De Maasbode* 4.2.1937.

118 - Anon., 'Museum Boymans', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 21.11.1921; D. Hannema, 'De ontwikkeling van het Museum Boymans', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, undated cutting (1921), Boymans Museum cuttings book, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam.

119 - P.J. Hoogstrate, M.P.F.G. Kuper, 'Honderdvijftig jaar Museum Boymans Van Beuningen 1849-1999', pp. 60-63 in Ter Molen, op. cit. (note 104).

120 - Works by J. Toorop on permanent loan in 1925-1948: *The Cellist Pablo Casals*, inv. MK 2284 (H. Nijgh Collection, donated in 1948); 1926-1927 *The Iron Founder* (drawing, A. Nolet Collection); 1927-1928, 1936-1937, 1937(?) - 1957 *The Doorkeepers of the Sea*, inv. MK 2429 (J.H. Jurriaanse Collection; donated in 1957); 1929-1932 *Portrait d'une anglaise* (drawing, Charley Toorop Collection); 1929-1932 *Tennis Court* (painting, Charley Toorop Collection); 1929-1932 *Sea near Katwijk* (painting, Charley Toorop Collection); 1935-1937 *The Woodcutter* (painting, E. Ekker Collection). Since about 1930-1937 D. Hannema had in his personal collection Jan Toorop's painting *Portrait of the Art Critic Georges Destrée* (1888), purchased from Kunstzaal d'Audretsch, The Hague, as well as several works on paper (date of acquisition unknown); letter from D. Hannema to N.E.H.J.J. Zon, Jan Toorop Collection, Archives RKD.

121 - From 1924 to 1935 the acquisitions budget of 10,000 guilders was spent in its entirety on the annuity stipulated by the donor when he made the gift; A. Hopmans, M. Sellink, 'Dr. A.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis 1850-1935', pp. 223-224, 228-229 in Ter Molen, op. cit. (note 104).

122 - The following acquisitions, by year: 1921 *Self-portrait in Javanese dress*, inv. MB 761 (watercolour); 1924 *Portrait of Dr A.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis*, inv. JTT 7 (drawing); 1925 *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, inv. JTT 8 (drawing); 1931 *Portrait of Dr A.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis*, inv. JTT 9 (drawing; preliminary study for JTT 7); 1931 *The Strike (Thirst for Justice)*, inv. MB 564 (drawing); 1934 *Portrait of Paul Verlaine*, inv. MB 507 (drawing); 1935 *Madonna and Angels*, inv. JTT 14 (pastel); 1937 *The Thames*, inv. MK 2090 (painting); 1939 *Still Life with Herrings*, inv. MK 2140 (painting); 1940 *Sea*, inv. St. 3 (painting; formerly as H.W. Mesdag); 1940 *Village Funeral*, inv. MB 563 (watercolour); *Interior with Miss Annie Hall*, inv. JTT 12 (watercolour); *Lifting Potatoes*, inv. JTT 16 (drawing); 1943 *Faith in God*, inv. St. 41/MB 557-RET (drawing); *Café Scene*, inv. JTT 15 (drawing). On the collected prints, letter from former director Pieter Haverkorn van Rijsewijk to Albert Plasschaert, Rotterdam, 23.9.1904, with a full list (up to the end of 1903) and the request to advise him of any omissions; on this also postcards from Jan Toorop to Albert Plasschaert, 4.8.1904 and 11.4.1910, in Jan Toorop Collection, Archives Collection, RKD.

123 - Various requests from overseas for the catalogue, from among others Félix Fénéon, Galerie Eug. Blot, Paul Rosenberg, inv. 328, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.

124 - Anon., 'Opening van de Kersttentoonstelling: "Van Georges Seurat tot Jan Toorop"', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 24.12.1936; anon. [D. Hannema], 'Museum Boymans. De Kersttentoonstelling', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 25.12.1936.

125 - Exhib. cat., *Kersttentoonstelling in het Boymans*, Rotterdam (Boymans Museum), 23.12.1932-17.1.1933, no. 51 (fig.); exhib. cat., *Schilderijen uit de divisionistische school van Georges Seurat tot Jan Toorop*, Rotterdam (Boymans Museum), 23.12.1936-25.1.1937, no. 68 (fig.), C. van Stolk Collection, 8 Javastraat, Rotterdam. This painting was insured for 5000 guilders; transport and insurance list Christmas exhibition 1936-1937, inv. 327-328, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. As a comparison: the insured value of the *Doorkeepers of the Sea* was also 5000 guilders; the smaller Toorop canvas from Hannema's parents' collection, *The Locks at Katwijk*, was insured for 1200 guilders.

126 - Exhib. cat., *Schilderijen uit de divisionistische school van Georges Seurat tot Jan Toorop*, Rotterdam (Boymans Museum), 23.12.1936-25.1.1937, no. 69 (fig.), J.H. Jurriaanse Collection, The Hague. Letter from Hannema to C.H. de Jonge, Centraal Museum Utrecht, 2.4.1941: Hannema would like the painting from the estate of J.H. Jurriaanse for his own collection. Letter from J.H. Jurriaanse to Hannema, 28.5.1928 in which he asks that the *Doorkeepers* be returned to him at his home at the end of the Toorop exhibition in the Rotterdamse Kunstkring. Before this exhibition, which began in the Pulchri Studio, The Hague, the work had evidently been on loan to the Boymans Museum. See also the letter from J.H. Jurriaanse to J.G. van Gelder, 19.10.1928, in which he thanks him for sending his comments about his painting; inv. 352, 304, 625 respectively, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. J.E. Jurriaanse Bequest, Rotterdam, 1957.

127 - Anon., 'H.P. Bremmer over Jan Toorop', *Het Vaderland*, 14.2.1935. For certain facts Bremmer evidently drew on, P. Zilcken, 'Jan Toorop', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, 8 (1898) volume 15, pp. 105-129 (but gave his opinion a personal spin).

128 - On Nijland, the first artist whose work he published, G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, p. 49 in: *Bij de 70<sup>ste</sup> verjaardag van Dirk Nijland. Een vriendenboek*, Rotterdam 1951; W. Feltkamp (inl.), *Nieuwe lithographieën van Dirk Nijland*, Leiden (G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Morschweg 20), s.a. [1929]. In 1928 he published various lithographs and the album of Zuyder Zee works by Nijland; he also published etchings by Jan Toorop in the same year. In 1932 he published three lithographs by Isaac Israëls, drawn in the Scala Theatre in The Hague especially for this edition. See also, *Grafiek uitgegeven door G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. Dirk Nijland, Jan Toorop, S. Moulijn, Charley Toorop, E. Pauw, Jan Sluijters, A.J. de Graag, A. Egter van Wissekerk, W.H. Mühlstaff*, Leiden (G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Morschweg 20), 1930. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar moved from Morschweg to number 1 Breestraat in Leiden. With thanks to J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar.

129 - H.J. Vink, 'H.P. Bremmer. Kunstpedagoog en ondersteuner van kunstenaars', *Jaarboek 1984. Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe*, The Hague 1985, pp. 92-93; Doris Wintgens Hötte, 'Retour à l'ordre. Leiden in de jaren dertig', pp. 288-291 in: Doris Wintgens Hötte, Ankie de Jongh-Vermeulen (eds.), *Dageraad van de Moderne Kunst. Leiden en omgeving 1890-1940*, Leiden (Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal), Zwolle 1999.

130 - On these publications, letters 17.4.1929 to 17.1.1933, Archives Collection, RKD. For the N.S.B.K., letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 2.5.1932, in which she gives him John Rädecker's address in Amsterdam (Amsteldijk 10), 'You write to him about the society and I'll talk to him about it.-'; postcard from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 17.1.1933: 'I look forward to attending the meeting in The Hague on 2 Febr.'; Archives Collection, RKD. Bart van der Leek became involved in this plan in the course of 1933, p. 161 in: Cees Hilhorst (ed.), *Vriendschap op afstand. De correspondentie tussen Bart van der Leek en H.P. Bremmer*, RKD-Bronnenreeks volume I, Bussum 1999.

131 - Anon., 'Nieuwe schilders- en beeldhouwerskring, Rotterdamsche kunstkring, Rotterdam', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 3.6.1933. For the relationship with Bremmer also: W. Jos. de Gruyter, 'Werk van leden van den N.S.B. Kunsthandel Nieuwenhuizen Segaar I', *Het Vaderland*, 7.9.1933.

132 - Exhib., *Nieuwe schilders- en beeldhouwerskring N.S.B.*, The Hague (Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar), 2-24.9.1933. Artists who took part: J. Albert, R. Bremmer, H.A. Daalhoff, A. Herbin, I. Israëls, B. van der Leek, R. Martinez, J. Mendes da Costa, S. Moulijn, J. Nieweg, D. Nijland, J. Rädecker, J. Sluijters, C. Toorop, T.G.M. van Hetinga Tromp, A.C. Willink. The change of address notice and announcement of this exhibition is dated The Hague, 29.8.1933; cuttings book Kunsthandel, G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, private collection.

133 - Exhibition overview Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 211-212; for the worsening sales opportunities, letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar from Bergen, dated 26.7.1934: 'It is a very wretched time' - in reference to the difficulty in selling *Meal with Friends*. This correspondence also for the growing input (at Charley's request) by Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar.

134 - Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, Gemeentearchief, The Hague.

135 - On 27.4.1931 Rädecker wrote that he had received 'a magnificent collection of photos of her father' from Charley, and various publications for his new design (the earlier one, a nude, had been rejected), on 5.12.1932 about the indications she had given him; letters from J. Rädecker to T.B. van Lelyveld, inv. 94, Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, Gemeentearchief, The Hague. Further Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note

64), pp. 123-124, 176-179. Here also for a criticism by Charley in *Vooruit* of the denigrating things said at the council meeting, critically quoted in *Het Vaderland*, 16.1.1936.

136 - Exhib., *Nieuwe schilders- en beeldhouwerskring N.S.B.*, The Hague (Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar), 2.9-29.9.1933 (opening exhibition); Rusticus, *Nieuwe schilders- en beeldhouwerskring N.S.B.*, *De Residentiebode*, 19.9.1933. The Toorop head was cast in bronze in December 1932 in order to generate additional funds for the monument and was subsequently offered for sale, without result, to various museums (Hannema received such an offer on 6.1.1933). This remained the only example; it has been in the collection of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, since 1957 (inv. BEK 1319).

137 - On 4.7.1935 John Radecker wrote to T.B. van Lelyveld, secretary of the Toorop Committee, that in his view a date could be set for the unveiling of the Toorop monument, inv. 94, Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, Haags Gemeentearchief, The Hague.

138 - Acceptance was withheld in the sessions of 27.12.1935 and 9.3.1936. These council meetings, with notes on the design of the monument, covered in *Het Vaderland*, 14.12 and 23.12.1935; Charley on the derogatory comments in the council meeting in *Vooruit*, criticism quoted in *Het Vaderland*, 16.1.1936, and elsewhere. Approval finally given on 5.10.1936, a resolution approved by the Provincial Executive on 3.11.1936. Letter from the council to the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, The Hague 17.11.1936, in Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, Gemeentearchief, The Hague.

139 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 10.12.1935, Archives Collection, RKD. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's first letter on the subject has not survived. At Kunstzaal d'Audretsch in The Hague she was exhibiting *Portraits and new works*, until 7.12 (extended to 14.12.1935). Her son Edgar: *Exhibition of works by Edgar Fernhout*, The Hague (Kunstzaal d'Audretsch), 20.1-12.2.1936. Charley's work could also still be seen in Leiden, *Charley Toorop*, exhib. Leidsche Kunstvereniging (De Lakenhal), 20.12.1935-12.1.1936.

140 - In 1923 the Annie Everts gallery in Rotterdam, in consultation with Charley, staged an exhibition of her work alongside that of Jan Toorop, *Werken door Jan Toorop en Charley Toorop*, Rotterdam (Kunsthandel Everts), 20.12.1923-15.1.1924, postcard from Jan Toorop to Albert Plasschaert, 21.12.1923, Jan Toorop Collection, Archives RKD, The Hague. In 1931 there was talk of an exhibition where there would also be early work by Jan Toorop; possibly Charley Toorop was referring to this plan. Letter from Charley Toorop to Leo Gestel, Paris, 28.2.1931, Leo Gestel Archive, Archives Collection, RKD.

141 - Letter from G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to Charley Toorop (carbon copy), The Hague,

11.12.1935, Archives Collection, RKD.

142 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 14.12.1935, Archives Collection, RKD.

143 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 14.12.1935, Archives Collection, RKD. Exhib., *Schilderijen van Ch. Toorop en E. Fernhout*, Utrecht (Vereniging 'Voor de Kunst'), 22.2-15.3.1936.

144 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 14.12.1935, Archives Collection, RKD. She also chose Toorop's *Doorkeepers* for the exhibition at Annie Everts's gallery in 1923 (see note 127). In the exhibition plan in 1931 (see note 127) Charley likewise suggested the *Doorkeepers* and *The Young Generation*, letter from Charley Toorop to Leo Gestel, Paris, 28.2.1931, Leo Gestel Archive, Archives Collection, RKD.

145 - Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 24.11 and 12.12.1936, Archives Collection, RKD.

146 - Anon., 'Drie generaties. De Toorop's: grootvader, dochter en kleinzoon', *De Maasbode*, 15.4.1937.

147 - In an initial reaction, De Gruyter wondered whether the concept was actually such a 'happy thought', given the difference in quality between the three generations. His article elicited a critical letter to the editor from Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, to which De Gruyter wrote a heated reply, [W.] Jos de Gruyter, 'Een tentoonstelling van drie generaties. Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout bij Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Het Vaderland*, 13.4.1937 (fig.); G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 'De tentoonstelling de Drie generaties', *Het Vaderland*, 24.4.1937; [W.] Jos de Gruyter, 'De invloed van Bremmer. Sectarisme in de beeldende kunst', *Het Vaderland*, 24.4.1937. The controversy dragged on for some time, see, H.J. Vink, 'H.P. Bremmer. Kunstpedagoog en ondersteuner van kunstenaars', *Jaarboek 1984. Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe*, The Hague 1985, pp. 74-109; Hilhorst 1999, op. cit. (note 130), pp. 37-44.

148 - Cornelis Veth, 'Jan Toorop Charley Toorop en Edgar Fernhout. "Drie Generaties"', *De Telegraaf*, 12.4.1937; Rusticus, 'Drie generaties: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout. Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Residentiebode*, 16.4.1937.

149 - Anon., 'Tentoonstelling "De drie generaties"', *Het Vaderland*, 28.3.1937; anon., 'Tentoonstelling De drie generaties', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 28.3.1937. Further, A.M. Hammacher, 'Beschouwing ter inleiding van de Tentoonstelling "Drie generaties" gesproken op 27 March 1937', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, 47 (1937), vol. 93, pp. 355-358 (slightly edited version).

150 - Anon., 'Museum Boymans. Aanwinsten, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 27.3.1937; anon., 'Weer een vroege Toorop', *De Maasbode*, 27.3.1937; and reports based on the same text in the Sunday papers, *Het Vaderland*, *De*

*Maasbode* (ill. with caption) and *Het Nationale Dagblad*.

151 - Anon., 'Tentoonstelling "De drie generaties"', *Het Vaderland*, 28.3.1937; anon., 'Tentoonstelling De drie generaties', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 28.3.1937.

152 - Quoted from anon., 'Tentoonstelling "De drie generaties"', *Het Vaderland*, 28.3.1937.

153 - Rusticus, 'Drie generaties: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout. Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Residentiebode*, 16.4.1937; anon., 'Drie generaties: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout', *Haagsche Courant*, 23.4.1937; anon., 'Drie generaties in de schilderkunst', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 10.4.1937 (focusing more on the differences).

154 - [W.] Jos. de Gruyter, 'Een tentoonstelling van drie generaties. Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout bij Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Het Vaderland*, 13.4.1937 (ill.).

155 - The descriptions were rewritten prior to the 1963 catalogue of the collection, E.W. [J.C. Ebbinghe Wubben], *Catalogus schilderijen na 1800*, Rotterdam (Boymans-van Beuningen Museum), 1963.

156 - For *The Thames* in a private collection in Arnhem: P. Zilcken, 'Jan Toorop', *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, 8 (1898) volume 15, p. 117. This information is confirmed in an undated letter from Jan Toorop to Albert Plasschaert (around October 1901) in which he tells him where various of his works then were: 'Thames in Arnhem'; Jan Toorop Collection, Archives Collection, RKD.

157 - For 'Nijmegen 1923', exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van werken van Jan Toorop*, Nijmegen (Gebouw van de R.K. Militaire Vereniging), 15.10-3.11.1923, no. 3, titled: 'River View (Thames, 1885)', with the reference: 'Property; Art Trade'. Given the title and the precise dating this is a different view of the Thames, namely: Zon W 8508, Siebelhoff P 8513, dimensions 38 x 83 cm, with J. Goudstikker as its provenance. See sale, *Moderne schilderijen, aquarellen, teekeningen etc. afkomstig van de collectie van wijlen J. Goudstikker*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam (Frederik Muller & Co.), 8-9.10.1940, no. 46. Subsequently: Kunstzaal d'Audretsch, The Hague; H.E. van Gelder, The Hague; Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, The Hague, 1942; private collection.

158 - Information received from the current owner of Bourlet (Bourlet Fine Art Frames), 32 Connaught Street, London. All that remains of the history of this firm is the occasional document and an album of letters of thanks and congratulations from clients. This album has been checked for possible information relating to *The Thames*.

159 - Exhib. cat., *VI Esposizione internazionale d'arte della città di Venezia*, 21.4-31.10.1905, no. 56 (*Il Tamigi a Londra*).

160 - Vittorio Pica, 'Artisti contemporanei: Jan Toorop', *Emporium*, 22 (1905), no. 127, pp. 2-27, ill. p. 25, copy in the Toorop Collection, inv. TC D26, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. Toorop was in Italy with his wife and Charley during the Biennale, postcard from Florence to Albert Verwey, 14.6.1905; Mea Nijland-Verwey (ed.), *Kunstenaarslevens. De briefwisseling van Albert Verwey met Alphons Diepenbrock, Herman Gorter, R.N. Roland Holst, Henriëtte van der Schalk en J.Th. Toorop*, Assen 1959, pp. 206-207. See also Toorop's notes in *Emporium* about the other sales. The Biennale Archives are currently closed for rebuilding work.

161 - In Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's sales ledger for the years 1933-December 1946, fol. 51: '1937 March 24 | Jan Toorop: Gezicht op de Theems ± 1886 B. v.d. Leck: Vrouwekop ± 1907 } 6000-'. In Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's accounts payable ledger for the years 1933-1951, following fol. 28: '1937 March 24 | 1 Vrouwekop, olieverf 500,-; private collection.

162 - Modern Art Register, Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, an insurance value of 5000 guilders is given for inv. no. 2090, Jan Toorop, *Thames*, and an insurance value of 1200 guilders for inv. no. 1471, Bart van der Leck, *Head of a Woman*. See further letter from D. Hannema to the Administrator, Accounts Department, Rotterdam City Council, dated 2.4.1937, in which the same insured sums are given.

163 - Exhibited in 1935, [W.] Jos. de Gruyter, 'B. van der Leck. Een belangrijke en boeiende figuur. Kunsthandel Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Het Vaderland*, 24.7.1935. In 1936 in a show with work by other artists, Rusticus, 'Moderne meesters. Kunstzaal Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *De Residentiebode*, 28.10.1936 (with ill.); [W.] Jos. de Gruyter, 'Nieuwe aanwinsten. Kunsthandel Nieuwenhuizen Segaar. Een prachtwerk door Metzinger', *Het Vaderland*, 6.10.1936.

164 - Exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam (Larensche Kunsthandel), February-March 1909, no. 50: *De Theems bij de London bridge*, 1885. Together with three other works from the Flersheim Collection: no. 27: *Portrait of Edith Flersheim*; no. 52: *Saying Grace*; no. 82: *Faith in God*. Listed as: 'property of E. Flersheim'.

165 - Anon., "'De Violier'", *Centrum*, 23.2.1909; anon., 'R.K. Studentenvereniging "Sanctus Thomas Aquinas"', *Maasbode*, 2.3.1909.

166 - Conrad Kikkert, 'St. Lucas. Werkende Leden-tentoonstelling', *Onze Kunst*, 7 (1908), volume 13, pp. 239-240.

167 - H.L. Berckenhoff, 'Over een paar inzendingen op St. Lucas en Arti', *Op de Hoogte*, 5 (1908), p. 359.

168 - Exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, aquarellen en teekeningen door Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam (Fr. Buffa & Zonen), February-March 1904, no. 2 for *The Thames*.

169 - 'Mon grand tableau la Tamise vient de sortir du cadre. J'espère de le finir demain. C'est mon meilleur toile que j'ai fait a Londres.' ('My large picture of the Thames is leaping out of the frame. I hope to finish it tomorrow. It's the best thing I've done in London'); letter from Jan Toorop to Annie Hall, between 8 and 21.7.1885, quoted in, Robert Siebelhoff, *The early development of Jan Toorop 1879-1892* (unpublished dissertation), Toronto (University of Toronto) 1973, p. 218; letters in, Toorop Collection, inv. TC C79, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB), The Hague. See also Siebelhoff 1973, pp. 220-221, 227, on Toorop's efforts to tread in the footsteps of the great Dutch masters.

170 - For London see also Gerard van Wezel, 'Straatorkest in Londen 1885', pp. 32-34, in Bosma 2001, op. cit. (note 63); anon., 'Londres', *L'Art Moderne*, 5 (1885), no. 39 (27.9.1885), pp. 311-312. Gisèle Ollinger-Zinque et al., exhib. cat., *Les XX. La Libre Esthétique. Honderd jaar later*, Brussels (Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België), 1993, p. 25. Toorop became a member at the end of December 1884.

171 - Je vais attaquer demain mon pauvre musiciens ..., encore pour les XX. Je veux tenir ma place de l'année passée parceque cette année ci on a des invités, qui sont très dangereux, comme ces diables d'impressionistes de Paris.' ('I'm going to get started on my poor musicians tomorrow ... again for Les XX. I want to keep the place I had last year because this year there are some invited artists who are very dangerous, like those devils of Impressionists from Paris.'), quoted in, Siebelhoff 1973, op. cit. (note 169), p. 223. In 1882 and in 1884 Toorop visited Paris, where he admired the work of Gustave Courbet. From London he wrote that of all the Impressionists, he most feared Degas.

172 - Exhib. cat., *Les XX*, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts / Paleis voor Schone Kunsten), 6.2-14.3.1886, nos. 1-21.

173 - Exhibition reviews of Les XX, Archief voor Hedendaagse Kunst, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels; Susan Marie Canning, *A history and critical review of the Salons of Les Vingt, 1884-1893*, Michigan 1980 (Diss. Pennsylvania State University), pp. 109-111 (an earlier exhibition in Brussels, in 1885, which she refers to on p. 109, does not appear to have taken place).

174 - Anon., 'Salon des XX', *Réforme*, 10.2.1886; anon., 'Les XX', *La Belgique*, 22.2.1886; anon., 'Les XX', *Journal des Beaux-Arts*, 28 (1886), no. 3 (15.2), p. 21. For a negative review: X.Y.Z., 'Les XX. III (Suite.)', *La Meuse*, 18.3.1886.

175 - Piet, 'Uit den Haag', *De Portefeuille*, 13 (1891), no. 22, pp. 911-912. Discussion of *Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, aquarellen en beeldhouwwerken*, The Hague (Haagsche Kunstkring), 2.8-15.9.1891 (no. 69 for *The Thames*). See also: Flanor, 'Amice Spectator', *De Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1891, no. 33 (15 August), p. 263.

176 - J. de Meester, 'Toorop', in: cat., *Per-*

*manente tentoonstelling van schilderijen*, Rotterdam (Kunstzalen-Oldenzeel), October-November 1891. On *The Thames*, pp. 9-10: 'here hangs the large painting of *The Thames*. It is the yellow-grey ochre river of London, the ancient city with the dark towers and with the eternal ever-young bustle of shipping. The Thames teems with boats and large and small ships; the innumerable, unguarded little boats dance helplessly on the water, the larger vessels rear bonily upwards; over everything lies the mist, the heavy vapour in which all this bustle swarms about and out of which, in the background, the three-master looms up, stately and slow, grey-white, strange and alone, like a giant ship from *Lohengrin*'. Publication accompanying the exhibition, without further details, previously published as, J. de Meester, 'Toorop', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18.10.1891.

177 - For this new era, [J.J.] Isaäcson, 'Jan Toorop. II', *De Portefeuille*, 13 (1891), no. 33 (14.11.1891), p. 1048. Review prompted by Toorop's exhibition at Kunstzalen Oldenzeel, Rotterdam, October 1891, quoted in, William Rothuizen, *Jan Toorop (1858-1928) in zijn tijd*, Amsterdam 1998, p. 24 (here erroneously referred to as a discussion of the Haagsche Kunstkring exhibition of 2.8-15.9.1891). For Toorop as an innovator also: [J.J.] Isaäcson, 'Jan Toorop. I', *De Portefeuille*, 13 (1891), no. 32 (7.11.1891), pp. 1038-1039; *ibid.*, 'Vijfde tentoonstelling van de Nederlandsche Etsclub in Pulchri te 's-Gravenhage', I and II, *De Portefeuille*, 13 (1891), no. 26 (26.9.1891), pp. 961-962 and no. 27 (3.10.1891), p. 974.

178 - N.H. Wolf, 'De Toorop-tentoonstelling bij de firma Frans Buffa & Zonen te Amsterdam II.', *Wereldkroniek*, 10 (1904), no. 52 (26 March 1904).

179 - Willem Vogelsang, 'Jan Toorop', *Onze Kunst*, 3 (1904), volume 1, p. 177; Albert Plaschaert, 'Jan Toorop', *Kritiek van Beeldende Kunsten en Kunstnijverheid*, 1 (1904), no. 4, p. 64.

180 - For the exhibition in the Frankfurter Kunstverein, an undated letter (3.12.1905) from Jan Toorop to Mies Elout-Drabbe, 135 F19 (vol. 1), KB The Hague, quoted in Van Vloten 2001, p. 42. Further anon., 'Jan Toorop', *De Telegraaf*, 14.12.1905 (a translated review from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*). The title of the exhibition and names of the other two artists are unknown; there are no surviving archives of the Kunstverein. There were various contacts in Frankfurt that may have encouraged the interest in Jan Toorop. Toorop exhibited at Hermes & Co in Frankfurt in 1900, see letter from Jan Toorop to K. Groesbeek (E.J. van Wisselingh & Co), 10.12.1900, in which he asks Groesbeek to send *The Three Brides* to this firm in Frankfurt for an exhibition of his work there (January 1901), inv. 23, Van Wisselingh & Co. Archives, Archives Collection, RKD. In February-March 1905 there was an exhibition of members of Arti & Amicitiae in the Frankfurter Kunstverein (with no contribution from Jan Toorop).

181 - Exhib. cat., *Tentoonstelling Jan Toorop*, Amsterdam (Larensche Kunsthandel), Febru-

ary-March 1909, no. 50 (*The Thames*), no. 27 (*Portrait of Edith Flersheim*), 52 (*Saying Grace*), 82 (*Faith in God*). For other works by Jan Toorop owned by Ernst Flersheim: Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 5-6, 9 and appendices referred to there; Van Vloten 2001, pp. 50-53.

182 - Letter from Geert von Brucken Fock to Jan Toorop, 18.1.1906, in which he writes that he has heard from Otto van Rees in Paris that Toorop will soon be returning to Frankfurt 'to paint portraits', Toorop Collection, inv. TC C101, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

183 - Letter with a separate page of names and addresses, with information about Flersheim under his address; in the letter additional notes only for people living in Belgium; Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 17.7.1936, Archives Collection, RKD. In a previous letter to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Heemstede, 23.6.1936, Charley promised, 'When I'm in Bergen I will send you a few more addresses of Jan Toorop owners - '.

184 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 17.7.1936 (see note 182): 'I have noted a few addresses for you, the 2 painters Magritte and Paul Delvaux. Mr. Lambo is that collector in Brussels who has that large collection. And Mme Hennau's ... - (she already tried to sell it to me back then) - If I think of any more, I'll let you know.' There are, however, no further suggestions in the correspondence.

185 - For the Rädecker group, *John Rädecker with his Wife and Children* (1935-1938), Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 134-135, and no. 154. Charley eventually worked on the Bremmer group, with interruptions, from the summer of 1935 to the end of December 1938; Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 128-133, and no. 155.

186 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 17.7.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'Whatever you do, could you not hold the exhibition of the three of us before mid-November - or 1 December?'

187 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 6.10.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'Could you also move the date for the opening of our exhibition forward to *Saturday 21 November*? 15 Nov. is actually too soon for me, afraid I won't be finished with my work.'; letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 20.10.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'That's fine - the exhibition in the month of January, but then we would like to be able to count on that for sure. It even works out better for me with my work - '.

188 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 24.11.1936, Archives Collection RKD, preceding the quoted passage: '...and I'm sorry that I can't come and see it. However, I can't spare a day from my work - if I want to get away from here on the 22nd (before Christmas) to start on the portrait of v.d. Leck - then I'll send you a few canvases for my exhibition.'

189 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 14.2.1937, Archives Collection RKD: 'The family portrait of John Rädecker - won't be ready for about 8 March. If it's possible I'd rather open on 20 March - then I shall be in Wassenaar. But if Mr Bremmer *can't* do it then, make it 13 March.' The letter opened with the comment: 'It's absolutely fine by me if the exhibition opens a week or even 2 weeks later - so 13 or 20 March. I should be just as happy with 20 March, since I can certainly already be in Wassenaar by then, and otherwise I would keep having to travel back and forth and interrupt my work. I won't be finished at Zeyl [Lambert Zijl] and v.d. Leck and the Rädeckers before mid March - .' Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Hilversum, 27.2.1937, Archives Collection RKD: 'I can't send you the painting of the Rädeckers before 15 March, so that can't possibly go in the catalogue - '.

190 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Hilversum, 15.3.1937, Archives Collection RKD, continues after the quote: 'I really would like to have the "Cheese Market" or the Farmers from the Utrecht museum as well - I think it's going to be a pretty meagre showing on my part - I'll come and see you at about half-past ten or eleven o'clock on Wednesday morning and we can discuss it.'

191 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 8.9.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'Pity you haven't been able to do any business with the Hennaus. Have you been to see Mr Lambo yet? - '.

192 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 24.11.1936, private collection. For her request for an appointment, letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 20.10.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'I'm staying here until about 10 December - If you do still want to come here, please make it around the end of Nov. I should like to have discussed various things about the exhibition with you - '.

193 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 24.11.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'I'm now working on my self-portrait in the Bremmer painting, there will also be a section of the Jan Toorop head by Rädecker in it - in the background - .' Letter from the City Council to the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, The Hague 17.11.1936; Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, Haags Gemeentearchief, The Hague.

194 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 12.12.1936, Archives Collection, RKD.

195 - Letters from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen 12.12.36 and Hilversum, 27.12.1936, Archives Collection RKD: 'Did you receive the crate with separate drawings behind glass? All right, nothing broken? - that Toorop head of a woman and that little sketch are for sale - and my drawings - the others aren't. I also sent you "Mother and

Child" and a little still life, which you can sell so that I myself actually get 100 guilders out of it, so you must decide on the selling price.'

196 - Letter from Charley Toorop to Edgar Fernhout, Amsterdam, 20.1.1937, Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Archives Collection RKD.

197 - Letter from Charley Toorop to Edgar Fernhout, Amsterdam, 20.1.1937, Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Archives Collection RKD; quoted in Rijnders 2002, op. cit. (note 66), p. 152, note 28.

198 - Letter from Charley Toorop to Edgar Fernhout, Utrecht, 30.1.1937, Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Archives Collection RKD, before and after the quote: 'The exhibition is now opening on 6 March with an opening address by Knuttel or Bremmer - Your list is fine, but send the 3 new paintings to Nieuwenhuizen - that's all right with Audretsch, you can always see about it after the exhibition. I saw the portrait of Dotje at Do's - Actually don't think it's that bad, perhaps it would also do for the exhibition. ... I think that portrait of *Voute* is the best. *So ask for that* - then it can go into the catalogue too - but you must decide *soon* - because N.S. [Nieuwenhuizen Segaar] is starting work on the catalogue about 15 Febr.'

199 - Press reports on this: anon. (a report from curator G. Knuttel Wzn.), 'Uitbreiding Toorop-tentoonstelling', *Nieuwe Haagsche Courant*, 5.3.1937; [W] Jos. de Gruyter, 'Vroege werken door Jan Toorop in het Gemeentemuseum. Nieuwe bijvoegingen', *Het Vaderland*, 6.3.1937; anon., 'De Toorop-tentoonstelling. Een belangwekkende uitbreiding. Werken uit Brusselsch bezit', *De Avondpost*, 6.3.1937.

200 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 14.2.1937, Archives Collection RKD. Letter from J.H. Jurriaanse to Charley Toorop, The Hague, 8.2.1937. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar already suspected that he would not be able to get *The New Generation* (also known as *The Young Generation*) from P.C. Boutens's collection, letter from G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to Charley Toorop, The Hague, 10.2.1937 (carbon copy): 'I'm sure I won't get Boutens's painting for the exhibition.'

201 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 14.2.1937, Archives Collection RKD. The art dealer was already expecting changes, letter from G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to Charley Toorop, 10.2.1937: 'You also said on the telephone that you wanted to make your exhibit completely different and would write to me about it; would you please let me know?'

202 - Postcard from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Hilversum, 23.2.1937, Archives Collection, RKD.

203 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Hilversum, 27.2.1937, Archives Collection, RKD.



204 - A draft letter for the unveiling is dated 26.2.1937, Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, inv. 94, Gemeentearchief, The Hague. A copy with the same date and some corrections is in the Press Documentation Collection, RKD.

205 - Typed list of names, *Contributions to the Toorop monument*, undated (c. 1929-1930), Jan Toorop Collection, Archives Collection, RKD. Frankfurt a/M is given as the place of residence alongside the name E. Flersheim. For these contributions and invitees and the reports of the unveiling of the monument in the press, Archives of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 1928-1938, inv. 94, Gemeentearchief, The Hague, and Press Documentation Collection, RKD.

206 - Letter from John Rädecker to T.B. van Lelyveld, secretary of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop, 16.2.1937, in which, at Charley Toorop's request, he passed on a number of names to be added to the guest list.

207 - Announcements of this visit by Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 14.2.1937 ('but I can drop in on you on 3 March, I shall be in The Hague then for the unveiling of the Toorop monument'; Hilversum 23.2.1937 ('I'm coming to The Hague on 3 March for unveiling of the Toorop monument and will come then, (probably in the morning to discuss things)'; Hilversum 27.2.1937 ('I'll call on you on 3 March after coffee – about 1.30 – before I go on to the unveiling; to discuss things'), Archives Collection, RKD.

208 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Hilversum, 27.2.1937, Archives Collection, RKD: 'Also [wrote] to Mr S. van Deventer – to ask him to lend "The Wave" by Jan Toorop – and my "Self-portrait".' Further in the letter about her own works in the exhibition.

209 - On Dreesmann's cooperation with the exhibition, letters from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam 9.3.1937, Amsterdam 12.3.1937 and Hilversum, 15.3.1937, Archives Collection, RKD. On 9 March: 'I also phoned Mr Dreesman – He is very happy to let me have whatever I pick out from his things – I've already asked for that superb symbolist drawing "O Grave where is thy victory" – I have now agreed with him that I will call him at one o'clock on Monday from Hilversum, where I'll be for two days – to go round and see what I want for the exhibition. I shall make sure I choose good things ... then I'll ask whether Mr Dreesman can send the work before the 20th – do you want 3 or 4 works. How many more can you get in?' On 12 March: 'It's better if I just pick out a few paintings at Mr Dreesman's. I'll do this next Tuesday afternoon. But I asked you how many works [originally: 'paintings', crossed out] by my father you still need. You didn't reply to that.' On 15 March: 'Mr Dreesman has gone to London unexpectedly – which means I haven't been able to pick out the paintings – but I have spoken to his secretary. I will now write and ask him about 3 works: Willem Royaards'

Portrait, "O Grave where is thy Victory" and Alcoholism – provided that the painting does date from the London period – with the dead man in bed and the old woman standing – and ask him to get the works to you in The Hague by the end of this week.'

210 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 12.3.1937, Archives Collection RKD: 'if you let me know by return how many by Toorop you can still place (+ the drawing Portrait of a Woman English Period 1891, which I have had sent to you from Bergen)'.

211 - Cornelis Veth, 'Vroeg werk van Jan Toorop', *De Telegraaf*, 2.3.1937: 'a drawing "Lenore" (after the poem by Burger), bright and significant in colour' and a painting of a ship, 'a work of great style and dramatic colour'. Identified as nos. 10 and 8 in exhib. cat., *Drie generaties. Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop, Edgar Fernhout*, 27.3-1.5.1937, then in the collection of the widow of W.J.H. Leuring, Mook.

212 - In his books Nieuwenhuizen Segaar entered the *Beach View* of 1897 as having been bought from Mrs Leuring, Mook (without a date), and sold on 15.3.1939 to Miss F.H.A. v.d. Oudendijk Pieterse, Koningin Sophiestraat 20, The Hague. A note was subsequently added to the latter entry: died in the bombing (when her collection – which also included Toorop's drawing *The Line Hauler* of 1892 – was presumably lost). See accounts book and sales ledger, Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, The Hague, respectively: years 1933-1951, fol. 45; years 1933-December 1946, fol. 14.

213 - Correspondence between E. Ekker and D. Hannema, 18.1.1937, 24.1.1937, in which Ekker offered to sell the painting to the museum, without result; letter from E. Ekker to D. Hannema, 18.3.1937, in which he asks for the painting back so it can be sold by Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, inv. 521, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. For the loan to the museum, letters from E. Ekker, 5 and 10.5.1935, inv. 320, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.

214 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Hilversum, 15.3.1937, On who was to perform the opening, also letters from Charley Toorop to Edgar Fernhout, Amsterdam 20.1.1937 (Knuttel or Bremmer), to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 14.2.1937 (Bremmer) and 9.3.1937 ('it would be nicest if Mr Bremmer would open the exhibition, and the most obvious. Ask him again whether it wouldn't be possible for him to open it on 27 March. If he doesn't want to do it, I'd rather ask Hammacher. What do you think? He also knows the work well. Dr Knuttel said so much about it on the evening of 3 March – and I don't think he'd really want to do it. So either Bremmer or Hammacher'); Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), and letters Toorop-Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Archives Collection, RKD.

215 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 12.3.1937, Archives Collection, RKD. The word 'later' was

inserted as an afterthought.

216 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Amsterdam, 9.3.1937, Archives Collection, RKD.

217 - Aliens registration card with the address: Doelen Hotel; Ernst Flersheim's family card with the address: 'Nieuwe Doelenstraat 24, district: B, t/h van: krt VI Doelenhotel. Habedank'. For this address Nieuwe Doelenstraat 24, Bracks Doelen Hotel, Amsterdam, Housing cards, Amsterdam Municipal Archives. On housing card VI-VIa as a resident of the Doelen Hotel: Ernst Flersheim as arriving 16.3.1937, come from Frankfurt a/M.; on 26.4.1939, as having gone to Paris. On housing card VIIa, Ernst Flersheim and Gertrud Flersheim-von Mayer both as arriving on 29.7.1939 from Paris and on 23.1.1940 both as having gone to Velasquezstraat 12hs in Amsterdam. As manager of the Doelen Hotel at this time on housing card I: Margaretha G. Habedank-Herber, widow of and successor to Max Gustav Habedank (21.12.1876-29.6.1921). M.G. Habedank was born in Coburg (Germany), this is also the city where Gertrud Flersheim-von Mayer was born. See Family Card M.G. Habedank and his entry in the Amsterdam Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages. Margaretha G. Habedank-Herber moved to Olympiaplein 65<sup>III</sup> on 19.8.1941. For this information Police Archives (inv. 5225, Registered Aliens Index System); Housing cards 57-76, inv. 5445; Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, GAA.

218 - Bert Vreeken, Ester Wouthuysen, *De Grand Hotels van Amsterdam. Opkomst en bloei sinds 1860*, The Hague 1987, pp. 57-71. In 1882-'83 the hotel on the site of the former Kloveniersdoelen (the militia headquarters), where the *Night Watch* hung until 1715, was drastically renovated and luxuriously refurbished. Thereafter the Doelen Hotel (near the Frederik Muller auction rooms, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16-18) was able to welcome numerous famous guests. In 1902 the hotel was modernized and established its reputation as the equal of the chic Amstel Hotel. On the status of the hotel in the nineteen-thirties: anon., *Waar blijft uw geld uitgegeven in hotels en restaurants*, s.l. [1934]. For prices: anon., *Gids van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1936; J.G. Lasschuit (ed.), *Officieel zakadresboek van hotels en restaurants in Nederland en Nederl.-Oost-Indië*, The Hague 1934, 1940 (an annual publication). For an overview of the hotels in Amsterdam: anon., *Handelsadresboek. Bedrijfsregister voor Nederland*, Amsterdam 1930, p. 1311; anon., *Algemeen adresboek van Nederland voor handel, landbouw, nijverheid en verkeer*, s.l. 1936/37, pp. 1079-1080. Other hotels in the Nieuwe Doelenstraat: Hotel l'Europe at numbers 2-4; Hotel Des Pays Bas at number 11.

219 - Aliens registration card in Ernst Flersheim's name, lower left: 'wife left Germany on 10-1-'38. She was in London first'; beside the residence permit the date: 10 March 1938. Ernst Flersheim's family card, entered on 12.3.1938. On an appendix to the family card, stamped 11.3.1938, the registration date is also given as 12.3.1938; further the following details:

marriage dated 28.12.1892 in Frankfurt a/M. to Ernst Flersheim; address Nieuwe Doelenstraat 24, Doelen Hotel, 'where husband already resides'. On housing card VII, Bracks Doelen Hotel, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 24, Amsterdam, after Gertrud von Mayer, wife of Ernst Flersheim, on arrival a reference to card VI (without date); departure the same date as her husband: 26.4.1939, to Paris. For this Police Archives (inv. 5225, Registered Aliens Index System) and Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Amsterdam Municipal Archives (GAA).

220 - See note 35 for his registration in Amsterdam; notes 31 and 36 for the sale at Hugo Helbing's. Part of the collection belonging to Martin and Florence Flersheim-Livingstone (Fritz's parents) ended up in storage in Amsterdam, from where various works were confiscated by the ERR (Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg) in 1944; information given to the author by Rudi Ekkart, RKD. The family managed to ship other items from the collection to the United States; Van Vloten 2001, p. 50.

221 - Hannema was an honorary member of the Committee to erect a monument to Jan Toorop and thus in any event aware of the events surrounding the unveiling.

222 - Letter from D. Hannema to the Committee for the Boijmans Museum, Rotterdam, 14.4.1937, inv. 35, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR, listed as a spontaneous gift from Mr and Mrs A.F. Philips-de Jongh. Hannema wrote in the letter, 'This painting was recently exhibited for the first time in The Hague, where it attracted general admiration. It is one of the best works by the artist, striking in its expression and the sober colour. I did make an attempt to acquire it for the Museum then. However, the sum they were asking for it, namely 3000 guilders, was out of the Boijmans Museum's reach.' The painting (90 x 70.5 cm) may have been bought for the Philips family by an agent, sold on to them by the first owner or taken back from the first owner by Jan Sluijters. In the Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar sales ledger, years 1933-December 1946, fol. 50, the purchaser is listed as 'Mrs Verburgt-Kramers, The Hague | 1937 8 Febr.[uary] | Portrait of Mrs Jan Sluyters by Jan Sluyters 2400'. In the Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar accounts payable book, years 1933-1951, fol. 40, dated 6.1.1937, the portrait is recorded as having been purchased from Jan Sluijters for 1900 guilders. This was the only painted portrait of Sluijters's mother in the exhibition at Nieuwenhuizen Segaar's gallery. In a letter dated 12.4.1937, Boymans Museum Archives, inv. 329, GAR, A.F. Philips offered the painting to Hannema, having viewed it at home. There is only one other known painted portrait of his mother later in life. This work (from Sluijters family holdings) dates from 1930, measures 131 x 117 cm, and is currently on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; with thanks to Jacqueline de Raad, RKD.

223 - Letter from D. Hannema to the mayor, Rotterdam, 3.3.1937, inv. 437, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR: 'I have been informed that Baroness Käthe Nickisch von Rosenneck,

who received an annuity of six thousand guilders from the G.W. Burger bequest, died recently in Berlin.'

224 - Lady Käthe Hermine Gottliebe Laura Georgine Nickisch von Rosenneck married Otto August Alexander Baron von Lüdinghausen, known as Wolff (1850-1910) in Stargard on 16 December 1885. On 30 April 1875 in Berlin, the Baron had married Anna Josina Burger, the oldest daughter of the Rotterdam ship owner Willem Simon Burger (1825-1874). *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels. Freiherrliche Häuser A*, Volume XI (1979), p. 166; *Nederlands Patriciaat*, 21 (1933-1934), p. 40. With thanks to Karen Schaffers-Bodenhausen, RKD. Six children were born to the marriage of Willem Simon Burger (1825-1874) and Louise Jacqueline Hoffmann, three of whom lived to adulthood: Anna Josina Burger (1855-1882), Gerardus Willem Burger (1856-1916), Consul-General to Norway, and Johan Frederik Burger (1860-1909), Consul-General of the Netherlands in Algiers. The capital bequeathed to the City of Rotterdam by G.W. Burger amounted to almost six hundred thousand guilders in 1917; over the next ten years, with the rents from the buildings he had also left and the income from investments, this sum grew to more than a million. In 1928 the city council decided to fund the building and running of the new Boymans Museum from this bequest.

225 - On the death of A.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis on 26 May 1935 the credit of 10,000 guilders a year reserved for him from the Purchase Fund for the Boymans Museum was withdrawn in its entirety. This meant that the museum was again allocated no annual money for the purchase fund by the city council until the end of 1938.

226 - Letter from D. Hannema to the mayor, Rotterdam, 22.3.1937, inv. 437, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR; Bonke 1999 (Flersheim Collection), p. 12, appendix 7.

227 - Picture postcard (with view of Venice) from Ernst Flersheim to Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (addressed to Anna Pauwlownastraat 107, The Hague), Alassio, 20.3.1937 (postmark: Alassio, 20.3.1937), Archives Collection, RKD; information about this trip received from Walter Eberstadt, 27.7.2005. At this time Edgar Fernhout and his wife Rachel Pellekaan were also staying in Alassio, on the Italian Riviera (for Rachel's health).

228 - Picture postcard (with view of Sorrento) from Ernst Flersheim to Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (addressed to Anna Pauwlownastraat 107, The Hague, Paesi bassi), Alassio, 3.4.1937 (postmark Alassio, 3.4.1937), Archives Collection, RKD.

229 - Letter from the Town Clerk to D. Hannema, Rotterdam 23 March | 6 April 1937, inv. 501, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.

230 - Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar sales ledger, years 1933-December 1946, private collection, fol. 51, left-hand page (see note 59). It is not clear whether Hannema knew the provenance of *The Thames* at that time; he probably

did. In 1954 Hannema commented that the possibility that the drawing *Faith in God* had been sold voluntarily could not be ruled out: 'After all back in 1937 a painting by Toorop, "The Thames", which came from *the same collection* [my italics], was purchased by the Boymans Museum from the Nieuwenhuizen-Segaar art gallery in The Hague at the "Three Generations" exhib. 1937.' Meeting of the Trustees of the Boymans Museum Foundation, 15.4.1954, Minute book, Boymans Museum Foundation, Rotterdam.

231 - Anon., 'Museum Boymans. Aanwinsten', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 27.3.1937 (Boymans Museum press release).

232 - For these reactions cuttings book, Boymans Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam and cuttings book Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, The Hague, for this period. Over and above the reviewed already mentioned: anon., 'Een der twee nieuwe aanwinsten ...', *Maasbode*, 28.3.1937 (ill.); anon., 'Aanwinsten Museum Boymans', *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 28.3.1937; anon., 'Drie schildergeneraties. Tentoonstelling bij G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Haagsche Courant*, 30.3.1937; E., 'Drie Toorop-generaties. Bij Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2.4.1937; anon., 'Drie generaties in de schilderkunst', *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 10.4.1937; anon., 'Drie generaties. De Toorop's: grootvader, dochter en kleinzoon', *De Maasbode*, 15.4.1937; the same report also in, *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, 17.4.1937; anon., 'Drie generaties Toorop. Kunstzaal Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *De Nederlander*, 17.4.1937; N. the H., 'Drie generaties: Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop en Edgar Fernhout', *Het Nationale Dagblad*, 20.4.1937; A. de B., 'Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop en Edgar Fernhout. Kunsthandel Nieuwenhuizen Segaar', *De Avondpost*, 27.4.1937; anon., 'Aanwinsten voor Boymans', *Wereldkroniek*, 3.7.1937 (no. 2256), pp. 994-995 (ill.).

233 - Letters from Bart van der Leek to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, private collection, Blaricum, 9.6.1937 and 12.7.1937, and an undated postcard (postmark 15.6.1937), in which Van der Leek wrote, 'I received your letter of 12 June last ... Money can wait for a while!' Van der Leek sent a bill on 26.7.1937 for, among other things, '1 painting Head of a Woman 500 guilders.' In the Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar sales ledger, years 1933-December 1946, private collection, fol. 51, entered on the right-hand page as payment received from the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam: '1937 Aug.[ust] 17 | paid by giro 6000'.

234 - [D. Hannema], *1938 Annual Report. Boymans Museum and Museum van Oudheden*, Rotterdam 1939, pp. 1-2, 8-10.

235 - Letter from D. Hannema to the Committee for the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, 19.8.1938, inv. 437, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR; Bonke 1999 (Flersheim Collection), p. 12, appendix 13. In the letter the insurance value is given as 6000 guilders.

- 236 - Exhib. cat., *Jan Toorop, Charley Toorop Edgar Fernhout*, Leiden (Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal), 26.11.1971-16.1.1972; Dordrecht (Dordrechts Museum), 28.1.1972-5.3.1972; Groningen (Groninger Museum), 11.3.1972-9.4.1972, cat. no. 3: *The Thames at London Bridge*, Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, inv. no. 2090.
- 237 - Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 13-15, based primarily on Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (3 vols), Frankfurt am Main 1990 (various editions since then); consulted here, *ibid*, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (3 vols), New Haven, London 2003, esp. pp. 132-143.
- 238 - Letter from P.W.L. Russell to Rotterdam City Council, 20.7.2005; for this measure also Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, pp. 13-14.
- 239 - Statement on Flersheim's aliens registration card under *Where and for whom employed*: 'Has a holding of approximately 65,000 guilders in N.V. Fleha (trade in ivory). According to statement of the Reichsstelle für Devisenbewirtschaftung in Berlin dated 28.10.36 he has R.M. 1,394,969.20 / 8.7.40. now lives off his capital, approximately 280,000 guilders.'
- 240 - The price for full board must have been about nine guilders per person per day (going by the published price for bed and breakfast of six guilders. For prices and price comparisons: J.G. Lasschuit (ed.), *Officieel zakadresboek van hotels en restaurants in Nederland en Nederl.-Oost-Indië*, The Hague, years consulted 1934 and 1940 (there is little or no difference between the prices in these years); anon., *Gids van Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1936.
- 241 - See Charley Toorop's letters to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (Archives Collection, RKD), Edgar Fernhout, Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Archives Collection, RKD), J.G. van Gelder (J.G. van Gelder Archive, Archives Collection, RKD), Carel van Lier, Kunstzaal Van Lier (Carel van Lier Archive, Archives Collection, RKD).
- 242 - Letter from Charley Toorop to Edgar Fernhout, Bergen, 15.12.1938, Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Archives Collection, RKD.
- 243 - Letter from Charley Toorop to Edgar Fernhout, Bergen, 23.4.1938, Toorop-Fernhout Archives (on loan from the heirs of Edgar Fernhout), Archives Collection, RKD.
- 244 - Ernst Flersheim, *Lebenserinnerungen* (typescript of memoirs dictated by E. Flersheim to Rudolf Wertheim), Brussels 1938, fol. 29 in: Bonke 1999 (Flersheim Collection), appendix 12.
- 245 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 11.11.1946, Archives Collection, RKD.
- 246 - Charley postponed an invitation from Hannema to stage an exhibition in the autumn of 1940 to the following year, 'preferably even late in the year'; this was apparently discussed during a visit to the Boymans Museum in November 1940, correspondence between Charley Toorop and D. Hannema, 15.3, 6.5 and 8, 13 and 16.11.1940, inv. 348, 351, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.
- 247 - Letters from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar about the *Clown*, Bergen, 23.9.1940 ('I'm working on a large painting of a clown that will be a very good one although I say it myself - '). She reported the progress of the work to Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (brief references), in correspondence of: 23.10.1940; 25.10.1940, 26.2.1940 [1941]; 21.3.1941; 28.3.1941. In April 1941 the painting was in The Hague and was bought by G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar; see correspondence of: 21.4.1941; 28.4.1941; 5.5.1941. Charley was keen to exhibit the painting. Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 28.11.1941, in which she said that she did not want to join the Kultuurkamer: 'Now I very much hope that you will go ahead and exhibit the "Clown Bumbo". Really your fears in this respect are unfounded. It is a very good work of mine, and the whole thing really can't be attacked.' On this painting further: Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 143, 157-160; Bosma 2001, op. cit. (note 63), pp. 82-84.
- 248 - Letter from G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar to Charley Toorop, Archives Collection, RKD, 22.12.1942, in which he explained: the painting was stored away and was sold to E.E. Bouwman against his wishes. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar had wanted to keep it until after the war. The sale was recorded on January 4, 1943; the price was 1500 guilders; Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar sales ledger, 1933-December 1946, private collection. In a letter dated 7.12.1951 the city council asked Ebbinge Wubben for his advice in regard to the offer of *The Clown* received from E.E. Bouwman, Leiden (A.Z. no. 4990), letter from J.C. Ebbinge Wubben to Rotterdam City Council, 12.12.1951, inv. 442, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR.
- 249 - The painting *The Three Generations* was exhibited by Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar at a Christmas exhibition that opened on 23 December 1950. The directors of the Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven (Edy de Wilde) and the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam (Willem Sandberg) showed considerable interest in it. The Boymans Museum acquired it in early January 1951 for 10,000 guilders; bill Kunsthandel G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, The Hague, 15.1.1951, inv. 502, Boymans Museum Archives GAR. Letters from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, 24.11.1950, 11.1.1951, and to J.C. Ebbinge Wubben, Bergen, 15.1.1951; Archives Collection, RKD; inv. 381, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR, respectively.
- 250 - Letter from Charley Toorop to G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar, Bergen, 28.11.1941: 'Of course you'll have read what the measures against artists are now. You will certainly understand what my attitude to it is ... As long as it's not all really operational, I can still show work in any event.' Archives Collection, RKD. She persisted in her stance and did not become a member, see Brederoo 1982, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 144-145; Bosma 2001, op. cit. (note 63), pp. 82-84; Rijnders 2002, op. cit. (note 66), pp. 78 (for Edgar Fernhout), 143. It can be inferred from a document in the Archives of the Department of Public Education and the Arts, (1937) 1940-1944 (NIOD, Amsterdam), that G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar did eventually become a member of the Dutch Kultuurkamer; see inv. 27An for a copy of a letter of August 1944 from the director of the Art Trade Section, H.J. Madlener, to various art dealers, among them G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar (according to an attached circulation list), with the request that, in addition to their membership of the Dutch Kultuurkamer, they should make a greater effort on behalf of the professional group in general, and asking them to come and discuss this. The art dealer G.J. Nieuwenhuizen Segaar kept a very low profile in this period; he staged a final exhibition in December 1942.
- 251 - Letter from J.C. Ebbinge Wubben to Rotterdam City Council, 12.12.1951, inv. 442, Boymans Museum Archives, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam: 'To my mind it is not among her best works, which the paintings "Meal with Friends" and "Three Generations" in the Boymans Museum and the works exhibited in the other Dutch Museums can be reckoned to be. It is therefore for aesthetic reasons that I would advise you not to purchase this painting.' Letter from the Town Clerk to E.E. Bouwman, Rotterdam, 15.2.1952, informing him that the City Council had decided not to purchase the painting *The Clown*, inv. 442, 443, Boymans Museum Archives, GAR. Later, incidentally, Charley also expressed less enthusiasm about this work, see Bosma 2001, op. cit. (note 63), pp. 79-80. The painting was also offered to the Stedelijk Museum, see Caroline Roodenburg-Schadd, *Expressie en ordening. Het verzamelbeleid van Willem Sandberg voor het Stedelijk Museum 1945-1962*, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, 2004, pp. 238-243.
- 252 - From 23.1.1940: Velazquezstraat 12 huis (Gersdorf); 18.6.1940: Johannes Vermeerplein 11 huis (Kremnitz); 2 / 5.8.1940: Michelangelostraat 114 II; 20.1.1941: Schubertstraat 28 huis (Kuhne); 7 / 8.3.1941: Rubensstraat 60 huis (huize Wien); 25.4.1941: Rubensstraat 63 II (Guttman); 9.8.1943: Weesperplein 1 (Jewish nursing home); 24.8.1943: Krugerstraat 4 II; 5.10.1943: Weesperplein 1 (Jewish nursing home); 15.12.1943: Westerbork-Lager. Various housing cards GAA. Some of these addresses were also noted on Flersheim's aliens registration card; see also Bonke 1999, Flersheim Collection, appendices 23, 24.

