Paul Scheerbart's *The Gray Cloth*: Gender, Architecture and the German Werkbund Debate

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The 1914 meeting of the German Werkbund in Cologne produced the famous debate between Herman Muthesius and Henry van de Velde. In broad terms, Muthesius challenged the commitment to the individualization of the artist/architect held by Henry van de Velde, Walter Gropius, Peter Behrens, Adolf Meyer, Bruno Taut and others, with his call for universal standards of design. At the same time, the German Expressionist writer, inventor and architectural visionary Paul Scheerbart (1863-1915) addressed this conflict between universalism and individualization in his novel *The Gray Cloth and Ten Percent White: A Woman's Novel* (1914).[1] Scheerbart, however, is best known for both his 1914 manifesto, *Glass Architecture*, published in the same year as *The Gray Cloth*, and as a collaborator with Bruno Taut on the Glass Pavilion in the Cologne Werkbund Exhibition which opened in 1914.[2] In his remarkable novel, Scheerbart extended the breadth of the Werkbund debate to encompass gender, global air transportation, telecommunications, film distribution, and vast structures of colored glass and steel designed by fictional architect Edgar Krug. The Werkbund exhibition was closed abruptly with the outbreak of World War I on 1 August 1914. Ten months later, Paul Scheerbart starved himself to death in silent protest against the war.[3]

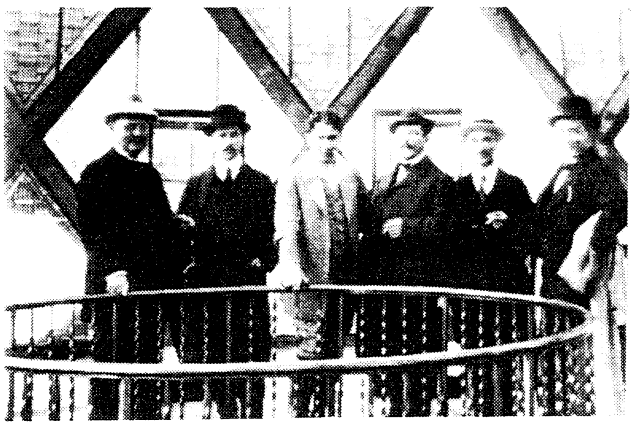

Fig. 1. Paul Scheerbart (far left) in Bruno Taut's Glass Pavilion at the 1914 Cologne Exhibition

Founded in October 1907, the German Werkbund provided a national forum for the reform of German design in response to the needs of industry.[4] The Werkbund sought primarily to increase the quality of German design for export. Debate among Werkbund members as to the character of quality design rose to a feverish pitch, culminating in the raucous debates of 1914 known as the "Werkbundstreit," or Werkbund conflict.[5] At the annual meeting of the Werkbund membership in Cologne in July 1914, Muthesius circulated a list of ten theses (*Leitsätze*), which effectively set the contentious factions ablaze. In his first thesis Muthesius stated:

> Architecture, and with it the whole of the Werkbund's activities, is pressing towards standardization (*Typisierung*), and only through standardization can it recover that universal significance which was characteristic of it in times of harmonious culture.[6]

Henry van de Velde responded passionately with ten "antitheses" of his own, delivered with "tumultuous proclamation of agreement from his fellow conspirators."[7] They began:

> So long as there are still artists in the Werkbund and so long as they exercise some influence on its destiny, they will protest against every suggestion for the establishment of a canon and for standardization. By his innermost essence the artist is a burning individualist, a free spontaneous creator.[8]

By 1914, Paul Scheerbart had authored a series of poems, short stories, novels and a manifesto outlining his own program for a future combining standards and innovations in colored-glass architecture. As Scheerbart wrote in a July 1913 letter to Gottfried Heinersdorff, "Perhaps you know that I have already written a very great deal about glass architecture over the past 20 years. I would like to transform the walls of architecture to double walls of colored glass."[9] The author, however, first described the symbolic and metaphysical implications of glass in one of his earliest works, *Das Paradies. Die Heimat der Kunst* (1899) [*Paradise. The Home of Arts*].[10]

In 1906, he expanded this vision of colored-glass architecture into full-blown utopian dimensions, with the publication of his creative interpretation of the Baron von Münchhausen myth in *Münchhausen und Clarissa.*[11] Scheerbart outlined the travels of the eighteenth-century folk hero, Baron von Muenchhausen, as he toured an imagined and quite extraordinary International Exhibition in Melbourne Australia. In his penultimate novel, entitled *Lesabendio. Ein Astroiden-Roman* (1913), Scheerbart developed a narrative around an asteroid/planet called Pallas, whose inhabitants—unisex and entirely mutable in form—sought to observe and understand their own world and those beyond by constructing an enormous tower.[12] Scheerbart's representation of human beings in this novel, was not very promising. In the novel, an inhabitant of the planet Pallas visited Earth only to be horrified to find the Earth populated by carnivorous human scavengers who wound and kill each other by the thousands for no apparent reason - a sight the Pallasianer said it would not have believed if it had not been personally witnessed. Walter Benjamin considered Scheerbart to have depicted "the best of all worlds in this work.[13] It was after his introduction to Bruno Taut in 1913, however, that Scheerbart entered into a dialogue with architects about contemporary issues relevant to the construction of glass architecture. Many of the ideas considered in Scheerbart's earlier works were brought into existence, if for a brief moment, in Taut's Glass Pavilion.[14] Scheerbart's response to his meetings with Bruno Taut and the activities surrounding the Werkbund exhibition may be gleaned from his enthusiastic descriptions of glass architecture appearing in *Glass Architecture.* Having initially rejected this work as a set of "practical building suggestions," Scheerbart's publisher, Georg Müller encouraged the author to express his utopian architectural vision in narrative form.[15] In what might be considered a humorous parody of contemporary culture, *The Gray Cloth* stands alone as one of the most complete fantasies of twentieth-century architecture culture.

In his novel, Scheerbart projected the Werkbund debate between standardization and individuality into the mid-twentieth century, the leap forward in time perhaps providing an opportunity to examine the maturation and application of various early-century Werkbund ideals. Dedicating his work to "my dear bear, Frau Anna Scheerbart," the author outlined the global future of glass architecture—one of his most cherished ideals—with lighthearted and ironic humor.[16] The novel's protagonist, Edgar Krug, a Swiss archaeologist-turned-architect, circumnavigates the globe by airship with his wife, Clara. Krug populates the planet with wildly varied, colored-glass architecture, including an elaborate high-rise and exhibition/concert hall in Chicago, a retirement complex for airline pilots on the Fiji Islands, the structure for an elevated train traversing a zoological park in Northern India, a suspended residential villa on the Kuria Muria Islands and a museum of ancient "oriental" weapons on Malta. Krug fears, however, that his idiosyncratic, but popular architecture is challenged by one significant component of environmental design: women's clothing. In an effort to eliminate the perceived competition, the architect requests a clause in his wedding contract demanding that his wife submit to a lifetime of clothing designed with ninety percent gray and ten percent white cloth. The title of the novel, *The Gray Cloth and Ten Percent White,* is derived from this formula. Because it is subtitled a "Ladies Novel," The Gray Cloth has been considered by some to represent a "lighter genre" of literature.[17] It is, however, precisely within the context of gender, women's fashion and the contentious factions within clothing and design reform that the novel begs examination and broadly engages the implications of the *Werkbundstreit.*

The Gray Cloth begins at an exhibition of decorative arts and sculpture:

> Near Chicago on Lake Michigan, American sculptors and decorative artists had arranged an exhibition. There were, however, only works of silver on display. It was the middle of the twentieth century. The architect Edgar Krug had built the exhibition hall out of glass and iron. It was opening day and, with lively gestures, the architect led his friend, the lawyer Walter Lowe, around the enormous halls, pointing out details of the architecture and ornament.
>
> The colossal walls were made completely out of colored glass, with colored ornament, so that only subdued daylight shone into the interior. It was raining outside. The sun was not shining. But the colors of the glass gleamed powerfully nonetheless....
>
> Around midday, when the sun became visible outside, there was some commotion in the exhibition hall. The splendor of the colored glass ornament was so enhanced by the sun that one was at a loss for words to praise this wonder of color. Many visitors shouted repeatedly, "Delightful! Wonderful! Great! Incomparable!"[18]

With his light touch and brief style, Scheerbart dedicates a shimmering centrality to glass architecture in this work. Connecting interior with exterior, the translucent colored glass walls provide visitors a palette of intense color, changing in response to fluctuations in daylight. The hegemony of colored-glass architecture, however, is immediately threatened by the first appearance of a female character—Amanda Schmidt, a silversmith from Chicago:

> The lady did not make a favorable impression on the architect. She wore a dark violet velvet dress with carmine red and chrysolite green cuffs and trim. Herr Edgar Krug said softly to the lawyer:
>
> "I'm really supposed to be the only one here discussing colors. The ladies should be more discreet in their outfits—out of respect for my glass windows."
>
> "Your fame," responded the lawyer, "has made you a little pretentious. You should curb your lust for power a bit."[19]

The notion that there would be competition between architecture and women's fashion may also be found in *Glass Architecture*. Scheerbart states:

> "Much of glass architecture concerns the jeweler, and jewels should be transposed from necks and arms on to the walls. For the time being, ladies are not going to allow this because they are afraid of losing their share of adornment. It is one of the most unpleasant things about many new movements, that the first thing everybody asks is: can it be harmful to me? The old fear of competition is in all things a far from pleasant phenomenon, even in art."[20]

Scheerbart draws the clear parallel between women's necks and arms and the structure of the wall. It is interesting to note that he does not suggest that the arms, necks and walls can all support jewels, but rather considers the process that denudes the female body of ornament while adding to the walls themselves. In this way, the female body has been standardized in its lack of ornament, while the building itself takes on the artistic individualization.

The construction closest to Paul Scheerbart's poetic conception of glass architecture as expressed in *The Gray Cloth* and in *Glass Architecture* is Bruno Taut's Glass Pavilion. The structure may be understood as a parallel to Scheerbart's intentions in both architecture and fashion. If Scheerbart's writing was relegated in the second half of the twentieth century to the margins of German literature, then Taut's Glass Pavilion was considered an outsider at the Werkbund Exhibition from the earliest planning stages. It was located between the police station and the cashier's booths at the entrance to the exhibition, clearly not considered a main attraction by exhibition organizers. On contemporary postcard views, it does not appear at all. A pavilion advertising the Luxfer Prism glass industry, it stood nearly alone in its pure identification with and construction from the materials it exhibited.[21] During the short period of its exhibition, however, the pavilion came to be highly regarded by critics and other visitors. Bruno Taut maintained that the new attraction, with its translucent, opalescent walls, glowing waterfalls and kaleidoscopic theater, was particularly appreciated by women and children.[22]

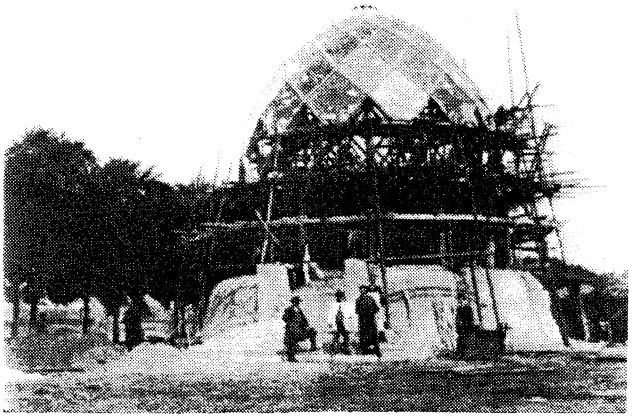

Fig. 2. Bruno Taut, Glass Pavilion, 1914 under construction.

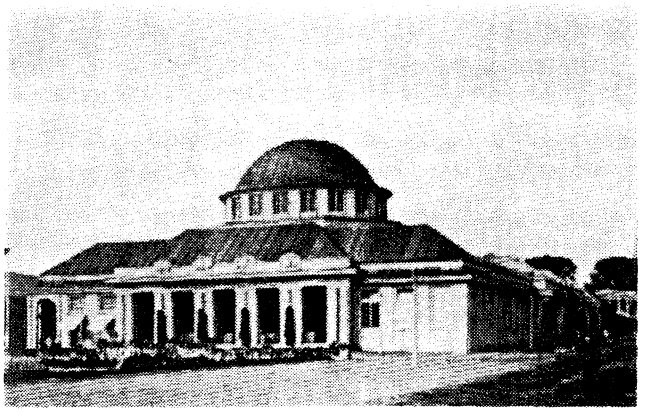

Fig. 3. Hermann Muthesius, Color Exhibition, 1914. Cologne Werkbund Exhibition.

Two pavilions at the Cologne exhibition actually dedicated, at least in part, to women and the display of women's fashion, charted much more conventional ground. Hermann Muthesius designed the Color Exhibition [*Farbeschau*], which was located in the central area of the exhibition on axis with the entrance.[23] The pavilion had the didactic agenda of educating the visitor about the history and practical use of color. An impassive, classicized structure, crowned with a central cupola, the front facade denied any indication of the building's function. Only the inscription above the entrance even displayed its name. Inside, the Muthesius assembled a wide range of exhibits ranging from natural history to fashion. Rooms displayed semi-precious stones, butterflies, birds and flowers. Perhaps the greatest spectacle of the pavilion, however, was a wide room illuminated by electric lights that featured fashion shows with the latest creations in German evening wear.[24] The colors Muthesius promoted in the pavilion, however, were not those changing, iridescent tones suggested either by the prismatic effects of Taut's pavilion or the sunsets in Scheerbart's The Gray Cloth. Rather, Muthesius chose to standardize these transmutable effects with the introduction of "true colors" [*Echtfarben*], colors tested to appear unchanged under various light sources. With this pavilion, Deneken and Muthesius sought to support the German textile industry and increase overall industry standards.[25]

Judging from a 1913 correspondence between Muthesius and Deneken, there was clearly a competition between the Color Pavilion and another self-appointed house of fashion,

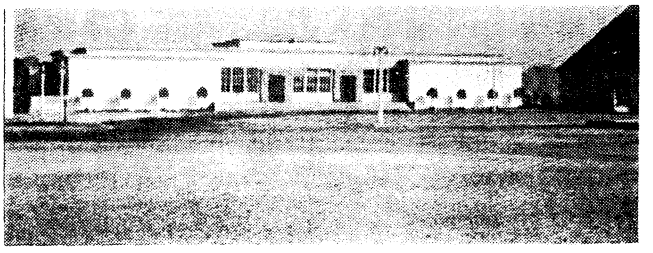

Fig. 4. Margarete Knueppelholz-Roeser, Women's Pavilion, 1914. Cologne Werkbund Exhibition.

the Women's Pavilion [Haus der Frau]. Referring obliquely to what he considered the lesser quality of the exhibits at the Women's Pavilion, Deneken wrote: "It also seems to me that the Color Exhibition should only contain the most beautiful (things) [*Schönste*] and most noble (things) [*Edelste*] and that all trivial (things) [*Trivale*] must remain far away."[26] As revealed in the Exhibition's master plan, the Women's Pavilion was situated almost as far away from Color Pavilion as possible, opposite Henry van de Velde's Werkbund Theater. The design for the Women's Pavilion was selected by competition. Margarete Knueppelholz-Roeser's winning entry was described by Else Oppler-Legband, a contributor to the Women's House (along with Lilly Reich), as: "simple, without pretension and clear in every part. Above all, it refused to gloss over and simulate (which was exactly what made it so pleasing to the administration of the Women's Pavilion) true ability and good taste through luxury and frail means, when this basic evil of every false style of decoration is readily available."[27] Within its subdued, classicized exterior, the pavilion showcased arts and crafts as well as fashion, with almost a third of the space dedicated to model domestic rooms. It is noted by Else Oppler-Legband that this last "section of the exhibition was difficult to design, since interior architecture [*Innenarchitektur*] is certainly the newest area in which women are participating on their own."[28] The desire of this pavilion to join Muthesius' call for Typisierung, is evident in its similarities in style and content to the Color Pavilion. While Muthesius, Taut, and, through fiction, Scheerbart, attempted to give men the power to render women powerless over their bodies and environments, the Women's Pavilion empowered women by the construction of a space articulated to advance at least certain women's goals and aspirations.[29]

There is, however, something instructive about the way Else Oppler-Legband described the newness of women in the field of interior architecture at this time. Although interiors were commonly considered the realm of women, they were eagerly designed by both Muthesius and van de Velde. Interiors designed by women, therefore, fractured a strong architectural hegemony found within the Werkbund itself. This was made increasingly possible as the distinction between interior and exterior became more sharply divided. However, by imagining structures of colored, translucent glass walls in *The Gray Cloth*, Scheerbart effectively prioritized the materiality of the walls themselves, as both interior and exterior built conditions. In *The Gray Cloth*, control over the materials and both the interior and exterior realms remained steadily in the hands of the masculine "master" architect, a place it was to stay for much of the rest of the century.

Although Scheerbart does not provide a vision of the world in which men and women are equal participants in the shaping of the built environment, his final novel offers us a lens through which pre-World War I design and politics may be viewed. As a continuous narrative, the view is edited and controlled in cinematic progression. The author is able to describe the inhabition of a built environment by expressing responses and relationships between characters. This is a space located between the hard, crisp pronouncements of manifestoes and the experiences of everyday life. *The Gray Cloth,* therefore, like the "*werkbundstreit*" of 1914, provides a window onto the highly emotional responses to Germany's national and international political and design agendas. Add to Scheerbart's text the opening of the Cologne Werkbund Exhibition, and the view of public responses to early modern architecture in Germany becomes stereoscopic. Both the built environment and the fantastic narrative flow together, each enhancing an understanding of the other. Far from focusing on defined solutions to distinct issues of standardization, artistic innovation, gender and the development of new building materials and technologies, this more complete view reveals many of the ways in which issues intertwine and blur. They reveal a complexity that was at the root of architectural modernism, a complexity that has continued to be part of our architectural heritage today.

NOTES

[1] Paul Scheerbart, *Das graue Tuch und zehn Prozent Weiß Ein Damen Roman*, (Munich and Berlin: Georg Müller Press, 1914). This text was reprinted in its entirety in the Frühe Texte der Moderne series, edited by Mechtild Rausch, in 1986. It has never been published in an English translation.

[2] First published as *Glasarchitektur* (Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1914), the work has been reprinted in German and translated into English in: *Paul Scheerbart and Bruno Taut, Glass Architecture/Alpine Architecture*, James Palmes and Shirley Palmer trans., (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

[3] This account of Scheerbart's death, written by Walter Mehring may be found in Else Harke's afterwards to, Hellmut Draws-Tychsen, ed., *Paul Scheerbart: Dichterische Hauptwerke*, (Stuttgart: Henry Goverts Verlag, 1962) reprinted in Berni Loerwald and Michael M. Schardt, eds., *Über Paul Scheerbart I: 100 Jahre Scheerbart-Rezeption*, (Paderborn: Igel Verlag 1992), 35. It should also be noted that Scheerbart's wife, in a letter to Ida Dehmel written on the day of the author's death, makes no mention of an elongated period of starvation, but rather refers to a "short indisposition" and sudden death. See Mechthild Rausch, ed., *Paul Scheerbart, 70 Trillionen Weltgrüsse: Eine Biographie in Briefen 1889-1915* [*Paul Scheerbart, 70 Trillion World Greetings: A Biography in Letters 1889-1915*], (Berlin: Argon, 1992), 478.

[4] For the general history of the Werkbund see Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978) and for a focus on the Werkbund history in the years leading up to World War I, see Kurt Junghanns, *Der Deutsche Werkbund: Sein erstes Jahrzehnt*, (Berlin: Henschel, 1982).

[5] Several important sources and articles exist on this debate. One of the most recent and elucidating accounts is Stanford Anderson's article entitled "Deutscher Werkbund-the 1914 Debate: Hermann Muthesius versus Henry van de Velde," in Ben Farmer and Hentie Louw, ed., *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993). Also see Anderson's discussion of Muthesius and the Deutsche Werkbund in the introduction to his translation of Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Nineteenth Century and its Present Condition*, Stanford Anderson, trans., (Santa Monica,

California: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 29-30. For a passionate history of the conflict told through the collected letters of Walter Gropius, Peter Behrens, Ernst Jäckh, Karl Ernst Osthaus and others see Anna-Christa Funk, *Karl Ernst Osthaus gegen Hermann Muthesius: Der Werkbundstreit 1914 im Spiegel der im Karl Ernst Osthaus Archiv erhaltenen Briefe*, [*Karl Ernst Osthaus against Hermann Muthesius: The Werkbund Conflict 1914 in the mirror of the letters held by the Karl Ernst Osthaus Archive*] (Hagen: Karl Ernst Osthaus Museum, 1978). For a description of the conflict particularly as it refers to the contributions of van de Velde, Behrens, Taut, Gropius and Osthaus to the Werkbund exhibition see the collection of essays in Angelika Thiekötter, et al., eds., *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914 Kunst und Umweltgestaltung im Industriegebiet: Die Deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung Cöln 1914*, [*The West German Impulse 1900-1914. Art and the Environment of Production in the Field of Industry. The German Werkbund Exhibition. Cologne 1914.*] exhibition catalogue, (Cologne: Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1984), 78-94.

[6] I have slightly modified several of Michael Bullock's translations of the *Leitsätze* and *Gegen-Leitsätze* found in Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), 28.

[7] According to van de Velde, reading his anti-theses was one of the most exciting moments of life. See Hans Curjel, ed., *Henry van de Velde, Geschichte meines Lebens*, (Munich: 1962), 365.

[8] Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes*, 28.

[9] Rausch, ed., *70 Trillionen Weltgrüsse*, 455.

[10] First published by Scheerbart's own newly created press as: Paul Scheerbart, *Das Paradies. Die Heimat der Kunst*, (Berlin: Verlag deutscher Phantasten, 1893). The history of Scheerbart's literary life may be gleaned from a number of sources, none of which presents a "complete" picture of the author's life and work. Most recently, Mechthild Rausch edited and wrote an afterward to Paul Scheerbart , Rausch, ed., *70 Trillionen Weltgrüsse*. The Scheerbart Archive in Steinweiler, near Berlin, recently produced an very hard to find but extensive bibliography of all Scheerbart's work and other sources that included his writings in larger collections. This work is Uli Kohnle, *Paul Scheerbart Eine Bibliographie*, (Steinweiler: Paul Scheerbart Archiv, 1994). A study of Scheerbart's architectural visions and their similarities to projects of later twentieth-century architects appears in an unpublished dissertation, Karl-Heinz Knupp, *Die Architekturphantasien Paul Scheerbarts: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von literarischer Fiktion und Architektur*, [*The Architectural Fantasies of Paul Scheerbart: A Contribution to the Relation between Literary Fiction and Architecture*] (unpublished dissertation, Universitaet Hamburg, 1980). The most recent examinations in English dedicated to Scheerbart and his work remain Rosemary Haag Bletter's dissertation, *Bruno Taut and Paul Scheerbart's Vision-Utopian Aspects of German Expressionist Architecture*, (unpublished dissertation, Columbia University, 1973), and Bletter's two articles: "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream-Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 40 (March 1981), 20-43, and "Paul Scheerbart's Architectural Fantasies," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 34 (May 1975),83-97. Also in English, Dennis Sharp, ed., *Paul Scheerbart and Bruno Taut, Glass Architecture and Alpine Architecture*, James Palmes and Shirley Palmer, trans., (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972). I have recently completed the first English translation of *The Gray Cloth* which I hope to have published shortly.

[11] Paul Scheerbart, *Münchhausen und Clarissa. Ein Berliner Roman*, (Berlin: Oesterheld & Co., 1906). The Baron is also featured a "glass flower novella": Paul Scheerbart, *Flora Mohr. Eine Glasblumen-Novelle*, (Prag im Herbst: K.u.K. Hofbuchdruckerei A. Haase, 1909).

[12] *Lesabendio. Ein Asteroiden-Roman*, (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller Verlag, 1913).

[13] *Lesabendio* was reprinted in Helmut Draws-Tychsen, ed., *Paul Scheerbart, Dichterische Hauptwerke*, (Stuttgart: Henry Goverts Verlag, 1962). This particular passage may be found on page 528. For Walter Benjamin's comments see Gershom Scholem and Theodor W. Adorno, ed., *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin 1910-1940*, Manfred R. Jacobson and Evelyn M. Jacobson, trans., (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 151.

[14] It has been suggested by Dennis Sharp in his introduction to *Glass Architecture and Alpine Architecture*, 10, that the two first met earlier in 1913 through a mutual connection with Herwarth Walden's periodical *Der Sturm*. Walden's Verlag Der Sturm was the first to publish *Glass Architecture* in 1914.

[15] Rausch, ed., *70 Trillionen Weltgrüsse*, 458.

[16] Scheerbart's use of humor was celebrated by Bruno Taut and German literary critics in the 1920s. Bruno Taut stated: "Only what is really meant in complete seriousness is expressed in jest. That is why one should very often read our Glaspapa Paul Scheerbart." Taken from Bruno Taut, "Glasarchitektur," *Die Glocke*, (1921),1376. The reference was found in Angelika Thiekötter, et al., eds., *Kristallisationen, Splitterungen. Bruno Tauts Glashaus*, [*Chrystalization, Fragmentation. Bruno Taut's Glass House.*] (Basel, Berlin, Boston: Birkhaeuser Verlag, 1993), 91. In fact, the opening scene of *The Gray Cloth* was included in a 1920's collection of prose examples of German humor. Walther Petry, ed., *Humor der Nationen. Ausgewählte Prosa. Deutschland*, [*Humor of Nations. Selected Prose. Germany.*] (Berlin: Wertbuchhandel, 1925), 273-291.

[17] See Mechthild Rausch's afterward to the 1986 reprint of Paul Scheerbart, *Das graue Tuch*, 160.

[18] Scheerbart, *Das graue Tuch*, 7-10.

[19] Scheerbart, *Das graue Tuch*, 11.

[20] Found in Dennis Sharp, ed., *Paul Scheerbart and Bruno Taut, Glass Architecture and Alpine Architecture*, James Palmes, trans., (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1972), 64-65.

[21] For an excellent discussion of architectural sponsorship by the Deutsches Luxfer Prismen Syndikat, see Dietrich Neumann, "'The Century's Triumph in Lighting': The Luxfer Prism Companies and their Contribution to Early Modern Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 54 (March 1995), 24-53.

[22] Originally published in Bruno Taut, *Farbenwirkungen*, (1919), 263-266, this reference can also be found in in Kristina Hartmann and Franziska Bollerey, "Das Glashaus von Bruno Taut," in Angelika Thiekötter, et al., ed., *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1914*, 133.

[23] Dirk Kocks argues for Muthesius's great interest in this pavilion in his essay, "Deneken, Muthesius und die Farbenschau," in Angelika Thiekötter.,, ed., *Der westdeutsche Impuls*, 205-121. This is the most recent of very few attempts by scholars to deal with this work. An excellent source that describes the interior of the pavilion and its didactic program is found in a contemporary article written by a contributor to its design: Frederich Denekin, "Der Werkbund und die Farbe," [The Werkbund and Color], in *Illustrierte Zeitung, Der deutsche Werkbund (1914)*, 17-18.

[24] See Dirk Kocks in Angelika Thiekötter, ed., *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1910*, 211. Note that it is German fashion design that is being displayed. This was an attempt to usurp the monopoly on fashion held by the French at the time.

[25] For more on this interesting concept, see Dirk Kocks in Angelika Thiekötter, ed., *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1900-1910*, 208-209.

[26] This fragment of the letter is found in Dirk Kocks in Angelika Thiekötter, ed., Der westdeutsche Impuls, 210.

[27] Else Oppler-Legband, "Das Haus der Frau auf der Werkbundausstellung,"[The House of Woman at the Werkbund Exhibition] *Illustrierte Zeitung der deutsche Werkbund*, (1914), 18.

[28] Else Oppler-Legband, *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 18.

[29] This was one of the last exhibition halls to be dedicated as a Women's Pavilion in a long and completely uncharted history of such pavilions that dates back into the nineteenth century. There also seems to be little available published information on the architect, Margarete Knueppelholz-Roeser, who was apparently from Berlin-Friedenau. For the most recent source on this fascinating topic, see Carl-Wolfgang Schümann's essay in Angelika Thiekötter, ed., *Der westdeutsche Impuls 1910-1914*, 233-241.