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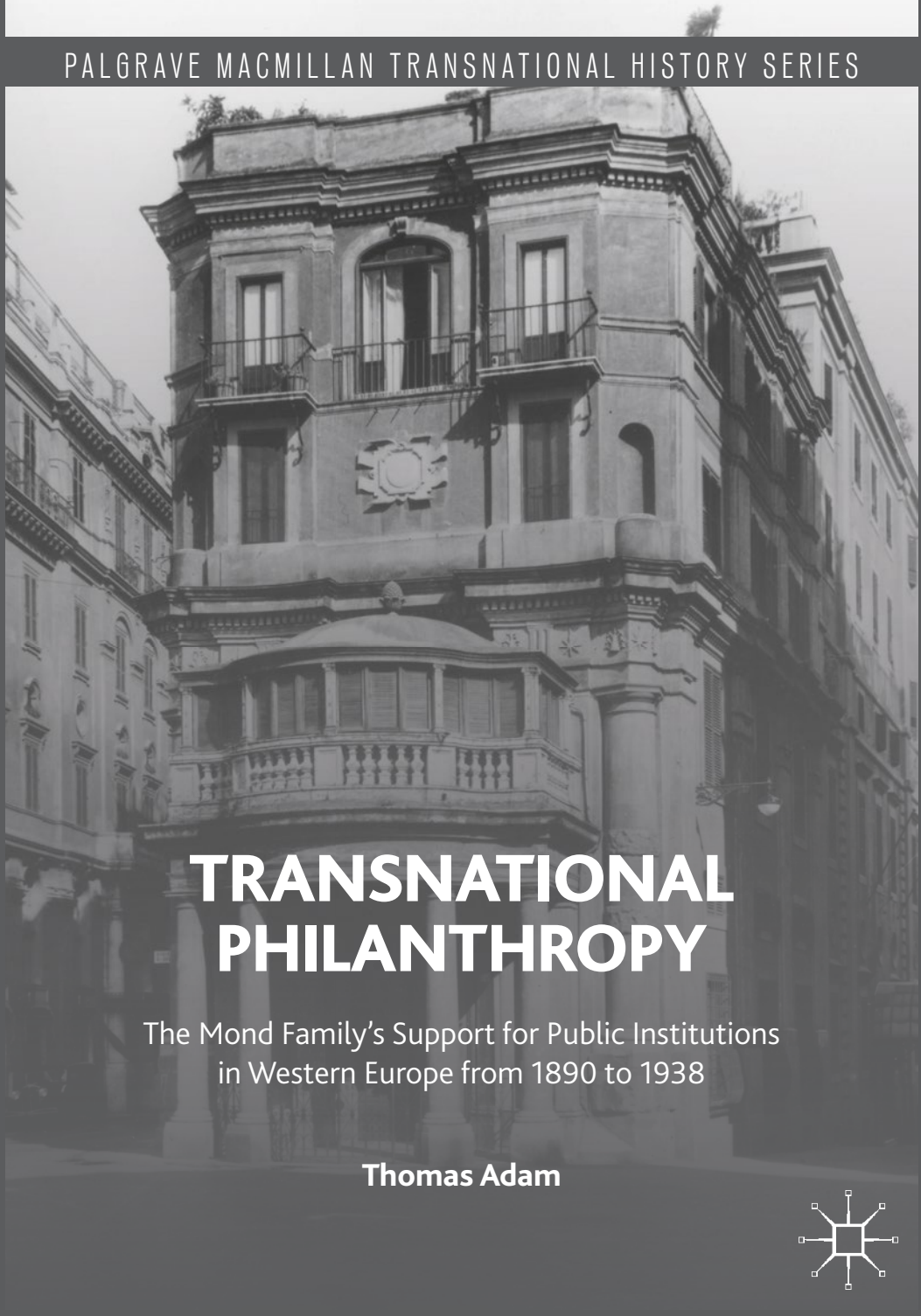

TRANSNATIONAL PHILANTHROPY

The Mond Family's Support for Public Institutions in Western Europe from 1890 to 1938

Thomas Adam

Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series

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To Christopher Coleman

Preface

Each book has its own history, and the history of this book began about 20 years ago, when I learned about Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond's involvement with the founding of the Royal Ontario Museum in the context of my research into the philanthropic establishment of Toronto. My interest in the Mond family's philanthropic activities was renewed when I was asked in 2006 to review Julia Laura Rischbieter's biography of Henriette Hertz, which in my view greatly distorted the role Henriette Hertz had played in the founding of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. I published a rather critical review of this book on the Internet group H-German to which I received several emails from various scholars in Great Britain who welcomed my review. I have never received so many (positive) responses to a book review before or since.

Among them was an email from Christopher Coleman, who had been a Lecturer in History at the University College London for over 20 years. In his own work, Coleman had come across the philanthropic support provided by Sir Robert Mond for various archaeological institutions. And it was this experience that caused his life-long interest in the Mond family. He encouraged me to pursue this topic and to write a longer article about the Mond family's role in the founding of the Bibliotheca Hertziana and maybe also to explore the other philanthropic interests of this prominent English family. Initially, I hesitated because the sources were scarce and dispersed over many archives and libraries in various countries. And most of the documents seemed to have been lost to history. Coleman assured me that he would support my endeavor and supply documents he had saved from destruction. Among the documents he had saved, as it turned

out, were original letters and pictures of various members of the Mond family as well as government documents. Since this first email exchange in March 2007, Coleman provided me with many original documents and photocopies, which served as the basis for this book. It became clear to me in the process of collecting additional material that the story of the Mond family's philanthropic engagement was too big to fit into a journal article, and the constant flow of documents provided by Coleman convinced me that this in fact was the stuff of a book. Since I would never have been able to write this book without the documents and the insight provided by Christopher Coleman, who also arranged for me to be introduced to Ludwig Mond's descendants Peter Melchett, the fourth Baron Melchett, and Major Piers Dunn, I would like to dedicate this book to him. His postal packages brought to me letters, pictures, and manuscripts, and I was feeling like a little child at Christmas Eve every time I opened my mailbox and saw that another of these packages had arrived.

Coleman also pointed me to the many archives in London—the archive of the National Gallery, the archive of the Egypt Exploration Society, the archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the archive of the Petrie Museum, and the archive of the British Museum—in which I found so many additional documents about the Monds' support for these institutions and their endeavors. Without Coleman's help I would have neither been aware of the documents stored away in these archives nor granted access to them. I would also like to thank Susanna Avery-Quash, who helped me in accessing the documents about the Mond Bequest at the archive of the National Gallery, and Stephen Quirke, who permitted me to study the documents about Sir Robert Mond's support for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Flinders Petrie, and the Petrie Museum at the University College London. The Fritz-Thyssen Foundation made it possible for me to travel to London and to spend two weeks thoroughly searching through these archives and collecting documents. I would also like to thank George Gosling, who provided guidance in London and organized a very nice welcome dinner with friends and colleagues.

During various stays in Germany, I was able to visit various archives in Munich, Heidelberg, Cassel, and Berlin where I found many important documents cited in this book. These travels were supported by various institutions, including the Center for Advanced Studies at the Ludwig Maximilians University in Munich and the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin. I would like to thank Christof Mauch and

Dieter Hoffmann, in particular, for inviting me and thereby enabling me to pursue this research project. I also wanted to thank Sabrina Zinke, archivist at the archive of the University of Heidelberg, for helping me in locating documents about Ludwig Mond's bequest for that university and for arranging the reproduction of scans from the *Wissenschaftsatlas of Heidelberg University*. I am also extremely thankful to Alexandra Lutz and Petra Krenz, archivists at the City Archive of Cassel, for allowing me to study documents on days at which this archive was closed to the public.

I am especially grateful to Elisabeth Kieven, the director of the Bibliotheca Hertziana from 1999 to 2014, for her invitation to give a lecture on my research project and to conduct research in the archive of that library in April 2013. The Bibliotheca Hertziana has been very liberal and generous in allowing me to access the documents about Henriette Hertz in their archive and in providing me with scans of unique books and publications such as the Henriette Hertz novel *Alide*.

I am indebted to my two doctoral students, Nicole Leopoldie and Isabelle Rispler, who helped me with translating French documents about Sir Robert Mond and his philanthropic activities in France. I am also very grateful to Caroline Sternberg, archivist at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, who provided me with the statistical data for the table about the share of foreign students at this institution.

Coleman read my manuscript in its entirety and provided very helpful suggestions for improving its quality and adding important information. Daniela L. Caglioti read the chapter on "Transnational Giving in the Age of National Confrontation" and offered her expertise on the British treatment of the property of enemy aliens after World War I. I am very grateful to these readers as well as to the anonymous reader for their thoughtful and helpful comments which helped shape this book manuscript. My wife, Burcu, I thank for giving me the space to write this book and for her moral support during the seemingly never-ending waiting for the outside reports to arrive in my mailbox.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Transnational Spaces in History

To most historians, the spatial dimension of the nation appears to be the seemingly natural skin to the body of history. Since the modern craft of history served as midwife at the birth of the modern nation-state and provided modern nation-states with national narratives that allowed each state to claim particular national spaces, historians have continued to tell history in its national variants.[1] History has been, foremost, national history. Even younger forms of history with a focus on smaller units and dimensions, and which include a wide theoretical and methodological range from cultural history and everyday life history to regional and urban history, accepted in the end the nation as their framework. Students of history early on in their careers are still forced by tradition and the structures of history departments to choose national fields of study, they continue on to teach courses in a national specialization, they publish books for series in national fields, and they enjoy mingling with historians of their national specialization at exclusive annual meetings of national history associations such as the German Studies Association or the Organization of American Historians.

The advent of world and global history approaches has certainly broadened our understanding of history and caused us to reevaluate the place of nations and nation-states in the history of humankind. Given the novelty of nations since their introduction into the historical record at the end of the eighteenth century, and given world history's scope of 5000 years of

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history, nation-states have lost some of their hold over history. However, world history and global history have remained separate streams of research and teaching, with their own infrastructure of organizations, jobs, and journals. World history and global history have, furthermore, evolved side by side with established national history without challenging the legitimacy of national history accounts. Even truly path-breaking syntheses of global phenomena such as migration, as in the case of Dirk Hoerder's *Cultures in Contact*, have had a fairly limited impact on entrenched ideas about migration and assimilation in cases such as American history.[2]

The approach of transnational history differs markedly from the approach of both world history and global history because of its time frame. While the time frame of world history and of global history stretches back 5000 and 500 years, respectively, and thus extends beyond the last 200 years of national history, transnational history's temporal space is identical with that of national history. That makes the paradigm of transnational history a rival of national history. In contrast to world history and global history, transnational history has also not yet reached a level of institutionalization. There is no professional association, no journal, and very few jobs. It has, however, with the *Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, a founding document.[3] Transnational history is very much, as its proponents readily admit, still a project and a research perspective.

While world and global history approaches tackle historical phenomena from migration to climate change and thereby provide interpretations that should impact national history accounts, it is transnational history that truly challenges national history, because it provides a counternarrative that highlights the interconnected nature of the human experience that crosses and ignores artificial political borders. Transnational history is not about adding another stream of historical interpretation that can coexist with national history; it is an attempt to develop a historical narrative "with nations that is not a history of nations."[4] As such, transnational history, which is steeped in cultural and social history, is the attempt to provide new ways in which we teach, research, and write history that turns history from a parochial national variant into a universal category.[5]

This universal history needs its own space. The prospect of taking out from history the national space as the dominating framework seems, even in the face of the decline of nation-states, to frighten historians. Pierre-Yves Saunier aptly but all too politely summarized the fears of traditional (national) historians when he wrote in his textbook on transnational history:

> Historians may fear that an emphasis on what lies in-between and through polities and communities will lead to some kind of offshore and footloose history that would follow restless objects, ideas and people without paying attention to the fact that these movements are impulsed, resisted and managed by specific individuals or organizations rooted in specific contexts. If so, transnational history would give up on an elementary duty of historians: the contextualization of events, facts, people, groups, processes and institutions.[6]

Transnational history is certainly not a history without space. But in contrast to traditional assumptions about the appropriate (national) space, transnational historians focus on spaces created by intercultural transfers and networks.[7] Traditional historians seem to have succumbed to the misconception that all people lived their lives within the confines of nation-states and that these nation-states provided their exclusive mental and identity-creating frameworks. Only minorities, in the words of Jürgen Osterhammel, developed transnational identities.[8] Yet, people living in regions such as the Balkans or the region of Alsace-Lorraine would hardly be expected to be loyal to imposed and frequently changing national allegiances. And research on migration has shown that in the nineteenth century—the time of the construction of nation-states—moving across continents and oceans was part of the life trajectory of many Europeans. From 1815 to 1939, about 50–55 million Europeans—which represents about one-fifth of Europe's population as of 1800—left their homes, according to Dirk Hoerder, in hopes of finding a better life in the Americas, Asia, and Australia.[9]

Those remaining behind were not sedentary, either. Europeans moved across the continent from East to West and from West to East. German-speakers from central Europe, on the one hand, relocated to regions as far away as the Transylvanian region in the Austrian-controlled Balkans and to Bessarabia and Volhynia in the Russian Empire.[10] Germans from the German states in central Europe and Jews from across Eastern and Central Europe, on the other hand, relocated to Great Britain.[11] And industrialization caused a massive movement from rural areas to industrialized towns and cities which shaped modern society.[12] Nineteenth-century populations were certainly not characterized by a sedentary lifestyle. In an expanding economy, hungry for labor supply, laborers moved around in search of better-paid jobs, and entrepreneurs such as Ludwig Mond followed the

path of opportunity from Cassel to Cologne, from Orsova to Utrecht, and finally to Manchester, and London.

In February of 1869, Ludwig Mond wrote to his parents from a business trip to Paris: "To-day one no longer marries one's self to one place, but to the world. One lives on the railway, and young people, especially, are unable to speak of a definite domicile."[13] Mond's statement reflects an attitude among many people in the second half of the nineteenth century who looked for opportunities far beyond the limits of their village or their city. They felt no attachment to national communities and moved easily across the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean in search of a better life and better career opportunities. The people on the move were certainly not a minority, and most of them (although not all of them) were not chased out because of religious or political persecution. In the process of migration, transnational family networks that spanned the Atlantic and the Pacific emerged.[14] The stories of German families began to include the figure of a long lost aunt or uncle in South or North America. Told at family gatherings, and in the twentieth century made into the theme of iconic movies such as *Das Haus in Montevideo* (1951), such stories reflected a transnational space in which individuals from continental Europe felt an emotional connection to relatives thousands of miles away. The long-lost aunt or uncle in the USA or Canada became a staple for millions of British and German families given the high number of migrants who left both countries for North America before World War I.[15] Networks created by migration, the exchange of letters, and visits created and sustained transnational spaces, which allowed for movements of relatives back and forth within this space. There was not just one transatlantic space; the ocean was the background for a myriad of transnational spaces created and shaped by individual families and communities.

The experience of non-national spaces created by letters, newspapers, travel, labor migration, and novels such as Karl May's *Winnetou* affected more people than historians are willing to admit. And these movements created transnational spaces even for those who did not travel. The novels about *Winnetou* published by Karl May in three volumes from 1876 to 1893 were read by virtually everyone in continental Europe and produced in the Europeans' minds an imagined space in which the readers encountered the American frontier.[16] There is no doubt that in the process of moving around, people encountered nation-states through restrictions on travel, policies about the things one could carry in one's luggage, and so on, but these were perceived as obstacles and not internalized as protec-

tive national borders and identities. Ludwig Mond saw Western Europe as his space for chemical research, industrial activities, collecting of art work, and leisurely travel. Any attempt to force him into just one (national) identity being German or being English or being Italian would distort his experience and force the historian to neglect one part of his personality in order to focus on another part. Ludwig Mond was none of the above and at the same time he was all of them. Biographers such as Jean Goodman had noted that he "certainly had no wish to ape the English. He declined a peerage when it was unofficially offered to him, ignored the current symbols of material success in his adopted country, such as a fashionable London address, a country estate, a yacht or a racing stable. He even forbade his sons to ride to hounds because he saw the sport as a pastime exclusive to the English aristocracy."[17] Some contemporaries and scholars, and this probably included even his son Sir Alfred, might have considered such attitudes as a failure at assimilation since it prevented Ludwig Mond's acceptance into British High Society. Such traditional interpretations that focus on the nation and employ explanatory tools such as assimilation and acculturation are unable to make sense of individuals who considered spaces larger than the nation in which they lived as their backyard. Ludwig Mond felt at home in London for his industrial interests. He also felt at home in Rome because of his interest in Renaissance paintings. For him, it was not a choice of either England or Italy. It was the combination of both spaces into one space that allowed his money made in England and Canada to flow into the Italian art market. His two sons, and Sir Robert in particular, continued the transnationalism of their father albeit with different motivations and outcomes, and created a transnational space of their own that was even larger than the space created by their father since their space included not only Western Europe but also Canada, Egypt, and Palestine.

The story of the Mond family and their philanthropic engagements in particular can simply not be told in meaningful ways within the traditional framework of national history. And it is the Monds' philanthropic activities that gave structure to the transnational space in which the members of this family moved around. This space is as constructed and artificial as any national space. However, it provides context and space to the historical account of the Mond family's activities in philanthropy. The fear of traditional (national) historians that transnational history robs them of the dimension of space, thus, is simply unfounded. There is no doubt that we need both dimensions—time and space—to produce meaningful history.

However, national historians confuse the national space with a naturally given dimension and forget that every space is the result of cultural invention and construction.[18]

With the rapid disintegration of nation-states in Europe in the course of the twentieth century, the artificial nature of nations has, at least to the scholar's eye, become painfully obvious. And the conflict between different national groups that caused civil wars in Yugoslavia and in post-Soviet republics such as Georgia and Ukraine highlighted the fragility of invented nations. In the course of the twentieth century, the number of Europe's countries (including Russia/Soviet Union and the Ottoman Empire/Turkey) rose from 21 in 1914 to 27 in 1945 and 40 in 2014. Each of the new states considered itself a nation in its own right and with a claim to a specific national space that was often contested by two nations, as in the case of Kosovo. This disintegration process has produced nations such as Montenegro and South Ossetia, which are in population and geographic space smaller than most European metropolises. And while this balkanization has so far affected Eastern Europe more than Western Europe, countries such as Belgium, Great Britain, and Spain are certainly not immune to similar disintegration.

National historians, who continue to insist that the only appropriate space for doing history is the nation, might one day be faced with the disappearance of their nation. One can, of course, continue to redefine nation and national history and limit the object of study further and further. But what would be the point? It seems to be time to develop a new concept of space for doing history in the twenty-first century. This transnational space would be created by circles of exchange—by mental spaces and maps bound together through intercultural transfers and the flows of material and immaterial products.[19] Such transnational spaces are not the spaces of the future; they have always been around. The nineteenth century, in particular, was a time in which people from various cities and regions studied and observed innovations in the field of urban architecture, social welfare, funding of cultural institutions, and education in order to improve their own situations.[20] National historians, bound to separate cultures and societies through highlighting differences, have simply ignored and obscured these connections. Transnational spaces have, however, always overlapped with national spaces. Individuals such as Ludwig Mond, who operated within transnational spaces, came into conflict with national spaces in the form of the regional laws in Italy that did not allow him to export Renaissance art from the Italian peninsula. Transnational spaces

were often the result of individual and familial actions. Families such as the Mond family, with their connections across national borders, created transnational spaces focused on business, leisure, and philanthropic activities. The creation of such spaces was, however, not limited to the activities of individuals or families. Transnational spaces in the nineteenth century were also the result of activities by local and transnational non-state associations.[21] Museum associations such as the Metropolitan Museum Association in New York City were at the center of a transnational network of museum makers that involved philanthropists, museum experts, and collectors from across Western and Central Europe and North America.[22] Transnational associations such as the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund created transnational spaces through its transnational membership, the excavation activities they funded, and the distribution of artifacts recovered from the excavation activities among the museums that held subscriptions in these associations.

Transnational spaces were always multilingual and involved conversations and discourses in various cultures, societies, and languages. They involved actors from various backgrounds and bound them together by the actors' interest in a particular idea, project, or desire. Collecting art created transnational spaces as much as social reform movements, such as the attempt to decrease the mortality rate among infants. Most aspects of modern society—from the creation of sewage lines to the organization of universities—has been the result of exchanges within transnational spaces created around these topics and themes. Transnational spaces were not defined by geography—and neither were national spaces—but by topoi. Transnational spaces created topical landscapes that varied in size just as much as national spaces; they expanded and contracted over time through the voluntary exclusion and inclusion of individuals and the building of contacts and networks that could span across continents and oceans. Transnational spaces depended on infrastructures in similar ways that national spaces did. They relied on rivers of information and modes of transportation for individuals and ideas. Membership in transnational spaces was often but not always by choice. In many cases, individuals gathered around an idea they embraced to improve the quality of life in their communities. In other cases, individuals facing environmental and man-made catastrophes such as the tsunami in the Indian Ocean of 2004 and the nuclear disaster in Chernobyl (1986) and Fukushima (2011) decided to work together across lines of language, ideology, religion, and culture. And even the early-twentieth-century idea that behavior and morals

were inherited and had, therefore, to be addressed through eugenics created a transnational space and a transnational community of eugenicists that crossed all lines of politics, ideology, religion, and language.[23] Transnational spaces do not just provide the background for progressive ideas but they also provide, as much as national spaces, the breeding ground for wars and genocide.

The approach of transnational history is thus part of the interdisciplinary project to denationalize history and to provide an alternative to traditional nation-centered history. While most national historians continue to ignore the interconnected nature of human life experience, political scientists Joeseph S. Nye and Robert O. Keohane already recognized in the early 1970s that political spaces did not have to coincide with the space of nation-states.[24] Transnational non-state actors—be they associations or corporation—could produce spaces that in turn could be studied by political scientists.[25] Such an approach required scholars not just to denationalize their object of study but also to focus on non-state actors. For historians who have traditionally preferred to study nations and state actions, to leave behind both seems to be too overwhelming.[26]

The account of the philanthropic activities of the Mond family fits perfectly into the project to denationalize history and to suggest a framework in which the focus of the historical narrative is on individual and associational action rather than state action. The Monds' activities in the field of philanthropy created a space of its own that connected art dealers and art owners in Italy with Ludwig Mond's art collections in Rome and London as well as the excavation of Egypt's history, in the case of Sir Robert Mond, with associations and museums across the Western world. Nation-states play only a marginal role in this story. They were, however, part of the story since these transnational activities came at some point into conflict with regional and national laws. The existence of the art collection in Rome is testament to the conflicts that erupted when transnational activities and regional laws with regard to the protection of cultural heritage collided. And the export of Egyptian artifacts to Western museums was hampered by the activities of the Egyptian Antiquities authorities that aimed to keep these artifacts in Egypt. Sir Robert Mond's activities in archaeology, nevertheless, connected the regions of Egypt and Palestine with patrons and museums in England, continental Europe, Scandinavia, and even North America. The connections and circulations created by these individuals created a transnational space for art patronage and the creation of archaeological collections that shaped the thinking of Northern

European intellectuals and scholars about the cultures and the history of the people in the Mediterranean space from the dawn of history to the time of the Renaissance. The Monds' philanthropic projects thus contributed to the shaping of the intellectual mind-set of Western and Northern Europeans and integrated the Renaissance and Egyptian culture into this mind-set by presenting them in Northern European museums.

The case of the Mond family not only provides a strong argument in favor of deterritorializing history in favor of systems of circulation, networks, and connections; it also shows that the denationalization of history also means that we need to historicize the role of the state in modern history. Post–World War II historians tended to produce historical accounts in which the state appeared as the sole funding source for social, cultural, and educational public institutions. The private support for public institutions was written out of history, and if mentioned at all it was portrayed as a sign of a premodern past. Modern European societies considered the state at the heart of society. Philanthropy no longer mattered.[27] Transnational history has, by contrast, as Akira Iriye observed, focused on non-state actors and non-profit organizations in particular.[28] From here, transnational historians have moved into studying the private support of public institutions and reevaluated the role of the state in modern society.[29] Transnationalizing history might open our eyes to the interplay between private and state support for public institutions such as museums, research institutions, and universities. Ludwig and Sir Robert Mond's support for learned societies, institutions of higher education, and museums was essential for the creation of these institutions, which often branded themselves as national and public institutions. And Sir Alfred Mond's support for Zionist funds and associations shows that even modern nation-states such as Israel started out with private funding collected in transnational fundraising campaigns rather than through the taxation of its future citizens. Transnational history thus opens up two new and exciting perspectives on nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. It represents a powerful counternarrative to traditional national-history approaches, and it provides us an opportunity to explore the scope and scale of civil society and civic participation in modern societies.

The narrative that follows is certainly not a traditional biography of an individual (Ludwig Mond) or a family (Mond). The Mond family itself, as well as the philanthropic activities of its various members, defy easy categorization and traditional framing. This book explores the philanthropic activities of three generations of the extended Mond family, beginning

with the philanthropic activities of Ludwig Mond (first generation) and his friend Henriette Hertz. Both Mond and Hertz created individual institutions and art collections that bear their names. This first Mond generation passed on the cultural norm of philanthropic engagement to Sir Robert and Sir Alfred Mond. While Sir Robert was introduced to philanthropy directly by his father and was involved in many of his father's philanthropic projects, Sir Alfred initially kept a distance from philanthropy and preferred political engagement. Only late in life, after realizing that politics did not fulfill all his dreams, Sir Alfred turned towards philanthropy. Both Sir Robert and Sir Alfred engaged, in contrast to their father, in collective forms of philanthropy by supporting associations for health care, scientific research, archaeology, and the creation of a nation-state (Israel). Emil and Constance Schweich represented the third generation of the Mond family, which followed in the philanthropic footsteps of their predecessors and joined in the projects of Sir Robert Mond as well as creating their own.

Philanthropy was, as Francie Ostrower convincingly argued, an inherited behavior.[30] Children born into families that practiced philanthropic activities often followed in the footsteps of their parents. The case of Sir Alfred Mond, however, forces us to modify Ostrower's explanation. Sir Alfred Mond considered his father's philanthropic activities as a waste of resources since it did not serve to integrate the family into the British upper class. In a clear repudiation of his father's attitudes, Sir Alfred Mond initially forwent a philanthropic career for a political career. That children embrace the philanthropic behavior of their parents thus largely depends on their relationship to their parents and on the advantages they receive from engagement in philanthropy.

This book uses the case study of the Mond family to explore the creation of transnational spaces through philanthropy. Philanthropy serves as the topoi of the transnational landscape peopled by the Mond family, the institutions and associations they created, and the people who benefited from these public institutions. Previous studies of transnational philanthropy have mainly focused on the activities of American foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation in Europe during the 1920s and 1930s.[31] The transnational activities of philanthropic associations and individuals have not yet received sufficient attention.[32] However, philanthropy crossing nation-state's borders was certainly not an exception in the nineteenth century. British scholars such as the Sanskrit expert John Muir gave scholarship funds to German universities. Muir donated 6600 marks in 1880 to the University of Berlin for the creation of a scholarship endow-

ment. And German migrants such as John Max Wülfing, who came to riches in the USA, created endowments in the communities they had left behind. Wülfing left 18,000 marks for an endowment at the University of Heidelberg in 1929.[33] This transnational dimension to nineteenth-century philanthropy has not yet caught the eye of historians. With the end of World War I and the imposition of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany, such transnational philanthropy encountered insurmountable problems. The movement of philanthropic funds across state lines after the war became subject to the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles. The impact of this treaty on forcing philanthropy into a "national straitjacket" will be explored in this book.

The life and career of Ludwig Mond, Sir Alfred Mond, and the Mond family has been the subject of various books and unpublished dissertations. While the treatments of Ludwig Mond's life by John Michael Cohen, Jean Goodman, and Johannes R. Lischka have focused on the social dimension of the Mond family and the industrial success story of Ludwig Mond's chemical enterprise, the authors have nearly completely neglected Ludwig Mond's philanthropic activities.[34] The same applies to Hector Bolitho's biography of Sir Alfred Mond and to the unpublished dissertation about the political career of Sir Alfred Mond by Gwyn M. Bayliss.[35] Sir Robert Mond has not attracted any scholarly interest in his life and his many philanthropic activities. Finally, Julia Laura Rischbieter's book on the creation of the Bibliotheca Hertziana greatly distorted and obscured the role Ludwig Mond played in the funding of this institution.[36]

The first chapter introduces the reader to the upbringing of Ludwig Mond, his education at the Polytechnicum in Cassel, and his university studies at the University of Marburg and the University of Heidelberg. It provides an image of a person who enjoyed life to the fullest, who did not face discrimination because of his Jewish faith, and who forwent an academic career for a more promising business career. This chapter also shows that from an early point in his life, Mond followed business opportunities regardless of the geographic distances he had to overcome. While his first job was at Mombach close to Mainz in western central Germany, Mond recognized that he could make a fortune either in Eastern Europe or in England. His movements were not limited by national borders; they were guided by the social connections of his mother and the best prospects for a successful career in chemical industry. The transnational space created by his familial connections and his business activities provided the

background for the transnational space created by his art acquisition and the assembling of art collections in London and Rome.

The second chapter tells the story of Ludwig Mond's career as an art collector who, with the help of Henriette Hertz and Jean Paul Richter, created one art collection in two locations (London and Rome). Mond's art collecting activities were exemplary for many well-off Northern Europeans and North Americans who had enormous amounts of money to spend on artwork from the Mediterranean world. These art collections were transnational because of the flows of money, the relocation of art from the South to the North, and the experts from across Europe who were involved in these endeavors. Local and provincial laws that prohibited the export of works of art and archaeological artifacts from these regions not only complicated plans to create such art collections outside of Italy but also enticed non-Italian art collectors to find a second domicile in Italy. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the donation of the Mond Collection to the National Gallery in London and its mishandling by that institution as well as a discussion of the funding for the creation of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, which was donated to the German Emperor Wilhelm Society by Henriette Hertz.

The third chapter explores the conflicts that emerged from the application of the Treaty of Versailles onto the three bequests made by Ludwig Mond in favor of the University of Heidelberg, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, and the City of Cassel. Ludwig Mond seemed to have been certain that his last will would be respected and that the relations between Great Britain and Germany would not deteriorate to a point at which transnational philanthropy could become collateral damage to political confrontations. Recognizing his debt to the town in which he grew up and the university that formed him as a chemist, Mond saw his endowments as an acknowledgment of the role these institutions had played in the making of his successful career. The inclusion of the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich also shows Mond's commitment to art patronage and his support of the sculptor Henryk Glicenstein. The full extent of the devastating consequences for transnational philanthropy caused by the application of the Treaty of Versailles is today unknown.

The fourth chapter explores the transmission of philanthropic behavior from one generation to the next. Using the case of the Mond family, and Ludwig Mond and his two sons, Sir Robert and Sir Alfred, in particular, it tests Francie Ostrower's hypothesis that philanthropy was an inherited behavior.[37] The relationship to philanthropy developed by Sir

Alfred and Sir Robert Mond forces us to reevaluate Ostrower's claim and provides a more nuanced picture of how philanthropy is passed on from one generation to the next. Both Sir Robert and Sir Alfred Mond came at various points into contact with their father's philanthropic projects, and both participated in these projects to varying degrees. Sir Robert Mond was entrusted by his father with furnishing the Davy-Faraday Laboratory Ludwig Mond later donated to the Royal Institution, and Sir Alfred Mond found the solution to the future of the Mond Collection located in London and Rome by dividing it into two with his "Alfred Plan." Yet both brothers came away from these contacts with different conclusions. While Sir Robert embraced philanthropy as a way of life, Sir Alfred chose a political career instead. Only after he became disenchanted with politics did he turn toward philanthropy in the founding of the state of Israel.

The fifth chapter uses Sir Robert Mond's involvement with various British excavation societies to explore the transnational character of seemingly national associations such as the Egypt Exploration Society. Such societies were national in name only, since their membership rosters as well as their excavation activities were truly transnational. The chapter also follows the competition between these excavation societies for potential supporters and thus delves into the little-studied relationship between funding, religion, and the beginnings of archaeology in Egypt and Palestine.

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CHAPTER 2

The Monds: A Transnational Family

Ludwig Mond's Family and Education

Ludwig Mond was born into a well-off Jewish family in Cassel on March 7, 1839. He grew up in an old house built in the second half of the sixteenth century which was located at the corner of the Marktgasse and Der Graben. It was "a commodious, many-storied building, with a high gabled roof, ornamented with gargoyles."[1] The house came into the possession of the Mond family by his maternal grandfather Aaron Levinsohn, who had acquired the property sometime before 1800. Levinsohn was, according to Frida Mond, a businessman with strong interest in literature and history. He "was most interested in the progress of natural science and in all inventions which expedited and lightened work, so that the house had always the newest labour-saving appliances and lighting and heating apparatuses."[2] Liberal in his religious and political convictions, Levinsohn afforded his three daughters a very progressive education that included instruction in the natural sciences. He even took them to see various factories in Cassel and the surrounding area so that they could receive an understanding of industrial production. "At the same time, he did not neglect their aesthetic education, familiarizing them, by frequent visits, with the Art treasures in Cassel, as well in the Museum as in the Picture Gallery, then housed in the Palace. He had them instructed in drawing and music. They also studied French and Italian, which were then fashionable languages."[3] Frida Mond considered her husband's maternal grandfather

T. Adam, *Transnational Philanthropy*,
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to have been more "of a philosopher than a business man so it was no wonder that he did not make a great success of his commerce." However, Levinsohn was a rather well-off silk merchant and clothier who worked nearly exclusively for the Court of Hesse-Cassel and the Court Theatre.[4]

The Levinsohn family was a privileged family which enjoyed the protection of the landgrave. The Napoleonic Wars affected the family directly since the former landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel was merged with territories from the Kingdom of Prussia and the Brunswick-Luneburg territories into the Kingdom of Westphalia in 1807, which was ruled by Napoleon's brother Jérôme Bonaparte. The new kingdom received a constitution that granted Jews political equality. Cassel, which was elevated to being the capital of the Kingdom of Westphalia, was at the time of the French occupation home to a Jewish community of 50–100 families. In 1823 there were 990 Jews living in the city. Although the Kingdom of Westphalia was dissolved at the end of the Napoleonic era, the Napoleonic reforms survived its demise and the restoration of the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel. Political equality was reaffirmed with a law passed in May 1816. The liberal climate of Cassel allowed its Jewish community to prosper in the following decades. A Jewish school had already been opened in 1809 and a new synagogue was built in the years from 1836 to 1839. Cassel's Jewish community produced some very prominent and successful industrialists. Among them was Sigmund Aschrott, who created the city's textile industry and became one of the richest men in Germany around 1900. His fortune was estimated at 20 million marks. His son Paul Felix Aschrott achieved national prominence as social reformer.[5]

Cassel's Jewish community had embraced many liberal reforms to the religious practices in the synagogue during the time of the French occupation. Synagogue services were held in German and girls were given bath mitzvahs. In 1839 the ritual of confirmation was introduced for boys and girls. And in 1860 an organ was installed in the synagogue. These changes pitted a smaller faction of orthodox Jews against the liberal majority of the community. The installation of the organ led to the division but not the separation of the two religious groups, which from this time onwards held separate services in the same synagogue.[6]

In 1828 Levinsohn accepted as apprentice into his business the 17-year old Meyer Bär Mond (called Moritz) who had been born in Ziegenhain just a few miles outside of Cassel. Mond came to live with the family of his master, fell in love with his daughter Henriette, whom he married in 1832, and eventually took over the family business a few years later.

Henriette Mond was a gifted writer and liked to read the novels of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Jean Paul Richter. She was in particular fascinated by Goethe's, Rousseau's, and Richter's ideas about education and she sought to apply some of their principles to the education of her children. "The love of nature, the simplicity of life, the tolerant kindness of Rousseau appealed to her. The poetic and fine sentiment, the insight into the richness and depth of human nature as revealed by Jean Paul's writings helped her," according to Frida Mond, "to shape her own conduct in the education of her children."[7]

It appears, however, that the principles of life espoused by Henriette Mond did not leave a deep impression on the mind of her son Ludwig Mond. While his mother had taught him that it was better to suffer than to cause suffering, Ludwig disagreed and got into many fights with the neighbor's children. Ludwig, as Frida Mond wrote, "after having given the theory a trial, found it inapplicable in real life, and when about five years old, he gave a bigger boy, who had attacked a small one, a good whacking."[8] Ludwig, further, seems to have had problems with his outer appearance. When he was just five years old, he sneaked out from his parent's house to find himself a hairdresser who would cut off his curls since "he did not wish to look like a girl."[9]

Ludwig Mond was a very curious child who always wanted to find out the reasons for why something happened or existed in the form as it presented itself to the eye of the observer. He seemed to be often deep in thought and ignoring the world around him, which quite often brought him in danger of being run over on his way to school by wagons and horses. He started preparatory school at the age of five in 1844. Four years later in 1848 he entered the Realschule in his hometown. With revolution and upheaval all around him, Ludwig took an active interest in politics. "He held very republican views and manifested them by wearing a red tie, hoping that it might be his destiny to play a great role in the New republic, which many people then thought was about to be established."[10] From an early age on, he received private lessons in English and French. He also learned to play the violin and he received instruction in swimming, skating, and dancing. "As it was the custom then in Jewish families for the male members to learn a handicraft, Ludwig chose book-binding and attended the workshop of a good master-bookbinder for the purpose of learning the craft." Frida Mond added that she never saw any products of Ludwig's bookbinding abilities except for "a cardboard box he made for his mother, in which she kept letters."[11]

Ludwig Mond's mother Henriette had two sisters: Frederike and Johanna. While Frederike married very young and left with her husband and his family for the USA, Johanna continued to live with her sister and her mother in their house in Cassel. "She took great interest in the politics of the time and held very liberal views. Likewise she was a good business woman, very practical, very simple in her taste and mode of living, but with a fine discernment for all things concerning Art, Literature and Music."[12] According to Frida Mond, it was the baby—Ludwig—who caused the introduction of Johanna to her future husband.

> The nurse was standing at the house door with the baby when a young man came out of the business offices over the way and smiled at the child who held out his arms to him. The young man who was very fond of children, crossed the road, played with the engaging little fellow and thus the first step was taken towards an acquaintance with Johanna Levinsohn which resulted in her marriage to Adolph Löwenthal, my father.[13]

Adolf Löwenthal had received his education at the Ducal High School in Dessau, which was located in the Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau. Upon completion of this preparatory school, he hoped to pursue an academic career at the University of Braunschweig in the Duchy of Braunschweig. However, the Revolution of 1830, which led to the removal of Duke Karl II and the closing of the university as well as the inability of his parents to send him to another university, forced Adolf to give up his dream of becoming a scientist. Instead, he entered a large drapery house in Erfurt as an apprentice. After his training, he established himself as a merchant in Cologne. Throughout his entire life he remained interested in the natural sciences and in chemistry in particular. The discovery of the galvano plastique process in the 1840s caught his eye. After Eugen von Hackewitz had drawn public attention to this new technology by producing a famous bronze bust of Wilhelm IV in 1844, Löwenthal recognized the significance of this new technology.[14] Three years after Hackewitz had founded the Royal Galvano Plastique Institute in Berlin, Löwenthal obtained in 1847 the permission to open a branch of this institute in Cologne.[15]

Löwenthal and his wife frequently visited their relatives in Cassel. During these stays, Adolf took it upon himself to nurture Ludwig's interest in the natural sciences. Frida Mond recalled that her father had brought for Ludwig at one time a galvanic battery, and at another time Liebig's *Letters*, which the famous chemist Justus von Liebig wrote in 1841 for

the daily *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* in order to popularize research in chemistry. From 1853 to 1855, Mond attended the Polytechnical Institute in Cassel and excelled in chemistry. He was introduced to the study of chemistry by Karl Georg Winkelblech, who had been trained as a chemist by Ferdinand Wurzer at the University of Marburg and by Justus Liebig at the University of Giessen from 1829 to 1835. Since he enjoyed the support of his university and of his colleagues, Winkelblech was considered a promising scholar who was in line for promotion to the directorship of the chemical institute at the University of Marburg in 1839. His academic career, however, came to an abrupt end when he was denied the promotion, removed from the university, and demoted to a teacher position at the Polytechnical Institute in Cassel, which had only been opened in 1832. The Polytechnical Institute was created as an advanced secondary school that was to introduce students into the natural sciences, modern languages such as English and French, and commerce.[16]

Winkelblech was essentially forced in 1839 to switch positions with Robert Bunsen who had been appointed teacher of chemistry at this school in 1836. While the students of the Polytechnical Institute appreciated Winkelblech's teaching style, they criticized that he was inapt when it came to practical experiments for which he had to rely on the help and support of his lifelong friend and assistant Emil Touton.[17] The enrollment numbers at the Polytechnical Institute increased because of the appointment of Winkelblech as a chemistry teacher. In 1853, when Mond entered this school, the student population had grown to 101 students. Most students came from well-off families from Cassel in which the father was either a civil servant or an industrialist.[18]

Winkelblech's teaching obligations at the Polytechnical Institute brought him into contact with industrialized production. He enlivened his lessons by taking students to factories to give them a first-hand experience of the industry and work. The increasing significance of industry and his disappointment with his career as a chemist caused him to change his field of study from chemistry to national economy. His trip to Sweden and Norway in 1843 marked his transition from a chemist and technologist to a national economist who developed socialist ideas about the organization of industrialized societies. Winkelblech's initial preoccupation with advancing technology had made him blind to the suffering of laborers in factories and mines. The confrontation with the working conditions in factories in his home state and during his travels in Scandinavia revealed to him the dark side of industrialized societies. In the mid-1840s Winkelblech

began working on his major book *Untersuchungen über die Organisation der Arbeit oder System der Weltökonomie*, which he later published under the pseudonym Karl Marlo. In this book, Winkelblech envisioned a future society in which capital and labor were to be restrained and regulated. Winkelblech insisted, further, on the need to limit the destruction of nature by humans. He demanded an organized development of mankind through regulations with regards to marriage, the production of offspring, and the regulation of income.[19]

Mond entered the Polytechnical Institute and started taking classes with Winkelblech at the time at which his teacher was still recovering from the political trial he was forced to endure in 1852/1853 for his involvement in the democratic revolution of 1848/1849.[20] By this time, Winkelblech was still seen as a popular teacher who taught theoretical chemistry, chemical technology, and practical chemistry to a growing number of students, including Ludwig Mond. However, Winkelblech was deeply disillusioned with politics and it is highly doubtful that he ever discussed any of his political views, which nearly had cost him his job and livelihood, with his students.[21]

Grudgingly accepting his son's enthusiasm for chemistry, Ludwig Mond's father insisted that Ludwig also enter into an apprenticeship in his family business. In October 1856 Ludwig passed the exam of the Guild of Merchants in Cassel. But at that time, at age 16, he had already entered university. In fall of 1855, he started out at the University of Marburg, the only university within the territory of the Electorate of Hesse, where he studied with the renowned chemist Hermann Kolbe. His stature was rather impressive, as Frida Mond writes. "He wore his abundant, dark, curly hair rather long. It surrounded his head as with a halo. He wore his student's cap (blue and white, the Hessians colours) at a jaunty angle."[22] It seems that Ludwig Mond was drawn to the corps life of student fraternities. In a letter, his mother had to warn him: "Don't allow yourself to be drawn into the whirlpool of the Korps-life; dont (sic) forget the object of your being there; don't smoke and drink too much—it is harmful to your purse and more so to your health and intellect."[23] These warnings did not prevent her from sending him "everything that one needs for smoking."[24] His mother was even more concerned with his involvement with student corps life at Marburg. In her letter of April 23, 1856, she responded to his report about his first duel. "So you have had a duel, which I thank God has turned out luckily for you. I hope that the slash on your chest has not been dangerous. I hope you will not seek trouble diligently. I do not ask

you to withdraw, when it is a matter of your Honour. Be valiant, but do not seek trouble."[25]

With the winter semester of 1856/1857 Mond transferred from the University of Marburg to the University of Heidelberg, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where he continued his education in chemistry under the supervision of Robert Bunsen, who had been Kolbe's doctoral supervisor at Marburg. Since the establishment of chemistry as an academic field of study at the University of Heidelberg first within the medical school (in 1817) and later (in the 1850s) within the college of liberal arts, students from many countries came to Heidelberg to study with eminent professors such as Bunsen, who had been appointed professor at the University of Heidelberg in 1852. "In 1855 Bunsen obtained what was for the time a highly modern new laboratory with lecture theatre and living quarters. This laboratory was situated in the Akademiestraße and provided work space for 62 students. Bunsen was aided in his teaching by three assistants and six to seven lecturers (*Privatdozenten*) and associate professors."[26] When Mond arrived in Heidelberg, Bunsen took a liking to this new and industrious student, and they developed a strong friendship that lasted until Bunsen's death in 1899.

Mond deeply enjoyed student life in Heidelberg, and he engaged in all extracurricular activities offered to and required of a fraternity member. In the spring of 1857 he joined the Corps Rhenania. Duels, and drinking became an integral part of his student life. "He practiced particularly rapier-fencing, in which he," according to Frida Mond, "attained a great proficiency, which soon made him a redoutable (sic) Hirschgasse (sic)." Frida Mond seems to have confused the name of the place with the rank of a student within this fraternity.[27] The Hirschgasse was the tavern where the rapier-fencing took place twice a week. "The Hirschgasse tavern is thought to be Germany's oldest dueling venue, where some 400 such events took place annually when the Ditteney family owned the place in the nineteenth century."[28] She continued:

> That they were many is testified by the considerable number of names written inside of the guard of his rapier. Though but five feet three inches in height, and offering a good target on account of his breadth of shoulders, Ludwig escaped serious injury by his good swordsmanship. But various Schmisse were visible until he grew a beard. The most serious Schmisse was on the head and was the cause of his losing his hair at a comparatively early age.[29]

The University of Heidelberg brought Ludwig Mond also, according to Baldwin Fletcher, into contact with students from across the world. "Apart from the natural attractions of Heidelberg, its tin yards, its delightful countryside and the amenities of the town, the great number of foreign students from all parts of the world gave Ludwig a wider outlook and a greater variety in his daily life."[30] When Ludwig Mond entered the university, enrollment stood between 500 and 600 students. Many students came from the German states surrounding the Grand Duchy of Baden. However, there was also a significant share of non-German students in the student body. "In the nineteenth century Heidelberg University was among the German universities with the highest percentage of foreign students." The largest contingent of foreign students came from Russia, and the second largest contingent from North America. But there were also students from Switzerland, Great Britain, Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, France, Bulgaria, Japan, Greece, Turkey, Luxemburg, Serbia, Central- and South America, Romania, Italy, and Sweden.[31]

In late summer 1857 Ludwig visited his aunt and uncle Johanna and Adolph Löwenthal in Cologne. The purpose of his visit was to discuss Ludwig's professional future. He was to become an apprentice in Löwenthal's business. His father, who was from the beginning very hesitant with regard to his son's choice of a career in chemistry, grew even more concerned. While he was not opposed to his son studying Galvano Plastique and sharing Löwenthal's enthusiasm for this technique, he wrote to his son, "I do not wish you to devote your whole activity to this branch, but to your other study, that is, general chemistry."[32] In the end, Ludwig's father and his brother-in-law agreed that Ludwig would enter Löwenthal's business after his graduation from Heidelberg University. This solution would allow Ludwig to follow his dream of working as a chemist and at the same time also introduce him to the merchant business of his uncle.

Before Ludwig could graduate from the University of Heidelberg, he had to settle the debt he had accumulated through his lifestyle as a corps student. The Corps Rhenania was an exclusive club, and its membership came with heavy expenses for drinking and dueling exercises. As long as he was a student, Ludwig could successfully hide the fact from his father and mother that he was getting deeper and deeper into debt. With graduation fast approaching, he could no longer continue to keep it a secret. When he finally confessed to his father that he owed various people a total of about 200 Thaler, his father became furious but nevertheless sent him a check that covered Ludwig's debt. Ludwig's debt and the conflict with his father was a major reason for why Ludwig forwent working towards a doctoral

degree. He could simply not afford it. And his father seemed to have lost his trust in Ludwig's promises of studying harder and less partying. Forced to leave the university without a graduate degree, Ludwig moved in the fall of 1858 to Cologne to work and live with his aunt and uncle and his cousin and later wife, Frida.[33]

Ludwig Mond's good times at the University of Heidelberg seemed to have shaped his outlook with regard to higher education for the rest of his life. His industrial success never made him regret having foregone graduate school. In fact, he received honorary doctoral degrees from the University of Padua in 1892, the University of Heidelberg in 1896, the University of Manchester in 1904, and the University of Oxford in 1907.[34]

Academic and Professional Honors Bestowed Upon Ludwig Mond[35]

Appointed one of the four honorary Secretaries of the new Society of Chemical Industry in 1881 and elected President in 1888
Fellow of the Royal Society in 1891
Doctor of Science, honoris causa, of the University of Padua in 1892
Doctor of Science, honoris causa, of the University of Heidelberg in 1894
Foreign Member of the Accademia dei Lincei of Rome in 1899
Doctor of Science, honoris causa, of the University of Manchester in 1904
Awarded the Medal of the Society of Chemical Industry in 1906
Doctor of Law, honoris causa, of the University of Oxford in 1907
Honorary Member of the German Chemical Society in 1908
Honorary Foreign Member of the Royal Society of Naples in 1908
Foreign Member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1909

But his own experience with student fraternities and social life seemed to have imbued in him a disdain for university education in general. Mirroring Mond's rejection of higher education and universities, Lord Tyneforth of Ethel Brunner's novel *Celia's Fantastic Voyage*, who is said to be a literary representation of Ludwig Mond,[36] stated:

> The *vast majority* of the young men who go as students to these Universities *haven't any* intention of studying anything. They are sent there in order to be submitted to *the slightest* college discipline and to have, subject to *that*, a good time. A large number are handsomely paid by scholarships in order to induce them to go there—and would not go there at all unless they were so paid.[37]

Frida seemed to have been quite fond of her cousin. Her first recollection of meeting Ludwig

> falls into the time when he was still a pupil of the Real-Schule and I was a little girl of four or so. I see him standing with his mother and the other children at the top of the short, wide flight of stairs, leading to the first floor landing …. I was expected on a visit with my mother and I remember the warm, affectionate welcome they gave us and the kindness the elder cousins showed to their little visitor. They gave me one of their pigeons out of their loft at the top of the house, and they themselves manufactured a cage for it.[38]

She was very much impressed with Ludwig when he visited the Löwenthals in October 1857. She wrote: "A true student in appearance, the embroidered cap with the colours of his Corps on his luxuriant, curly hair, a shepherd's plaid over his shoulder. In his hand he carried, strange to see, a doll, dressed in the costume of the Hessian peasants. It was sent to me by his mother, my Aunt from Cassel."[39] Frida was eight years younger than Ludwig. Born on October 5, 1847, she turned just 11 when the 19-year old Ludwig entered the home and business of her parents in summer of 1858.

Having left university rather abruptly and at a very young age, Ludwig seemed to have had trouble leaving the life of a corps student behind. Frida described in her letters social gatherings in the courtyard of her parent's house that involved Ludwig and some friends from Cologne. They engaged not only in discussions about chemistry but also about literature—"Goethe's Faust was sometimes read aloud by one of them…"—and philosophy. And there was also fencing. "Fencing, in which Ludwig had so distinguished himself at Heidelberg," wrote Frida Mond, "was practiced in a good-sized, rather narrow room, in one of the upper floors of our house, used for storing models and unfinished pieces of galvano-plastic reproductions. My mother became alarmed for the safety of the room when the swish of the rapiers resounded on the passage and staircase."[40]

Ludwig's time as an apprentice in his uncle's business was extremely short, since he had already been offered in August 1858 a partnership in a chemical works at Mombach, which was at that time a small village close to Mainz. It was apparently his mother's social connections that paved the way for Ludwig's business career. In August 1858, Henriette Mond was approached by one of the directors of the Darmstädter Bank für Handel und Industrie who had invested in the chemical works at Mombach and who

was looking for a talented chemist and business partner. The Darmstädter Bank für Handel und Industrie had been established in 1853 by Gustav von Mevissen, Abraham Oppenheim, and Moritz von Haber. It was one of the first universal banks that provided capital investment for promising industrial start-up companies.[41] Ludwig's father was initially opposed to this business proposal. He considered his son to be too young (he was just 19½ years old), too inexperienced, and lacking the funds it took to accept this position. In spite of his objections, he agreed to support Ludwig and even traveled to Mombach in October 1858 in order to conduct the negotiations on behalf of his son. Since Ludwig had still not reached his twenty-first birthday, his father had to conclude the agreement on his behalf. It also appears that he footed the bill again and contributed some capital in order to obtain this position for his son. On October 17, 1858, Ludwig signed his first work contract, according to which he was entitled to 10% of the profits and a minimum salary of 700 Gulden. This marks the beginning of Ludwig Mond's double career as an entrepreneur and chemist.[42]

In the following years, Ludwig switched jobs repeatedly and moved from one employer to the next. But he kept in contact with Frida. Both shared a deep interest in literature, and Goethe in particular. The love for Goethe seems to have been one of the many bridges that brought Ludwig and Frida Mond closer together. Frida had enjoyed a good training in German literature and the works of Goethe "whom she often quoted, knowing a great part of Faust by heart."[43] But she also had acquired a solid knowledge of mathematics and chemistry. Since her father was enthusiastic about chemistry, she grew up in a house in which scientific experiments were part of the everyday life experience (Fig. 2.1).

While Frida had been, according to Jean Goodman, "fascinated by her handsome cousin," Ludwig saw in Frida "'a dear, good, and understanding child who is as fond of me as I am of her and who I enjoy being with'. She had the looks and talents that one day might well qualify her to be his wife."[44] While she seems to have considered herself his equal, Ludwig looked down to her. "Ludwig always laughed when she tried to aid him with mathematics. 'Mathematics are not for women', he told her."[45] Although it seems that the marriage between both cousins had been arranged by Frida's mother, Johanna, the initiative seems to have come from Ludwig and Frida who secretly entered into an engagement in May 1861. Frida remembered that she agreed to marry Ludwig when she was just 13½ years old and still in school.[46] Ludwig and Frida were able to keep their engagement a secret for almost two years. In early 1863,

Fig. 2.1 At the Löwenthals' in 1861 *Back row, l. to r.:* Leopold Schweich, Frida Löwenthal, Ludwig Mond *Front row:* Johanna and Adolf Löwenthal. Courtesy of the Mond family

Frida revealed her promise to Ludwig to her mother, who agreed to keep it a secret from her husband and from Ludwig's parents for some time. In January 1864 Ludwig and Frida's mother discussed the relationship between their children and agreed that it would be best "to allow both young people to go on quietly; to write to each other and to exchange their thoughts and feelings, so that they will come to know each other, better and closer." "Allow Frida," Henriette Mond wrote to her sister, "to reap the benefits of her girlhood in full. Allow them to know the World and the people. When Ludwig has earned bread and position, if her affections are still the same, then our best motherly blessing will not fail."[47] Following the matriarchal traditions of Jewish families, both sisters, Johanna and Henriette, took an active interest in arranging the marriage between Ludwig and Frida. In September 1865, Frida and Ludwig Mond finally announced their engagement and got married one year later—just three days after Frida turned 18. The couple first moved to Utrecht, and in 1867 to England, where they settled in the small village of Farnworth (South Lancashire).

Since his employment at the chemical factory in Ringenkuhl, Mond had made significant advances in the recovery of sulfur from Leblanc alkali waste.[48] Alkali waste was a by-product of the Leblanc process that produced sodium carbonate, which was an essential ingredient for the emerging chemical industry. It was a black sludge that polluted the environment but contained large amounts of calcium sulfide. John Michael Cohen remarked that "the Leblanc process was wasteful, and at the same time destructive of the countryside."[49] Mond took on the challenge of extracting the sulfur from the waste, thus making the process more effective and limiting the pollution of the environment. To protect his invention, he acquired a patent for this recovery of sulfur first in France in 1861 and then in England in 1862. His activities were helped by the introduction of legislation in both countries that addressed the pollution caused by chemical plants and, thus, provided Mond with a potential market for his innovation.[50] In the early 1860s Mond sought to find a manufacturer who would employ his patent. He found work in various places in England and the Netherlands, where he set up the Leblanc Soda Works at Utrecht.

In Utrecht, Frida and Ludwig Mond seemed to have found a very happy life. Writing to her parents, Frida spoke of the social contacts with other families and visits to the theater. She joined a musical society and took piano lessons.[51] These cultural activities somehow mirrored Ludwig Mond's interests. When he was living in Cologne with his uncle and aunt,

Ludwig had joined the Gesangsverein. Her husband possessed, according to Frida, "a deep baritone voice, as yet little trained, but of very agreeable timbre and of considerable volume. He sang with much fervour in Mendelsohn's Oratorios, which were then in high favour, and he took singing lessons."[52] From the letters Frida sent back to her parents in Cologne, it appears as if the couple found friends quickly in the new city. And even though Frida did not speak Dutch, she managed to make herself understood. The year in Utrecht seemed to have afforded the newlywed couple with a cultural and social life both deeply enjoyed. Unfortunately, Ludwig Mond was drawn to England. Chemical plants in England offered Mond much better opportunities for the advances in the recovery of sulfur and, thus, also for his business career. Mond also reasoned that because of the impending alkali legislation, British chemical plants would provide a much better market for his sulfur recovery process.

Relocating to England

Initially Mond, who had gone to England without his wife, acted, according to Johannes R. Lischka, as an alkali broker who sold licenses for his sulfur recovery process to companies in England and in continental Europe. He soon had, according to Peter J. T. Morris, 40, and according to Lischka, more than 60 companies licensed to use his patent. Morris estimated that Mond received about £5000 in net royalties from these companies in the 13 years from 1863 to 1876.[53] Among these companies was with the Tennant Works, the largest producer of soda in Glasgow. The Tennant Works had been founded by the chemist and industrialist Charles Tenannt, who had built a chemical empire and an industrial dynasty before he died in 1838.[54] By 1867 Charles Tennant, the son of Charles Tennant, was drawn to Mond's patented recovery process of sulfide because of public outrage over the pollution of the countryside with waste and gases that destroyed wildlife and plants. A sanitary inspector was quoted by Simon Blow in his book on the Tennant family to have said: "A sparrow didn't dare fly over the works" since the pollution of the air was so threatening to the wildlife.[55] "Mr. Tenant (sic)," wrote Frida , who had stayed behind in Utrecht, to her mother, "has very definite views about the Patent, and Ludwig had hopes of a success, as Tennant is more or less forced, as a result of quarrels with the magistrates, to keep the soda residues harmless for his locality and neighborhood. Ludwig's process effects this most suitably."[56]

Complaints about the poisoning of rivers, the sickening of livestock, and the damage to buildings forced the British government to reign in the chemical industry by introducing in 1863 legislation that sought to limit the pollutants created by these factories.[57] The resulting Alkali Act established a government inspectorate of five chemists who were in charge of inspecting factories and enforcing limited standards of environmental protection. This legislation provided Mond, at least in the long run, with a great sales pitch for his patent. While his first efforts to use this legislation for marketing his technology proved, according to Lischka, unsuccessful "since the Alkali Act of 1863 was concerned only with the hydrochloric acid gases" but not with the sulfur waste that poisoned land and rivers, Mond was called before the royal commission in 1865 "to testify on the effectiveness of his process in ridding Britain of alkali waste."[58] And although legislators were willing by 1870 to set limits on the output of chemical plants, they were not prepared to mandate processes. Mond, nevertheless, suggested in speeches and pamphlets produced in the course of the 1860s that "his process might become compulsory in all cases of pollution from soda works."[59] He became friends with R. Angus Smith, the chief alkali inspector who had an open ear for Mond's talks about his patented soda recovery process.[60] Frida suggested in her letter dated April 26, 1867 to her mother that Smith "showed himself not averse to making suggestions to the Government…" with regard to the advantages Mond's invention has to offer to English chemical plants and the environment.[61]

After some negotiations, Mond and Tennant agreed on a contract according to which Tennant was going "to try the process in a part of his factory … and for this he is paying Ludwig for the period of ten years, the extent of his patent, a yearly sum which will probably be fixed at between five hundred and six hundred pounds sterling."[62] This seems to have been a fair deal, since Mond's patent was assessed at a value of about £100,000 in 1866. In his search for an entrepreneur who was willing to apply his patent in practice, Mond considered that "I would be contended with one-tenth of the mentioned amount."[63] Mond was put in charge of supervising the setting up of the plant and Tennant hired him for an annual salary of £500–600 on a ten-year contract.[64]

Since this contract provided Mond for the first time in his life with a long-term prospect, he decided to ask his pregnant wife who at first stayed behind alone in Utrecht and then moved back to her parents in Cologne, to join him and to establish a home in England. He immediately

started looking for a house which he found in Farnworth "about half an hour from the factory, and ten minutes walk from the Appleton, where all my friends live. The house is only five minutes away from the railway. The house, until lately," he wrote to his wife, "has been occupied by a very rich manufacturer who had a very large family."[65] Neither his parents nor Frida's parents were very happy with Ludwig's demand that his wife, who was seven months pregnant, join him in England in June 1867. His mother was especially upset when she wrote to her son that "your dictatorial tone towards your dear wife surprises me. It is entirely contrary to our views and agreements. You formally dispose of her as though she had no will-power of her own. A man considers and asks his wife 'ought I to arrange this in this way or that?' 'Can you live in these surroundings?'"[66] Henriette Mond clearly preferred that the first child of Ludwig and Frida Mond would have been born in either Cologne or Cassel so that Frida would have had the support of her mother or mother-in-law. However, Ludwig's mind was set and he traveled to Germany to collect his wife in the second half of June.

While Henriette Mond was opposed to Frida's relocation to England at that particular moment, she had in general supported and even encouraged Ludwig to seek out employment on the island. From the surviving sources, it did not seem as if Ludwig's Jewish heritage had hindered his advancement in the German states as a university student, a chemist, or an entrepreneur. He was, after all, accepted into the Corps Rhenania and his parents' contacts proved valuable to his professional career. There is not a single complaint about anti-Semitic attitudes or discrimination in all of the letters exchanged between Ludwig and his parents or his wife. Only when Ludwig was concerned that he might be drafted into military service in 1859 did limitations imposed on Jews become apparent. Ludwig's mother wrote him that "I think it would be difficult for a Jew to become a lieutenant. Herr Hauptmann Breithaupt said that nobody can speak of this while it depends upon the reigning sovereign, whose dislike for our people is well known."[67]

The UK promised to Jews, in the eyes of Ludwig's mother, greater freedoms than Germany. A country that allowed Benjamin Disraeli "a Jew by birth though not by faith" to become Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1851 and even Prime Minister in 1868 was preferable to Germany, which prevented Jews from obtaining leadership positions in politics.[68] Ludwig's mother had occupied herself with seeking to provide contacts for Ludwig's envisioned migration to the UK. Henriette Mond contacted Hermione,

Ludwig's second cousin, who had married Philip Goldschmidt, who became the first Jewish mayor of Manchester in 1883. While Ludwig's father repeatedly interfered in his son's life, provided advice, voiced his concern about the steps his son took, and footed the bill for his son's indiscretions and for his business career, it was Ludwig's mother who shaped her son's path and who provided guidance in his most important life decisions. In his research about the Mond family for his book on Sir Alfred Mond, Hector Bolitho concluded:

> the father fades and becomes colourless when we trace Ludwig's inheritance of character. … The mother, a cultivated, gentle, wise woman, was the guide of Ludwig's childhood just as she was the source from which he drew most of his virtues. … Ludwig accepted the moral laws of his mother. His father did not seem to matter very much: he was a disgruntled, angry man, suspicious of Ludwig's learning because he had little himself. But the mother was the dominant force.[69]

Ludwig and Frida Mond were part of a new wave of Jewish migrants that included ambitious young men such as Hugo Hirsch, Alfred Beit, and Ernest Cassel, who left continental Europe for Great Britain in search of economic success.[70] Working their way up the ranks of banks and commercial enterprises, these men made fortunes that put them into the spotlight of British society. Once economic success was secured, many of these plutocrats engaged in large-scale philanthropic projects giving hundreds of thousands of pounds towards social and cultural institutions.[71] Ernest Cassel, who lived in England since 1869, quickly became one of the most influential bankers of London.[72] His philanthropic donations, which included recipients such as the London School of Economics, have been estimated at £2 million.[73] These German-Jewish migrants differed significantly from Jewish migrants who arrived in London in earlier periods. Most of the Jewish migrants of the 1870s and 1880s came from urban regions.[74] In contrast to earlier arrivals who first stayed in London because of its large Jewish community, the migrants of the 1870s and 1880s moved immediately into "what had become the industrial heartland of the country, in manufacturing cities like Manchester, Leeds, Bradford and Nottingham, due to prior trading links with manufacturers and brokers there."[75] And while anti-Semitism and persecution were still motivating factors, migrants such as Ludwig Mond were more motivated by better career opportunities than by an anti-Semitic environment. These

migrants differed from their predecessors in that "they did not grow up in a traditional Jewish *milieu*, segregated socially and culturally from the surrounding society."[76] They came from regions in which legal emancipation had produced an environment in which Jews had many opportunities in education and business.[77] German Jews, in particular, did not grow up in ghettos and abandoned traditional religious patterns. "Few had received a traditional Jewish education or grown up in homes in which regular synagogue attendance and observance of the dietary laws were the norm."[78]

Frida's first impression of her new home was very positive. Farnworth, she wrote to her mother in early July, "is a very pretty place, with cheerful, clean houses, quite free from the smoke and dust of the factories, and chiefly occupied by manufacturers and nice people."[79] The first encounters with Ludwig Mond's colleagues and John T. Brunner and his wife, Salome Brunner, in particular, seemed to have been very pleasant. "Yesterday we went to Brunner's and I felt as much at home there as if I had always been there, as they are such dear, simple, good people."[80] Even visitors from Cassel appeared on the doorsteps of the Mond's temporary lodgings at an apartment close to the house in Farnworth—they moved into their house on August 10—in early July. Frida's initial enthusiasm, however, subsided with time. Farnworth, as Frida realized, was not comparable to big cities such as Cologne or Utrecht. It is a very quiet place, and visitors were rather rare. Frida soon felt very isolated and lonely in her new home. She found some solace in writing to her mother. And she found some company with the wife of her husband's colleague and later business partner Brunner. However, Salome Brunner was not an equal of Frida Mond on an intellectual level, and she quickly grew frustrated with the lack of intellectual engagement. In general, Frida found her female neighbors to be "uneducated and plain." For these neighbors, Frida remained a strange woman who played sad melodies on her piano and who could not properly speak their language.[81]

The arrival of the Mond family was felt as an intrusion by the local population, which was suspicious of these German newcomers. The Lancashire men

> did not understand this broad-shouldered German, with his black hair, his black coat and his foreign accent. Everything he did was strange to the habits and customs of Lancashire. He walked arrogantly, with a swing which made it seem that the path belonged to him. His wife spoke little English, and when the butcher came to the door she once had to call Ludwig from

> his room to speak to him. In the morning, before Ludwig set out for the works, which were some miles away, she would sit at the window with him, combing his long hair, so that all passers-by could see.[82]

The birth of the first baby, Robert, on September 9, 1867, did not seem to improve the situation but rather furthered Frida's isolation. Their second child, Alfred, was born just a year later on October, 25, 1868. And while Ludwig was, at least according to Hector Bolitho, rather supportive of his wife, he was absorbed with his work and with his plans to establish his own chemical factory. Bolitho also remarks that Mond increasingly sought to spend time outside the family home, returning to his lifestyle of past student days. He embarked on long strolls in the near environment and went to clubs and bars where he got drunk with his workers. The raising of their children was subsequently largely left to his wife. When the children grew older, Ludwig showed little compassion for his two sons, who seemed to be very different in character from their father. He expected his children to be curious about the things around them, and he was always happy to lecture about the origins of things such as sugar. But there was little emotional connection to his children and even a general lack of sympathy for his children.[83]

Frequent trips to and stays in Glasgow did not seem to break the isolation of the family. During their stay in Glasgow in November 1867, Frida complained in a letter to her mother: "We live here in a manufacturing district, where the men are away from home the whole day. So the women go out alone. They have visited me, and I have returned their visits alone. … In general it is terribly stiff here. They complain about each other, and rather than knowing the wrong person, they would pay no visits at all."[84] And in February 1868—the Monds returned to Glasgow for the New Year—she finally wrote to her mother, "We have not yet made any acquaintances. How can one come to do so? The English say 'My House is my castle', but they ought to add to that, 'and I am locked up in it'…"[85] And a few days later she added: "The English are perfectly satisfied when they sit in front of the fire, looking into it, drinking their tea, smoking their cigar—if the mistress of the house will allow it—and reading the newspaper. That is English comfort. Living is so dear here that only the rich people can have company."[86]

With the years, Frida's outlook on the sociability of British families grew darker and darker. When they traveled together to Beaumaris in Wales in August 1869, Frida wrote to her mother: "We have not yet

made any friends, and if I were to be here for as long as the mountains opposite, I would not do so. The English are a nation of hermits. Even the nursemaids do not speak together, and that says a lot."[87] Frida's isolation grew with her husband's business success. He was frequently away—Frida accompanied him only on a few trips—and even went onto longer business trips onto the continent. Ludwig Mond felt increasingly as a "world citizen" who during his business trip to Paris in February 1869 emphatically declared to his parents in a letter dated February 22, 1869: "To-day one no longer marries one's self to one place, but to the world. One lives on the railway, and young people, especially, are unable to speak of a definite domicile."[88] The world of his wife, by contrast, was limited to their home in Farnworth where she was surrounded by women who were, Frida wrote on January 16, 1870, to her mother, "almost all so dull, uneducated and plain. The curate and the fashion papers are the two chief subjects of all conversation. I do not need to tell you how strange I feel here." An interest in discussions about literature, philosophy, or theater was inconceivable for Frida's female neighbors. And while her neighbors read the fashion journals, Frida took to the reading of the works by Charlotte Brontë, Charles Dickens, George Sand, and Charles Darwin. "I get on much better with the men," Frida continued, "but it is neither sensible nor pleasant to neglect the women so obviously and to put them in the background, so one must be satisfied." And she pessimistically acknowledged that "I do not think it will ever get much better."[89]

While Frida was increasingly frustrated with the lack of intellectual stimulation, Ludwig Mond grew frustrated with the resistance of English manufacturers who even under increasing pressure from the government refused to consider ways to decrease the chemical waste they so easily disposed of into the countryside. Even after the government established in 1868 the Royal Commission on River Pollution in reaction to the cholera outbreak of 1866, the government's insistence on higher standards of drinking water purity met with resistance from almost all parts of society, including industry, water companies, and the scientific (chemical) community.[90] And while the leading chemist of the time and prominent member of this royal commission, Edward Frankland, focused on pollution of the water caused by sewage, Mond saw this commission's work also as an opportunity to sell his patented process of sulfur recovery to minimize the visible pollution caused by the chemical industry. Mond

considered his patented process of sulfur recovery from alkali waste a solution that benefited both the manufacturers as well as the environment. In a circular letter of May 1870 addressed to alkali producers in the UK, Mond suggested that

> the British Alkali Trade could recover from its present production of waste 40,000 tons of sulphur a year, at an expense of £2 per ton, including 15% royalty, that the outlay required for this manufacture would be £80,000, and that the yearly profit, taking the recovered sulphur at the very low value of £6 per ton, would amount to £160,000. … This enables the Trade to realize a profit of £240,000 a year by the process, and at the same time to get rid of an abominable nuisance and to neutralize part of the weak acid now run into the streams.[91]

Mond showed optimism in his circular letter that his process would enable "manufacturers to dispose of the whole of their waste as well as their surplus acid in a profitable way."[92] Just two months later, he wrote to his mother-in-law that his proposal had "fallen in the water dreadfully" and that not a single British company had responded to his proposal of forming a limited liability company to accomplish his plan.[93] Mond's proposal was most likely ignored by the chemical industry, according to Johannes R. Lischka, because of the ostensive inaction of the British parliament with regards to stricter alkali laws.[94]

We should, however, not mistake Mond's argumentation that his patented process would help factories comply with government legislation protecting the environment with concern for the protection of nature. Ludwig Mond was not an early environmental activist. His sulphur recovery process enabled the chemical industry to reach a higher profit margin by providing a more effective technology for the sulphur production. Mond was a man of science and progress who believed that chemistry is the key to future development. The pollution caused by the chemical industry only concerned him as far as he could use it for selling his patented process by turning waste into resources.

His process for the recovery of sulphur from waste was, according to Peter J. T. Morris, not very effective. "It recovered only a fraction of the total sulphur and was uneconomic in Britain where sulphuric acid was cheaper and labour dearer."[95] His activities in selling his patent for the sulphur recovery process brought Mond into contact with many chemists and inventors across Great Britain and continental Europe. These contacts

enabled Mond to establish a network of correspondents that included the engineer Carl Pieper, whom he met when working at the Hutchinson Works at Widnes; the chemical industrialist from Stolberg (Rhineland) Robert Hasenclever; the professor of chemistry at the Polytechnicum in Zurich Georg Lunge; and the chemist Louis Schad, whom he had met at the Ringenkuhl Works. Mond used this transnational network, according to Morris, "as the basis for an informal brokering business, putting suppliers in touch with potential customers, but also as a means of diffusing the latest technical and commercial information."[96] Through these contacts, Mond learned at the beginning of 1872 about the new soda process developed by Ernest Solvey in Belgium, which proved to be much more effective than the process patented by Mond.

Initially, Mond perceived of Solvay as a competitor. The more he learned about Solvay's process, however, the more he became convinced that he needed to embrace the new technology, which "was less wasteful, much less polluting, produced a purer soda, and above all, it was potentially cheaper."[97] In April 1872 Mond visited with Solvay and succeeded in obtaining a license for his patented process for Great Britain. Solvay insisted that Mond had to start operation of his business within two years and that he paid royalty of eight shillings on each ton of produced soda.[98]

The Founding of Brunner & Mond

In July 1871 Ludwig Mond began thinking about setting up his own chemical company. He lacked, however, sufficient funding to start his own business. Therefore, he approached—although with little success—the husband of his second cousin Hermione, Philip Goldschmidt, in Glasgow.[99] By September, Mond had made up his mind. He was determined to go into business together with John T. Brunner, whom he had known for almost nine years during which he and Ludwig had worked together for the company of John Hutchinson at Widnes. For a short time Ludwig even seemed to have considered moving back to Germany and to establishing his business there. However, the Berlin industrialist and chemist Hugo Kunheim, who visited the Monds in early December 1871, recommended that Mond stay in the UK. Kunheim even offered to provide the necessary funds for the creation of Mond and Brunner's enterprise. Both rejected Kunheim's offer since they were looking for a silent partner rather than for someone who might influence their business decisions. At this point Ludwig Mond seemed to have come to accept rather

grudgingly that he would have to stay in England. As much as he wanted to move back to the continent, he recognized the advantages England had to offer to young ambitious men such as him. The concentration of chemical factories in England, the ease with which an enterprise could be established, and the small capital needed for the start of a new company were arguments that convinced Ludwig and a very reluctant Frida to stay. The phrase that "things cannot be altered" appears on several occasions and in some variations in the letters written by Ludwig Mond from the early 1870s (Fig. 2.2).[100]

Ludwig Mond was convinced that starting out small with capital of about £12,000 would be the right beginning. Brunner contributed £4000, which he had borrowed from his father and mother-in-law; Mond gave only £1000, and another £1000 came from the Brunner family. On December 26, 1872, Mond reported to his parents that he had found the much-needed third silent partner who provided £5000 to the start-up

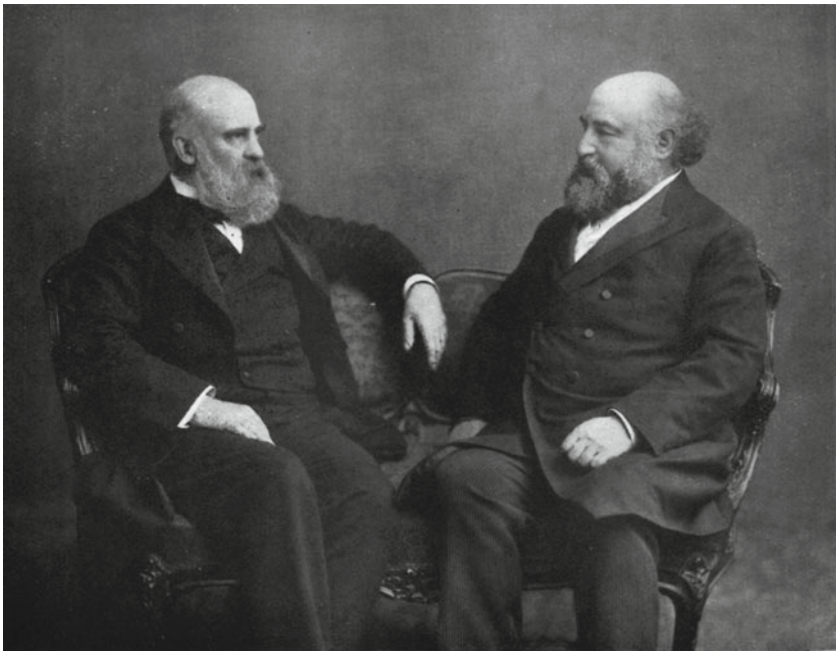

Fig. 2.2 John T. Brunner and Ludwig Mond. Courtesy of the Mond family

capital. Charles M. Holland was "a bachelor acquaintance of Brunner's" and came from "a very rich family. He is a partner of a firm in Manchester and is himself a Civil Engineer." On his investment he was to receive a 5% interest on his capital and one third of the future profits. "He naturally has no say in the management of the factory, and he has no right to negotiate in the name of the business. At the same time, his advice in many respects, promises to be of great advantage to me."[101]

After the acquisition of the start-up capital, Mond and Brunner faced another challenge in finding land on which they could build their factory. The pollution caused by chemical factories in the past had caused concern among landowners and rural populations with regard to the value of their land and the consequences for farming and livestock. Ludwig wrote to his parents, frustrated: "No one here will sell land for a factory, as no one believes me when I tell them my method contains none of the damaging elements of the other older factories."[102] In March 1873, Mond was able to report to his parents that he had finally acquired 130 acres of land "with a great manorial building and great park, of about sixty acres, with three thousand trees, … and that we will move into the manor house in which twenty years ago Lord Stanley of Alderley lived, … I have, so to speak, been driven to this against my own wishes, because no one would sell me any land for the factory unless I took all."[103]

Holland and Solvay proved to be staunch supporters of Mond and Brunner. Both continued to provide financial assistance and support whenever it was needed in the first years of the Brunner & Mond Company. Holland, for instance, arranged through his solicitors for Mond and Brunner to obtain a mortgage of £12,000 on the land acquired. And Solvay guaranteed bills and provided funding until 1878.[104] This support was very welcome since even after Mond and Brunner had obtained roughly £11,000 in start-up funds, more money was needed because of problems with the equipment for their new factory. In February 1874 Ludwig was forced to write to his parents:

> We have had really bad luck with the factory. We have not had any difficulties with the manufacturing itself, and as a matter of fact, we have made a small quantity of soda. But the unheard of thing is that the great boiler of one hundred and twenty horse power, upon which the whole factory is dependent, has proved itself to be badly constructed. After it had broken twice, we were forced to stop completely and allow the weak parts to be strengthened. The machine was built by a well recommended firm, which

> has supplied similar machinery to most of the chemical factories in England. I have known them for years. The main part of the machine is good so that the matter is not very serious. But nevertheless, it will mean three weeks until the weak parts have been strengthened enough. During this time I have to pay the greater number of my workers and receive raw material. And I cannot do anything or earn anything.[105]

While this letter did not seem to include a request for money, it is likely that Ludwig's father might have helped out financially again. By December 1873, and thus before the problem with the boiler occurred, the total costs for establishing the factory had already risen to £14,000, which was £3000 above the start-up capital Mond and Brunner had accumulated.[106] The production of soda finally commenced in August 1874, and thus within the time frame of two years stipulated by Solvay. While the factory ran a deficit of £4300 for the year of 1874, the next year saw Brunner & Mond's factory produce a profit of £2405.[107] Ethel Brunner, Brunner's daughter-in-law, captured in her novel *Celia's Fantastic Voyage* the anxieties and fears of Ludwig Mond when she let Lord Tyneforth reminisce about the early days of his chemical enterprise. Tyneforth exclaimed:

> The responsibility of taking over other people's money to work up a business on is awful. Terrible, terrible. In addition to the money we'd borrowed from the public we had the life savings of several of our friends in our hands. Hard-working men with large families who believed in us, and a widow we knew well too. She'd given us every penny she had, and she was a very sickly ailing woman, it meant if we failed, the rest of her life would be nothing but one long drudging misery for her—or else the Work'us. … The money for the engines, furnaces, coal, steel, iron, bolts, nuts, implements and the hundreds and hundreds of things we needed and the first payments of wages, we reckoned to get out of our savings; the savings of our relations and of our wives' relations and friends. … The thought of that Mrs. Morrison's money—the widow, that is—and all the men with young families who'd trusted us because we'd *promised* them things would be all right, drove us on like demented creatures. At night when I went to bed, I could see them all parading up and down before me and talking and telling me what it meant for them if I failed.[108]

Much has been speculated about the origins of the additional funds needed. Johannes R. Lischka suggested that Ludwig received support from

his father in form of a loan.[109] Peter J. T. Morris wrote that the Parr's Bank of Warrington "permitted the firm a generous overdraft, which apparently went up to £18,000 in 1878."[110] And Julia L. Rischbieter suggested that Henriette (Harry) Hertz, the childhood friend of Frida who would later come to live with Frida and Ludwig Mond, might have been among those who provided the much needed funds.[111] While there was already an established pattern according to which Ludwig was always bailed out by his father when he was in financial distress or when he needed start-up capital to become a partner in a business, there is also some evidence that Hertz might have provided some funding, too. John Michael Cohen wrote in his biography of Ludwig Mond that "Harry Hertz, he would tell any stranger to whom he introduced her, had been the first to lend him a little capital during the trying early months of Winnington, when everything that could burst did burst."[112] There is, however, no documentation about whether and how much Henriette Hertz had entrusted to Mond. But even if Hertz contributed only a very small amount of up to £1000, she was able to reap significant benefits from such a small investment in later years. Investing in Mond and Brunner's enterprise made all participants very rich people within less than a decade. By 1881 Mond and Brunner converted their enterprise into a limited stock company with capital assets of £600,000. Only three years later in 1884 the capital assets were increased to £1.5 million.[113]

If Henriette Hertz was among those who provided even small shares of support, her investment would have increased significantly within just a few years. While this has to remain pure speculation, Ludwig Mond's last will might offer some insights into the material value he assigned to his friendship with Henriette Hertz. Mond initially wanted to leave her £40,000 plus an annual pension of £4000 for life.[114] For unknown reasons, Mond revoked the legacy of £40,000 just a few days after he composed his last will but left her the annuity.[115] Even without the legacy, Hertz had at least financially nothing to worry about. Ludwig Mond provided her with an annual income that afforded her a life in comfort and even luxury. And he had already during his lifetime made financial gifts to Hertz. In December 1900, for instance, Mond provided £4000 (=80,000 marks) for the acquisition of property and real estate in the name of Henriette Hertz in Cologne.[116] It is clear that from the moment Henriette Hertz moved into the home of the Mond family, she had no longer any financial worries and she relied on Ludwig Mond to manage her financial interests. When Hertz died in 1913, her net value was estimated to be £87,000.[117]

Ludwig Mond's economic success and the move from Farnworth to Winnington Hall increased rather than lessened the social isolation of his wife and of his family. They remained outsiders who further isolated themselves from their English-speaking environment by creating a German and non-religious island. German was spoken at home, and the two children, Robert and Alfred, were acquainted with German before they were taught English. "The children speak German quite fluently," wrote Ludwig proudly to his mother in April 1871, "and although their knowledge of English is not so great, they can make themselves well understood and know the names of most things in both languages."[118] In a letter to her husband's parents, Frida remarked in June 1875 about the language skills of her two sons: "It is extraordinary how much English the children can understand, for they never hear it spoken."[119] For the entirety of their lives, Robert and Alfred spoke English with a German accent which made it easy for their opponents to castigate them as disloyal to England in times of nationalistic fever such as during World War I. In July 1873, the Monds hired a German governess for six-year old Robert and five-year old Alfred. She had come to England from Bremen and had worked with another German family before she entered the Monds' household. Frida wrote about her to her father: "She speaks good German and has very beautiful handwriting, is musical and well educated, but at the same time very modest and unassuming."[120]

It was not just the language spoken at home which set apart the Mond family and their children from their English environment. Ludwig and Frida Mond adhered to a life in which religion played little to no role. And they decided that their sons should be raised in an environment of reason and rational thinking. Religious texts and the Pentateuch (Five Books of Moses) in particular were banned from their home. This does not seem to have been a decision the couple reached on their own, since Ludwig's mother appeared to have been involved in decisions about education and religion. In April 1875 Henriette Mond reminded her daughter-in-law that

> if you wish to educate your children to be brave, happy and quiet people, then show them God in Nature; in the worm, in the beetle, in the bird, when he cleverly builds his nest; in thunder and lightning; how all these are so beneficent. Then they will learn to love and respect them. This is the true and genuine religion. Tell them that He is everywhere and is always near them. Jean Paul, my excellent Jean Paul, says so truthfully and rightly, "What is religion? The belief in God, and God thinks of us only when we remember Him."[121]

It seems that both Ludwig and Frida followed the advice of Henriette Mond and embraced an approach to education that rejected the notion of original sin as well as the concept of punishment. Stories from the Pentateuch such as the story of Joseph who was despised by his brother for being favored by their father and subsequently sold by his brothers into slavery abhorred Frida. With regard to her two sons, she wrote to her mother-in-law:

> They would not be able to understand that brothers could be so cruel, one to the other. I would not like to tell them that one could give such grief and tell such lies to an old father. The Bible is not written for children, and I would never allow it to come into their hands as a Gospel. Every day I am happy to know how pure and good the children are, how lively is their interest in all that is beautiful and good, and how good and peaceable they live with each other, like the little Inseparables.[122]

Different traditions and customs about child-rearing furthered the distance between the Mond family and the English families living in their immediate environment. While religious and social differences made it nearly impossible for Frida "to make nearer acquaintances," Robert and Alfred were also excluded from socializing with children of their age by different standards and expectations. "Sometimes the children invite each other," wrote Frida to her mother-in-law in April 1875,

> but that is all. … Several months ago, our children received a very well written invitation from the two little daughters of our doctor, seven and eight years of age, to an evening dance and tea. As the boys did not know the hosts and guests, and as they are used to going to bed at eight o'clock and as I never allow them to go out after five o'clock in winter, I thanked them kindly. … All the little girls were en grande tenue. Then there were games. At nine o'clock in the evening, the poor children, who are used to an early tea, were very hungry. They were given an elegant supper: turkey, ham-in aspic, creams, cakes and desert. Is that not strange?[123]

Henriette Hertz Joins the Mond Family

In an attempt to break the social isolation which became harder and harder for Frida, Ludwig and Frida invited Henriette Hertz to visit and possibly stay with the Mond family after they had moved to Winnington Hall. Frida Mond's situation had deteriorated after Salome Brunner had died in

1874. While Frida had gotten along somehow with the intellectually inferior Salome, she was unable to connect to Brunner's second wife and in fact disapproved of this rash marriage. Referring to Brunner, Frida wrote to her mother-in-law in April 1875: "He has taken a really nice, diligent woman as housekeeper. But naturally she is not born to the position as his wife. She is never invited when Mr. Brunner is. I cannot or could not bring her into contact with my acquaintances, without insulting them."[124] Brunner's second wife was with Ethel Jane Wyman, the daughter of the physician who had cared for his first wife and the sister-in-law of Brunner's business acquaintance, Edward Nettlefold. She did not come to Brunner's house, at least according to Stephen Koss, to work in a menial position. "Through the Nettlefolds, she was related to several wealthy and prominent Unitarian families, including the Harmers, the Kenricks, and the Chamberlains. Yet Frida Mond, very much the bluestocking and largely ignorant of English social distinctions, propagated," according to Koss, "the story that Brunner had married his housekeeper."[125]

The Brunner and Mond family had, nevertheless, at least spatially come closer to each other with their move to Winnington Hall. The Mond and the Brunner family shared Winnington Hall as their home. The building consisted of two buildings: Winnington Old Hall, which was an ancient baronial mansion with a history that went back to the early Middle Ages, and the New Hall, which was an eighteenth-century mansion built about 1774. Winnington New Hall became the home of the Mond family, while the Brunner family occupied the old hall after some reconstruction of the building (Fig. 2.3).[126]

It is not clear from the available sources when Henriette Hertz came to permanently live with the Monds. While the letters of Ludwig and Frida Mond up to 1875 make no mention of a visit by Henriette Hertz, there are frequent remarks about extended visits of several months by Frida's mother. The lack of references to Hertz before her joining of the Monds seems somehow strange since Henriette Hertz was Frida's childhood friend and since she quickly became the most important person in Frida and Ludwig Mond's life after she moved in with them. According to Hertz' niece, Alide Gollancz, Frida Löwentahl and Henriette Hertz had met in a French school in 1858 when Frida was 11 and Henriette 12 years old. A friendship developed in spite of Frida's parents' disapproval of Hertz.[127] When Hertz

Fig. 2.3 The Monds in the 1880s *L. to r.:* Robert Mond, Alfred Mond, Adolf Löwenthal, Johanna Löwenthal, Frida Mond, Ludwig Mond. Courtesy of the Mond family

> who was always a dreamer, arrived late at a literature lesson. Frida Loewenthal, …, in her helpful and amiable way made room for her to sit next to her. At the end of the lesson the two girls went out together forgetting the time, going to and from one home to the other, still discussing literature in general and their lesson in particular. This was the beginning of a life long most deep and intimate friendship.[128]

We know very little about Henriette Hertz' family, her upbringing, her financial situation, and her relationship with Frida and Ludwig Mond.[129] In the letters exchanged between Frida and Ludwig, Henriette (Harry) Hertz is mentioned only twice. In her letter dated February 14, 1863, Frida wrote about a visit to the Theatre Ball in Cologne that she attended together with Henriette Hertz and Henriette's parents.[130] The second reference was found in a letter dated October 24, 1864 when Frida and Henriette attended a lecture about the *Nibelungen Song*. Frida was quite disappointed with the lecture. The professor who was not named

> put the question, "Can the Song of the Nibelungs be an educational book for the youth of Germany, like Homer?" He answered the question with "No", and gave as his reason that our poets did not build themselves on the Nibelungenlied, but upon Homer. Do you consider this a reason? Why have our poets built themselves on Homer? Because they have been acquainted with Greek Mythology, Poetry and History, and have been educated in Hellanism. We are indebted to Herder for having brought to the light of day, the beautiful German legends of the Gods, and the legends of the northern heroes and the "Edda". We stick too much to Hellanism.[131]

Frida Löwenthal and Henriette Hertz seemed to have been brought together by their intellectual curiosity and their interest in literature. Frida's enthusiasm for Germanic songs such as the *Nibelungen Song* and her rejection of Greek tradition seems, however, to provide an interesting counterpoint to both her husband and Henriette's passion for Renaissance art and Christian topics in particular. Henriette Hertz spoke fluently English, French, and Italian and was very good at sketching. Her family was, according to Cohen, "of the type of village Jews whom the Löwenthals did not care to know. For her father was a horse-dealer. Therefore, though the friendship between the girls prospered, the parents remained strangers."[132] The Hertz family was probably not entirely without means. Her parents had in fact been well-off people who owned one or two houses in Cologne. When her parents died—her father Abraham Hertz died in

1887 and her mother Rosalie Hertz in 1890—the inheritance of 65,000 marks had to be split between eight children.[133] The biggest problem was, however, that Nathan Hertz (the oldest still living child), who was put in charge of administrating the inheritance, grossly mismanaged their parents' legacy. It seems from the letters exchanged between Ludwig Mond and Nathan Hertz in the course of 1890–1892 that he basically lost nearly all of what the parents had left to their children. Ludwig Mond was involved in the financial dealings, and in a letter dated July 25, 1892 Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz accepted financial responsibility for the share of the inheritance for one of Henriette Hertz's sister Flora and her husband. Both Mond and Hertz promised to pay Flora 3000 marks in 1892 as well as an annual pension of 500 marks for six years and 1000 marks per annum thereafter.[134]

Ludwig Mond, furthermore, financially supported several members of Henriette Hertz's family, including her brother-in-law Adolf Goldschmidt in Hamburg with significant loans—in 1888 Adolf Goldschmidt owed Ludwig Mond £3000[135]—that were often not repaid. In July 1890 Mond forgave the firm of Adolf Goldschmidt and Moritz Hertz, which was engaged in trade with Chile and Scandinavia, a debt amounting to nearly £11,000.[136] Exasperated about the recurring financial problems of Hertz's siblings, Ludwig Mond wrote in January 1891 to Nathan Hertz:

> What might have happened to both of you had Harry and I not helped you over and over again? You should have understood and you must understand now that there is a limit, and I must tell you plainly that in future you can rely neither on Harry nor on me should you enter into transactions beyond your means which bring you into difficulties. Indeed, we have done enough to expect not to be bothered in future.[137]

Ludwig Mond's support for the Hertz family extended far beyond loans for businesses and the issue of their parents' legacy. In March 1891 Ludwig Mond agreed to pay for the education of Hertz's nephew Henri Hertz, who entered the Aachen Polytechnical Institute in that year after a scholarship offered to him was revoked for obviously anti-Semitic reasons. Referring to this injustice, Ludwig Mond wrote to him:

> I understand that your teachers had a good opinion of you and wanted to encourage you by a grant so that you could pursue your studies as long as necessary. Now it appears through no fault of your own but because of a

> narrow-minded prejudice you are to be deprived of it. In order that you should not go without this deserved encouragement I am prepared to pay the 1800 Mk. which should have been granted. By so doing I hope that I give you pleasure and also that I ease your mother's obligation by making it possible for you to pay for your own study expenses.[138]

Ludwig Mond felt compelled to protect the financial interests of Henriette Hertz. He, further, supported various relatives of hers through loans, financial gifts, and even scholarships. The financial interests of Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz became, as a result, closely intertwined. It seems, therefore, impossible to separate the funds available to Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz. Both gained riches from the Brunner & Mond enterprise. And both spent their money on the support of artists and the acquisition of paintings in Italy.

The nature of the relationship between Henriette Hertz, Frida Mond, and Ludwig Mond has, due to a lack of traditional sources, not been sufficiently explored in the existing literature about the Mond family. There seems to be a temptation to paint a picture in which Ludwig Mond left his wife alone at home while going on business trips, ignoring Frida's need for social contact. It appears logical then to suggest, as Julia L. Rischbieter has done, that Henriette Hertz filled an emotional gap and provided the company Frida sought but Ludwig was not able or not willing to give. Henriette, thus, joined the Mond family because of Frida and her emotional attachment to her childhood friend. Spending time with Frida Mond might not have been the sole reason for Henriette Hertz' decision to come to live with the Mond family. An attraction to Ludwig as well as financial and cultural pressures on a single woman might have played a significant part in her decision. This seems to be supported by a close reading of Hertz's autobiographical novel *Alide* which she wrote during her first years with the Monds at Winnington Hall and which was published in German with little success in 1878.[139] The novel is written from the perspective of the 40-year-old Alide von Wreda, who was married to her cousin Edgar when she had just turned 18. Her cousin is a few years older than Alide, quite rich, and he is able to provide her with a life in comfort and even luxury. However, he seems to be emotionally cold; he has no clue about women, and he does not cause Alide to fall in love with him. It is, after all, an arranged marriage (Fig. 2.4).[140]

From the beginning, the main characters in the novel reflect many characteristics of Frida and Ludwig Mond, and the marriage between the

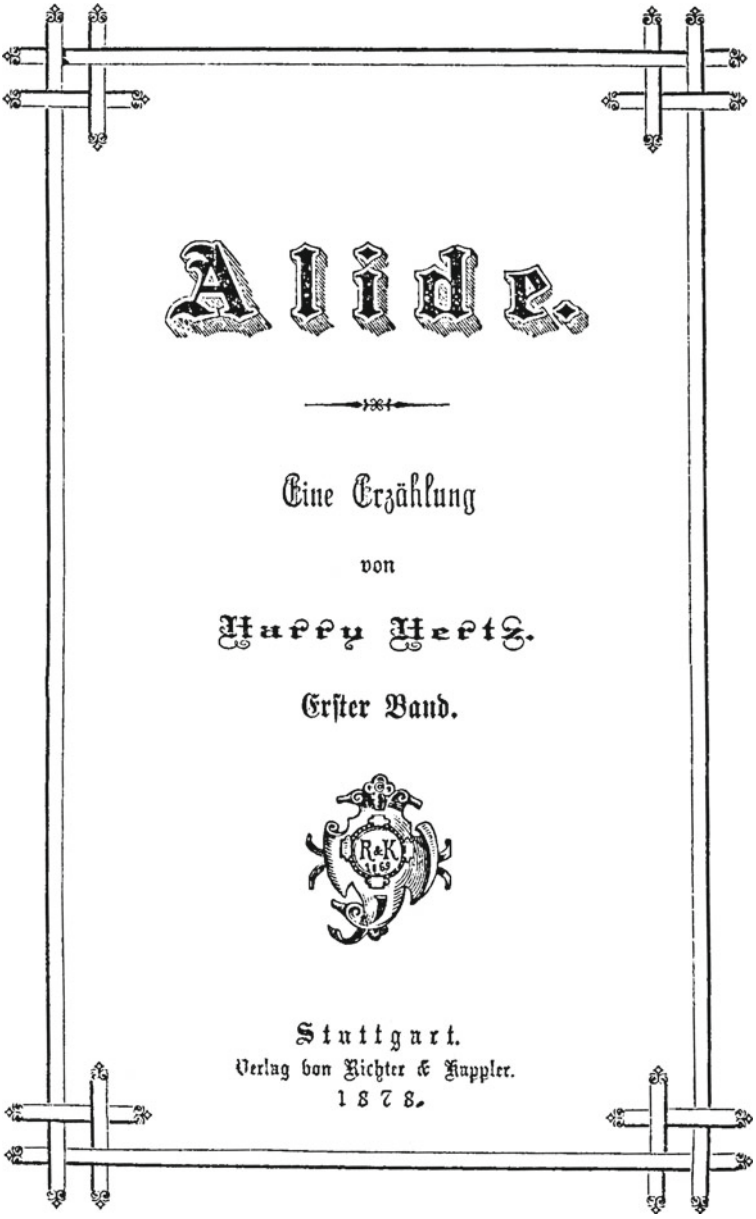

Fig. 2.4 Cover page of Henriette Hertz' novel *Alide*. Courtesy of the Bibliotheca Hertziana

barely 18-year-old Alide to her several years older cousin is reminiscent of the marriage between Frida and Ludwig. Alide—who does not have children—also relies on her childhood friend Martha, who seems to represent Henriette Hertz. Alide considers Martha to be like a sister. It is Alide who invites Martha and who insists that she live with her and her husband. While we do not know how Henriette Hertz came to live with the Mond family—whether it was a result of pressures exerted by Frida or whether Ludwig was involved in arranging the inclusion of the single and financially insecure Henriette into the Mond household—it is imaginable that Frida took the initiative.

Martha came from a poor pastor's family and had no means. She was financially supported by Alide's generous father. Alide's father even provided support for Martha's brother Ernst, who wanted to study music. Coming from a family background with simple means, Martha entered into a lifelong friendship with Alide, who derived from an old and very wealthy noble family. Alide relied on Martha for companionship and support during childhood and adulthood. But Martha refused to spend too much time with Alide and Edgar after they got married, without providing a reason.

The novel does not only tell the story of the inner workings of the extended Mond family, but it also contains some biting social critique of English society and the British upper class, in particular. The newly rich Englishmen are ridiculed in the person of Mr. Highton. Highton bought an old castle close to the estate of the Wreda family in the Rhineland. Since he had more money than taste, he recreated the castle and its environment in a medieval setting or at least in a setting that he imagined would reflect the medieval period. Nothing is original; everything is a very bad and obvious copy. The English are, further, branded as incapable of enjoying nature. They take pictures of it but they cannot appreciate it.

Even the death of John Brunner's first wife, Salome, and his decision to remarry only one year after his wife's death as well as his, at least in the eyes of Frida Mond and Henriette Hertz, ill-guided selection of his second wife seems to have found its way into the novel. Alide's mother died in childbirth, and her father sought to remarry by taking Alide's nanny as his second wife. Alide is very unhappy about her father's ill-conceived decision and openly shows her disapproval of their union since she considers her nanny as socially unsuitable for her father.

In the novel, Alide finally falls in love with an Italian painter, Antonio Spozzano, and even makes plans to leave her husband for a new life in Italy. This is prevented only by the self-inflicted death of her husband, Edgar. More importantly, Martha, as it becomes clear when Alide's husband dies, was deeply in love with her best friend's husband, Edgar, but never acted on it. This is the reason she initially rejected Alide's invitation to stay with the couple. The reader expected that this rejection had something to do with the moral norms of the time. At the end of the novel the reader learns, however, that Martha seemed to have cared more for Edgar than for her friend Alide and even made veiled accusations towards Alide whom she holds responsible for not making Edgar happy.

Is it possible that Henriette Hertz in her novel provided a story which revealed an alternative explanation for her decision to stay with the Mond family? She might have known Frida from her childhood in Cologne and kept in touch with her after Frida married Ludwig and moved with him to England. There might be some evidence to suggest that Ludwig Mond had by 1890 developed romantic feelings for Henriette Hertz. When Hertz fell in love with the Roman composer and philosopher Alessandro Costa, Ludwig Mond apparently sought to win or hold her back by surprising her with a magnificent painting. Mond instructed his personal art collector Jean Paul Richter to acquire Pinturicchios *Madonna del latte tra due angeli* for her. Even though the plan to buy this particular painting fell through, the frantic activities developed by Ludwig Mond to keep Henriette Hertz close by as partner in his family seems to suggest a deep emotional bond between both individuals.[141]

Henriette Hertz certainly occupied a central position in the Mond family. She was a companion to Frida, who felt isolated in the English world; she provided artistic expertise to Ludwig, who saw her as an equal; and she served as surrogate mother and aunt to both Robert and Alfred. "Miss Herz (sic) indeed soon proved," according to Cohen,

> as close a friend to him as to Frida. He enjoyed her habits of philosophical speculation, encouraged her in her writing of unsuccessful novels, and supported her in the difficulties that subsequently arose in her family. She was, in a sense, the compliment to the more practical and less imaginative Frida, and the friendship of the two Monds and Miss Herz remained stimulating to all three till the day of Ludwig's death.[142]

The Social Policies of Brunner & Mond

The success of the Brunner & Mond Company, as well as additional business activities such as the Mond Nickel Company in Sudbury, Ontario, which Ludwig Mond formed in 1900 with his two sons, made Mond one of the richest men of England.[143] His last will states that his net value stood at £1 million.[144] The success of their enterprise allowed Mond and Brunner to introduce in the course of the 1890s and 1900s social welfare policies at their works at Winnington, Lostock, Middlewich, Sandbach, Silvertown, and Littler that were far ahead of their time. From 1874 to 1895 the weekly hours of labor were lowered from 84 to 48 h through the introduction of a third shift. Initially there were only two shifts: a day shift of 11 h and a night shift of 13 h.[145] Both Mond and Brunner acknowledged that laborers "were physically unable to work 84 h per week for 52 weeks of the year."[146] Therefore, the weekly quota was lowered in increments without deductions in pay and in 1884 a paid vacation of one week was introduced. By 1902 the company doubled the pay for the one-week vacation in order to enable its laborers to actually go on a vacation.[147] These changes were, according to John I. Watts, "not only absolutely unheard of in the chemical trade, but was almost unknown in the country."[148] The introduction of these extensive benefits that made the works of Brunner & Mond a "strike-free factory" could be seen, as Gwyn M. Bayliss suggested, as a form of "industrial feudalism." Brunner and Mond "displayed the same benevolent and paternalistic concern for their employees as the landlords, their rivals in politics and religion, showed for their tenants."[149] Instead of seeing these private social policies as remnants of a feudal and preindustrial practice, it might be better to consider them bridges from feudal into capitalist times. And even though these policies, "anticipated," according to Stephen Koss "national policy and practice,"[150] we should not just reduce them to being a precursor to nationalized social policies. The social policies enacted at Brunner & Mond represented one of the many ways in which social welfare services could be provided in a modern industrialized society.

With the founding of the enterprise in 1874, a Works' Sick Club was introduced. Funded by employees' and employer's contributions, this club provided free medical care and medicine as well as sick pay to its workers.[151] In 1879, the company ventured into the provision of housing for its employees. In close proximity to the factory at Winnington, the first 20 cottages were built in 1879. From 1882 to 1889, an additional

228 cottages were added. Later on the company supported the construction of working-class housing by the Winnington, Northwich and District Co-operative Society.[152] In his last will, Ludwig Mond finally left £20,000 for the creation of a pension fund. This fund provided pensions of £1 per week to 30 pensioners who were selected by a committee. New pensioners could be selected only if there was a vacancy caused by the death of a previous recipient of a Mond pension.[153]

Mond's bequest for the creation of a pension fund seems to contradict Stephen Koss' contention that the social welfare policies at Brunner & Mond were the result of Brunner's rather than Mond's intentions and activities.[154] Koss argued "that Mond took no interest in them so much as that his professed socialism was of a Continental variety, theoretical in nature and largely irrelevant to the existing situation."[155] It is doubtful that Mond was exposed to Socialist ideas before he came to England. Neither his family nor his friends included proponents of Socialist ideas. The only notable person with Socialist leanings had been his chemistry teacher Winkelblech from Cassel. But it is highly doubtful that the man broken by the political trial against him for his role in the 1848/1849 revolution discussed his ideas with any of his students and Mond in particular. And it is highly unlikely that Mond had met individuals who championed Socialist ideas during his university education at Marburg and Heidelberg. His upbringing by his mother and Jewish tradition seem to have instilled in him a strong sentiment for just and equal treatment. However, Mond expected everyone around him to work as hard as he did. After he went into business with Brunner, Mond "spent long hours mending and improvising faulty machinery" and he even had a bed in the factory so that he could be close by if a breakdown occurred. In times of crisis he was not just supervising repairs; he was working side by side with his employees on fixing the problem.[156]

Lord Tyneforth of Ethel Brunner's novel *Celia's Fantastic Voyage* very well captured Mond's attitude, which combined his experience as self-made man with his paternalistic attitude towards his employees. Mond's thinking did not know a place for trade unions and Socialist agitators. Lord Tyneforth despised those Socialist agitators who "go round among the poor and unsuccessful, stirring them up, filling them with useless envy and bad blood. Teaching them to hate those above 'em instead of showing them how to get to them and place their children among them. Filling them to their teeth with false tales and lying promises."[157] He rejected their legitimacy and reminded his audience that it was he who had all the

responsibility for building up his works, while the trade unionists did not risk anything. Only after he was successful did they show up at his doorstep with unjustifiably high demands regarding wages and working conditions. Referring to labor representatives, Tyneforth exclaimed:

> They march in and sit themselves down at your office table, on one of your office chairs, sizing your premises up, and licking them all over, as it were, with their eyes. Making free with everything as much as to say it as good as all belongs to them. Swelling themselves up indeed as if it all did. Why I hadn't a stick of furniture when I opened my works. My poor little office was a bit of a shed with a little bit of a window to it, with no light to speak of, where Mac toiled over the accounts, wearing his sight out. (He is all but blind now.) It took years of toil and wretchedness and debt before we could afford to buy ourselves a set of rickety chairs to seat ourselves and others on. And I reckon now that every darned chair in those offices up at Millington to-day is *mine*, because I earned it and fought for it, aye—and for my sons and their sons' sons. Aye, every table, stick, cabinet, and typewriter too. And when one of them there leaders drops in to see me, I close my eyes. I close them for a moment and bring to mind that first little office, and how I toiled and moiled, and thought and planned to get the money to pay for those first rickety chairs. Calling up to my memory too some of the early heartrending and muscle-rending tussles with adverse circumstances, and how we strove and overcame them by despairing, frenzied work. By that time my friend (such is the power of suggestion) begins to turn uneasily in his—I mean, *my*—chair; and something informs him that he is sitting on someone else's property. On a chair that belongs to someone else who by sheer application, industry and foresight accumulated the money to buy and pay for it or its predecessors in the past.[158]

Mond was not a Socialist but rather a typical self-made man who gained an enormous fortune through invention, taking risks, and working hard. Discipline and respect for accomplishments by one's own hands' work was central to understanding Ludwig Mond. He expected his employees to work as hard as he did. And he was willing to fairly compensate workers for their efforts. His attitude as an employer was deeply paternalistic.[159] He was willing to share some fruits of his success, but he was not willing to negotiate the amount to be shared with labor representatives. Mond expected from his workers unconditional subordination. Hector Bolitho relates a scene in which a disgruntled Irish workman came on behalf of his colleagues to Ludwig Mond demanding better working conditions. "The

man was big, angry, and unreasonable. 'Take off your coat and I'll fight you' was Ludwig's reply to the insurgent."[160] For the people with whom Mond worked, he appeared as "a rather fearsome figure."[161] And the Italian chemist Raffaele Nasini remarked about Ludwig Mond in his eulogy: "He was pleasant and agreeable in conversation and of exquisite tenderness to his friends. He was also apt to become angry if persons and things did not shape themselves to his will, because he was, as he ought to be, a ruler."[162]

It seems to be grossly misleading to attribute the social policies created at the Brunner & Mond works to Brunner alone. Both Brunner and Mond recognized that the working conditions in the chemical industry were unsustainable and that higher wages, shorter work hours, and a vacation increased the productivity of their employees. The development of these social policies sheds light on an important aspect of Ludwig Mond's charitable and philanthropic activities. He never acted alone. He sought the expertise and support of business partners such as Brunner, of experts such as Richter, and of friends such as Hertz. This collaborative approach to the creation of charitable and philanthropic institutions has made it, unfortunately, easy for authors of biographies of Brunner and Hertz to incorrectly claim that it was they rather than Mond who was the driving force behind the social policies at the Brunner & Mond works or the founding of the Bibliotheca Hertziana respectively.[163]

From Businessman to Philanthropist

The success in business and the sudden wealth that came with it allowed the Mond family to reconsider their lifestyle and to embrace the cultural practices of bourgeois families. After reaching a certain level of industrial success, public recognition, and financial security, Ludwig Mond faced, like so many successful businessmen, the challenge of what to do with his accumulated wealth. Social status, after all, was not achieved by how men made money but through the ways in which they spent it. Nineteenth-century self-made men such as Ludwig Mond were often driven by the desire to publicly display their success through engaging in what Thorstein Veblen has aptly called conspicuous consumption.[164] The ostentatious spending of riches for the acquisition of art, to travel to culturally significant regions such as Italy and Germany, for the building of mansions, for the holding of salons as well as general hospitality to intellectuals and artists, and the well-publicized donation for charitable and philanthropic projects were strategies to gain social recognition by

national and transnational peers. This pattern of exchanging financial capital for cultural and social capital could be observed across continental Europe and North America.[165]

The English case differed only slightly from this general pattern, which was so characteristic of Western culture, through the inclusion of political careers in the ways in which rich men showed their status. Continental European and North American self-made men rarely pursued political careers, choosing instead a life as patrons of art and culture and benefactors of social and educational institutions.[166] English self-made men such as John Brunner, by contrast, embraced both philanthropic and political careers.

Ludwig Mond had, in contrast to Brunner, "no desire to retire to a life of hunting and shooting or to enter politics"[167] and followed the continental European and North American pattern by dedicating the last two decades of his life to philanthropy. Following in the footsteps of great philanthropists such as the American-British banker George Peabody, who gave in the 1860s £500,000 to create the Peabody Housing Trust in London,[168] Mond had already given money for philanthropic purposes during his lifetime. It was this form of philanthropy that had come to be considered by his contemporaries as being superior to delaying donations to the moment of one's death. The person who gave money to philanthropic purposes during his lifetime deprived himself of the use of these funds, while the bequests created on one's deathbed just distributed funds for which the donor had no longer any use.[169] Beginning in the early 1890s, and thus roughly 20 years before his death, Mond gave large sums to scientific and social institutions in Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. Mond supported the founding of the British Academy in 1901. In the last decade of his life, he donated £7560 to the Lister Institute of Preventative Medicine and £13,840 to the Infants Hospital (both in London).[170] In 1896 he had already acquired a townhouse on Albemarle Street 20, adjacent to the home of the Royal Institution, which he later turned into a laboratory at the cost of £45,000. Mond then presented this laboratory with an endowment of £62,000 as the Davy-Faraday Laboratory to the Royal Institution.[171] A few years later Mond gave £10,000 (=200,000 marks) for the creation of a Chemical Research Institute in Germany. This project turned into the Institute for Chemical Research of the Emperor Wilhelm Society, of which his son Robert Mond held a membership from 1912 to 1940.[172] In 1890, Mond gave £5000 (=100,000 marks) for the creation of the Henriette Mond Endowment in Cassel (named after his mother).[173]

This endowment was to establish a Hospital for Convalescents open to all citizens regardless of their religious affiliation and their citizenship.[174] And last, but not least, he also donated £4000 (=80,000 marks) in memory of his father who had died in 1891 (The M. B. Mond Endowment for the Relief of Jewish People in Distress) to the Jewish community of Cassel in 1892.[175] In 1896 Mond provided £7480 (187,000 lire) to the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome for the endowment of the Cannizzaro Prize, which was named after the famous Italian chemist Stanislao Cannizzaro. Mond was, in turn, elected an honorary member of the Accademia dei Lincei in 1899.[176]

Ludwig Mond's Major Donations to Science[177]

Institution	*Amount in British Pounds*
Davy-Faraday Research Laboratory	125,000
Royal Society, London	50,000
University of Heidelberg	50,000
Academy of Fine Arts, Munich	20,000
Institute for Chemical Research, Berlin	10,000
Cannizzaro Prize, Rome	7500
Royal Society (for the International Catalogue of Scientific Publications)	14,000
Lister Institute, London	7500
Infants Hospital, London	14,000
Royal Institution, London	5000
Physiological Institute, London	3000
Total	**306,000**

This extensive list of Ludwig Mond's major donations to science covers only the more prominent and publicly recognized donations for scientific and scholarly purposes that he made during the last two decades of his life and the donations he made in his last will. It is not a complete and exhaustive list. The total amount in donations, nevertheless, represents almost 30% of his estimated wealth.

It is quite remarkable and even unusual that all of these endowments were named after someone other than Ludwig Mond. He chose the names of two famous chemists—Humphrey Davy and Michael Faraday—for the name of the laboratory he donated to the Royal Institution. "He insisted,"

according to his business partner Brunner, "upon that laboratory being named after two great chemists who had done much to serve mankind, and upon entire withdrawal of his own name, a very charming exhibition of modesty."[178] The two endowments for Cassel were made in memory and name of his father and his mother. And the endowments for the institutions in Munich and Heidelberg came with no instruction for their naming. Such modest behavior is very untypical for nineteenth-century philanthropists who wanted to make sure that contemporaries recognized their philanthropic behavior and that future generations gratefully remembered them.[179] The overwhelming majority of male philanthropists insisted on attaching their name to the foundations or the endowments they created. Female philanthropists, by contrast, preferred to name their legacy after their husbands, fathers, or sons.[180] Only in the case of his bequest of the collection of paintings to the National Gallery did Ludwig Mond insist that it be called the "Mond Collection."[181] This might tell us a little bit more about the ways in which Ludwig Mond wanted to be remembered by subsequent generations. To be seen as an art patron appeared to him apparently more attractive than to be remembered as the person who created research institutes which were close to his professional career.

His philanthropic engagement that stretched from Winnington and London to Cassel and Rome closely reflected Mond's general outlook on life. He did not feel confined to spending the money he made in England and Ontario within the British Empire. He rather preferred spending it on various philanthropic purposes across Western Europe. Mond did not seem to embrace the narrow national space as his field of business or philanthropic activities. He was a European citizen who extended his business activities across Europe and even North America and engaged in philanthropic activities that spanned the Western European cultural region from the North Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea. Sometimes, national borders and regional legislations got into the way of the transnational activities of individuals such as Ludwig Mond. These artificial borders even shaped the activities and imposed limitations on Mond's activities. However, Mond's vision was not determined by these national and nationalist confines; he looked beyond the nation and identified with a continent rather than a country or nation. He represents the pre-1914 world in which individual's thinking was not yet fully forced into the straitjacket of nationalism. This might even have been more so the case for the members of the bourgeois class, which was truly transnational in its business interests and in its cultural aspirations.[182]

Ludwig Mond's transnational existence created a transnational space that brought together German culture and literature, Italian Renaissance painting, and the English commercial/capitalist system. Ludwig and Frida Mond created a transnational space in their homes in London and in Rome that invited intellectuals from different countries and of various religions. And while the salons somehow broke the social isolation of the Mond family, they also contributed to the perception of the Mond family as being different in the eyes of their nationalistic neighbors. Writing about the family's relocation from Winnington Hall to the Poplars in London in 1884, Ludwig Mond acknowledged: "However great the advantage of position and fortune may be the feeling is that of a stranger in a foreign country. Relations with people brought up with different language, literary tastes and prejudices always remain formal and can never create true bonds of friendship."[183]

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CHAPTER 3

Gifts to the Nations: Ludwig Mond's Art Collections in London and Rome

The Birth of the Mond Collection

The home of the Monds at Winnington Hall at Northwich had already been a salon for travelers from Germany who were visiting the Brunner & Mond Works because they were businessmen and scientists. In the 1880s, that circle was expanded to include scholars, writers, painters, and musicians from Germany and England. Among them was the German composer Max Bruch, who stayed with his family for an extended period at the Mond's house in 1883/1884; the violinist Hermann Richard Gompertz; Theresa Dabis, a Greek scholar and senior lecturer at the Royal Holloway College in Egham; the poet and literary critic Arthur Symons; the painters Ernst Meister and Sigismund Goetze; and the scientists Sir James Dewar and Sir Norman Lockyer.[1] The art historian Jean Paul Richter and his wife Louise were invited personally by Ludwig Mond in the fall of 1883 and joined the Bruch family, spending several weeks at the Mond residence. Louise Richter wrote about their first visit in her autobiographic recollections:

> We received a hearty welcome when we arrived. Mrs. Mond was standing at her conservatory door, among her flowers, and was manifestly pleased to see us. I was much impressed by Winnington Hall, a stately mansion which formerly belonged to Lord Stanley. There were besides us also other guests in the house, among them the well-known composer and musician Max Bruch and his wife. They had a little daughter too, who was just about the same age as my little Gisela, and the two babies were very much made of by our

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> kind hosts. The evenings were generally devoted to music, Professor Bruch often playing parts of his opera, "The Loreley," or accompanying his wife in her songs. She had a beautiful voice and we often sang duets together, and I remember Dr. Mond joining us in the Mendelsohn Quartets with his fine bass voice. His great favourite was the two Grenadiers of Schumann, and when we begged him very much, he would even give us some German student songs of his Heidelberger days. On one occasion we came down dressed up, Mrs. Mond as an Egyptian lady, which suited her to perfection, Miss Hertz as a nun and I as a Turkish lady with a yashmak.[2]

It was during this visit by the Richters in late 1883 that Ludwig Mond was sold on the idea of art collecting. And it was apparently Louise Richter who sparked the imagination of Ludwig while her husband helped to shape and realize Ludwig's vision for an art collection in the Monds' home. In her *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, Louise Richter reminisced:

> There was a beautiful spacious gallery in the house with a huge fireplace. When it was lit in the evening, we sometimes assembled round it after dinner, indulging in conversation and cigarettes. I once suggested that *pictures* in the architectural vaultings would look well when, as it so often did, our conversations turned to art. The matter was taken up and considered, and although it was subsequently found that pictures would have a far better light on the stately walls of the drawing and dining room, my suggestion was really the spark that subsequently kindled a flame, for I believe that it struck our host at the time that his friend Dr. Richter, whose merits he recognized from the first, would prove the very man to bring an art collection together, should he ever entertain that idea.[3]

Louise Richter's idea fell on fertile ground since Ludwig Mond had reached a level of financial stability and well-being that allowed him to spend money on artistic and cultural projects. "He was then already a rich man and had the prospect, through his business concerns, of accumulating a considerable fortune, and knowing this he conceived the noble idea of spending some of his money in the pursuit of an altruistic ideal."[4]

Altruism might not be the best word to describe Mond's ambitions with regards to art collecting. He envisioned the creation of an art gallery which he and his family could enjoy in private before it was to be passed on to a public museum after the death of his wife and descendants. Nineteenth-century philanthropy in general represented a mix of altruistic and egoistic motives, since collecting art and giving it the name of its collector furthered the social and cultural ambitions of their cre-

ators. To define philanthropy as solely or mainly driven by altruism would, therefore, obscure the multifaceted function of philanthropy in creating social distinctions and social hierarchies. While altruistic motives might have played a role in the decision to become engaged in philanthropy, philanthropic activities were often connected to the advancement of an individual's or a family's social status.[5]

His wife and their friend Henriette Hertz immediately embraced Richter's suggestion and encouraged Ludwig to pursue this idea. Henriette Hertz, in particular, seemed to have played a significant role in furthering Ludwig's career as an art collector. While it fell upon Frida Mond to establish the initial contact with Louise and Jean Paul Richter, it was Henriette Hertz who turned the Richter family from acquaintances into close friends of the Mond family. In fall 1881 Hertz had asked Jean Paul Richter whether he would be willing to receive her as a student in art history. After some hesitation, Richter and his wife agreed to accept Hertz as a disciple at the recommendation of Frida Mond, who had met Louise and Jean Paul Richter a year earlier. In late 1881 Hertz moved for three months into the house of the Richter family at Notting Hill in London. "Her chief purpose in doing so was … to study art history under the guidance of my husband, and to be in London where she would have every opportunity to visit galleries, libraries and museums."[6] Because of their mutual literary and artistic interests Louise Richter and Henriette Hertz quickly became close friends. Hertz had just published her novel *Alide* and Richter was working on her novel *Melita: A Turkish Love Story* (published with Fisher Unwin in 1886), which she dedicated to Hertz. It seems that the Richters either caused or furthered Hertz's interest in Italian art. While Hertz was staying at the Richter's house, Louise Richter was working on an English translation from German of Giovanni Morelli's *Italian Masters in German Galleries* that was published in 1883. Arguing that art could be understood truly only through observation rather than the study of art historical books, Morelli revolutionized the world of art history at the end of the nineteenth century. Richter wrote about Morelli's approach:

> Morelli was the first to observe that Renaissance artists had this tendency towards a typical morphology, especially of accessories: that each artist was inclined to construct such details as a hand, an ear, a lock of hair, and eye, etc. in a manner peculiar to himself. He advised the art historian and connoisseur carefully to observe the typical forms peculiar to each artist, and to

> impress them clearly on his memory, as he was convinced that in many cases they would afford clues to the authorship of pictures of disputed parentage. …It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the importance of the rôle it has played in the classification of the elementary data on which the history of art is founded. It has given a clue to the authorship of many important misnamed pictures. It has provided the student and historian with something objective on which to found and test conclusions which had previously rested on no surer basis than that of subjective opinion.[7]

Morelli developed his scientific method of authentication at a time in which many art works in private and public collections had been attributed to the wrong artist. In addition, the craze for Italian paintings among European and North American art collectors furthered a wave of seasoned forgers who produced paintings indistinguishable from the original by the eye of lay persons and even experts. And since many of the original paintings had been painted over, were in bad shape, and often did not even bear an identifying signature, it was challenging to correctly attribute such works of art. Carlo Ginzburg wrote about Morelli's technique:

> So distinguishing copies from originals (though essential) is very hard. To do it, said Morelli, one should refrain from the usual concentration on the most obvious characteristics of the paintings, for these could most easily be imitated—Perugino's central figures with eyes characteristically raised to heaven, or the smile of Leonardo's women, to take a couple of examples. Instead one should concentrate on minor details, especially those least significant in the style typical of the painter's own school: earlobes, fingernails, shapes of fingers and toes.[8]

Employing this method, Morelli was able to correctly attribute paintings in many art collections across Europe. "Some of them were sensational: the gallery in Dresden held a painting of a recumbent Venus believed to be a copy by Sassoferrato of a lost work by Titian, but Morelli identified it as one of the very few works definitively attributable to Giorgione."[9]

Morelli's method provided an apparent assurance of the originality of a painting. And it was the scientific approach that enticed Ludwig Mond to engage in art collecting. The art critic Roger Fry suggested in his assessment of the Mond Collection that Richter's enthusiasm for Morelli and his approach to the identification and evaluation of Renaissance paintings was the precondition for Mond's decision to engage in art collecting. Morelli's approach to art

> was of a kind which appealed to men of positive and scientific bend, men who would never have concerned themselves with art, even as a hobby, whilst its high priests discoursed in the vague language and high-flown phraseology of an earlier day. '*Gran gusto*,' and '*morbidezza*,' and 'keeping' would have repelled a mind accustomed to exact definition and quantitative analysis. But the minute and curious observations of Morelli had at least a familiar sound to the man of science, and if he happened to be, as Dr. Ludwig Mond also was, a man of wide and general culture, the world of art no longer seemed so remote and speculative a concern.[10]

Fry goes so far as to suggest that the Mond Collection "was essentially the outcome of the Morellian movement." Richter's selection of paintings for his art patron Ludwig Mond reflected

> severe and detached study and high intellectual integrity. The pictures were no longer bought for their splendid decorative effect or their appropriateness to a princely residence. There are here none of Vandyck's social presentments in a grand décor, no Veroneses to strike the note of festivity in a great ball-room. If Rubens was represented, it was in a small and undemonstrative work where, for his own purposes, he was experimenting in the interpretation of an unusual aspect of landscape.[11]

Henriette Hertz seemed to be fascinated by Morelli's book *Italian Masters in German Galleries* "and made it her chief study."[12] Louise Richter reminisced about Hertz's presence in her house: "I remember how often we assembled in the evenings round the dinning-room table, because it afforded us the necessary space for our photos, manuscripts and books, reading and studying together until a late hour."[13] She introduced Hertz to her London circle of artists and friends, including Sir Edward Poynter, who had become famous for his large historical paintings; Felix Moscheles; and Edward Armitage, who produced paintings of classical and biblical content. One day Louise Richter arranged for a visit to the home of Lady Eastlake. An art critic and art historian in her own right, she was also the widow of Sir Charles Eastlake, who had been the first director of the National Gallery, from 1855 to his death in 1865.[14] It was in her "drawing room in Fitzroy Square" that Hertz and Richter admired "the Bellini and the famous portrait by Bottressio; little knowing that some ten years hence, these very pictures would pass into the Mond collection!"[15]

When the Richters returned for a second extended visit to Winnington Hall in summer 1884, plans for the acquisition of an extensive art collec-

tion became more concrete. Mond had come to the conclusion that he wanted to invest a significant portion of his fortune in paintings. To set himself apart from other bourgeois collectors, Mond insisted on acquiring "not works by living painters such as other wealthy industrialists were buying, but the finest Old Masters money could buy. Moreover, the pictures he wanted would be chosen, not through his own inexperienced taste, for he knew his limitations, but by an expert such as Richter."[16] He empowered Richter to acquire paintings at whatever price he thought fit, provided that every picture was worthy of a place in a public gallery. Jean Paul Richter wrote in his book about the Mond Collection:

> My work began in 1884, and was practically completed during the following decade. Dr. Mond left me free to collect in any direction which opportunity and my own judgment might dictate; he hampered me with no monetary restrictions. It was understood, however, that the collection was to be representative of Italian art in general, and not of that of any particular school; that the pictures of which it was to be composed were to be of indisputable authenticity, and on a niveau of quality which would entitle them to an honourable place in any public gallery. The task entrusted me differed but little, therefore, except in scale, and in the liberty of action accorded, from that committed to the director of any public gallery.[17]

This decision was, for Louise Richter, proof "that Dr. Mond at the very start, conceived the idea of leaving his pictures to a public institution."[18]

The nucleus of the Mond collection was composed of Sodoma's *The Madonna and Child* and Fra Bartolomeo's *The Holy Family*. With the help of Jean Paul Richter and Henriette Hertz, Mond assembled a collection of more than 100 (predominantly Italian) paintings in his home at Winnington and later at Park Crescent in London, to which the family home was relocated in 1884. The value of this collection was estimated at £130,000 in 1911.[19] This collection included Raphael's *Crucifixion*, Titian's *Virgin and Child*, and Mantegna's *Holy Family*, to name just a few prominent examples. Ludwig Mond's decision to collect art, which was overtly Christian in its depiction and very limited in its topical focus, might have been surprising for a Jewish art collector but not unexpected given that Ludwig Mond from the beginning wanted his art work to be worthy of inclusion in any major art gallery. And an art collection of biblical motives might have had better chances of being accepted by a public gallery. However, Mond's exclusionary focus on Christian art set him apart from other famous Jewish art patrons such as James Simon in Berlin.[20]

Henriette Hertz played, according to Dietrich Seybold, a significant role in the acquisition of this extensive art collection. While Jean Paul Richter has been credited with advising Mond on the selection of paintings, Hertz's role in the collecting and buying process has been underestimated. Seybold suggests that we should see the Mond Collection, and by extension also what became the Hertz Collection in Rome, as the result of collective activity. While Louise Richter claimed in her own recollections to have sparked Ludwig Mond's interest in art collecting, it was Henriette Hertz who had studied art history with Jean Paul Richter two years before this memorable night shared by the Mond and Richter families at Winnington during which Ludwig Mond decided to become an art collector. Richter had, furthermore, introduced Hertz to the work of Giovanni Morelli, whom she met in person during her first visit to Italy in 1883. Hertz and Morreli subsequently entered into a long-lasting friendship based on their shared enthusiasm for Italian art.[21]

The Mond Collection resulted from the collaboration of three strong and unique individuals who each possessed certain qualities the other lacked. Mond represented the financial side of the operation. Henriette Hertz was the soul of the collection who contributed her passion for art as well as her knowledge and her connections in the art world. Richter offered his expertise for the authentication and selection of worthy paintings. Any attempt to separate the contribution of each member of this triumvirate is condemned to fail since there was no clear line of tasks between these three individuals. As much as Jean Paul Richter wanted to claim responsibility for the Mond Collection, he was forced, according to Seybold, to admit that it had been Hertz "a lady whose fine taste and generous appreciation of talent are well known in the artistic and musical world of Rome" who had drawn Ludwig Mond's attention to Italian art. "The charm and distinction of this Southern art, its exotic quality, formed an agreeable interlude in a life crowded with arduous work, chiefly scientific; and counseled by Miss Hertz, Dr. Mond determined to surround himself with notable examples of the classic paintings by which he was attracted; and did me [Richter] the honour of asking me to collect them for him."[22] These sentences Richter was more or less forced to include in his introduction to his book *The Mond Collection* (published in 1910). In his first draft, Richter had Hertz written out from the story of the Mond Collection. When he sent her the proofs for his book, Hertz was deeply upset and complained about her absence from the story. In his letter, Richter felt compelled to acknowledge her role as the person who had caused Ludwig Mond to collect Italian art and he promised to revise the book manuscript accordingly.[23]

Ludwig Mond was convinced that sensitivity was not a manly quality. And while he slowly developed some enthusiasm for Italian art, art collecting seems to have been an endeavor similar to his past scientific and industrial activities. It was, in fact, the scientific aspect of Morelli's principles that made it possible for Mond to relate to this new field of activity. Richter was an expert who, with a keen eye for representative art objects, guided Mond's decisions and provided the expertise and practical knowledge for the creation of Mond's art collection. And Richter's expertise proved to be essential to fulfilling Mond's desire to assemble a collection of art of "indisputable authenticity." Richter remembered in his book *The Mond Collection*:

> Many of the traditional names under which the pictures in question were bought were quite untenable, as even the opponents of the principles guiding the modern art-historian and connoisseur will acknowledge. The Palma Vecchio, for instance, bore the great name of Leonardo; the "Holy Family" by Polidoro that of Titian; the "Adoration of the Magi" by Dosso Dossi was attributed to Giorgione; the "S. Paul" by Andrea Sacchi to Domenico Ghirlandajo; the "Pietà" by Giovanni Bellini was ascribed to Mantegna … Other pictures either bore no names, or the very generic label "Italian School." It was under this heading that the little "Holy Family" by Fra Bartolommeo was bought; also the pictures by Giampietrino, by Giambono, by Montagna, by Daniele da Volterra, and many others.[24]

Employing Morellian principles, Richter did his best to identify and to authenticate paintings that could be added to the Mond Collection. Art critique Roger Fry in 1924 praised the "serious 'scientific' character" of the Mond Collection and even went so far to suggest "that the authenticity of these paintings was beyond dispute."[25]

Thirty years later, art experts were no longer so certain about the authenticity of some of the paintings from the Mond Collection. When in June 1954 another version of Francia's *Virgin and Child with an Angel* was offered for sale at Christie's, the authenticity of the Francia in the Mond Collection came into question. This painting was among the paintings selected for the National Gallery from Ludwig Mond's entire art collection. Acquired in Rome in 1893 "when forgers of early Italian pictures were already beginning to be active," it was valued at £800 in 1911. Because of Richter's reputation and his strict application of Morellian principles to the identification and authentication of the Mond Collection, no one expected the collection to include a forgery. Initial testing by X-ray

did not produce conclusive evidence for its authenticity. A comparison of the two paintings "showed … that the construction of the Mond picture was not uncharacteristic of the fifteenth century." Only further chemical testing and microanalysis revealed that the Mond picture was of a rather modern date. The final press release of the National Gallery presented the conclusion of the experts:

> What, however, finally confirms not only the comparative modernity of the Mond picture but the probable intent to forge is the nature of the craquelure. There is no craquelure in the gesso ground, a fact which would in itself be unusual in a fifteenth century painting, but on the ground were painted fine dark lines in the pattern of craquelure. These were probably intended to speed the formation of the real craquelure in the paint itself. This is not of the type which normally occurs in paint which has already become brittle with age, while the cracks have been filled with dark paint, to emphasise them.[26]

The National Gallery, concerned with controlling the damage to its reputation and the integrity of its collection, provided a press release in which it sought to give reasons for why this particular painting was able to pass for an original at the time of its acquisition and when it was transferred to the National Gallery, fooling several experts and Jean Paul Richter in particular. "If the forgery of a Francia was not then particularly lucrative, it was comparatively easy, and the forger no doubt relied upon the fact that a picture bearing Francia's signature was unlikely to attract a very careful scrutiny from the art historians."[27] While this particular case might have been embarrassing for the National Gallery and the Mond family, it fortunately affected one of the paintings with lesser significance and not a centerpiece of the Mond paintings.

Transnational Art Collecting and the Protection of National Art

Immediately after Mond and Richter had reached a written agreement about the creation of the Mond Collection in 1884, Richter began to scavenge art sales in England in search of suitable paintings for his patron's collection. Since he had access to nearly unlimited financial resources, Richter was able to acquire paintings "either in competition with the National Gallery or just below the parapet of the Gallery's interest."[28] Richter and Mond also benefitted, according to Charles Saumarez Smith,

"from the fact that, owing to the introduction of death duties, aristocratic owners in England were increasingly willing to sell inherited works of art."[29] The British government had introduced in 1894 an estate duty that was applied to all property passing by death at rates graduated from 1 % to 8 %, according to the aggregate value of the estate.[30] But Richter did not limit his search for suitable paintings to England alone. He acquired Cranach's *The Close of the Silver Age* in Cassel in 1892 and increasingly looked towards Italy for expanding the Mond Collection. Italian regulations that were intended to prevent the export of classical and Renaissance art from Italy limited, however, Richter's success in bringing Italian art into the London house of the Monds.

From 1884 onward, Frida and Ludwig Mond traveled, accompanied by Henriette Hertz, repeatedly to Italy. Frida was drawn to Italy because of her love for Goethe, which was fueled by her upbringing and her friendship with Lina Schneider, who had grown up in Weimar and was an acquaintance of Alma von Goethe, a granddaughter of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.[31] Ludwig's interest for this country derived from his newly found enthusiasm for Italian paintings. In his search for paintings in Italy, Ludwig Mond was greatly helped by the relocation of the Richter family from London to Venice in the winter of 1884 and then to Verona in spring of 1885. Louise Richter remarked in her reminiscences: "The fact that the Mond Collection is so rich in Veronese and Venetian pictures, is a proof of the harvest my husband reaped during our stay in these towns."[32] Andrea Mantegna's *The Holy Family with Saint John* was among Jean Paul Richter's prominent finds in the surroundings of Verona. Louise Richter recalled:

> During that spring my husband discovered in a private house the Mantegna, which is now considered one of the gems of the Mond-Collection. The owner was anxious to sell it, but asked a price which was at that time considered to be very exorbitant. My husband, therefore, could not make up his mind to buy it there and then, especially as the picture was much overpainted.[33]

Richter apparently went to England to discuss this issue with Mond and waited for more than two months before he returned to the painting. Louise Richter "was a frequent visitor in the house of Comte M., the owner of the Mantegna, whose wife and daughter also often came to see me. When I went there my eyes always looked towards the place where

the Mantegna hung to make sure it was still there." Upon his return from England, Richter finally acquired the painting for the Mond Collection.[34]

Louise Richter wrote about the activities of her husband on behalf of Ludwig Mond in Italy that in his search for pictures he often discovered paintings that were not attributed to a particular artist and whose values were not clear to their owners. Many paintings were overpainted and restored in ways that their authorship and the time in which they were produced were obscured to the eye of the nineteenth-century observer. She pointed to the example of Bellini's *Madonna and Child*, which Richter discovered in the home of a noble family. The painting "was nameless, and the gold background was hidden away by a green seventeenth-century landscape. When carefully cleaned by the late Cavenaghi of Milan, the nobility of the Virgin's head, her hands, the passionate pathos of the child proved it to be an early work by Giovanni Bellini, akin to his early Madonnas in the Brera and in St. Maria del Orto at Venice."[35]

Frida and Ludwig Mond's first Italian trip brought them to Florence. The next year they visited the Richters in Venice. In 1889 they finally made it to Rome. "Dr. and Mrs. Mond and especially Miss Henrietta (sic) Hertz grew from year to year fonder of Italy. To pass their winter away from London in Rome they settled in one of the most delightful palaces on the Pincio known as the Palazzo Zuccari."[36] Initially, the Monds and Hertz rented rooms in the palace near the Spanish Steps. "Eventually the whole Palazzo was bought by Dr. Mond and rebuilt and provided with a lift, central heating, and all the modern conveniences; but some of the vaultings and the old frescoes have been left untouched."[37] This second home for the Monds and Hertz was quickly filling up with paintings acquired by Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz, who relied on the art experts Jean Paul Richter and Giovanni Morreli in building up the art collection in their Roman domicile. This art collection in Rome was, as Seybold reminds us, not clearly separated from Ludwig Mond's art collection in London. This was effectively one art collection brought together in two places. The Rome location had a decisive advantage over the London location since regional law in Italy discouraged the export of Italian art through high tariffs of about 20% and in some cases even outright banned the removal of Renaissance art from Italian soil.[38]

Mond and Richter felt the consequences of these laws when they tried to ship a painting by Filippo Lippi to England in early 1890. After Richter had acquired the painting from a peasant, he was visited in March

1889 by a civil servant from the local police authorities of Florence. The inspector wanted to know whether it was true that Richter had bought the painting by Fillippo. Since Richter confirmed that he in fact owned the painting—he hid the fact that he had bought it for Mond's London collection and was therefore not the actual owner of the painting—the inspector informed Richter of a law dating back to 1704 that outlawed the removal of important art objects from Tuscany. Seeking to circumvent this rule, Richter suggested that he could send the painting for restoration to Milano. From there, Richter seemed to hope it might be easier to smuggle the painting to England.[39]

The authorities in Genoa, however, confiscated the painting and were willing to return it to Ludwig Mond only under the condition that it remained in Italy. This incident caused Mond to stop shipping Italian paintings to London, and to start creating an art collection that was located in his domicile in Rome. The Palazzo Zuccari, thus, became a second location for Mond's collection of paintings by default. While Hertz continued to play a significant role in the selection of the paintings for the collection at the Palazzo Zuccari, it was Ludwig Mond who provided the financial resources for their acquisition.[40] Since both Hertz and Mond acted in concert, it is nearly impossible to disentangle the two collections in Rome and London. Both collections were a project commonly pursued by Mond and Hertz with the help of Richter and Morelli. Robert Mond wrote in his preface to the catalogue of the Hertz Collection in Rome: "In the collection both of pictures and documents the collaboration of my parents and Miss Hertz was so intimate, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to attribute the initiative to one more than the other, their ultimate destination having been foreseen from the commencement."[41]

The increasing problems with acquiring Italian art as a foreigner as well as Ludwig Mond's desire to secure the transfer of his collection to a public gallery after his death forced the members of the extended Mond family to consider the future of their collection, which was dispersed over two locations in two different countries. During several discussions between Ludwig Mond, Alfred Mond, Henriette Hertz, and Jean Paul Richter in the spring and summer of 1907, the future of the Mond Collection was decided. Alfred Mond played a significant role in these negotiations, and it was he who suggested the division of the collection (Alfred's Plan) into two separate collections: the Mond Collection in London and the Hertz Collection in Rome. This division into two separate collections was the

precondition for Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz's writing of their last wills, in which both left their respective collections to the British and Italian nations.[42]

Both Mond and Hertz had already decided that their collections would be donated to eminent public galleries. The table below lists the most prominent paintings of the Hertz Collection that were bequeathed by Henriette Hertz to the Italian state. These paintings became part of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica. The pictures can be seen today in the Palazzo Venezia, the Palazzo Barberini, and the Palazzo Corsini.[43] Ludwig Mond initially considered, according to Seybold, donating his collection to a new Italian Gallery in Cologne.[44] Cologne might have attracted Mond because of his family's attachment to that city—both his wife and his friend Henriette Hertz were born in Cologne—and because of the city's lively art scene that had resulted in the creation of independent bourgeois museums such as the Wallraf-Richartz Museum. He even thought about, according to Louise Richter's testimony, building his own art gallery. Such a move would have provided Mond with a prominent display of his collection as the centerpiece of a new art gallery. Such deliberations refute Julia L. Rischbieter's interpretation, according to which Mond's bequest was guided by his desire to integrate into the British upper class.[45] Ludwig Mond had no desire to become accepted among the British upper class. He was a European citizen who had business interests in England and Canada, spent his winters in Rome, and enjoyed traveling across continental Europe. He certainly did not think within the narrow confines of nation-states or national upper classes. His horizon was, to the dismay of his sons, European and not English. His two sons, and Alfred Mond, in particular strongly disagreed with their father and his transnational orientation. They sought, in contrast to him, recognition from their English peers and cared little for the donations their father had made to German and Italian causes. While Ludwig Mond did not care for an English title of nobility, his sons had nothing else on their mind. It is also telling that only after Alfred Mond became involved with the drafting of his father's will and with the deliberations about the future location of the Mond Collection that Ludwig Mond embraced the idea of leaving his collection to a more established and prominent but national gallery—the National Gallery in London. It can be assumed that this idea was the brainchild of Alfred Mond rather than of Ludwig Mond.

The Hertz Collection in Rome[46]

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*
1	Child's figure in fresco on prepared canvas	Gio. Francesco Penni (il Fattore)
2	Madonna and Nursing Child	Nicolo Giolfino
3	Presentation of Madonna in the Temple	?
4	Madonna and Child and an angel	Domenico Puligo
5	A fragment of prolixity	Lorenzo Veneziano
6	St. Peter and St. Lawrence	Benardo Di Mariotto
7	Madonna and Child on background of gold and red	Michel Giovanni Bono (Giambono)
8	Madonna and Child and an angel	Cossimo Rosselli
9	The Annunciation and two devout persons	Fra Filippo Lippi di Tommaso
10	The Rite of St. Julien	Caversegno or Caverseno (Fra Agostino)
11	The Passion of Our Lord in six pictures on a background of gold	Giotto Di Bondone
12	St. Sebastian	Antonello da Messina
13	Madonna and Blessing Child	Giulio Pippi (Romano)
14	St. George	Camillo Procaccione
15	Micentio di Connolano and mother	?
16	Boy with crown of ivy	Agusto
17	Child	Francesco Zuccarelli
18	Scene with pages of noble Venetians	Alessandro Longhi
19	Boy	Domenico Zampieri (Domenichino)
20	Boy	Domenico Zampieri (Domenichino)
21	Saint Cecilia	Benvenuto Tizio (Garofolo)
22	Samson and Deliah	Bonifacio De Pietatis
23	Brennus: Vae Victis	Bonifacio De Pietatis
24	Portrait of a young lady	Rosalla Carrera
25	Portrait of a young man	Rosalla Carrera
26	An idyl	Casciani (Giovanni Busi)
27	Saint Catherine	Bartolomeo Veneti
28	The mandolin player	Andrea Solario
29	Madonna and the Child St. John	Paolo Feripati
30	Via bruns Meontis delle new donna	Paolo Feripati
31	Holy Family and the lamb	Martino Piacca Da Lodi
32	Fragment of votive picture	Cariani (Giovanni Basi)
33	Madonna of the Sash and St. Thomas	Fra Paolino da Pistoia
34	Saint Mary Magdalene	Francesco Uberino (Bacchiada)
35	Madonna and Child and an Angel	Liberale da Verona
36	Head of a youth	Pompino

After the successful legal split of the Mond Collection into two collections, Ludwig Mond entered—in July 1907—into negotiations about leaving a substantial part of his London collection of paintings to the National Gallery with the director of the National Gallery in London, Sir Charles Holroyd. These negotiations were initiated and facilitated by Lewis Harcourt, who was at the time First Commissioner of Works and thus responsible for the National Gallery.[47] About two-and-half years before his death, Mond wanted to work out the details of his bequest and confirm that the National Gallery would not just accept one painting but a collection that would be presented to the English public as the Mond Collection. Since the National Gallery was lacking appropriate space to showcase its extensive collections and even had to resort to outsource to the Tate Gallery some collections, such as the Turner collection, which had been given to the gallery in 1851 by the famous artist and painter Joseph Mallord William Turner, Mond even entertained the idea of financing the construction of an addition to the National Gallery to house his collection.[48]

The Mond Collection in London[49]

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £ (according to Richter)*
1	Egyptian Hellenistic, Portrait with Laurel Wreath		800
2	Egyptian Hellenistic, Portrait with curly hair		1000
3	Egyptian Hellenistic, Portrait of a Lady with fair complexion		1000
4	Egyptian Hellenistic, Portrait of a Lady with dark complexion		600
5	Large Holy Family	Fra Bartolommeo	5000
6	Musical Instruments	Bertolomeo Bettera	40
7	Virgin Enthroned	Gentile Bellini	4000
8	Pieta	Giovanni Bellini	4000
9	Virgin and Child	Giovanni Bellini	3000
10	Male Portrait	Beltraffico	2000
11	Virgin and Child and two Saints	Bissolo	600
12	Female Portrait (Head)	Boccaccino	60
13	Bust of St. Mark	Michele Giam-Boni	100

(*continued*)

(continued)

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £ (according to Richter)*
14	Calling of St. Zenobius	Botticelli	5000
15	Miracles of St. Zenobius	Botticelli	5000
16	Piazza S. Marco, West Side	Antonio Canale	800
17	Piazzetta in Venice	Canaletto	150
18	Vedute with Ruins	Canaletto	10
19	Vedute of an ancient Doorway (?)	Canaletto	10
20	Piazzetta in Venice	Carlevaris	150
21	Virgin and Child and St. John	Caroto	300
22	St. Sebastian	Cima	600
23	St. Mark	Cima	600
24	Portrait Group, Man and Boy	Cittadini	150
25	Heads of two Angels	Correggio	200
26	Head of an Angel	Correggio	200
27	Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul	Crivelli	500
28	Rest on the Flight into Egypt	Diziani	200
29	Adoration	Dosso	1000
30	Archangel Michael	Farinato	150
31	St. John the Baptist	Farinato	150
32	Virgin & Child with Angel	Francesco Francia	800
33	The Sacrifice to Ceres	Garofalo	1500
34	Coriolanus with Volumnia and Veturia	Genga (Signorelli)	300
35	Virgin & Child	Ghirlandajo	1500
36	Effect of Jealousy	Kranach	200
37	Holy Family with Elizabeth and John	Lanzani	600
38	Portrait of Antonio Coraro	Lazzarini	200
39	Adoration of the Infant Christ	Girolamo dai Libri	800
40	Portrait Bust (Temanza's Wife)	P. Longhi	300
41	Virgin & Child with John in the Landscape	Luini	2500
42	St. Catherine	Luini	2500
43	Resting Venus	Luini	700
44	Holy Family	Mantegna	10,000
45	Christ with the Tithe Penny	Mazzolini	350
46	St. John the Baptist	Murrilo	500
47	Salvator Mundi	Marco d'Oggionno	50
48	La Flora	Palma Vecchio	8000
49	Portrait of Alberto Pio	Peruzzi	600
50	Portrait Bust of a Woman	Pollajuolo (?)	1500
51	Portrait of Isabella Gonzaga with the young Francesco II.	Pordenone (?)	300

(continued)

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £ (according to Richter)*
52	Portrait of a Lady	Puligo	20
53	The Crucifixion, 4 Saints & 2 Angels	Raphael	40,000
54	The Rape of Briseis	Sebastiano Ricci	250
55	Landscape with Moonlight	Rubens	800
56	Portraits of 5 Artists	Fr. Salviati	250
57	Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione	Savoldo	100
58	Marriage of St. Catherine	Scarselliono	200
59	Portrait of a Lady	Scarselliono	80
60	Finding of Moses	Schiavone	100
61	Predella	Signorelli	600
62	St. Jerome	Sodoma	1000
63	Ecce Homo	Sodoma	50
64	Gun Boats of the Venetian Navy	Tintoretto	400
65	Male Portrait Bust	Tintoretto	150
66	Portrait of Giovanni Gritti	Tintoretto	150
67	Virgin & Child	Titian	10,000
68	Portrait of Pietro Aretino	Titian	100
69	Virgin & Child, Gold ground	Alvisi Vivarini (Giov. Bellini)	600
70	Portrait Bust of a Venetian Gentleman	Franc. Vecellio	50
71	Portrait Bust of a Venetian Gentleman	Franc. Vecellio	50
72	A Holy Bishop	Alv. Vivarini	80
73	Cleopatra	Zelotto	100
74	Justice: An Allegory	Zelotti (?) Giuseppe Salviati	350
75	Portrait of Castracane	Sienesian School	50
76	Separation of Land & Water	Copies after Raphael's originals in the Loggie, Vatican, Rome	50
77	Creation of Sun & Moon	Ditto	50
78	Creation of the Animals	Ditto	50
79	Creation of Eve	Ditto	50
80	Adam & Eve with the Serpent	Ditto	50
81	Adam & Eve driven from Paradise	Ditto	50
82	Adam & Eve with Cain & Abel	Ditto	50
83	Herodias	Giovanni Pedrini	500
84	Portrait of Fracastoro	Torbido	600
85	Lucrezia	Parrhasius	100
86	Male Portrait	Penni	200

(*continued*)

(continued)

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £ (according to Richter)*
87	St. Paul	Franc. Sacchi	600
88	St. Andrew	Gaudenzio Ferrari	600
89	Infant Christ & Infant St. John	Marco d'Oggionno	400
90	Head of St. Anne (drawing)	Leonardo da Vinci	500
			129,950

In his last will, dated November 26, 1908, Mond codified the details of his bequest. Upon the death of his wife, the trustees of the National Gallery were to be offered the paintings in the "List of Pictures Offered by Ludwig Mond to the Trustees of the National Gallery" that was attached to Mond's last will and is reproduced below. The pictures offered in this list represented a significant share of Mond's collection of pictures. It included 56 of the 90 paintings and drawings (=61%) owned by Mond, and it represented 82% of the entire value of Mond's collection. The trustees of the National Gallery were required to "select at least three-fourths" of these paintings, which were then to be transferred to the gallery. These selected paintings were to "be exhibited in one or more of the rooms of the National Gallery (whether a room or rooms existing when the pictures are offered to them or a room or rooms altered or erected as hereinafter provided) under the name of the Mond collection and shall for ever remain substantially united in such room or rooms or in any room or rooms in the National Gallery to which they may be transferred."[50]

List of Pictures Offered by Ludwig Mond to the Trustees of the National Gallery[51]

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
1	Egyptian Greek Portrait, with wreath of laurels		800
2	Egyptian Greek Female Portrait		1000
3	Madonna and Child enthroned	Gentile Bellini	4000
4	Madonna and Child and John	Caroto	300
5	Effect of Jealousy	Kranach	200
6	Holy Family, with Elizabeth and John	Lanzani	600
7	Portrait of Alberto Pio	Peruzzi	600

(continued)

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
8	Portrait Bust of a Woman	Pollajuolo (?)	1500
9	The Crucifixion	Raphael	40,000
10	St. Jerome	Sodoma	1000
11	Portrait of Fracastro	Forbido	600
12	St. Paul	Francesco Sacchi	600
13	Large Holy Family	Fra Bartolommeo	5000
14	Pietà	Giovanni Bellini	4000
15	Madonna and Child and two Saints	Bissolo	600
16	Female Portrait	Boccaccino	60
17	St. Mark	Michele Giambono	100
18	Miracles of Zenobius	Botticelli	5000
19	Baptism of Zenobius	Botticelli	5000
20	St. Mark's Place, Venice	Canaletto	150
21	Piazza in Venice	Carlevaris	150
22	St. Sebastian	Cima	600
23	St. Mark	Cima	600
24	Portrait Group of Man and Boy	Cittadini	150
25	Heads of Two Angels	Correggio	200
26	Head of an Angel	Correggio	200
27	The Apostels Peter and Paul	Crivelli	500
28	Rest on the Flight to Egypt	Diziani	200
29	The Adoration of the Three Kings	Dosso	1000
30	The Archangel Michael	Farinato	150
31	John the Baptist	Farinato	150
32	Portrait of Antonio Coraro	Lazzarini	200
33	The Adoration of the Infant Christ	Girolamo dai Libri	800
34	Female Portrait Bust	P. Longhi	300
35	Holy Virgin and Child with John in a Landscape	Luini	2500
36	Resting Venus	Luini	700
37	Christ with the Tribute Money	Mazzolini	350
38	Salvator Mundi	Marco d'Oggionno	50
39	Flora	Palma Vecchio	8000
40	Portrait of Isabella Gonzaga	Pordenone (?)	300
41	Male Portrait	Penni	200
42	Portrait of Five Artists	Francesco Salviati	250
43	Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione	Savoldo	100
44	The Betrothal of St. Catherine	Scarsellino	200
45	Predella Picture	Signorelli	600
46	St. Jerome	Sodoma	1000
47	War Vessels of the Venetian Marine	Tintoretto	400
48	Madonna and Child	Titian	10,000
49	Madonna and Child (with a gold background)	Alvise Vivarini	600

(*continued*)

(continued)

Number	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
50	A Bishop	Alvise Vivarini	80
51	Allegory of Justice	Zelotto (?)	350
52	Herodius	Giovanni Pedrini	500
53	St. Andrew	Gaudenzio Ferrari	600
54	Male Portrait	Boltraffio	2000
55	Portrait of Pietro Aretino	Titian	100
56	Six Scenes from "The Loggia"	After Raphael	1550
			106,740

It was clear from the outset that Mond did not want to simply bequeath individual paintings that could be mixed in with the general collection. He wanted to leave a visible mark on the country's eminent art collection. And he wanted his (family's) name permanently attached to this collection that was to be displayed separately under the roof of the National Gallery at Trafalgar Square. Such ambitions were certainly not unique to Ludwig Mond. The gifts of wealthy donors almost always came with strings attached. And the desire that collections should be kept together were quite common among European and North American donors who provided the artwork displayed in art museums in Berlin, London, New York, or Toronto. Donors who provided large collections to art museums frequently insisted that these collections be kept together. Museum directors increasingly sought to discourage such conditions imposed on gifts since it tied their hands in the future arrangement of art collections and the display of art in general. But while museum directors focused on the public display of art, donors saw the public display of their art collections also as a way to establish and claim public recognition of the donor's taste and power. Two fundamentally opposed principles of organizing collections became visible in the negotiations of gifts and bequests between donors and museum organizers across Europe and North America. Donors wanted their art work displayed as a memorial to their cultural power, while museum organizers began to embrace organizational principles that privileged geographical and cultural context as well as chronology over previous ownership. While the first principle was centered on the donor, the second principle put the art object itself at the center of attention. We should, however, not forget that both principles provided a rational basis for the organization of museums (a museum centered on donors versus a museum centered on art objects). These were, of course, two different

types of museums, each with a different mission. The power of donors to impose their conditions upon museum directors and museum organizers increasingly disappeared after 1900. Museum organizers insisted that only their principle was valid, while the focus on the donor belonged to an antiquated period in the history of the museum. Museum directors discouraged donors publicly from imposing conditions of keeping collections together and even rejected donations that would have come with strings attached; in practice, they simply ignored such agreements made for collections already in the possession of the museum.[52]

To further the status of his collection, Ludwig Mond asked Richter in 1906 to produce a catalogue of the Mond Collection. The format, content, and even the print run were discussed in great detail between Ludwig Mond, Henriette Hertz, and Jean Paul Richter. Richter made suggestions with regard to the size and format of the pictures/engravings, but it was Ludwig Mond who made all final decisions. And in contrast to catalogues for similar art collections such as the one of Baron Alphonse Rothschild that was printed in just 11 copies, Mond insisted on a print run of 200 copies. It was clear from the beginning that Mond wanted his catalogue widely circulated and his collection, thereby, advertised.[53] Those selected to receive a copy of the catalogue included the Italian art historian Gustavo Frizzoni, the painter and art restorer Luigi Cavenaghi, the socially influential and (in Rome as well as in Berlin) well-connected Donna Laura Minghetti (she was the widow of the Italian statesman Marco Minghetti and the mother of Maria von Bülow who was married to the German Chancellor—from 1900 to 1909—Bernhard von Bülow),[54] and the Italian statesman and friend of Minghetti Emilio Visconti Venosta. It was hoped that these socially well-connected individuals would spread the word about the catalogue and even write reviews in leading art journals. Richter also envisioned that some selected public institutions would receive copies of the catalogue free of charge. All of this contributed to a wide publicity campaign in Western European for the Mond Collection.[55]

The director of the National Gallery, Sir Charles Holroyd, seemed to be open to Mond's demand that his collection should only and exclusively be shown as a complete collection, thereby honoring the art collector. Ludwig Mond was thus able to impose his conditions on the bequest at a time when other donors were no longer able to do so. In July 1907 Holroyd wrote to Lewis Harcourt: "I know the Mond Collection very well and I should recommend the Board to accept his collection even on the condition that they be kept together as a complete collection, as they

are very fine."[56] And Charles Saumarez Smith, director of the National Gallery from 2002 to 2007, wrote in his appreciation of the Mond Bequest nearly a century later: "It was, as Richter had wanted it to be, a collection which was based on Morellian principles: mainly Italian and particularly strong on scenes of late Quattrocento narrative and Venetian works; a scholarly collection, which is redolent of late Victorian taste."[57]

Ludwig Mond's bequest to the National Gallery could be seen as part of a larger economic-cultural pattern. In the second half of the nineteenth century, England and London, in particular, attracted many Jewish migrants from across continental Europe in search of religious tolerance and economic success. Religious tolerance had allowed for individuals such as Benjamin Disraeli to reach eminent leadership positions in English society. "By the time of the First World War England had experienced," according to Jamie Camplin, "a Jewish Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice."[58] The quickly growing British industry provided many opportunities for individuals such as Ludwig Mond and Ernest Cassel to make a fortune in industry and banking. And a great share of these fortunes was given towards philanthropic purposes in London. The contemporary writer Thomas Hay Sweet Escott even contended that "the Jews sustained almost on its own English art and music in the capital."[59] Mond's bequest to the National Gallery seems to have been part of this pattern, which greatly benefited the British capital and enriched its museums and music halls.[60]

Ludwig Mond's Gift to the British Nation

Since Frida Mond survived her husband who had passed away on December 11, 1909 by nearly 14 years—she died on May 16, 1923—and since Ludwig Mond had decreed that the paintings would remain in the possession of his wife until her death, the bequest was postponed by one and a half decades. World War I, the last will of Frida Mond, and a feud between museum trustees and the Mond family complicated the transfer of the Mond Collection to the National Gallery. Such complications were not exceptional. In fact, many bequests of money and art work in the field of culture and education were made with provisions that surviving family members—often spouses but sometimes even children—were to enjoy the benefits of the bequest before it passes on to the public institution for which the donor intended it. Monetary donations were often transferred to the institutions for which they were destined with the condition that the interest accrued by the fund was to provide a living stipend for sur-

viving family members. Such arrangements could continue for decades before the beneficiaries died and the institutions could apply the funds to its intended purpose. In the case of art work, paintings and sculptures were often given to an institution with the understanding that the actual transfer only occurs after the death of surviving family members.[61]

The feud between the Mond family and the trustees of the National Gallery was caused by Frida Mond's last will in which she had claimed various paintings that were included in Ludwig Mond's "List of Pictures Offered by Ludwig Mond to the Trustees of the National Gallery" as her own property and decreed that these paintings were to be passed on to her two sons. Basing her claim on the first codicil of her husband, which he later revoked, Frida Mond left each of her sons six paintings. The first set of six paintings (22, 23, 7, 54, 39, and 11) was left to Robert and the second set of six paintings (29, 40, 47, 20, 6, and 14) was left to Alfred.[62]

Paintings Given to Her Sons by Frida Mond in Her Last Will

Number of the Mond list	*Pictures selected by National Gallery*	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
22	X	St. Sebastian	Cima	600
23	X	St. Mark	Cima	600
7	X	Portrait of Alberto Pio	Peruzzi	600
54	X	Male Portrait	Boltraffio	2000
39	X	La Flora	Palma Vecchio	8000
11		Portrait of Fracastore	Forbido	600
29	X	Adoration of the Kings	Dosso	1000
40		Portrait of Isabella Gonzaga with the Young Francesco II.	Pordenone	300
47		Gunboats of the Venetian Navy	Tintoretto	400
20		Piazza San Marco West Side	Antonio Canale	150
6		Holy Family	Lanzani	600
14	X	Pieta	Giovanni Bellini	4000
				18,850

After Frida's death, the trustees of the National Gallery drew up, ignoring Frida Mond's last will, an initial list of 26 paintings from the pool of the paintings provided in the list "List of Pictures Offered by Ludwig Mond

to the Trustees of the National Gallery" composed by Ludwig Mond in 1908. This first selection included prominent paintings such as Raphael's *Crucifixion* and Titian's *Madonna and Child* and seven of the 12 pictures left to Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond by their mother. Shortly after this initial list was presented to the heirs of the Mond fortune, Sir Alfred Mond and Sir Robert Mond, the two sons of Ludwig and Frida Mond, disputed the arrangement and sought to renegotiate it. Sir Alfred Mond, furthermore, produced a sworn statement by Alberto Cerasoli, who had worked as secretary for Ludwig Mond, according to which Ludwig Mond had changed his instructions for the allocation of paintings as it was laid out in his last will. Probably following a request by his son Sir Alfred, Ludwig Mond produced in January 1908 a list of paintings reserved for private bequests. Each painting included in this list was marked with the letter "R" for Sir Robert and "A" for Sir Alfred and signified which son was to receive the painting in question.[63]

The Cerasoli List of Paintings[64]

Left to Sir Robert (R) or Sir Alfred (A)	*Painting*	*Painter*	*Value in £*
R	St. Catherine	Luini	2500
R	Virgin & Child	Sodoma	800
A	Holy Family	Mantegna	10,000
A	Virgin & Child	Giovanni Bellini	3000
A	St. John the Baptist	Murillo	500
A	Virgin & Child	Ghirlandajo	1500
A	Head of St. Ann (drawing)	Leonardo da Vinci	500
R	Egyptian Hellenistic, Portrait with curly hair		1000
R	Egyptian Hellenistic, Portrait of a Lady with fair complexion		1000
R	Infant Christ & Infant St. John	Marco d'Oggionno	400
R	Coriolanus with Volumnia and Veturia	Genga (Signorelli)	300
A	Portrait of Giovanni Gritti	Tintoretto	150
			21,650

When the trustees of the National Gallery began discussing the selection of paintings from the Mond Bequest, they were surprised to learn from Sir Alfred Mond that such a list existed. It was not included in Ludwig Mond's last will from November 1908 and it even seemed to contradict Ludwig Mond's instructions that the trustees of the National Gallery would have free choice in their selection of paintings from the entire Mond Collection. The Cerasoli List of paintings was, furthermore, not signed by Ludwig Mond. Sir Alfred Mond suggested that the lack of Ludwig Mond's signature was to be explained by his weak health.[65] The missing signature as well as the failure to include this list into Ludwig Mond's official last will gave the trustees sufficient cause to dispute the validity of the Cerasoli List. In fact, the trustees eventually selected eight of the 12 paintings for the Mond Bequest to the National Gallery.

In the drawn-out negotiations that ensued, Sir Alfred Mond insisted that his and his brother's claim to paintings left to them by their father and their mother was if not legally at least morally valid. In a letter to Sir Charles Holmes, Sir Alfred Mond sought to explain the circumstances under which the Cerasoli List was composed. Mond wrote about his father's wishes:

> As he was parting with the most important and largest part of his Collection to the Nation he was desirous that my brother and myself should, at any rate, retain a small number of pictures each as a memento of a Collection we had lived with all our lives. He thereupon invited us to select six pictures each from his Collection. These pictures were duly selected and before the National Gallery List in his Codicil was drawn up, to which I may say he devoted considerable care, a list of the pictures destined for my brother and myself was drawn up and initialled by him on the 27th January, 1908.[66]

Sir Alfred Mond added that his "Father's health was, for the last few years of his life, very indifferent and he had to be kept quiet and troubled as little as possible with legal matters, and, unfortunately, his death occurred more suddenly than was anticipated."[67] Both claims seem dubious. If in fact the list of 12 paintings had been compiled before the list of paintings from which the trustees of the National Gallery were to select their bequest, it seems confusing that this second list still contained paintings that were part of the first list. The issue of Ludwig Mond's health is more complicated. He had experienced a heart attack on December 6, 1902. While this certainly impacted his health, Ludwig Mond continued

to lead a very active life over the next couple of years and he dealt with legal issues such as his last will. It seems that he increasingly relied on Sir Alfred Mond's support in these issues, but he was certainly not as incapacitated as his son tried to portray him in his letter. We should not forget that this letter was written with a particular agenda.

In his communications with the leader of the Conservatives, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, the fifth Marquess of Lansdowne, Sir Alfred Mond "expressed the hope that the question would not be dealt with entirely from the strictly legal point of view."[68] Lord Lansdowne was a curious choice for these negotiations. Although he was a trustee of the National Gallery, he had gotten into trouble when he decided in 1911 to sell his famous Rembrandt painting *The Mill* to the American Peter Arrell Brown Widener rather than to the National Gallery because the National Gallery was unable to raise the funds necessary to match his asking price of £295,000.[69] In his conversation with Sir Alfred Mond, Lord Lansdowne pointed out:

> Amongst the 24 pictures which had been claimed, either as given by Dr. Mond to his sons or as left to them by the late Mrs. Mond, were six which we regarded as of capital importance, besides eight which, though perhaps not equally valuable, were nevertheless up to the National Gallery standard and highly desirable as additions to our collection. I could not help thinking that it would be distasteful to the Mond family if the cream were to be skimmed off the Mond collection before it passes into the hands of the nation. If a number of the best pictures were to be excluded, we should be obliged, when making our selection, in order to make up the full number which we were compelled to take under the terms of the Codicil, to include third or fourth class pictures quite unworthy of a place in the Gallery.[70]

Even though Sir Alfred Mond recognized the "force of this argument," he insisted that the paintings from the Cerasoli List were left to him and his brother.[71] It should be pointed out that the 12 paintings claimed by Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond accounted only for a very small share of the Mond Collection. They represented only 14% of the value of their father's art collection. It was, as Christopher Coleman wrote in a letter to Charles Saumarez Smith, certainly not due to financial considerations. While Sir Alfred Mond might have gotten into some financial distress in the second half of the 1920s, Sir Robert Mond "was a man of great wealth and astonishingly generosity who continued to distribute largesse until the day he died. … He revered his father, had no need of six paintings to bolster his

finances and was not the sort of collector who would plunder his father's estate to extend his own diverse collections."[72] It was emotional reasons for which the two sons claimed these pictures and not financial reasons.

The trustees of the National Gallery, in response to the claims of the two sons of Ludwig Mond, insisted on access to the entire Mond collection. After more than a year of negotiations, the trustees of the National Gallery found a compromise with Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond. Forty-two paintings and drawings, including Raphael's so-called *Mond-Crucifixion* (£40,000) and Titian's *The Virgin and Child* (£10,000) were passed on to the gallery. Sir Alfred Mond retained as his private property Rubens' *Moonlight Landscape* (£800) and Canaletto's *Piazza of San Marco* (£150). In addition, Sir Robert Mond was permitted to keep for his lifetime the two panels by Cima representing *Saint Sebastian and Saint Mark* (£1200), and Sir Alfred Mond was allowed to keep for his lifetime Mantegna's *Imperator Mundi* (£10,000). These latter paintings were to be donated to the gallery after the death of both sons.[73] Upon the death of Sir Alfred's wife, Lady Melchett, in January 1946, the last of these paintings—Mantegna's *Imperator Mundi*—arrived at the National Gallery, making the Ludwig Mond bequest finally complete.[74]

Pictures Selected for the National Gallery by the Trustees of the National Gallery[75]

Number of Mond list	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
3	The Virgin and Child Enthroned	Gentile Bellini	4000
14	The Dead Christ Supported by Angels	Giovanni Bellini	4000
	The Virgin and Child	Giovanni Bellini	3000
13	The Virgin Adoring the Child with Saint Joseph	Fra Bartolomeo	5000
15	The Virgin and Child with Saint Paul and a Female Martyr	Francesco Bissolo	600
54	A Man in Profile	Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio	2000
17	A Saint with a Book	Michele Giambono	100
19	Four Scenes from the Early Life of Saint Zenobius	Sandro Botticelli	5000
18	Three Miracles of Saint Zenobius	Sandro Botticelli	5000

(*continued*)

(continued)

Number of Mond list	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
26	Head of an Angel	Correggio	200
25	Heads of Two Angels	Correggio	200
5	The Close of the Silver Age	Lucas Cranach the Elder	200
27	Saints Peter and Paul	Carlo Crivelli	500
29	The Adoration of the Kings	Dosso Dossi	1000
53	Saint Andrew	Gaudenzio Ferrari	?
	The Beheading of Saint Margaret	Gherardo di Jacopo Starnina	
	The Virgin and the Child with an Angel	Francesco Francia	800
	A Pagan Sacrifice	Benvenuto Tisi (Garofalo)	1500
45	Coriolanus Persuaded by his Family to Spare Rome	Luca Signorelli	600
	Salome	Giampietrino	
2	A Young Woman	Graeco-Roman	1000
1	A Man with a Wreath	Graeco-Roman	800
32	Portrait of Antonio (?) Correr	Gregorio Lazzarini	200
34	Caterina Penza	Alessandro Longhi	300
35	The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist	Bernadino Luini	2500
	Saint Catherine	After Bernadino Luini	2500
	The Virgin and Child	Domenico Ghirlandaio	
	Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness	Attributed to Bartolomé Esteban	
39	A Blonde Woman	Palma Vecchio	8000
7	Portrait of Alberto Pio	Bernardino Loschi	600
	A Discussion	Mirabello Cavalori	
	Justice	Gisueppe Porta (called Salviati)	
9	The Crucified Christ with the Virgin Mary, Saints and Angels	Raphael	40,000
	Saint Paul writing	Pier Francesco Sacchi	600
	Portrait of a Man in a Large Black Hat	Italian, North	
45	Esther before Ahasuerus, and Three Episodes from the Life of Saint Jerome	Luca Signorelli	600
	Saint Jerome in Penitence	Giovanni Antonio Bazzi	
48	The Virgin and Child	Titian	10,000
11	Portrait of a Man (Girolamo Fracastoro?)	After Titian	?

(continued)

Number of Mond list	*Description/name of painting*	*Name of painter*	*Value in £*
23	Saint Mark (?)	Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano	600
22	Saint Sebastian	Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano	600
	The Holy Family with Saint John	Andrea Mantegna	10,000
			112,000

Only 28 of the 42 paintings selected by the trustees of the National Gallery to form the Mond Collection came from Ludwig Mond's original list. Since Mond had given the trustees a free hand in selecting the paintings for the National Gallery, not just from the list he composed but from all paintings in his possession,[76] the trustees made liberal use of this right and selected 14 paintings from the Mond Collection that were not included in that list. The resulting Mond Bequest was, according to the inventory prepared by Mond's heirs, worth £112,000. That represented roughly 86% of the total value of the entire Mond Collection in London, which was worth about £130,000.[77] Contemporary art critics and art museum managers agreed that the Mond Collection was an extraordinary gift to the National Gallery. "The pictures which now come to the nation," wrote the art critique Roger Fry in 1924, "are of a kind which we could hardly have hoped to get by any other means."[78] And a press release of the National Gallery from May 1955 called the Mond Bequest "the most important bequest received by the National Gallery in this century."[79]

Wilhelm von Bode, the famous museum organizer from Berlin who had developed the principle of guided art collection and philanthropy in the 1890s, was less enthusiastic about the Mond Bequest. In his widely read review of the Mond Collection and of the catalogue authored by Jean Paul Richter, which was published in the influential *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* in 1910, Bode suggested that the National Gallery might not be the best place for these pictures. Some of the pictures were simply too small. And while there were some beautiful and valuable paintings among the Mond pieces, there were also several paintings by artists who were already exhibited in the National Gallery with much better works. The Mond paintings were in Bode's eyes less an enrichment of the National Gallery than contributors to its overcrowding with art objects. If the National Gallery would be filled with further similar donations, the gallery would

present a chaotic and tiresome display of art similar to the Louvre, and visiting this gallery would no longer be enjoyable. Bode felt strongly that the Mond pictures were better suited to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford or to similar museums at Cambridge or Liverpool.[80]

The publication of Bode's essay on the Mond Collection was received with stern consternation by Henriette Hertz, who felt compelled to write to the publisher of the journal, Artur Seemann, in Leipzig requesting the correction of mistakes made by Bode in his review. However, Hertz remained quiet on the main issue of Bode's charge against the placing of the Mond Bequest in the National Gallery. Instead, she accused Bode of providing misleading and denigrating information about Richter. Bode called Richter, for instance, a trader in art while Hertz insisted that Richter was an art historian. From Seemann's response it also becomes clear that Richter's wife had complained about the very same characterization of her husband's professional activities.[81]

American art critics saw, in contrast to Bode, the Mond Collection as an exemplary art collection of superb taste. When the American public learned about new initiatives to introduce export bans on art in several European countries, from Italy to England, the New York City-based journal *The Nation* published an editorial suggesting that such legislation was unwarranted. "As a matter of fact," the author of the editorial wrote, "we judge that the movement will simmer down to an organized expression of defiance to the American millionaire collector—a personage who hardly deserves such rough treatment. He has bought thousands of putative old masters at top prices, for every genuine example he has snapped up with the aid of his moneybags. For his few triumphs he has paid dearly." Praising the Mond collection, the author continued: "If we have had collectors of the grade of H. O. Havemeyer of this city, John G. Johnson of Philadelphia, and Mrs. John L. Gardner of Boston, no American collector has had the same fortunate combination of money, taste, and opportunity that has gone to make the galleries of Dr. Ludwig Mond in London or of the late Rodolphe Kann in Paris."[82]

The Gift to the Toronto Art Gallery

Since the National Gallery selected only 42 of the 90 paintings left by Ludwig Mond, Sir Robert Mond arranged with his brother's approval that 20 paintings, of which 12 had been included in the "List of Pictures Offered by Ludwig Mond to the Trustees of the National Gallery,"

were donated to the Toronto Art Gallery in the summer of 1926. These 20 paintings were together valued at about £1420 and were, as Sir Robert Mond readily admitted in a letter to Charles T. Currelly in July of 1926, "not first-class gallery pictures."[83] It was Currelly, archaeologist and organizer of the Royal Ontario Museum—with whom Sir Robert Mond had a long-lasting friendship because of their common interest in Egyptology and Sir Robert Mond's extensive support for the Royal Ontario Museum—who arranged for the transfer of these paintings to the Toronto Art Gallery. This art museum had been opened in 1910 in the Grange, a Georgian manor that Harriet Elizabeth Smith had bequeathed to the Toronto Art Museum Association for the purpose of creating an art gallery.[84] It seems that the organizers of the art gallery, Sir Edmund Walker and James Mavor, actively pursued the Mond brothers and tried to convince them to donate several of the paintings from Ludwig Mond's collection to their new institution. Both Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond were connected with Toronto's bourgeois society through their mining business in Sudbury, Ontario, and both had become active members of Toronto's philanthropic establishment. In an unsigned letter dated November 21, 1924, the author (probably Currelly) informed Sir Robert Mond about the successful fundraising campaign for the city's art gallery. He also hoped that Sir Robert and Sir Alfred might consider donating paintings from the Mond Collection towards this museum. "What would be most pleasing would be if you could pay a visit to Toronto and actually present the pictures yourself, … My whole idea is that the pictures will be of great advantage to Toronto and will be a lasting monument to your father, during whose lifetime the first relationship was opened up between England and our mining country. As such a relationship tends to become more and more removed from its founder, I should very much like there to be this memorial to your father in our great educational centre."[85]

In contrast to the bequest for the National Gallery in London, there were no strings attached to the Mond brothers' donation to the Toronto Art Gallery. Sir Robert Mond did not even insist on the permanent display of the paintings or on showing the paintings only as a closed collection. Instead he wrote: "I should be pleased if you would from time to time put on loan with the Toronto Art Gallery such of the pictures as the Museum and the Art Gallery Trustees between them would consider suits for exhibition there. The other pictures will serve admirably and be in their right place in decorating various halls and paneled rooms in the museum itself."[86]

List of Paintings from the Ludwig Mond Collection That Were Donated to the Toronto Art Gallery

Number in table The Mond Collection in London	*Painting offered to the National Gallery and rejected*	*Name of painter*	*Name of painting*	*Value in £ (according to Richter)*
6		Bartolomeo Bettera	Musical Instruments	40
17	X	Canaletto	Piazzetta in Venice	150
18		Canaletto	Vedute with Ruins	10
19		Canaletto	Vedute of an ancient Doorway	10
20	X	Carlevaris	Piazetta in Venice	150
24	X	Cittadini	Portrait Group—Man and Boy	150
47	X	Marco d'Oggionno	Salvator Mundi	50
59		Scarsellino	Portrait of a Lady	80
65		Tintoretto	Male Portrait Bust	150
70		Franc. Vecellio	Portrait Bust of a Venetian Gentleman	50
71		Franc. Vecellio	Portrait Bust of a Venetian Gentleman	50
72	X	Alv. Vivarini	A Holy Bishop	80
73		Zelotto	Cleopatra	100
76	X	Copy after Raphael	Separation of Land & Water	50
77	X	Copy after Raphael	Creation of Sun & Moon	50
78	X	Copy after Raphael	Creation of the Animals	50
79	X	Copy after Raphael	Creation of Eve	50
80	X	Copy after Raphael	Adam & Eve with the Serpent	50
81	X	Copy after Raphael	Adam & Eve driven from Paradise	50
82	X	Copy after Raphael	Adam & Eve with Cain & Abel	50
				1420

The Mond Room at the National Gallery

From the beginning, Ludwig Mond, supported by his son, Sir Alfred Mond, sought to guarantee that the paintings given to the National Gallery in London were shown only as a complete collection in a space of the gallery specifically dedicated to this purpose. Fearing that the Mond Collection for lack of exhibition space in the overcrowded National Gallery in London might be relegated to the storage rooms or to galleries outside of the National Gallery, Ludwig Mond had already in his last will offered to provide funding for the construction of an exhibition room for the Mond Collection. He insisted that this room should be used only and exclusively for the purpose of showing his collection. Lewis Harcourt, who was in charge of negotiating the Mond Bequest with the National Gallery, suggested in July 1907 that he "might get Mond to begin the erection of his own additional room to the National Gallery" before the collection would be transferred to the gallery. The room, Harcourt insinuated, could be used for other exhibitions in the interim.[87] Harcourt's suggestions met with strong resistance from Sir Alfred Mond, who represented his father in these negotiations. Construction of the room was finally postponed until after the death of Frida Mond and the actual transfer of the Mond Collection to the gallery.[88]

When the transfer of the Mond Collection became with the death of Frida Mond imminent, the trustees of the National Gallery found themselves between a rock and a hard place. As much as they wanted to receive the collection, they were unable to offer hanging space for the 42 Mond paintings. The gallery was very crowded, and some collections had already been relegated to the storage space or sent to other galleries such as the Tate Gallery. In a letter to Sir Lionel Earle, the permanent secretary to the Office of Works, the National Gallery's director Sir Charles Holmes pointed to the lack of exhibition space when he wrote:

> As you know, it is impossible for us to exhibit the Mond Collection here in existing conditions without removing to the Basement all the pictures in one of the only three rooms which we can devote to the Dutch School. It is inevitable that this displacement will be unpopular, not only because it will remove from the public view a considerable number of fine pictures which we certainly ought to show; but may have a still more detrimental effect upon the future of the institution, since many of the pictures so to be removed are recent bequests or donations. It is therefore, of importance for us that this removal should be only a temporary measure during the time

> that is needed for the provision of a new room, so I earnestly trust that you will be able to put the necessary machinery in progress during the present session of Parliament.[89]

When the trustees of the National Gallery settled the negotiations with the two Mond brothers and ceded to them the paintings by Rubens, Canaletto, and Cima, it was done with the expectation that the Mond family would shoulder a substantial part of the construction costs for the Mond Room at the National Gallery. Sir Alfred Mond's commitment to provide half of the funding needed to erect the Mond Room sealed the compromise reached between the National Gallery and the Mond heirs. He contributed £6000 towards the construction costs. The other half of the construction cost was provided by the government.[90] On January 12, 1928 the Mond Room was opened to the public with an informal ceremony.[91] Beforehand there occurred, according to Charles S. Smith, another heated controversy between Sir Alfred Mond and Sir Charles Holmes, who had succeeded Holroyd as the director of the National Gallery in 1916. "Apparently Mond himself and some of the Trustees wanted," according to Smith, "the room to be furnished in an opulent style, with furniture following the model introduced by Wilhelm von Bode in Berlin and reflecting the style in which the pictures had been displayed in The Poplars and in Melchett Court, Alfred Mond's grand neo-Renaissance mansion in Hampshire. But Holmes was opposed to the idea on the grounds that it would set 'a most dangerous precedent'."[92]

The fears of the Mond family that this Mond Room would be used to display paintings from the general collection of the National Gallery and not the Mond Collection proved unfortunately to be well founded. Already in the late 1930s, Sir Kenneth Clark, who became director of the National Gallery in 1934, "decided that the pictures could be displayed much more logically if they were integrated into the Collection as a whole."[93] In late 1938 Clark arranged for the temporary removal of three pictures from the Mond Room so that they could be included in a topical exhibition such as the one of the subject of Classical Antiquity in Renaissance painting. After Henry Ludwig Mond, second Baron Melchett, Sir Alfred Mond's son, complained about the removal of these paintings from the Mond Room, Clark sought to calm Melchett's exasperation on this move by writing: "I think you will agree that the public and scientific interest of these exhibitions is considerable and that it would be a great pity if the Mond Collection was prevented from contributing. After the

exhibition is over the pictures are returned to their places in the Mond Room."[94] Melchett recognized the dangerous precedent set by this move. There is no doubt that an organization of an art collection according to topic, time period, artists, or school of painting would have benefited the gallery and the audience. However, this was not the concern of Ludwig Mond or his descendants. His (and by extension his family's) desire was, as Lord Melchett clearly wrote in his letter to Clark, "that his collection of pictures should be kept together in one room to constitute as it were his memorial to posterity." And Lord Melchett strengthened his argument by reminding Clark that Mond had donated to many charitable and philanthropic causes in England and abroad. Yet, "he never attached his name to any of them except this."[95]

This conflict highlights two different models for modern society. The first model celebrates individuals and their achievements. Ludwig Mond as successful self-made man and industrialist had accomplished much in his life. From his patents for the recovery of sulphur to the building of a transnational enterprise with the Mond Nickel Company, Mond had reached exceptional success as a scientist and industrialist. He wanted his economic success, however, to be crowned by public recognition as an art connoisseur through the Mond Bequest to the National Gallery. As so many other patrons of the arts in North America and continental Europe, Ludwig Mond forwent the creation of his own art gallery since he hoped that the inclusion of his art collection into the National Gallery would result in a much wider recognition of his qualities as an art collector. Ludwig Mond shared with many other successful industrialists of his time the desire to be remembered not for his economic success but for his connoisseurship of art.

The second model of modern society, which puts the artwork itself before the donor, represents a society that celebrates artistic and by extension scientific accomplishments over the individuals who made these accomplishments possible through their philanthropic support. Not the art patron but the artist is seen at the center of society. In continental European museums such as the Art Museum of Leipzig, museum director Julius Vogel already felt compelled in 1912 to expel all signs of art patronage from his museum. Up until that time it had been customary for patrons to give not just paintings to the museum but also busts of the donors to provide a public memory bank of the philanthropic support provided by the city's bourgeois community. His decision to close down the Wohltäterhalle (Hall of Patrons) and to take away the busts and

paintings of the museum's donors angered Leipzig's philanthropic community, which had so long supported the museum only to see the disrespect paid to its donors. With Vogel's decision to cleanse the museum of philanthropic artifacts, the support basis for the museum among Leipzig's citizens weakened. As a result, the museum depended more and more on municipal support and thus became more and more an agency of the city.[96] A society that favors museums in which the donors are relegated to anonymity is a society that values art and science as abstract principles disconnected from financial considerations. Questions of funding and the relationship between funding and the creation of art and science do not matter in this second model.

It is clear from the very beginning that Ludwig Mond wanted to preserve his name in public memory by attaching his name prominently to one of the major public institutions in London. He insisted in his last will that his collection be named after him (Ludwig Mond Bequest). His two sons, Sir Robert and Sir Alfred Mond, furthered the inscribing of their father's and by extension their name into public memory by co-financing the construction of the Mond Room. When the first contact was established between Ludwig Mond and the National Gallery, the socially ambitious Sir Alfred Mond became involved in the ensuing negotiations. He saw in the bequest of his father towards the National Gallery an opportunity that would not only fulfill his father's dreams but also provide him essential support in attaining a higher social standing in English society. It was Sir Alfred Mond who had already raised on behalf of his ailing father in 1907 the question of whether a binding agreement about the future use of the Mond Room could be reached since "a private donor cannot very well be expected to build a gallery for his collection and at some future date the Trustees be empowered to disperse the collection by hanging them in different rooms and using the room provided for other pictures."[97]

While the trustees and the director of the National Gallery remained quiet with regard to the question of how the room would be used in the future when Ludwig Mond made his bequest and imposed these conditions in 1908, Sir Charles Holmes raised the possibility of dispersing the Mond Collection throughout the National Gallery in June 1924, only weeks after the death of Frida Mond. It is quite possible to interpret the silence on the side of the receivers of Mond's bequest as a strategy of "wait and see." This interpretation seems to have some credibility since the National Gallery Loan Act of 1883, which was invoked in the conflict over the future of the Mond Room and the Mond Collection in the

1950s, stated that gifts or bequests that were made under the condition that the art work "should be kept together" should not be lent to other institutions until 25 years have passed. After 25 years, it was implied, the art collections could be dispersed not just across the collection of the National Gallery but also across various art galleries.[98] If the administration of the National Gallery sought to limit its promise of keeping the Mond Collection together only for a limited period of time, the director Sir Charles Holroyd failed to inform Ludwig Mond of this legal limit or willingly left him in the dark. It is quite possible that the museum hoped that after 25 years no one would remember the conditions imposed on the Mond bequest.

In June 1924, when the National Gallery was involved in complicated negotiations with the heirs of Ludwig and Frida Mond about the collection of paintings donated to the gallery as well as the construction of the Mond Room, Sir Charles Holmes wrote to Sir Alfred Mond:

> The position for the Mond room, opening out of present Room VI, is one quite harmonious with the existing arrangement of the Gallery, and the trustees are most anxious in every way to meet the wishes of Sir Alfred Mond. They cannot of course commit for all time their successors who might conceivably desire in a remote future to exhibit the Schools in some other local order.[99]

And while Sir Alfred Mond twelve years later seemed to have accepted the inevitable dispersal of the Mond Collection's paintings throughout the gallery sometimes in the distant future, he was not prepared for this process to begin as early as 1938. Henry Ludwig Mond, Sir Alfred Mond's son, complained in his letter to Sir Kenneth Clark "that to abandon the integrity of the Mond Collection within 14½ years hardly fits in with the views expressed in Sir Charles Holmes' letter, and is of course quite contrary to the spirit and intent of the benefactor."[100]

The resistance of the Mond family, which continued to keep an eye on the handling of the Mond Bequest by the National Gallery, did not leave, however, a strong impression on the board of trustees of the National Gallery. In late 1943 Sir Kenneth Clark had already begun making plans for the dispersal of the Mond Collection after the reopening and reconstruction of the National Gallery after the end of the war. Fully aware that there "was a possibility of offending the feelings of the Mond family" and that such action could even repel future benefactors, he still "considered it

a risk worth taking."[101] When the trustees developed plans in 1944 for the reconstruction of the gallery, which had been damaged by German bombers in World War II, they suggested "that the present Mond Room be adapted for use as a special exhibition room. Recent experience has confirmed the value of changing exhibitions, where pictures can be shown in a new context and with a certain amount of comparative material." And the same draft continued: "Whether or not the Mond pictures should be kept together in another room is a question to be considered separately."[102]

The Conflict Over the Treatment of the Mond Collection Between the Mond Family and the National Gallery

After the war, relations between the National Gallery and the Mond family further deteriorated since the gallery director Sir Philip Hendy appeared to erase any publicly visible evidence of the Mond Bequest. When in August 1950 Lady Reading, the daughter of Sir Alfred Mond, who had died in December 1930, visited the National Gallery, she was very upset about the virtual disappearance of her grandfather's bequest and name. With the death of her brother, Henry Ludwig Mond, second Baron of Melchett, in January of 1949, his sister Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs, second Marchioness of Reading, felt responsible to protect her family's interest in the proper display of the Mond Bequest in the National Gallery. In her letter of complaint to Sir Philip she wrote:

> I visited the National Gallery last week and was very surprised to find that my grandfather's, Dr. Ludwig Mond's, collection was dispersed throughout the gallery, and the name of Mond was not even on the room which was built especially for the collection where now the Rembrandts are hanging. Is this possibly because the Gallery is not yet all in order again? I feel as the eldest surviving grandchild, that I am duty bound to recall to you that my grandfather did leave his paintings with the express wish that the collection be kept together. I should like to be assured that this is the ultimate intention of yourself and the Trustees.[103]

Sir Philip Hendy felt compelled to respond immediately. He reminded Lady Reading that the "tablet bearing the title MOND ROOM was destroyed during the War." And he continued to admit that "I am afraid its absence was not noticed until the redecoration of the Room was almost complete … The question of the return of the Mond Bequest pictures

to the Mond Room has by no means been forgotten. It was discussed at the last meeting of the Board of Trustees; but it was decided that it would have to be postponed until more of the Gallery could be opened to the public."[104] Hendy did not mention in his response that he and the trustees of the National Gallery were quietly investigating in how far they were still bound by the conditions of Ludwig Mond's last will. They had already developed plans for dispersing the Mond Collection throughout the National Gallery and to use the Mond Room for special exhibitions. The trustees posed essentially two questions to their legal experts: (1) Is the National Gallery required to keep the Mond Pictures together? and (2) Is the National Gallery obliged to use the Mond Room exclusively for housing and displaying the Mond Collection?[105]

Denys Burton Buckley, a barrister and son of the judge Henry Buckely Baron Wrenbury, provided the legal expertise for the National Gallery. In his Opinion, Buckley differentiated between a moral and a legal argument. With regards to the moral obligations of the National Gallery towards Ludwig Mond, Buckley wrote: "I feel no doubt that what the Testator wished was that his pictures should continue to be hung together and exhibited as one collection, and that the Mond Bequest should not be dispersed amongst the other pictures in the Gallery. The present proposals are, in my view, clearly in conflict with what Dr. Mond wanted and intended to make obligatory upon the Trustees." He continued by stating that according to English law only the Attorney General and not the Mond family had legal standing and could "prevent the Trustees from carrying their present proposals into effect." Buckley concluded his Opinion with the recommendation that "1. The Trustees can disperse the Mond pictures within the National Gallery but I think that the Attorney General should object if any of them were removed from the rooms normally open to the general public. 2. I do not think that the Trustees are bound to use the Mond Room for exhibiting the Mond pictures or any of them. I think that the room can be used for any purpose of the Gallery that the Trustees think fit."[106]

Based upon this legal advice, the trustees of the National Gallery felt emboldened to ignore the originally imposed conditions of the Mond Bequest and dispersed the collection throughout the gallery. Feeling ignored by the director of the National Gallery, Sir Philip Hendy, Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs and Julian E. A. Mond, third Baron Melchett did not give up on their insistence that the National Gallery adhere to the principles under which it received the Mond Bequest in 1924. In June

1956 Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs and Julian E. A. Mond wrote to Sir Philip Hendy in their "capacities as the direct descendants of the late Dr. Ludwig Mond, and also on behalf of other members of our family, in connection with the pictures which he gave to the National Gallery."[107] The Mond family made it very clear that they saw it as their moral obligation to enforce the conditions imposed by the donor onto the Mond Collection even half a century after Ludwig Mond's death.

Ludwig Mond's descendants had, however, as Buckley had pointed out, no legal standing. British society and culture had undergone significant transformations and Ludwig Mond's bequest with its conditions imposed upon the handling of his collection appeared outdated. The state had assumed more and more responsibilities for the funding of public institutions and donors were increasingly marginalized in this post–World War II state-centered society. The descendants of donors might have been in a position to keep an eye on the endowments created by their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers. If they noticed that the institution to which the gift was entrusted mishandled the endowment, the heirs had, however, little power to intervene. Neither British and continental European nor American law provided statutes that allowed descendants of donors to enforce restrictions and rules prescribed by those individuals who created endowments. Strings attached to donations became weaker and weaker with each decade and often were altogether forgotten or ignored by the managers in charge of such endowments.

The increasing distancing from a society based upon philanthropy that dominated all European societies after World War II contributed to the weakening of the hold donors had over their endowments from beyond the grave. In post–World War II societies, philanthropy appeared more and more as a relic of a premodern society, in which private individuals funded public institutions. Modern society, by contrast, relied on a taxpayer-funded infrastructure in which museums, schools, and hospitals were considered to be the responsibility of the state. Modern societies showed little respect for self-made men and philanthropists such as Ludwig Mond. His desire to have his collection shown in the National Gallery no longer seemed to fit social and cultural norms. Art collections were not to be organized according to who bought and who donated them but rather according to scholarly principles of chronology, artistic school, and artistic value.

Without having any legal power to enforce the wishes of their grandfather but highly interested in keeping the memory of their grandfather as

an art patron alive, Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs and Julian E. A. Mond, third Baron Melchett employed all their cultural capital and their political connections in an unsuccessful attempt to bring the director of the National Gallery to respect Ludwig Mond's wishes. These attempts were of course not selfless, since this bequest enhanced and advanced the standing of the entire Mond family, including his descendants who profited from the benevolence of Ludwig Mond in enjoying the prominence which it created. In their letter dated June 19, 1956, Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs and Julian E. A. Mond, third Baron Melchett complained:

> We have noted that nearly all of the exhibition rooms which have been closed to the public since 1939, have now been re-opened and that the pictures in the Gallery have been extensively re-hung. However, we are most disturbed to see that the Mond Collection has not been returned to The Mond Room and we should be most grateful if you would let us know what your immediate plans are in regard to the re-hanging of the Mond Collection and the future use of The Mond Room.[108]

The trustees and the director of the National Gallery seemed to have no intention of returning the Mond Collection to the Mond Room. While it seemed abundantly clear to the trustees "that Mond's intentions and wishes were that the whole Collection should be kept permanently on exhibition and substantially together, preferably in the special room built or at worst in one or more rooms adjoining and on the same floor," the trustees embraced the legal position that entitled them to disperse the Mond Collection throughout the entire National Gallery. This appears even more disturbing since the trustees referred to certain letters of past directors in which the Mond Room was referred to as "having been 'designed for a particular and unchangeable group of paintings."[109] The trustees, nevertheless, sought to negotiate the future fate of the Mond Collection with the very vocal representatives of the Mond family. In late September 1956, the trustees agreed that it would be better to find a commonly agreeable truce with the Mond family rather than further conflict. "It is suggested," reads an internal memorandum, "that at the proposed meeting with the Mond family it should be stressed that the whole arrangement of the Gallery is now on the basis of pictures being hung in their logical order and that the Trustees consider that to retain the Mond pictures together would be an unjustifiable anomaly."[110] This statement vividly reflects the changed attitudes among curators and museum man-

agers for whom the Mond Bequest and Ludwig Mond's pre–World War I request to keep the collection together had become an anachronistic anomaly.

In their attempt to avoid further conflict, the trustees were ready to offer a compromise that assured the Mond family of the continued commemoration of Ludwig Mond's contribution towards the advancement of the National Gallery. An inscription was to be placed within the Mond Room

> to the effect that Dr. Mond had contributed substantially to the cost, that for a time his pictures had been hung together there but, in accordance with the present hanging arrangement of the Gallery, are now dispersed throughout the Collection. A list of the pictures in some permanent form might also be placed in the room with possibly an indication against each picture of the rooms where each could now be seen. Possibly this inscription and list could be placed on some table or pedestal in the middle of the Mond Room.[111]

Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs and Julian E. A. Mond, third Baron Melchett were certainly not as agreeable to such a compromise as gallery director Charles S. Smith in his history of the Mond Collection (published in 2006) suggested. In October 1956, after having waited for a response to her letter for quite some time, Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs approached Sir Philip Hendy again and insisted that the conditions imposed upon his bequest by Ludwig Mond were "perfectly clear" and that she had come to understand from previous communications with the National Gallery that "it was only a question of time when they would be complied with."[112] Neither the National Gallery nor the British government was, however, interested in complying with the conditions imposed by Ludwig Mond on his bequest. The conflict between the National Gallery and the Mond family dragged on into the late 1960s. By then the National Gallery prided itself to have an art collection "which is arranged rationally and has no dead corners." The Mond Collection was not returned to the Mond Room and the number of paintings from the Mond Bequest actually displayed within the general collection of the National Gallery had decreased from 42 to 19.[113] By the 1960s, some of the Mond paintings were considered to be "outside the scope of the N.G., as it is now defined, other such pictures from the N.G. collection having been deposited with the British Museum or the V. & A. Museum."[114] These changes were not hidden from the public and caused some concern among art critics and art historians. In

February 1966 an editorial in *The Times Educational Supplement* raised the question of how strictly museum managers should adhere to benefactors' wishes.

> The Tate is accused of dismantling the Sargent Room in which it was an express condition that the portraits of J. S. Sargent should be permanently exhibited. The National Gallery has dispersed the Mond Benefaction pictures into the general collection, instead of keeping them in one room. J. M. W. Turner gave a landscape to the National Gallery on condition it should hang beside the Claude which had inspired it. These paintings have also been divorced."[115]

The editorial then demanded: "Our national galleries should regard themselves less as the privileged inhabitants of private utopias than as the servants of the public and executors of their benefactors' wishes."[116] The editorial highlighted a fundamental conflict inherent to all forms of philanthropy. Endowments and foundations were created at a certain moment in time. They addressed particular problems of that time period or reflected the artistic taste of that time. But while these problems went away over time and artistic taste changed, the endowments and foundations remained at least in theory bound by the statutes created by the benefactor at that particular historical moment. They, thus, became anachronistic.

By the 1960s the trustees' evaluation of the artistic value of the Mond Collection had dramatically shifted. Celebrated as a generous and important gift in 1924, the paintings appeared now in a very different light. Eighteen pictures were considered unworthy of being displayed on the Main Floor. They

> are not of a quality high enough for the Main Floor, half of them having been demoted, since the Bequest was made, in published works, including the official catalogue. To give a few obvious examples: Gentile Bellini's "Virgin and Child enthroned" (3911) has been found to be extensively repainted; "S. Catherine" (3936) to be a copy after Luini instead of an original; "The Virgin and Child with an Angel" (3927) has been scientifically shown to be a modern forgery after Francia; a "Portrait of a Man" (3949), formerly ascribed to Torbide, is now believed to be a copy after Titian.[117]

The conflict between the Mond family and the National Gallery continued into the 1990s when Richard Hornsby, a great-great-grandson of Ludwig Mond, voiced his concerns about the ways in which the memory

of Ludwig Mond and his bequest was systematically eradicated from the National Gallery. In a letter to the director of the National Gallery, Neil MacGregor, Hornsby reminded him:

> Obviously, as you know, the Mond family has had long-standing concerns about the dispersal of the Mond collection and even though we are aware that the Mond room has plaques in it, it is a very different impact from appreciating the actual collection of one man, which as we know was his wish. There is no focus on the man himself to which the public can be made sufficiently aware of. The lack of this focus makes the collection and Ludwig Mond disappear into oblivion—I do not really think that many people read plaques. … I have concluded in discussions with the family that what is still irksome is there is no satisfactory way to draw the Public's attention to the benefactor himself. We therefore thought that the Gallery might consider putting a statue of Dr. Mond somewhere appropriate in the Sainsbury wing.[118]

It seems that the Mond family had come to accept the gallery board's decision to disperse the paintings from the Mond Bequest across the general collection. Hornsby was, however, not willing to accept that the Mond Room also was to disappear from the public memory. "Simply calling (it) the Mond Room," Hornsby wrote in July 1997, "means nothing to the public nor conjures any meaningful image in the mind."[119] After successive directors of the National Gallery had so successfully ignored and circumvented the strings attached to the Mond Bequest, MacGregor was not willing to change course. Responding to the suggestion of displaying a bust of Ludwig Mond in the gallery, MacGregor simply wrote: "On the subject of the statue, I fear that it does not seem to be a practical possibility within the confines of the National Gallery where all the public spaces are enormously crowded."[120] The National Gallery, as art historian Michael Hall had aptly observed, was in the eyes of MacGregor "a museum of the history of art" and no longer a museum dedicated to the history of art collecting and art collectors.[121]

Deeply dissatisfied with the mishandling of the Mond Bequest by the National Gallery, Hornsby threatened to sue the gallery and even demanded the return of the Mond Bequest to the family in 2002.[122] He publicly charged the gallery with ignoring the conditions Ludwig Mond had imposed upon his bequest and with eradicating any trace of memory about the original designation of the Mond Room. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the National Gallery had not only dispersed Ludwig

Mond' paintings across the general collection, it had also relegated 17 paintings to storage and 12 paintings to an exhibition that was open to the public only one day per week. Hornsby's threat attracted widespread media attention but it did not force the National Gallery to shift course since the Mond family had very little legal means to enforce the conditions imposed by Ludwig Mond onto his bequest. An inscription at the Mond Room telling the story of how it came into existence as well as the promise that "most of the Mond Collection should be displayed" was all what remained at the end of the day from Ludwig Mond's great gift to the British nation.[123]

The conflict between the Mond family and the National Gallery impacted the British culture of giving since it made donors realize that institutions might not respect their last wishes. And descendants stripped of legal power to enforce the wishes of their parents and grandparents could not fulfill the function of guardians. Responding to this challenge, Sir Denis Mahon developed a legal construct that permitted him to enforce the conditions imposed upon his bequest even after his death in 2011. Instead of giving his collection of Italian paintings directly to a museum, he decided to create the National Art Collection Fund (NACF) as a foundation to which he would then bequeath his paintings, which were estimated to be worth about £25 million. The NACF, in turn, was to permanently lease the paintings to various galleries preselected by Mahon. In order to receive paintings on loan, galleries had to accept a set of rules. The most important rule was that galleries that accepted paintings from the NACF were not allowed to sell any of their pictures. If they broke the rule, the painting from the NACF would be recalled and given to another museum that was willing to adhere to the wishes of the donor.[124]

Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz's Collaborative Gift to the German Nation: The Bibliotheca Hertziana

With the two art collections—the Mond Collection in London and the Hertz Collection in Rome—being given to the British and the Italian nations, respectively, Ludwig Mond was indirectly responsible for another gift to the German nation: the Bibliotheca Hertziana. Mond's enthusiasm for Italian art, and the difficulties of exporting Renaissance paintings to England from Italy, caused Mond and his extended family, including

Henriette Hertz, to spend more and more time in that country. Jean Paul and Louise Richter, who had moved to Venice in 1884, according to Jean Goodman, author of *The Mond Legacy*, again "acted as guides and introduced them to many interesting and distinguished Italian friends" in the second half of the 1880s.[125] And while Ludwig Mond's business partner Brunner began his political career in 1885 with his election to Parliament as a Liberal, Mond dedicated himself increasingly to philanthropic projects that benefited not just one country but Western European civilization. Mond set himself apart very clearly from other successful businessmen who were "filling the fine houses of London with Leightons and Tademas," and who coveted "the peerages which England so discretely gives to those foreigners who are willing to enrich her. Neither the honours nor the social achievements affected Ludwig Mond."[126] He symbolized the transnational pre–World War I bourgeois citizen with business and leisure interests that did not fit into the straitjacket of one nation. The Monds were, as Goodman so aptly observed, "Europeans at heart."[127] Their travels to Italy became more frequent and soon turned into an annual ritual for the Mond family. It was, however, not retirement Ludwig Mond was seeking in the Mediterranean; travels in Italy were part of his activities as a businessman and more importantly as an art patron.

After having spent three winters in Florence, in 1887 the Monds "moved to Rome and on one of their endless explorations of the city they came upon a derelict little wedge-shaped palazzo near the top of the Spanish Steps and promptly fell in love with it."[128] It was the palazzo of the painter Frederico Zuccaro that had for centuries been the home of famous artists and poets, including Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. When Frida Mond learned that her beloved poet Goethe had once stayed there, she fell in love with the building and asked her husband to lease it.[129] The palazzo became the second home of the extended Mond family, including Henriette Hertz, in whose name Ludwig Mond finally acquired it in 1904.[130]

The palazzo also became a center of cultural life, with visitors and guests from far away and from close by. The German composer and conductor Siegfried Wagner (the son of the famous composer Richard Wagner), the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio, and the English painter Sigismund Goetze, whose sister Violet became the wife of Sir Alfred Mond in 1892 were among the prominent guests.[131] The eminent historian Paul Deussen, who developed a deep friendship, and possibly even a romantic relationship, with Henriette Hertz, to whom he dedicated sev-

eral romantic poems, briefly joined this circle when he visited Rome and Hertz in 1903.[132] He was, however, just one of many great thinkers at the beginning of the nineteenth century who felt attracted to the intellectually stimulating Hertz and her hospitality.[133] The German-English poet and author Mathilde Blind was one of the artists invited by Ludwig Mond when she traveled in Italy. She was the sister of Ferdinand Cohen-Blind, who on May 7, 1866 in an attempt to prevent the coming of the civil war between Prussia and Austria tried to assassinate Otto von Bismarck. After his arrest, he took his life in prison.[134] The Monds felt very close to Blind and supported not only the publication of her poetical works in 1900 by the poet and literary critique Arthur Symons, who had been among the frequent house guests of the Monds at their Winnington and London homes, but also paid for a monument for her resting place when she died in 1896.[135] When Frieda Mond died in 1923, she charged her two sons to care for this monument.[136]

The acquisition of the palazzo and the source of the money with which it had been bought has been the subject of much misinterpretation and speculation with the publication of Julia L. Rischbieter's biography of Henriette Hertz. While Rischbieter acknowledged that Ludwig and Frida Mond made all decisions together with Hertz and that the activities of these three individuals can hardly be separated, Rischbieter insisted in claiming that it was Hertz who bought the palazzo with her own money.[137] Rischbieter's claim not only contradicts the existing secondary literature on this topic but also does not find sufficient support in the primary source evidence.

All of the existing accounts about the Mond family relate a similar story in which Ludwig Mond is credited with the acquisition of the palazzo. Robert Mond wrote, in his preface to the Hertz Collection edited by Jean Paul Richter in 1928 about the acquisition of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, that his father had bought the palazzo in 1904 and then entrusted it to the architect Mariano E. Cannizzaro, since the building was in dire need of reconstruction. Mond continued: "Upon completion, my father presented this whole block of buildings to Miss Hertz."[138] Hector Bolitho in his biography of Alfred Mond (1933) wrote that the Monds bought the palazzo "eagerly, like children." [139] In his account, Henriette Hertz is not even mentioned. And John Michael Cohen in his *Life of Ludwig Mond* (1956) wrote that the "Palazzo was at first leased and then bought in Miss Herz's name. But the large music room, the pictures and furniture, were all of Ludwig Mond's buying, and here he gathered round him a circle

that he owed in part to his own scientific eminence and in part to his wife's and Miss Herz's patronage of the arts."[140]

We do not know whether Henriette Hertz even had sufficient financial resources to buy this property and to finance its extensive renovation. The Monds installed a lift, central heating, and modern conveniences.[141] While Ludwig Mond acknowledged that Hertz belonged to those individuals who had invested in his enterprise in the early days and, thereby, might have gained a significant fortune, it is not clear how wealthy or poor Hertz was by 1904. Mond felt compelled to intervene in the inheritance matters of Hertz's parents and even had to take responsibility for the shares of some of Henriette Hertz's siblings. It is clear that Hertz was part of the Mond family and that there were no clear lines with regards to the budgets available to Ludwig and Frida Mond and Henriette Hertz. There is simply not enough evidence to convincingly prove that it was in fact Henriette Hertz who had the financial means to purchase the palazzo. Given the very close relationship between Henriette Hertz and Ludwig Mond and the integration of Henriette Hertz into the Mond family, it might be best to assume that the acquisition, renovation, and collection of art and books for the building was a collective enterprise, in which ideas and money came from all people involved.

It was not just the acquisition of the palazzo that required significant financial means but also its renovation and updating. The palazzo was in bad shape and needed repairs as well as modernization. Mond bought, in addition to the palazzo, two adjacent buildings that were integrated and equipped with modern amenities (water, gas, electricity, phone, and an elevator). The architect selected for this herculean task was with Mariano E. Cannizzaro, the son of his Italian chemist friend Stanislao Cannizzaro, in whose honor Mond had created the Cannizzaro Prize in 1896. Mariano Cannizzaro was later also entrusted with building the Mond Mausoleum at St. Pancras Cemetery in London.[142]

After the renovation of the palazzo was concluded, Hertz established an art and art history library here. She contributed about 2000 books to this library. One thousand books came from Frida Mond. And 3000 books were later added by the art historian and first director of the Bibliotheca Hertziana Ernst Steinmann. Her secretary, Giuseppe Maria Perrone, was charged with organizing and cataloguing the quickly growing collection of books. Book shelves were installed on the ground floors of the palazzo in the winter of 1910–1911.[143]

Hertz developed, according to Jean Paul Richter, plans to create an institute for art history in the renovated Palazzo Zuccari already in early 1905. During a stroll on February 19, 1905, Hertz discussed with Ludwig Mond and Jean Paul Richter her idea of creating such an institute and asked Richter for his support.[144] In May 1905, the director of the Ducal Museum in Schwerin, Ernst Steinmann, whom Hertz had first met in Florence in 1894 and for whom she had developed motherly feelings, was invited to breakfast with Hertz and Mond. This breakfast meeting could have been the starting point of more concrete plans for the art history institute and the involvement of Steinmann, who helped shape the institute and became its first director in 1913.[145] Beginning in 1908, Hertz entered into negotiations with Theodor Lewald from the ministry of the interior about donating her library to the German government. In her letter of April 8, 1910, Hertz offered the German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg the donation of a library of art history consisting of 6000–7000 volumes and 10,000–12,000 pictures in the rooms of the Palazzo Zuccari. Since the building was to become property of the Italian state, Hertz also provided an endowment of £10,000 (=200,000 marks) to pay for rent and maintenance of the rooms. Hertz insisted that Ernst Steinmann would become the first director of this new institute. This institute, which Hertz wanted to be named "The Roman Institute for the History of Art," was to be open to scholars of all nations. Hertz hoped that her institute would serve especially as a transnational bridge for academic exchange between Italy and Germany.[146]

Hertz's plans did, however, not meet with universal approval. German scholars and government officials were concerned about the founding of a third German research institute—aside from the archaeological institute and the Prussian Historical Institute—in Rome. The most vocal opponent of the new institute was the director of the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, Paul Fridolin Kehr, who simply considered Hertz's library as unwanted competition.[147] Steinmann's suggestion that the Prussian Historical Institute was limiting its art history section to the Medieval period while the Bibliotheca Hertziana would focus on the Renaissance and Baroque did not sit well with Kehr. Kehr argued that another German institution in Rome might be simply too much for the sensible Italians.[148] He therefore suggested creating the library as an international rather than as a national institution with a revolving directorship. The directors were to come successively from the five nations that were currently pursuing actively research in Rome—Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, and

Spain.[149] Since such a proposal did not find support with either Lewald or Hertz, Kehr suggested that the library could become an integral part of the Prussian Historical Institute.[150] Initial support for this idea dissipated quickly and by September 1910 Hertz had revoked her offer.[151]

The involvement of Ludwig Mond in the founding of the Chemical Research Institute in Germany and Sir Robert Mond's membership in the Emperor Wilhelm Society seemed to have paved the way for an alternative solution with regard to the future of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. In February 1912, Steinmann approached the president of the Emperor Wilhelm Society, Adolf von Harnack, and offered the library to this recently (in 1910) founded society. Hertz, who was already in failing health, increased her offer by including the building into her donation. Although sympathetic to the idea, Harnack was not overjoyed by this tremendous gift since he shared, according to Doreen Tesche, many of Kehr's concerns about the founding of the Bibliotheca Hertziana. Hertz's enthusiasm for art and art history was, in the eyes of Kehr and Harnack, the enthusiasm of a lay person with no academic training. The result of Hertz's activities was for both Kehr and Harnack at best an eclectic book collection and at worst a curiosity cabinet directed by a scholar (Steinmann) whose academic credentials appeared, at least in their eyes, questionable. Kehr went even so far as to suggest that Harnack should find a way to reject the donation. In the end, Harnack felt that he had little choice other than to accept the offer according to which Hertz left with her last will, dated September 18, 1912, the palazzo, her library, and two endowments—one in Italy of 50,000 lira and one in England of £12,500 to the Emperor Wilhelm Society.[152]

To strengthen the connection between Hertz and the Emperor Wilhelm Society, Harnack invited Hertz to become a member of the society. Hertz agreed in principle but insisted that some time had to pass between her donation and her becoming a member. It was not financial considerations—the initiation fee was with 20,000 marks rather steep[153]—but concerns about appearance. Hertz postponed the membership issue to late 1912. She finally became, shortly before her death, the fourth female member—the other three were Elise Königs (Berlin), Clara von Guilleaume (Cologne), and Elise Wentzel-Heckmann (Berlin)—of this prestigious research funding society.[154]

World War I brought about the closing of the German institution and its confiscation by the Italian government. And while Steinmann was able to return to Rome in 1920, the Bibliotheca Hertziana was officially

returned to the Emperor Wilhelm Society only in 1923. The institution suffered, according to Kurt Düwell, in the years of confiscation by the Italian state the loss of many of its paintings that had been acquired by Hertz. They were relocated to the hallways of Benito Mussolini's residence: the Palazzo Venezia.[155] During the 1920s this library developed into a major hub for research about Renaissance art by German doctoral students supported by fellowships endowed by Frida Mond. The library grew to more than 28,000 volumes and 25,000 photographs by the early 1930s.[156] German and Italian publishers such as Baedecker and Klinkhardt & Biermann as well as Danesi and Bestetti & Tumminelli supported the expansion of this collection by regularly sending copies of their books as donations. And Johanna Arnold, the wife of the well-known philanthropist Eduard Arnhold, continuously provided funding for the Bibliotheca Hertziana after it had lost with Frida Mond the last of its founders.[157]

Notes

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2. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, pp. 12–13.
3. Ibid., p. 13. See also: Jean Goodman, Jean. *The Mond Legacy: A Family Saga*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1982, p. 46.
4. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, p. 14.
5. Thomas Adam, *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s*, Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 2009.
6. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, pp. 8–9.
7. Jean Paul Richter, *The Mond Collection: An Appreciation*, London: John Murray 1910, pp. 44–45.
8. Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Morelli, Freud, and Sherlock Holmes", in: Umberto Eco and Thomas A. Sebeok (eds.), *The Sign of Three: Dupin, Holmes, Peirce*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1983, pp. 81–82.
9. Ibid., p. 82. See also: Dietrich Seybold, *Das Schlaraffenleben der Kunst: Eine Biografie des Kunstkenners und Leonardo da Vinci-Forschers Jean Paul Richter (1847–1937)*, Munich: Wilhelm Fink 2014, pp. 64–75.
10. Roger Fry, "The Mond Pictures in the National Gallery", in: *The Burlington Magazine* 44 (May 1924), p. 234.
11. Ibid.
12. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, p. 9.

13. Ibid.
14. For the Eastlake family see: Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation: The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World*, London/New Haven: Yale University Press 2011.
15. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, p. 10.
16. Goodman, *The Mond Legacy*, p. 46.
17. Richter, *The Mond Collection*, p. 39.
18. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, pp. 15–16.
19. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/1: LIST OF PICTURES LEFT BY TH ELATE DR. LUDWIG MOND DATED JANUARY 6, 1911.
20. Olaf Matthes, *James Simon: Mäzen im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter*, Berlin: Bostelmann & Siebenhaar 2000, pp. 138–178.
21. Dietrich Seybold, "Il desiderio di un 'brano di vera anima dell'umanità'. Per una breve storia della collecione Hertz", in: Sybille Ebert-Schifferer and Anna Lo Bianco (eds.), *La donazione di Enrichetta Hertz 1913–2013. "Segno del mio amore verso il paese che io tengo in sìalta stima"*, Rome: SilvanaEditoriale 2013, pp. 27–43; Rischbieter, *Henriette Hertz*, p. 94.
22. Richter, *The Mond Collection*, pp. 38–39; Seybold, "Il desiderio di un 'brano di vera anima dell'umanità'."
23. Archive of the Bibliotheca Hertziana: Hertziana Allgemein 30/2 (Letter of Jean Paul Richter dated August 5, 1909).
24. Richter, *The Mond Collection*, p. 38.
25. Fry, "The Mond Pictures", p. 234.
26. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: GENERAL PRESS RELEASE FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY: FRANCIA'S "VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH AN ANGEL" AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY dated May 12, 1955.
27. NG 14/51/8: GENERAL PRESS RELEASE FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY: FRANCIA'S "VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH AN ANGEL" AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY dated May 1955.
28. Charles Saumarez Smith, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest: A Gift to the Nation*, London: The National Gallery 2006, p. 9.
29. Ibid., p. 8.
30. Alfred Walter Soward, *Handbook to the Estate Duty (Finance Acts, 1894 & 1896). A Manual of Law and Practice*, London: Waterlow & Sons 1896, pp. 98, 187; Henry E. Smith, *Hanson's Death Duties (Tenth Edition)*, London Sweet & Maxwell Limited 1956, pp. 171–203.
31. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, p. 45.
32. Ibid., p. 20.
33. Ibid., p. 21.
34. Ibid., pp. 21–22.

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36. Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, p. 34.
37. Ibid.
38. Amalie Weidner, *Kulturgüter als res extra commercium im internationalen Sachenrecht*, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 2001, pp. 24–28, 31–32; Marc Weber, *Unveräußerliches Kulturgut im nationalen und internationalen Rechtsverkehr*, Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 2002, pp. 228–231.
39. Archive of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Hertziana allgemein 29/2 (letter by Jean Paul Richter dated March 25, 1889).
40. Seybold, "Il desiderio di un 'brano di vera anima dell'umanità'."
41. Robert Mond, "prefazione", in: Jean Paul Richter, *La collezione Hertz e gli affreschi di Giulio Romano nel Palazzo Zuccari*, Rome 1928, p. 2.
42. Seybold, *Das Schlaraffenland der Kunst*, pp. 220–223.
43. Günter Schwabe, "Henriette Hertz (1846–1913)", in: *Rheinische Lebensbilder* vol. 17 ed. by Franz-Josef Heyen, Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt Verlag 1997, p. 141; Doreen Tesche, *Ernst Steinmann und die Gründungsgeschichte der Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rom*, Munich: Hirmer Verlag 2002, p. 107.
44. Seybold, *Das Schlaraffenland der Kunst*, pp. 219–220; Richter, *Recollections of Dr. Ludwig Mond*, p. 41.
45. Rischbieter, *Henriette Hertz*, 97.
46. Ibid., pp. 163–164.
47. Smith, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest*, p. 11.
48. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 7/330/4: Letter of Lewis Harcourt to Sir Charles dated July 19, 1907.
49. List of Pictures left by the late Dr. Ludwig Mond dated July 9, 1910.
50. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/3: Last Will of Ludwig Mond dated November 26, 1908, p. 21.
51. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/3: Last Will of Ludwig Mond dated November 26, 1908, pp. 25–27.
52. A great example for this change is the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. See: Winifred E. Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* vol. II: 1905–1941, New York: Columbia University Press 1946, pp. 56–96.
53. Archive of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Hertziana allgemein 29/5: Letter by Jean Paul Richter dated July 11, 1906.
54. Tina Whitaker, *Sicily & England: Political and Social Reminiscences 1848–1870*, London: Archibald Constable & Co. 1907, p. 209.

55. Archive of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Hertziana allgemein 30/3: letter by Jean Paul Richter dated September 7, 1910.
56. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/6: CORRESPONDENCE REALTING TO THE MOND COLLECTION, letter addressed to Mr. Harcourt dated July 22, 1907.
57. Smith, *Ludwig Mond Bequest*, pp. 9–10.
58. Jamie Camplin, *The Rise of the Plutocrats: Wealth and Power in Edwardian England*, London: Constable 1978, p. 157.
59. Ibid.
60. Peter Alter, "German-speaking Jews as Patrons of the Arts and Sciences in Edwardian England", in: Werner E. Mosse (ed.), *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 1991, pp. 209–219.
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62. Last Will of Friderike Mond dated August 4, 1923, clause 10.
63. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14 51 2, Declaration of A.Cerasoli Esquire 1913.
64. Declaration—of—A. Cerasoli Esquiro December 16, 1913 with attached List of Pictures Enumerated on A. Cerasoli's List (for Mr. Robert and Sir Alfred Mond), which have been Included in Dr. Richter's Valuation List (November 28, 1913).
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66. Letter of Sir Alfred Mond to Sir Charles Holmes dated June 28th, 1923, p. 2.
67. Ibid., p. 3.
68. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14 51 2, Lord Lansdowne's account of his interview with Sir Alfred Mond 17 July 1923, p. 1.
69. Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority 1890–1939*, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press 2010, pp. 130–131; Helen Rees, "Art Exports and the Construction of National Heritage in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Great Britain", in: Neil De Marchi and Craufurd D. W. Goodwin (eds.), *Economic Engagements with Art* (Annual Supplement to Volume 31 *History of Political Economy*), Durham and London: Duke University Press 1999, pp. 196–199.
70. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14 51 2, Lord Lansdowne's account of his interview with Sir Alfred Mond 17 July 1923, pp. 12–3.
71. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/2: Lord Lansdowne's account of his interview with Sir Alfred Mond dated July 17, 1923. For a

detailed account of the entire conflict see: Smith, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest*, pp. 13–20.

72. Letter of C. H. D. Coleman to Dr. C. Saumarez Smith dated March 13, 2006, p. 4.
73. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/2: TERMS OF SETTLEMENT AGREED BETWEEN THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY AND THE EXECUTORS OF DR. LUDWIG MOND.
74. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES CONCERNING THE MOND BEQUEST, entry under January 31, 1946.
75. Smith, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest*, pp. 23–26.
76. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/3: Last Will of Ludwig Mond dated November 26, 1908, p. 21.
77. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/1: LIST OF PICTURES LEFT BY THE LATE DR. LUDWIG MOND dated January 6, 1911 and PICTURES INCLUDED IN THE LIST OF THE MOND COLLECTION. FORWARDED BY THE EXECUTORS TO SOMERSET HOUSE. JANUARY 5TH, 1911, BUT OMITTED FROM THE LIST FORWARDED BY SIR A. MOND IN JUNE 1923.
78. Fry, "The Mond Pictures", p. 234.
79. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: GENERAL PRESS RELEASE FROM THE NATIONAL GALLERY: DISCOVERY OF A FORGERY AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY.
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81. Archive of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Hertziana allgmeine 30/6 (letter addressed to Henriette Hertz dated August 24, 1911; undated latter to E. A. Seemann).
82. *The Nation* Thursday November 1, 1906 (vol. 83, No. 2157), p. 361.
83. Letter of Sir Robert Mond to Charles Trick Currelly dated July 29, 1926 with attached list of 20 Paintings from the MOND COLLECTION handed over to Mr. Thomas Sutton for dispatch to the Toronto Museum Art Gallery, Canada.
84. Adam, *Buying Respectability*, pp. 25–26, 121–125.
85. Unsigned Letter (probably from Charles T. Currelly) addressed to Robert Mond dated November 21, 1924.
86. Letter of Sir Robert Mond to Charles Trick Currelly dated July 29, 1926.
87. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/6: CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE MOND COLLECTION, letter to Sir Charles dated July 26, 1907.

88. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/3: Last Will of Ludwig Mond dated November 26, 1908, p. 21–22.
89. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: letter from C. J. Holmes to Sir Lionel Earle dated June 17, 1924.
90. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/4: MEETING OF SUB-COMMITTEE OF TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY WITH SIR ALFRED MOND, JUNE 4TH, 1924.
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92. Smith, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest*, p. 21.
93. Ibid.
94. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: Letter of Sir Kenneth Clark to Lord Melchett dated December 19, 1938.
95. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: Letter of Lord Melchett to Sir Kenneth Clark dated December 15, 1938.
96. Brunhilde Rothbauer, "Vom Stiftermuseum zur modernen Kunstsammlung:Bausteine zur Sozialgeschichte der Kunststiftungen in Leipzig," in Christina Ossoski (ed.), *150 Jahre Museum der Bildenden Künste Leipzig 1837–1987*, Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste 1987, p. 30; Thomas Adam, "Die Kommunalisierung von Kunst und Kultur als Grundkonsens der deutschen Gesellschaft ab dem ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert", in: *Die Alte Stadt* 26 no. 2 (1999), p. 92.
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100. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: Letter of Lord Melchett to Sir Kenneth Clark dated December 15, 1938.
101. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES CONCERNING THE MOND BEQUEST entry under November 11, 1943.
102. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: NOTE ON RECONSTRUCTION (1944), p. 2.
103. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: Letter of Lady Reading to Sir Philip dated August 8, 1950.
104. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: Letter of Sir Philip Hendy to Lady Reading dated August 11, 1950.

105. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: re: THE MOND BEQUEST TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY: OPINION by Denys B. Buckley dated May 1, 1951.
106. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/8: re: THE MOND BEQUEST TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY: OPINION by Denys B. Buckley dated May 1, 1951.
107. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: letter from Lady Reading and Lord Melchett to Sir Philip Hendy dated June 19, 1956.
108. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: letter from Lady Reading and Lord Melchett to Sir Philip Hendy dated June 19, 1956.
109. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: MOND BEQUEST dated September 27, 1956.
110. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: MOND BEQUEST dated September 27, 1956.
111. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: MOND BEQUEST dated September 27, 1956.
112. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: letter of Lady Reading to Sir Philip dated October 31, 1956.
113. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: Memorandum: The following pictures make up the complete Mond Bequest: 1924.
114. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: letter from Sir Philip Hendy to Harold F. Rossetti dated November 24, 1966 (draft).
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116. Ibid.
117. Archive of the National Gallery London, NG 14/51/9: letter from Sir Philip Hendy to Harold F. Rossetti dated November 24, 1966 (draft). This passage is erased from the final letter.
118. Letter of Richard Hornsby to Neil MacGregor dated May 30th, 1997.
119. Letter of Richard Hornsby to Mr. Philip Hughes, Chairman National Gallery dated July 8th, 1997.
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127. Goodman, *The Mond Legacy*, p. 51; Gwyn M. Bayliss, "The Outsider: Aspects of the Political Career of Alfred Mond, First Lord Melchett (1868–1930)", PhD thesis University of Wales 1969, p. 18.
128. Goodman, *The Mond Legacy*, p. 51.
129. Ibid., p. 52.
130. Ibid.; Schwabe, "Henriette Hertz (1846–1913)", p. 143.
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CHAPTER 4

Transnational Giving in the Age of National Confrontation: Ludwig Mond's Bequests for the University of Heidelberg, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, and the City of Cassel

The Impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Transnational Philanthropy

The success of his chemical business allowed Ludwig Mond to support members of his extended Mond/Hertz family as well as to give money for charitable and philanthropic purposes. Mond's financial transactions were not limited to Great Britain but spanned Western Europe. He supported the arts and sciences in England, Germany, and Italy. His donations created a transnational space that was connected by the travels of Mond, Richter, and Hertz; the financial transactions to acquire art objects or to support artists; and the establishment of collections, endowments, and institutions. Regional laws, as for instance in the case of Italy, which made the export of Renaissance art nearly impossible, were both a reason for and an obstacle to the creation of this transnational space. Provincial laws in Italy forced Mond to entertain the idea of creating a second location for his art collection within Italy rather than bringing the paintings

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to London. Those laws—a unified national law that banned the export of art objects emerged only in 1902[1]—created a stumbling block for the assembling of a single transnational Mond art collection in London. At the same time, it provided an incentive for Mond to create a transnational space through the acquisition of the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome that was to house a part of his art collection. It further served as a second home for the extended Mond family and was turned into a meeting place for artists, scholars, and politicians from across Europe.

The ease with which the Palazzo Zuccari was transferred from Henriette Hertz to the Emperor Wilhelm Society in late 1912 is testament to the established tradition of transnational philanthropy in pre-1914 Europe. Such transactions were unhindered by the Italian, English, and German governments and resulted in the creation of foundations and endowments that operated across the borders of individual nation-states and were located in places outside of the donor's home country. World War I and rampant nationalism put an end to this tradition.

Steeped in the prewar transnational culture and probably thinking that neither the British nor the German government would interfere with his transnational donations, Ludwig Mond decreed in his last will that the University of Heidelberg was to receive an endowment totaling £50,000 (=1 million marks), the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich £20,000 (=400,000 marks), and the City of Cassel £20,000 (=400,000 marks). World War I and the Treaty of Versailles caused the British government to seize these endowments and to use these funds as compensation for the loss of English property confiscated during the war by the German government. Transnational philanthropy thus became collateral damage in the war. While the extent to which German direct investments in Great Britain were confiscated by the British government during and after World War I has been investigated by Antje Hagen, the extent to which transnational giving was affected by this British legislation remains to be explored.[2]

Mond's gift of £50,000 to the University of Heidelberg was intended to further research in the natural sciences, and in chemistry and physics in particular. This endowment was to provide "rewards for new discoveries and pecuniary assistance (including scholarships) to persons pursuing scientific investigations and in supplying apparatus and appliances for laboratories and observatories and so far as consistent with the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act 1888 or other similar provisions in improving

existing or erecting new laboratories and observatories…"[3] The Academy of Fine Arts in Munich was to receive £20,000 for the "promotion of the Arts of Sculpture and Painting by assisting past and present students of the Academie to prosecute the Arts in Rome and elsewhere such authorities to have full discretion as to the selection of the students to be assisted and to apply the capital of the gift as well as the income for the above object."[4] The City of Cassel, finally, was to add its share of £20,000 to the Henriette Mond Endowment for the creation and maintenance of a Hospital for Convalescents that Mond had already created in 1890 with his initial donation of £5000.[5] These three German endowments were very generous gifts that made Mond into the largest donor for all three institutions. Taken together, the sum of £90,000 amounted to 9% of Mond's estimated worth at his death.

Mond chose these particular institutions because of his personal relationship with these institutions and places. He was born and spent his childhood in Cassel. He studied at the University of Heidelberg and seemed to consider this university as more important to his academic training than the University of Marburg where he began his academic career. This connection was certainly strengthened by that university's decision to award him an honorary doctoral degree in 1896.[6] The Academy of Fine Arts in Munich was not an institution of which Mond had first-hand experience, but it had trained with Henryk Glicenstein one of his favorite artists whom he supported with a generous stipend during his time in Rome.

Ludwig Mond made these bequests at a time of intensifying confrontation between Germany and Great Britain. Wilhelm II's desire to build a German navy that could challenge the British domination of the oceans as well as Germany's colonial ambitions put both countries on a collision course. And yet Mond's philanthropic activities were not influenced by these political developments. Like so many of his contemporaries, Mond could simply not conceive of a prolonged war between his country of birth and his country of residence. He also appeared to have remained immune from the increasing nationalist fever of his times. Nationalism and patriotism were empty words to him. He was a citizen of Western Europe, not of an individual country. As long as his health permitted, Mond travelled between England and Italy, spending the winters in the warmer climate. He regularly passed through Germany and Switzerland on his way to Italy and he visited friends, family, and colleagues on his trips. He was never

willing to choose one country over the other, and he continued to provide funding for research in both Germany and Great Britain. His endowment for the University of Heidelberg, for instance, was paralleled by a similar endowment for the Royal Society of London, for which he provided the same amount (£50,000) and which he created with the identical mission (support of research in the natural sciences and in chemistry and physics in particular). He trusted that future generations would share his transnational attitude. Therefore, he did not see any need to transfer his bequests to Heidelberg, Munich, and Cassel before his death. Like so many donors of his times who wanted to be sure that their widows and children were taken care of, Mond decreed that these bequests should be given to the three institutions in Germany only upon the death of his wife Frida. When Frida passed away on May 16, 1923, times had dramatically changed. Transnational attitudes made place for nationalist patriotism that even affected Ludwig Mond's son, Sir Alfred Mond. Notions of transnational philanthropy did not fit into an increasingly nationalist political climate across Europe, which went hand in hand with protectionist national laws. The crossing of national borders was made increasingly complicated and the sending of money from Great Britain to Germany even for philanthropic purposes ceased.

Great Britain and Germany had become enemies, and financial transactions such as the bequests of Ludwig Mond for the benefit of German public institutions were considered by the British government as unwelcome support of the enemy. The bequests were treated, even though they had not been transferred to the ownership of these three receiving institutions, as de facto property of German institutions. This allowed the British government to subject these three Mond Bequests to §297(b) of the Treaty of Versailles, which permitted the British government to confiscate and liquidate "all property, rights and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions and protectorates including territories ceded to them by the present Treaty."[7] According to the corollary of this clause, the British government was empowered to seize all property that was owned by Germans in Great Britain before January 10, 1920. In the particular case of the Mond bequests, the British government took the legal position that these legacies had already become Germany property with Ludwig Mond's death in 1909. The British government outright rejected the legal interpretation according to which these legacies became German property only with the

death of Ludwig Mond's wife on May 16, 1923, thus, purposefully ignoring Ludwig Mond's decision that his legacies were payable only after his wife had passed away.[8]

It seems to be an irony of history that when faced with the question of whether it should confiscate the property of the Mond family—they were after all British citizens—in Germany during World War I the German government came to the conclusion that it would not do that. The Trustees of Enemy Properties in Germany found in their search for property and valuable belongings owned by citizens of enemy countries in early 1918 that the Brunner & Mond company as well as the Mond family held shares in two German companies: in the linoleum factory at Maximiliansau/Pfortz (Bavaria-Palatinate) shares worth 199,000 marks and in the German Solvay Works at Bernburg (Anhalt) shares worth 1,528,000 marks. These shares were officially subject to confiscation by the German government since Ludwig Mond was a naturalized British citizen and his two sons were born British citizens. The three beneficiaries of Ludwig Mond's gifts, in fact, asked the German government to confiscate these German holdings of the Mond family as a security for Mond's bequests. The governments in Berlin and Munich, however, declined to seize the share holdings of the Mond family. They argued that such an action might endanger the prospects of the University of Heidelberg, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, and the City of Cassel to receive the endowments promised to them by Ludwig Mond. The combined value of the shares in these two enterprises was with 1,727,000 marks, only slightly lower than the value of the expected gift, which stood at 1.8 million marks.[9]

Making the Case of Being a Transnational Institution

With the death of Frida Mond, the University of Heidelberg, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, and the City of Cassel sought legal ways and legal interpretations of British law and the Treaty of Versailles that would allow them to come into the possession of these significant funds. Both the University of Heidelberg and the City of Cassel were quite creative in their legal strategies. They did not challenge the application of the Treaty of Versailles, but they tried to make a case for recognizing their institutions not as German institutions but as transnational institution.

Karl Heinsheimer, professor of law at the University of Heidelberg, argued that Mond had selected his alma mater because he considered this university not just a German institution but an institution that served the world. Mond knew from his own experience that the university had always attracted foreign students, and American and English students in particular. And in the world of chemistry, Heidelberg occupied in Mond's mind—at least this is how Heinsheimer saw it—a preeminent position. Heinsheimer interpreted Mond's decision as a desire not to just support a German research university, which would only benefit Germany's interests, but rather to endow with his legacy an internationally renowned university that attracted students from all over the world.[10] Heinsheimer and other legal experts from the university's law school suggested that an argumentation that focused on the recipients/beneficiaries, that is, the students of the university rather than on the university itself, might sway the legal experts in Great Britain. They argued that such an argumentation was common to English legal practice, while it was completely alien to German legal practice.[11]

Heinsheimer, furthermore, suggested that the university administration should supply statistics to the British government about the share of foreign students among the Heidelberg student body to illustrate Heidelberg's service to the global scientific community. This line of argumentation was very welcomed by the university administration, which embraced this point of view for its negotiations with the British government. Its representatives subsequently pointed to the fact that in the course of the nineteenth century a large number of British and American scientists had been trained at the University of Heidelberg.[12] The university, thus, sought to portray itself as a university that served, even after the conclusion of World War I, an international rather than a national audience. Such an argumentation was, of course, not entirely without merit. The universities at Göttingen, Leipzig, and Heidelberg had a long tradition of attracting foreign students, including American and English students. And Heidelberg surpassed, according to Anja Becker, by the middle of the nineteenth century, its three rivals with regard to the share of American students, and took a leading position. It seems then to have lost some appeal to American students after the creation of the German Empire in 1871, which allowed the University of Leipzig to take over a leadership position.[13]

Our knowledge about the origin of foreign students at German universities in general is still rather limited. A comprehensive statistical analysis of the national origin of foreign students exists only for the University of Heidelberg and the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich.[14] American students at German universities have traditionally received more attention than students from European countries. For the University of Heidelberg, Mischa Honeck and Peter Meusburger counted a total of 1282 American students who had attended that university in the period from 1780 to 1914. The American interest in Heidelberg peaked in the years from 1886 to 1890, with 164 students enrolled in that four-year period.[15] That number put Heidelberg in a second place after the University of Leipzig which, according to Becker, attracted a total of 1530 American students in the time period from 1781 to 1914. But Heidelberg was still ahead of the University of Göttingen, which attracted only 974 students in the period from 1782 to 1910.[16]

American and British students were, however, part of a larger contingent of foreign students who came to Heidelberg from across Europe, North- and South America, and Asia. And while their numbers were quite significant, they represented up until 1914 only between 9 % and 18 % of the total student body. The winter term 1910/1911 had with 9.3 %, the lowest, and the winter term 1895/1896, had with 18.4 %, the highest level of foreign students at the University of Heidelberg before World War I.

The Share of Foreign Students Within the Student Body of the University of Heidelberg, 1890–1923[17]

Winter term	*Total number of enrolled students*	*Total number of foreign students*	*Share of foreign students in percentage points*	*Summer term*	*Total number of enrolled students*	*Total number of foreign students*	*Share of foreign students in percentage points*
1890/1891	970	125	12.9	1891	1171	155	13.2
1891/1892	932	136	14.6	1892	1156	163	14.1
1892/1893	973	162	16.6	1893	1135	160	14.1
1893/1894	960	167	17.4	1894	1206	172	14.3
1894/1895	1028	177	17.2	1895	1252	206	16.4

(*continued*)

(continued)

Winter term	*Total number of enrolled students*	*Total number of foreign students*	*Share of foreign students in percentage points*	*Summer term*	*Total number of enrolled students*	*Total number of foreign students*	*Share of foreign students in percentage points*
1895/1896	1026	189	18.4	1896	1164	187	16.1
1896/1897	1001	143	14.3	1897	1230	177	14.4
1897/1898	1048	156	14.9	1898	1394	194	13.9
1898/1899	1142	152	13.3	1899	1462	205	14.0
1899/1900	1250	179	14.3	1900	1553	174	11.2
1900/1901	1280	143	11.2	1901	1464	158	10.8
1901/1902	1271	138	10.9	1902	1640	184	11.2
1902/1903	1352	134	9.9	1903	1671	197	11.2
1903/1904	1359	176	12.9	1904	1655	235	14.2
1904/1905	1371	160	11.7	1905	1783	237	13.3
1905/1906	1443	187	13.0	1906	1922	320	16.6
1906/1907	1603	259	16.2	1907	1933	275	14.2
1907/1908	1675	219	13.1	1908	2171	230	10.6
1908/1909	1841	201	10.9	1909	2171	230	10.6
1909/1910	1934	211	10.9	1910	2413	244	10.1
1910/1911	2008	186	9.3	1911	2452	281	11.5
1911/1912	2231	215	9.6	1912	2624	289	11.0
1912/1913	2264	264	11.7	1913	2617	301	11.5
1913/1914	2409	316	13.1	1914	2668	348	13.0
1914/1915	2028	46	2.3	1915	2135	52	2.4
1915/1916	2139	48	2.2	1916	2399	55	2.3
1916/1917	2418	50	2.1	1917	2569	60	2.3
1917/1918	2657	69	2.6	1918	2805	76	2.7
1918/1919	2944	64	2.2	1919	3404	81	2.4
1919/1920	3236	74	2.3	1920	3488	130	3.7
1920/1921	2766	117	4.2	1921	2941	181	6.1
1921/1922	2424	149	6.1	1922	2853	194	6.8
1922/1923	2532	164	6.5	1923	2530	245	9.7

With the outbreak of war in summer 1914, the number of foreign students plummeted from 13% in the summer term of 1914 to a mere 2.3% in the winter term 1914/1915. During the four war years, the share of foreign students at the University of Heidelberg remained at a very low level, between 2% and 3%. With the end of the war, the University of Heidelberg seemed to have regained its status as an

attractive university for foreign students. The share of foreign students climbed from 2.2% in the winter term of 1918/1919 to 4.2% in the winter term of 1920/1921 and reached 9.7% in the summer term of 1923, when the Weimar Republic encountered—with the occupation of the Rhine and Ruhr valley, the German government's suicidal policy of passive resistance to that occupation, the ensuing hyperinflation, the use of the German Army to dispose of the left-wing governments in Saxony and Thuringia, and the Hitler Putsch—its deepest financial, economic, and later that year, political crisis.[18] It is curious that a Germany in such turmoil and coming closer to a civil war each day attracted students from abroad. Since it seems highly unlikely that American and English students returned to the University of Heidelberg after the prolonged military conflict that had put them against Germans, it remains left to future research to explore the origins of these foreign students who came after 1918.

British and American students formed a significant but small group among the foreign students at the University of Heidelberg. For the time from 1880 to 1885 we have exact numbers for the British and American share of the foreign student population at the University of Heidelberg. American students outnumbered British students by a ratio of roughly 1:1.5 to 1:4 during this five-year time period. What is more interesting is the low share of British and American students studying chemistry at this university. Only 20 (or 20.4%) of the 98 British students and 38 (or 14%) of the 268 American students came to the University of Heidelberg to study chemistry. This low number of foreign students enrolled in the chemistry program at the University of Heidelberg seems to contradict the claim recently made by Mischa Honeck and Peter Meusburger that the University of Heidelberg was considered before World War I among the best universities worldwide in the field of chemistry. The university attracted, according to Honeck and Meusburger, a significant number of students from abroad for training in this field. "A total of 143 American students studied chemistry in Heidelberg up to 1914," according to Honeck and Meusburger's statistical analysis, which also established that the university was attractive to students in the field of chemistry in the years from 1871 to 1880 in particular.[19] After 1880 the university might already have lost some appeal to students from abroad in that field of study.

Share of British and American Students at the University of Heidelberg, 1880–1885[20]

Term	*British students*							*American students*						
	Chemistry	*Economy*	*Humanities*	*Law*	*Medicine*	*Theology*	*Total*	*Chemistry*	*Economy*	*Humanities*	*Law*	*Medicine*	*Theology*	*Total*
1880/1881	7	–	11	–	1	–	**19**	7	1	8	2	9	–	**27**
1881	**6**	–	7	–	2	–	**15**	**3**	1	11	2	11	–	**28**
1881/1882	**2**	–	6	–	1	–	**9**	**2**	2	8	3	9	–	**24**
1882	**1**	–	4	–	3	1	**9**	**4**	2	8	5	13	–	**32**
1882/1883	**1**	–	3	–	3	–	7	**3**	–	8	2	11	–	**24**
1883	**1**	–	3	–	2	–	**6**	**2**	–	7	1	8	–	**18**
1883/1884	–	–	3	–	3	–	**6**	**2**	–	7	–	15	–	**24**
1884	–	–	5	–	4	–	**9**	**4**	–	9	–	24	–	**37**
1884/1885	**1**	–	6	–	2	–	**9**	**6**	1	8	–	14	–	**29**
1885	**1**	–	6	–	1	1	**9**	**5**	1	7	1	11	–	**25**
Total	**20**	**–**	**54**	**–**	**22**	**2**	**98**	**38**	**8**	**81**	**16**	**125**	**–**	**268**

Inspired by the legal argument put forward by the lawyers of the University of Heidelberg, the City of Cassel pursued a similar strategy by making the argument that the recipients of the charitable institution to be supported by the bequest of Ludwig Mond benefitted not just residents from Cassel or German citizens but also recipients from other regions, cities, and countries as well. Ludwig Mond's legacy for the City of Cassel of £20,000 was not to create a new endowment. It was to be added to the already existing Henriette Mond Endowment, which Ludwig Mond had established in memory of his mother long before he died. This endowment, which was administered by the city government and part of the municipally controlled convalescent hospital Wilhelmshöhe, was open to patients regardless of their citizenship. And it was these patients and not the city, so the argument of the city's legal representatives who would benefit from Mond's endowment. In its negotiations with the British government, the City of Cassel stressed the point that each resident of Cassel, including foreign residents had free access to the services of this institution.[21] As much as the University of Heidelberg attempted to portray itself as a transnational institution that served the world rather than Germany, the City Council of Cassel sought to paint a picture in which the recipients of the city's benevolent institutions were not limited to residents of Cassel or even citizens of Germany.[22] In contrast to the University of Heidelberg, the City of Cassel was, however, unable to provide statistical information about the use of this institution by non-German citizens.

The lawyers from the law firm of Minet, Pering, Smith & Co. in London, who initially represented the University of Heidelberg, had already suggested in November 1923 in a letter to the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade, Sir Sydney Chapman, that the university could count on the public support of eminent English scientists in pursuing its claims to the Mond Bequest. The University of Heidelberg counted among its graduates famous scholars who rose to prominence in Great Britain and in the USA. The roster of Heidelberg alumni included the professor of Romance Languages at Oxford University Lionel Armitage and the professor of comparative philology at Oxford University Josef Wright as well as the famous economist and professor of political economy at Columbia University Edwin Seligman and the president of the University of California Benjamin Wheeler. If the members of the Board of Trade, the lawyers of Minet, Pering, Smith & Co. wrote,

> feel that their hand would be strengthened by the support of a number of leading scientists and representatives of learning in this country, I think I can say that I am in a position to obtain expressions of approval for the course suggested from a number of men whose names would carry weight, not only in this country but throughout the world. In his personal note to you Dr. Barker referred to the terrible straits of German Universities, and while I cannot, I think, put this forward as a definite ground why the legacy should be released, it is, I think, not altogether an irrelevant consideration that the legacy would, at the present time, have a value for German and international science even greater than could have been anticipated by the testator at the time his will was made.[23]

To bolster its claim, the university administration embarked on a publicity campaign by approaching eminent English academics such as Sir Charles Raymond Beazley, professor of history at the University of Birmingham since 1909, from whom the university expected to receive support. Beazley was asked to

> write a few lines in our favour to Mr. Sydney Webb, the President of the Board of Trade. Under the present disastrous circumstances the resources of scientific research in our University are almost wholly exhausted; so you can see what the legacy in question would mean for us. I am sure you and other liberal-minded British scholars will sympathize with us in this matter and will assist us in our application.[24]

In 1923 the University of Heidelberg made a clever move by engaging as an unpaid representative the London barrister Thomas L. Gilmour, who had served during the war in the British War Propaganda Bureau to deal with the "political or diplomatic side" of its Mond Bequest.[25] Gilmour worked behind the scenes and approached various members of the Board of Trade as well as politically well-connected individuals to seek support for the university's claim. In a letter to the economist John A. Hobson, Gilmour wrote:

> I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that both the Prime Minister and Mr. Sidney Webb would personally share the feeling I have everywhere found that from every point of view it would be a misfortune if Dr. Mond's legacy were diverted from its original purpose and applied to Reparations. I should hope that any British Minister would take this view and would hesitate before diverting funds intended for the promotion of scientific

> research to other objects. But in this particular case there are, I think, special reasons why such a diversion would be singularly unfortunate. Dr. Mond, as you know, was a German by birth and it was at Heidelberg University that he laid the foundations of these remarkable attainments which enabled him subsequently to establish great industrial enterprises in this country, to our very manifest advantages. His legacy to his old University is, therefore, a gesture of gratitude. If we were to insist on retaining this money we should, I think, lay ourselves open to justifiable criticisms, while, on the other hand, a decision to permit its application to the purpose designated by the testator would not only be in accordance with our best traditions but would, I think, be recognised as an act of international goodwill, the value of which, at this moment, it would be difficult to exaggerate.[26]

Gilmour did not communicate directly with the university administration but with the chemist and entrepreneur Friedrich Bergius who had been designated as a representative by the University of Heidelberg in early 1924.[27] Bergius worked in leading positions for various German and English chemical companies since he had obtained his doctoral degree from the University of Leipzig in 1907. He had close contacts to Brunner & Mond, was fluent in English, traveled frequently to England, and lived in Heidelberg since 1921. Gilmour felt that he could write to him "with much greater freedom" knowing that he will communicate each letter to the university president.[28] In April 1924, Gilmour discussed with Bergius the strategy he planned to pursue with regards to the Mond Bequest for the University of Heidelberg:

> We are anxious to represent in certain influential quarters that the Legacy is really international in some of its aspects, that Heidelberg, while a German University, has not by any means been confined to the instruction of German citizens but has drawn its students from many other countries. To enable us to support this contention it is very desirable that I should be furnished, as quickly as possible, with certain information. I should be glad to have a list of any distinguished men of non-German nationality who were educated, either wholly or in part, at Heidelberg University—not merely Englishmen, but Americans and men of other nationalities.[29]

And Gilmour further suggested that it might be a perfect tactical move if the university "would be prepared to … devote any portion of the £50,000 to the foundation of scholarships to be held by foreign students."

He sought a way to prove to the British authorities "that the benefits of the Legacy would not be confined to German nationals."[30] Gilmour's suggestion was immediately embraced by the university administration since the limitation of scholarships to a particular group of students defined by class, religion, and geographic origin was a common practice at universities across Germany.[31] The university administration went even further and suggested that a portion of the endowment could be used to create an international Ludwig Mond Prize "for the best research work in the field of Chemistry or of Science in general."[32]

Authorized by the University of Heidelberg, Gilmour presented in May 1924 a proposal to Sir Sidney Chapman according to which "half the amount of the legacy, that is, £25,000, should be handed over to the University for the general purposes of the University and that the remaining £25,000 should be invested in England in the name of the Public Trustee upon the creation of certain trusts for the institution of a Ludwig Mond Prize, and of certain scholarships tenable at Heidelberg University…"[33] Gilmour faced, however, strong opposition from Chapman, who did not show any willingness at arranging for a compromise or at making any particular decision. Public opinion seemed to have turned against releasing German property and the Board of Trade felt under immense pressure to confiscate and liquidate German assets. Gilmour relayed that British creditors

> had so far only received a few shillings in the £1 on their claims and it was still uncertain whether they would be paid in full. They were accordingly bringing considerable pressure to bear on the President not to release this £50,000 from the charge and their argument was that if the money were released, the benefit would accrue to the German Government and not to Heidelberg University, since the German Government was under a Treaty obligation to compensate Heidelberg University for any monies credited to the German Government through the Clearing House. These creditors pointed out that the German Government had ceased for some time to make the payments to the British Clearing House which it had undertaken to make, and further had ceased to make payments to its own nationals of the compensation which it had undertaken to make to them.[34]

The Tedious Negotiations Between the British Board of Trade and the German Beneficiaries

The University of Heidelberg faced resistance not only from the British authorities but also from Ludwig Mond's sons, who sought representation by the London law firm of Oppenheimer, Nathan & Vandyk—one of London's oldest law firms. Immediately after the death of their mother, Sir Robert Mond and Sir Alfred Mond asked their solicitors to approach the British government in order to find out whether Mond's German legacies were subject to confiscation by the British government according to §297(b) of the Treaty of Versailles. After some deliberations, the Board of Trade announced in early 1924 that Ludwig Mond's three German legacies with a combined value of £90,000 were, in fact, considered German property and therefore subject to confiscation. Sir Robert Mond and Sir Alfred Mond seemed to have agreed with the position of the British government and presented through their solicitor Harry Nathan a compromise that would shift the legacies from German to English beneficiaries.

Nathan, a partner in the law firm of Oppenheimer, Nathan & Vandyk who had served in World War I, was put in charge of the negotiations between the University of Heidelberg and the British Board of Trade. After initial contacts with the Board of Trade, Nathan suggested that the University of Heidelberg had a chance of at best receiving something between £5000 and £10,000 of the Mond legacy. The greater portion of the bequest was to be redirected to an English university "to be employed by them for the purposes mentioned in the Will as being the objects of the legacy to the University of Heidelberg." A remaining portion of £5000 to £10,000 was to be paid to the British government.[35] In March 1924, Nathan was able to negotiate a more concrete compromise that still fell significantly short of the expectations on the side of the University of Heidelberg. According to this second offer, the University of Heidelberg was to receive £15,000, the Administrator of German Property in Britain was to receive £15,000, and the remaining share of £20,000 was to go to an English university, preferably Oxford or Cambridge.[36] It seems that the idea to redirect a share of this legacy to Oxford or Cambridge came from Ludwig Mond's two sons rather than the British government.[37] Ludwig's two sons were extremely quiet in these negotiations, and there is not a shred of evidence of them weighing in on behalf of the University of Heidelberg at any part of these negotiations. In fact the representatives of the City of Cassel even spoke of outright resistance of the two sons of

Ludwig Mond towards the transfer of the endowments to Germany.[38] It seems to be much more likely that they had distanced themselves from their father's transnational orientation and embraced a much more narrow nationalist view in which such philanthropic endeavors should serve the patriotic cause. If the University of Heidelberg would have accepted this offer, it would still have lost more than £35,000 (=700,000 marks). And Oxford or Cambridge—universities to which Ludwig Mond had no personal connection—would have come into an endowment without having even to work for it. The University of Heidelberg saw no other choice than to reject this offer.

However, by early summer 1924 it became clear to all three German beneficiaries that they would have to forgo a significant share of their Mond bequests. The University of Heidelberg was the first to settle for a compromise that gave the university half of the endowment in July 1924, with the other half going to the British government. The Academy of Fine Arts in Munich followed suit in December 1925.[39] Only the City of Cassel prolonged the process for some more time before it finally gave in, too. In August 1928, the City Council of Cassel finally approved a compromise that gave the town 60% of the legacy while 40% was handed over to the British government.[40] In addition to the loss of capital through confiscation by the British government, all three legacies were also subjected to a 10% legacy and succession tax, which amounted to £2280 in the case of the endowments for Cassel and Munich and to £5503 in the case of the endowment for Heidelberg.[41]

In July 1924, the university administration approved the settlement reached by Gilmour and Nathan with the Board of Trade. Earlier suggestions that a part of this new endowment could be set aside for international students were no longer considered. After it had lost half of the endowment, the university insisted in a letter to Thomas L. Gilmour "that the £25,000 to be paid to the University will be subject only to the terms of the Will, and not to any such restrictions as international scholarships, as suggested by you in a recent letter for the eventuality that the whole sum of £50,000 were to be made over to the University."[42] The university representatives, disappointed at having to forgo 50% of the bequest, felt that it was no longer appropriate to designate a share of this endowment to the support of foreign students.

While this compromise was reached in summer 1924, it still took a year and a half before the funds were finally transferred from London to Heidelberg. Both the University of Heidelberg and the Administrator of

German Property in Great Britain had agreed to divide the legacy, which had through the accumulation of interest grown to £54,723, into two equal parts giving £27,361 to the University of Heidelberg and the same amount to the Administrator of German Property in Great Britain.[43]

After the funds were transferred into an account of the University of Heidelberg with Barclays Bank in London in February 1926, the university had to decide how to best invest these funds. As long as the funds were left in the account with Barclays Bank, the deposit earned an interest of 3.5%. Since the endowment manager at the University of Heidelberg had little experience with the English stock market, the university administration approached Gilmour and asked for his advice with regards to the best investment option in England. Gilmour consulted with financial experts and informed the university: "I have … sought to find an investment which combines absolute security with a minimum risk of depreciation and a reasonable rate of interest. It is the unanimous opinion of all those I have consulted, an opinion which I share, that these conditions are satisfied by the 5% War Loan."[44] The university decided against the acquisition of such bonds.[45] It might have been simply too much for the University of Heidelberg to invest their funds in English war loans. In November 1926, the Senate of the university decided to buy German instead of English government bonds. The University Senate also created a board of trustees for this endowment that included five scholars. Among them was Friedrich Bergius, who had provided invaluable services in his mediation efforts between the university, London law firms, the Mond family, and the British scientific community. In recognition of his services, Bergius was also awarded the title of *Ehrensenator* in August 1926.[46] Bergius was joined in the board of trustees for the Mond Bequest by the banker Heinrich Fremerey as well as the professor of the history of law Richard Thoma and professor of mathematics Heinrich Liebmann, and the president of the university.[47]

The compromise between the British government and the University of Heidelberg gave the university a total of 555,363.60 marks. These funds, which were invested in German government bonds, were made available to various institutions including the school of mathematics (106,000 marks), the institute of physics (50,000 marks), and the institute of chemistry (374,000 marks). A significant share including the funds appropriated to the institute of chemistry was redirected towards the construction costs for the new institute of chemistry. A further 10,000 marks were given as a research grant to Professor Albrecht Kossel who had joined the University

of Heidelberg in 1901. Kossel was an eminent chemist who had received the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1910. This distribution of the Mond money across the schools and institutes at the University of Heidelberg caused significant dissatisfaction within the institute of chemistry and by its director Karl Johann Freudenberg. Freudenberg reminded the university president in his letter of July 30, 1927 that he had originally been promised 80% of the funds from the Mond Bequest for his institute. Yet, he had received only 67% and most of this share (300,000 marks) had been applied by the government of Baden to the building costs for the institute of chemistry.[48]

The remaining 245,000 marks were invested in government and municipal bonds, which offered an interest of 6% and 7%. The principal quickly grew to 350,000 marks by 1932 and more than half a million marks by 1942.[49] This investment produced from 1927 to 1939 annually between 23,000 and 40,000 marks in interest.[50] The Dr. Ludwig Mond Endowment survived World War II and the currency reform of 1948. In 1954 the budget commission of the university contended that about 90% of its principal was lost because of the currency reform. In 1960 the balance sheets of the endowment showed a principal of only about 34,000 marks. Not much changed with regard to the value of this principal well into the 1990s. It produced an annual interest of about 1900 marks, which was spent on the acquisition of books and journals for the natural sciences.[51]

In contrast to the University of Heidelberg and the City of Cassel, which seem to have been well informed about Mond's plans to leave endowments to them, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich initially was caught by surprise. Its officials learned, in fact, the good but surprising news that it was to expect an endowment of 400,000 marks from the Mond estate from a newspaper article in 1910—about a year after Ludwig Mond's death.[52] It is not entirely clear why Ludwig Mond named the academy as a beneficiary in his last will. In contrast to the city of his childhood, Cassel, and the University of Heidelberg, which had trained him in chemistry and thus laid the foundation for his later economic and financial success, he had no personal relationship with the academy in Munich and there is no reference to this institution in any of his surviving letters. However, while in Rome, the Monds supported a number of young artists, such as the painters Giulio Aristide Sartorio and Eduardo Gioia, the composer Alessandro Costa, the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio, and the sculptors Ferdinand Seeboeck and Henryk Glicenstein.[53] Glicenstein, in particular, seemed to have caught

the eye of Ludwig Mond, who supported him for many years by paying him an annual stipend of 5000 lira without expecting anything in return. As a sign of appreciation, the artist made a bust of Ludwig Mond in 1904. It might well have been the relationship between Mond and Glicenstein that caused Mond to consider giving an endowment for travel stipends in Rome to the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. Glicenstein who was born in Turek (Polish-Russia) in 1870, entered the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich in 1889. He studied with Wilhelm von Rümann, who became well known for his public monuments to Wilhelm I, Otto von Bismarck, and Prince Luitpold of Bavaria. Glicenstein received travel stipends from the academy to go to Rome twice in 1894 and in 1897. During his second stay in Rome in 1897, he decided to remain in that city. Soon thereafter he was introduced to Ludwig Mond who became his patron.[54]

After Ludwig Mond's death, Glicenstein offered in June 1911 to make a bust of Ludwig Mond for the University of Heidelberg so that it could prominently display the likeness of his and the university's benefactor. The university initially showed great interest in obtaining such a bust from Glicenstein. When Glicenstein in July 1911 offered to make a bust either in bronze for 3000 lira or in marble for 5000 lira, the university administration contended, however, that it was unable to raise the necessary funds.[55]

In the 1920s, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich took a back seat in the negotiations of the Mond Bequest and adopted a strategy of "wait and see." The exchange of letters between the academy and the other beneficiaries reveals a strange triangle between the institutions in Heidelberg, Cassel, and Munich. The University of Heidelberg sought to use all possible backroom channels through supporters and former students in England in order to find a compromise. The City of Cassel adopted an attitude of simply not negotiating and insisting that the town should receive the full amount of the endowment. And the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich did nothing and watched the two institutions fighting it out, benefiting in the end from the result.[56]

The Academy of Fine Arts in Munich could have, for instance, prepared an argument with regard to its international student body that would have mirrored the legal strategy of the University of Heidelberg. Such an approach could have been very advantageous to the academy since it attracted a significantly higher proportion of foreign students than did the University of Heidelberg.[57] Between one-quarter and one-third of the students enrolled at the academy from 1895/1896 to 1914 came, as the table below reveals, from outside of Germany.

The Share of Foreign Students Within the Student Body of the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, 1895/1896–1930[58]

Winter term	*Total number of enrolled students*	*Total number of foreign students*	*Share of foreign students in percentage points*	*Summer term*	*Total number of enrolled students*	*Total number of foreign students*	*Share of foreign students in percentage points*
1895/1896	401	–	–	1896	301	–	–
1896/1897	–	–	–	1897	298	–	–
1897/1898	401	144	35.9	1898	305	103	33.8
1898/1899	388	124	31.9	1899	306	88	28.6
1899/1900	382	124	32.5	1900	317	–	–
1900/1901	407	–	–	1901	334	–	–
1901/1902	389	–	–	1902	319	109	34.2
1902/1903	365	127	34.8	1903	287	104	36.2
1903/1904	402	150	37.3	1904	321	103	32.1
1904/1905	417	139	33.3	1905	319	101	31.7
1905/1906	440	167	37.9	1906	356	113	31.7
1906/1907	481	174	36.2	1907	397	145	36.5
1907/1908	499	187	37.5	1908	393	131	33.3
1908/1909	518	191	36.8	1909	448	156	34.8
1909/1910	545	186	34.1	1910	431	138	32.0
1910/1911	490	151	30.8	1911	392	112	28.6
1911/1912	467	140	30.0	1912	377	109	28.9
1912/1913	444	129	29.1	1913	397	103	25.9
1913/1914	446	116	26.0	1914	396	100	25.2
1914/1915	212	48	22.6	1915	170	46	27.0
1915/1916	258	47	18.1	1916	147	38	25.8
1916/1917	173	46	26.6	1917	124	28	22.6
1917/1918	168	34	20.2	1918	166	31	18.7
1918/1919	330	54	16.4	1919	261	39	14.9
1919/1920	349	52	14.9	1920	334	45	13.5
1920/1921	403	45	11.2	1921	378	57	15.1
1921/1922	448	73	16.3	1922	419	93	22.2
1922/1923	527	131	24.8	1923	328	81	24.7
1923/1924	386	68	17.6	1924	227	38	16.7
1924/1925	326	47	14.4	1925	263	41	15.6
1925/1926	327	49	15.0	1926	271	39	14.4
1926/1927	335	43	12.8	1927	273	39	14.3
1927/1928	348	45	12.9	1928	301	38	12.6
1928/1929	333	50	15.0	1929	270	34	12.6
1929/1930	338	49	14.5	1930	253	44	17.4

Most foreign students in the years from 1895/1896 to 1914 were citizens of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. These students represented between 41% and 57% of the foreign student body. Russian and Swedish students vied for second place with 8–16% for Russian students and 9% to nearly 20% for Swedish students. American students represented only between 2% and 11% of the foreign student population at the Munich academy. English students were completely absent from the student roster during this time period.

Profiting from the negotiation tactics of the University of Heidelberg, the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich finally also settled with the British government and accepted a compromise that gave half of the endowment to the academy and the other half to the British government.[59] In March 1928, the academy finally received £11,375 (=231,894 marks). The rules and regulations for the Dr. Ludwig Mond Endowment were quickly written. The interest from the principal was to be used for scholarships provided to current and former students of the academy in the field of painting and sculpting. While Mond had left this endowment for the purpose of travel-fellowships for a stay of students in Rome, the academy administration decided to direct the funds to both fellowships for enrolled students working in Munich and for students who wished to use the funds for educational travel. The academy considered it, however, more important to use these funds to support former students in their transition from their time at the academy to their life as independent artist. And since the British government had—in the eyes of the academy administration—stolen half of the endowment, the president insisted that the pool of potential recipients should be limited to German citizens.[60] Transnational philanthropy in the case of the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich turned national through the limitation with regards to the citizenship of potential applicants. To be fair, this limitation was an outcome of the decision of the British government to subject this endowment to the regulations of the Treaty of Versailles.

The first 14 recipients of the Mond Fellowship were selected in December 1929 in the time of great economic crisis. Chosen fellowship holders received a generous stipend of 1500 marks for the duration of one year. Each successive year a new group of 14–16 students were selected by a scholarship committee formed by the academy president and two professors—one for painting and one for sculpting—who were to be elected from all professors at the academy.[61] For the first four years from 1930 to 1933 the names of the recipients were documented in the

The National Origin of the Foreign Students at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, 1902–1914[62]

Term	*Total number of foreign students*	*Students from*							
		Austria-Hungary		*Russia*		*Sweden*		*USA*	
		Total number	*In percentage of total foreign student population*	*Total number*	*In percentage of total foreign student population*	*Total number*	*In percentage of total foreign student population*	*Total number*	*In percentage of total foreign student population*
1902	109	47	43.1	18	16.5	14	12.8	7	6.4
1902/1903	127	59	46.5	17	13.4	23	18.1	9	7.1
1903	104	50	48.1	14	13.5	14	13.5	9	8.6
1903/1904	150	82	54.6	22	14.6	20	13.3	10	6.7
1904	103	59	57.3	11	10.7	11	10.7	7	6.8
1904/1905	139	79	56.8	16	11.5	18	12.9	6	4.3
1905	101	58	57.4	12	11.9	13	12.9	6	5.9
1905/1906	167	85	50.9	23	13.8	26	15.6	4	2.4
1906	113	58	51.3	10	8.8	14	12.4	8	7.1
1906/1907	174	86	49.4	18	10.3	28	16.1	10	5.7
1907	145	69	47.6	16	11.0	22	15.2	8	5.5

1907/1908	187	88	47.1	19	10.2	33	17.6	11	5.9
1908	131	57	43.5	15	11.4	22	16.8	8	6.1
1908/1909	191	91	47.6	24	12.6	28	14.7	9	4.7
1909	156	72	46.1	24	15.4	19	12.2	10	6.4
1909/1910	186	86	46.2	20	10.7	26	14.0	10	5.4
1910	138	57	41.3	19	13.8	14	10.1	10	7.2
1910/1911	151	72	47.7	24	15.9	14	9.3	7	4.6
1911	112	54	48.2	15	13.4	11	9.8	7	6.2
1911/1912	140	67	47.8	16	11.4	17	12.1	16	11.4
1912	109	52	47.7	12	11.0	12	11.0	12	11.0
1912/1913	129	72	55.8	17	13.2	15	11.6	10	7.7
1913	103	55	53.4	10	9.7	16	15.5	7	6.8
1913/1914	116	61	52.6	11	9.5	23	19.8	8	6.9
1914	100	57	57.0	11	11.0	14	14.0	3	3.0

files of the academy. Few of these 59 painters and sculptors seem to have risen to some prominence, since the academy continued to embrace a rather traditional and conservative approach to art. Munich's representatives of modern art such as Paul Klee left for Weimar and Dessau since they could never hope to obtain a teaching position at the Munich academy. Art for the majority of academy professors was a trade to be learned rather than an intellectually challenging project that needed inspiration. Few of the academy's graduates embraced abstract and impressionist art.[63]

It is therefore not a surprise that most Mond Fellowships went to the disciples of the traditionalist professors. Given Ludwig Mond's preference for Renaissance art, it appears very plausible that he might have been actually quite satisfied with this orientation. It seems unlikely that Mond might have enjoyed modern and abstract art. However, among the recipients were with the impressionist painter Karl Meisenbach (1930), Max Freiherr von Schellerer (1931), and Wilhelm Maly (1932), at least three students who broke with tradition, defied the standards taught at the academy, and instead championed abstract forms and techniques of painting. Maly's works were, in particular, influenced by the expressionism of the *Brücke* and the *Blaue Reiter*. Because of their modern style, Meisenbach and Maly came into conflict with the image and vision propounded by the National Socialist government in the 1930s. Meisenbach was banned from public exhibitions in 1937, and Maly's art was considered to be "degenerate."

Although the Jewish background of the donor was not unknown to the administration of the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, it seems that Jewish students were, according to official statements by the academy president made in 1940, from the beginning excluded from receiving this fellowship.[64] It took the National Socialist (NS) authorities, nevertheless, until February 1940 to notice that the Mond Endowment might have been created by a Jew. Inquiries by the government were diverted by the academy administration, which pretended not to have any information about the background or the religious affiliation of Ludwig Mond. The question of Mond's religious background had been first raised by the Munich painter Alois Streicher, who rejected the Mond Fellowship after he had been nominated for it in 1938. Streicher refused to accept a fellowship donated by a Jew. Since the endowment was too big and too important for the academy, the government agreed that the academy could keep the

endowment if it renamed the endowment and thereby erased any memory of the donor Ludwig Mond.

This tactic was quite typical for the Nazi approach towards philanthropy. Endowments and foundations created by Jews were separated into five categories: (1) endowments and foundations created by Jews for recognized purposes; (2) endowments and foundations created by Jews that were to benefit only Christians; (3) endowments and foundations that had been created by Jews and were to benefit only Jews; (4) endowments and foundations created by Jews or Christians that were to benefit both Jews and Christians; (5) endowments and foundations created by Christians that were to benefit Jews. In the case of the first two categories, the endowments and foundations were left untouched as long as the institutions in charge of these endowments and foundations agreed to erase any sign of the donor and if they agreed to a name change. The endowments and foundations of category three were considered useful especially if they furthered Jewish emigration or the support of Jewish charities. The endowments and foundations of category four were forced to change their rules and regulations with the goal of excluding Jews from receiving any benefits from these institutions. And the endowments and foundations of category five were expropriated.[65]

This seemingly systematic approach should not be mistaken for a systematic policy. Since the German states had taken a rather ignorant stance towards the growth of philanthropy since the early nineteenth century, no regional or national surveys of philanthropic institutions existed. The NS government was thus faced with the challenge to collect information about the existing foundations and endowments and about the racial/religious background of their creators. In June 1938, Bernhard Rust, cabinet minister of education and science, asked that all institutions subordinated to his ministry submit written information about Jewish endowments at high schools, universities, colleges, and so on. In many cases it was not easy to provide the information required since educational institutions often had not kept documents about these endowments. In some cases, the institutions hesitated to provide the information required, probably out of fear that they might lose the funds. The collection of information about Jewish endowments and foundations within the field of education/higher education continued into the 1940s and did not seem to have come to a conclusion.[66]

The Munich authorities came in March 1940 to the conclusion that Ludwig Mond, in fact, was Jewish. The state government of Bavaria, there-

fore, insisted that the endowment was to be renamed as *Stipendienfonds der Akademie der bildenden Künste* (Fellowship Fund of the Academy of Fine Arts) and the scholarship was to be renamed as *Großes Kunststipendium der Akademie der bildenden Künste* (Great Art-Scholarship of the Academy of Fine Arts). This act erased the memory of Ludwig Mond and his support for the arts from the institutional memory at the academy. The scholarship survived the war and its principal actually grew from 1940 to 1948 from 294,500 marks to 326,709 marks. The names given to the endowment and the fellowship in 1940 were after World War II not changed back to the original name.[67]

The City of Cassel was the last to agree to a settlement with the British authorities, which at least gave the city half of the endowment promised by Ludwig Mond. In March 1924, Cassel was presented with a compromise similar to that offered to the University of Heidelberg. According to this compromise, the endowment for Cassel was to be divided into three shares: one share would go to Cassel, one would be confiscated by the British government, and the last share would go to an English university. The City of Cassel outright rejected this proposal.[68]

The City of Cassel had already considered in September 1922 selling its share of the Mond endowment, since the city council recognized that Ludwig Mond's sons did not share their father's enthusiasm for his country of birth. The two sons were, in a statement of the *Stiftungsamt* (office in charge of the administration of the city's endowments) of the City of Cassel, considered to be antagonistic to Germany (*deutsch-feindlich*) and it was feared that with the death of their mother, Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond would attempt to undermine the gifts of their father for the three German institutions.[69] The officials of the city government of Cassel were certainly not alone in their assessment of Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond's views towards Germany. Letters from the University of Heidelberg also reflect an interpretation according to which the two Mond sons despised all things German and would seek to sabotage the transfer of these legacies to Germany.[70]

Sir Alfred Mond, in particular, differed markedly from his father. He did not share his father's transnational and Western European orientation. While his father never sought to fit in and never even considered a path similar to that of his business partner John T. Brunner, which led from economic success to a political career and peerage, Sir Alfred Mond early on recognized that a political career was more important to his social ambitions than a career as businessman or patron of the arts. Both Sir

Alfred Mond and John T. Brunner stressed after Ludwig Mond's death their father's and business partner's patriotism. His gift to the National Gallery was highlighted, while the second Mond collection of paintings in Rome was not even mentioned in eulogies of Ludwig Mond. His financial support for the Emperor Wilhelm Society as well as the creation of the Bibliotheca Hertziana no longer appeared significant enough to be invoked as a legacy of Ludwig Mond by Sir Alfred Mond.[71]

Mond's endowment for the City of Cassel—created in 1928 with the amount of £11,375 (=231,894 marks)—survived as Dr. Ludwig Mond-Endowment until it became part of the general endowment of the City of Cassel in 1965. The principal of the endowment had decreased by then to 24,100 marks. Attempts of the city council to obtain additional funding from Julian E. A. Mond, third Baron Melchett in 1966 to revive the endowment failed since he felt it was "not possible in these days for me to contemplate increasing the amount of the original bequest."[72] At this time, the distance between the Mond family and the philanthropic legacy of Ludwig Mond had become too big, and the family's financial resources had also been significantly diminished since the times of Ludwig Mond. It is worthy to note that the inquiry by the City of Cassel reached Lord Melchett at the moment when he and Lady Eva Violet Mond Isaacs fought with the National Gallery in London about the mistreatment of Ludwig Mond's bequest. While Mond's philanthropic footprint at the National Gallery was more and more diminished, the City of Cassel could point to the fact that the city council had already in March 1911 named a street after Ludwig Mond (Ludwig-Mond-Straße) and thereby permanently imprinted his name onto the cityscape.[73]

Notes

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4. Ibid., p. 15.

5. Letter of Ludwig Mond to the Mayor of Cassel dated June 11, 1890; City Archive of Cassel: A.2.20.No. 41 (Akten betreffend das Vermächtnis des Dr. Ludwig Mond), pp. 173–174.
6. Manuscript Collection by Hector Bolitho, "Honours".
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15. Mischa Honeck and Peter Meusburger, "US-Amerikanische Studierende bis 1914", in: Meusburger/Schuch, *Wissenschaftsatlas of Heidelberg*

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22. City Archive of Cassel: S 1 No. 1779 (Mond, Ludwig); Letter of R. Habicht an den Magistrat der Stadt Cassel, Stiftungsverwaltung dated March 10, 1924.
23. Personal letter to Sir Sydney Chapman dated November 15, 1923.
24. Letter to Prof. C. Raymond Beazley, dated February 12, 1924 (?).
25. Letter to the Rector of the University, Heidelberg dated December 19, 1923; Letter of Dr. Friedrich Bergius dated August 7, 1926.
26. Letter of T. L. Gilmour dated February 14, 1924.
27. Letter of the Universität Heidelberg Engerer Senat dated June 10, 1926.
28. Letter to Dr. Frederick Bergius dated May 30, 1924, p. 1.
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31. Letter to Alfred Stephen Chatwood dated April 5, 1924. See Thomas Adam, "Stipendien und Stipendienstiftungen an deutschen Universitäten im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert", in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 55 no. 10 (2007), p. 799.
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33. Letter to Dr. Frederick Bergius dated May 30, 1924, p. 3.
34. Letter to Dr. Frederick Bergius dated May 30, 1924, pp. 4–5.
35. University Archive Heidelberg, B-9725/1: letter re Legacy of £50,000 under Dr. Ludwig Mond's Last Will dated March 20, 1924, p. 2.
36. University Archive Heidelberg, B-9725/1: letter re Legacy of £50,000 under Dr. Ludwig Mond's Will dated March 20, 1924, p. 4.
37. Letter to Dr. Frederick Bergius dated May 30, 1924, p. 7.

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CHAPTER 5

Why Some Wealthy Give: Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond's Attitudes Toward Philanthropy

Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond's Apprenticeship in Philanthropy

Philanthropy has been described by Francie Ostrower in her book *Why the Wealthy Give* as a behavioral pattern among members of the upper class that has been handed down from one generation to the next.[1] There was, however, no guarantee, as the case of Sir Alfred Mond shows, that philanthropically engaged parents were automatically followed by philanthropically engaged sons. While Sir Robert Mond was introduced to philanthropy in his early twenties by his involvement with his father's decision to create the Davy-Faraday Laboratory and to give it to the Royal Institution in the 1890s, Sir Alfred Mond's involvement with his father's philanthropic activities was limited to the division of Ludwig Mond's art collection into the Mond Collection in London and the Hertz Collection in Rome as well as the donation of the Mond Collection to the National Gallery. And in these two different contexts, both sons developed very different attitudes toward philanthropy. Sir Robert Mond was happy to dedicate himself to equipping the laboratory, since he felt much more at home in a laboratory than in the factories of his father. And from philanthropic engagement in favor of scientific research, he moved into philanthropic support for something he considered his calling: archaeology and Egyptology. In contrast to his father, who felt comfortable in his role as a businessman and for whom art patronage became a leisure activity,

T. Adam, *Transnational Philanthropy*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-29127-7_5

Sir Robert Mond considered the life of a businessman as unfulfilling and instead sought satisfaction in the world of philanthropy, which paved his way into a career as an archaeologist. Sir Alfred Mond showed little interest in philanthropy and did not share his father's and his brother's obsession with supporting the arts, sciences, and archaeology. He did, however, consider the donation of his father's art collection to the National Gallery as a useful instrument for advancing his own social ambitions. For him, politics and not philanthropy became a passion (Fig. 5.1).

Sir Robert Mond was largely responsible for the planning and equipment of the Davy-Faraday Laboratory that his father donated to the Royal Institution in 1896. In his autobiographical sketch he wrote:

> In the year 1893, my father entrusted me with the complete equipment of the Davy Faraday Research Laboratory which he founded at the Royal Institution. I visited most of the laboratories of Europe and the United States, and have since had the satisfaction of knowing that the apparatus which I then selected has fulfilled the requirements of the many workers who have since used the Laboratory.[2]

His father's choice to involve Robert in this work secured the institution his lifelong support. "In later years he gave large sums, amounting to many thousands of pounds, to the improvement of the Royal Institution and the work of the Davy-Faraday Laboratory."[3] In return for his continued support, Sir Robert Mond was named an Honorary Secretary of the Laboratory Committee for life. At the centenary of Faraday's discovery of electricity from moving magnetism (1931), Sir Robert Mond donated £5000 for the renovation of the laboratory's theatre.[4]

From the support for this laboratory, Sir Robert Mond moved to become involved with the philanthropic support of other scientific institutions across Great Britain. In 1916 he was, for instance, one of the seven original subscribers to the Hill Observatory Corporation, which aimed to establish an observatory at Salcombe Regis, Sidmouth, Devon. In 1921 the name of this observatory was changed to the Norman Lockyer Observatory in honor of its founder. Mond was made chairman of the observatory corporation in 1917 and served in this position until his death in 1938. Charles S. Gibson wrote about Mond's involvement in the funding of this institution in his obituary: "Since its foundation, the observatory has been equipped and maintained entirely by private donations, and Robert Mond was one of its chief benefactors."[5]

Fig. 5.1 Robert and Alfred Mond. Courtesy of the Mond family

Following in his father's transnational footsteps, Sir Robert Mond expanded his philanthropic activities across France, Germany, Egypt, Palestine, and Canada. His transnational philanthropic activities included the support of hospitals, research institutes, museums, and archaeological excavations, and they created a transnational space that reached from Toronto, London, and Paris to Berlin, Jerusalem, and Thebes. Among the many associations he supported were the Emperor Wilhelm Society, the Egypt Exploration Society, and the German Orient Society.[6] He also gave, for instance, £8000 (=1,000,000 francs) to the Maison de la Chimie in Paris in 1929, and he supported the British Institute in Paris.[7] The donations made by Sir Robert Mond for various purposes were enormous and surpassed the amounts donated by his father.

Donations of Sir Robert Mond During His Lifetime[8]

Institution/purpose	*Amount in £*
The Infants' Hospital Westminster	100,000
Other hospitals	10,000
Scientific institutions	50,000
Archaeology	60,000
Museums, libraries	15,000
War donations	70,000
Total	**305,000**

The total amount of donations is truly remarkable, since his net worth at the time of his death was assessed at £645,407.[9] That would mean that he gave away nearly half that amount for philanthropic purposes during his lifetime. The obituary in the *STAR* even came to the following conclusion: "As far as this country is concerned, he came near to being, before the advent of Lord Nuffield, Public Benefactor Number One."[10] Nuffield, about ten years younger than Mond, had made a fortune in the car industry. The total value of his donations and bequests has been estimated at £28 million. He provided funding for medical research and hospitals across the country. In 1937 Nuffield gave £1 million to Oxford University for the creation of a new college. And he provided an endowment of £10 million for the establishment of the Nuffield Foundation in 1943.[11]

Sir Alfred Mond showed little appreciation for his father's transnational orientation and his philanthropic activities that were not aimed at receiving acceptance from the members of London's High Society. He opposed his father's idea of creating an art museum in Cologne, and in general objected to the spending of money on philanthropic projects. From the outset, Sir Alfred Mond had disagreed with his father's decision to leave significant sums to public institutions in Germany and Italy, since he would have preferred that if any funds had to go to philanthropy, his family would have spent these philanthropic funds on institutions in England. This is also reflected in the publication of Jean Paul Richter's book *The Mond Collection*, which came out shortly after Ludwig Mond's death. The extended Mond family, including the ailing Ludwig Mond and Henriette Hertz, had seen and after some substantial revisions approved of the final proofs of the book manuscript. It seems that Henriette Hertz, who was negotiating the transfer of her home and library in Rome to the Emperor Wilhelm Society, wanted this book to be published in German rather than in English. However, she was unable to convince Ludwig Mond to support a German edition of this book, probably due to the pressure of his son, Sir Alfred. Ludwig Mond had, according to Jean Paul Richter, "in the best interest of his family" favored an English edition.[12]

The discussion over whether this catalogue should be published in German or in English—no one seems to have suggested an Italian edition—needs to be seen in the context of Ludwig Mond's consideration of donating his collection of paintings to a new gallery in Cologne. Such a move would have been in the tradition of Mond's philanthropic practices, which were not boxed in by national borders. It would also have afforded Mond with greater public recognition in the European art world, since the Mond Collection would have come to dominate the new museum. His sons seem to have been against this idea from the start, since they saw a donation to the National Gallery in London as being in their best interest. Placing the Mond Collection at the heart of the British art world ensured them of social recognition and furthered the social climbing efforts of Sir Alfred Mond, in particular. The introduction written by Richter to *The Mond Collection*, which discusses the tradition of art collecting in Europe and the exceptional place of the National Gallery in particular, needs to be understood in this context. Ludwig Mond wanted to create a European art collection; Sir Alfred Mond needed the Mond Collection to be part of the British art pantheon.

Sir Alfred Mond's rejection of philanthropy is evidence that philanthropic behavior is not automatically passed on from one generation to the next. The cold relationship between Ludwig Mond and his son might have contributed to the distancing of Sir Alfred from the philanthropic and transnational lifestyle of his father. Sir Alfred Mond never had a close relationship with his father, which would have allowed for his participation in one of his father's philanthropic endeavors. Ludwig preferred his first-born son, Sir Robert, who was intellectually brilliant and who shared the scientific curiosity of his father. Sir Alfred, by contrast, was considered "the fool of the family," who deeply disappointed his father by failing the natural science tripos at Cambridge.[13]

Ludwig Mond was also often absent from his family's home because of his business, and he kept on purpose, a distance from both sons. Henriette Hertz provided guidance to Sir Alfred, and John T. Brunner became his "political and spiritual mentor."[14] Sir Alfred chose, in an act of rebellion against his father, the career of his father's business partner, who after a successful career as business man became a Liberal member of Parliament in 1885, as inspiration and guidance. While his father had no longing for integration into the British upper class and preferred to spend his winters in Rome than in London, Sir Alfred Mond envied the lifestyle of the British nobility with their castles, their social clubs, and their political careers. Sir Alfred wanted very much to become a respected Englishman.[15]

His advances into English High Society were severely hampered by his upbringing. Raised by parents who had excluded religion from their household, Sir Alfred was neither prepared for becoming a member of the Jewish community nor for being accepted into Anglican society. The reluctance of his father and mother to adopt English as their sole language at home as well as the import of German nannies made sure that Sir Alfred learned German before he learned English, leaving him with a lifelong audible accent.[16] From the German environment at home, Alfred Mond was thrown at a young age into the hostile environment of English public schools. Students and teachers reminded him of his awkwardness and of his outsider status, since he was seen as both a Jew and a German. Gwyn M. Bayliss, in her dissertation about Sir Alfred Mond, seems to insinuate that Sir Alfred blamed his upbringing and his parents for his outsider position in school and life when she wrote:

> In reaction against the easy cosmopolitanism of his home, and as an attempt to adapt himself to a hostile environment, Alfred struggled pathetically to

> become English to the core. Consumed by the need for acceptance, he practised for hours with a football alone on the playing fields of Cheltenham. Ironically, he was attracted by the very mores and prejudices of English society which were to prove obstacles to his advance.[17]

Sir Alfred Mond's distancing from the German heritage of his parents was inspired not only by his attempts to fit into English High Society but also by the continued Anti-Semitic and anti-German attacks on him. After Sir Alfred Mond was elected to Parliament in 1905, he frequently faced anti-Semitic comments from Edward Turnour, the sixth Earl Winterton when he gave speeches.[18] He was attacked for being both Jewish and German. To his xenophobic contemporaries "a person of German origin was naturally suspect. Mond became for various people the personification of their fear."[19] The outbreak of war in 1914 made it clear to Sir Alfred Mond that he was further from his goal of being accepted as British and a member of the upper class than he had made himself believe. Immediately after Great Britain declared war on Germany, Mond was accused in person and in the newspapers of being a "German Jewish traitor." He, thus, faced both Anti-Semitism as well as Anti-Germanism. Journalists did not grow tired of reminding their readers that Sir Alfred's second name was "Moritz" and that his father had made several bequests to his hometown, Cassel, in Germany. A neighbor even accused him of being a German spy who kept carrier pigeons in his London home. In contrast to other prominent Englishmen of German origin, such as Prince Louis of Battenberg, and of Jewish-German origin, such as Sir Ernest Cassel and Sir Edgar Speyer, who withdrew from public life,[20] Mond, chose to do the opposite and continued to pursue his career in politics. He entered government and became the First Commissioner of Works in 1917. He turned his estate at Melchett into a military hospital, and he dedicated his factories entirely toward armament production. His enterprises produced TNT, the first British gasmasks, as well as poisonous gas and glycerin.[21]

Accusations against Sir Alfred Mond did not subside with the end of the war. When in late 1918 Sir Alfred Mond in his position as First Commissioner of Works was charged with the building of a memorial for the British soldiers who had fallen in the war against Germany, an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* declared Mond as simply unfit for this job because of his German ancestry. Publishing this article under his pseudonym Quex, George Herbert Fosdike Nichols demanded:

> No one of foreign blood should come between us and the men who have died for our cause. For four years we have waged a struggle of life and death with Germany, and we intend to commemorate worthily the golden deeds of those who fell by German hands. And how does our Government interpret its duty? It entrusts the delicate office to Sir Alfred Mond, who, by no fault of his own, is of German descent … Now it is possible that Sir Alfred Mond is an administrator of genius. We know nothing about him save his lineage. It is possible that our poor degenerate old country cannot be governed without the help of German blood and German bone. It is possible that we must still rely upon a statesman who, born at Farnworth and educated at Cheltenham and St. John's College, Cambridge is English in no other than a legal sense. Clear though his citizenship is, we cannot forget Ziegenhain and Cologne. After all, we are—even the best of us—shaped and formed by our ancestry.[22]

Nichols concluded his article with the demand that the government remove Mond from his current position because "it is plainly an insult to our dead soldiers that the shrine in Hyde Park, or any other shrine where Englishmen are honoured, should be touched by one who, two generations ago, belonged body and soul, and still by race belongs, to Ziegenhain in Hesse-Cassel."[23]

Bayliss identified three main accusations leveled against Sir Alfred Mond in the public war hysteria of 1914–1918. He was accused of being disloyal to Great Britain on account of his German background, on his unwavering support for economic cooperation between Great Britain and Germany up until 1914, and finally on his Jewish background. It was not so much that Mond was Jewish, as Bayliss argues, but that he was a German Jew. Sir Alfred Mond was by far not the only target of the anti-alien campaign that swept England during the war years. Edgar Speyer, Ernest Cassel, and Alfred de Rothschild were equally attacked and branded as aliens and guests who abused English hospitability by seeking dominance over English economic life. It was economically and politically successful Jews of German background such as Sir Alfred Mond who were confronted with anti-Semitism and anti-Germanism not only because they were of German-Jewish descent but because they had become successful businessmen in charge of important English enterprises.[24]

Continued public accusations such as these made it problematic for Sir Alfred Mond to carry out his obligations as the trustee for his father's last will. In the negotiations between the Board of Trade and the three German beneficiaries, Sir Alfred Mond remained on the sidelines and even

seemed to have tried to undermine the intention of his father by suggesting that the three bequests should be divided into two shares with one part going to an English institution. Sir Alfred Mond actively pushed for redirecting some or all of these funds set aside by his father toward Oxford or Cambridge. Redirecting these funds toward prestigious institutions of higher learning in Great Britain would have certainly enhanced his social status and avoided further accusations about his attachment to his German-Jewish roots.

His silence in this matter when he was approached by the three German institutions and asked for support also has to be seen in the context of his general political stand toward Germany's punishment for the war and the reparation payments to be extracted from Germany. When Lloyd George championed a rather lenient position toward Germany's difficulties in making reparation payments in 1921, Mond was convinced that Germany could and more importantly should make payments to the French and the English. "The French found in Mond," according to Bayliss, "a somewhat unexpected ally" in their refusal to go along with Lloyd George's plea for leniency toward Germany.[25] Mond even sympathized with the French desire for revenge, but he was also frightened by the economic and financial repercussions of a prospective occupation of the Rhine and Ruhr valley by Allied troops. When the growing financial chaos in Germany was cited as a reason for canceling Germany's obligations toward the victorious powers of the war, Mond rejected such an argument outright. "'The real question', he emphasized, was 'not to let the Germans off their just obligations to us, but to obtain reparations in a form advantageous to this country and to the Empire.'"[26] Facing an accelerating devaluation of the German currency, Mond had in March 1921 already developed a program according to which Germany's reparations were to be paid in commodities rather than in worthless marks. Mond

> cited certain schemes for producing cheap electric power, then in abeyance due to the financial situation, which, if Germany provided the necessary machinery, could be executed for a low capital outlay. The result would be to create employment here for the part of the work performed locally and "cheap sources of power would be created which would enable British industry forever to compete on favourable terms with the rest of the world". The electrification of the railways and the provision of free timber and cement for building were other possibilities which occurred to him.[27]

The Transnational Making of a Nation-State: Sir Alfred Mond and the Jewish National Fund

Sir Alfred Mond abstained from philanthropy until late in his life. Only in his last decade did he find a philanthropic purpose. Disappointed with the failure of British policy toward the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, Mond abandoned traditional political means and embraced philanthropic tools to reach his goal.[28] Raised by agnostic parents and married to a devout Christian, Sir Alfred Mond experienced a religious awakening during his trip to Palestine in 1921. In a letter to his wife he wrote of the strong religious feelings that had overwhelmed him. Explaining his Jewish awakening to Violet, Mond wrote "I have learned much I didn't know and which, possibly, no one who is not a Jew will ever be able to understand, for it can only be felt. … I have never lived so intensely as a Jew before (Fig. 5.2)."[29]

In the course of the 1920s, Mond embraced Zionism and became a close friend of Chaim Weizmann, who was the president of the British Zionist Federation and who had pressured the Foreign Secretary Arthur

Fig. 5.2 Sir Alfred Mond. Courtesy of the Mond family. From the Painting by Sir John Lavery

Balfour to issue in 1917 his famous Balfour Declaration in which the British government promised its support for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Mond agreed to become president of the British Zionist Federation and joint chairman of the council of the Jewish Agency which in the late 1920s was recognized by the British government as the appropriate representative of the Jews living under British control in Palestine.[30] After he had left his political career in 1928, Mond dedicated his remaining years to the purpose of creating a Jewish state in Palestine. These activities found opponents in the Arab world, and Mond was quickly targeted for plans to destroy Arab religion and culture. In 1928 the influential Cairo newspaper *Mokattam* accused Mond of having said "I shall devote the rest of my life to the restoration of Solomon's Temple on the ruins of the Mosque of al Aqsa."[31]

The raising of funds from private supporters became central to the Zionist project since the migration of Jews from across Europe to Palestine as well as the acquisition of land in Palestine required enormous sums. Recognizing the failure of politics, Sir Alfred Mond embraced philanthropy to achieve his dream of creating a home for Jews in Palestine. While he was still actively involved in British politics, Mond pledged in October 1918, when approached by Israel Cohen who was in charge of fund-raising for the Jewish National Fund, £5000 annually for a period of five years toward this fund that was to acquire land for Jews in Palestine.[32]

Cohen provided a rather detailed account of his first encounter with Sir Alfred Mond in his autobiography. Mond had caught Cohen's eye because of his published statement about the importance of the Balfour Declaration. Sir Alfred Mond had gained public prominence because of his industrial and political success but "he had never previously associated himself with the Jewish community."[33] Mond seemed to have changed course with regard to his relationship to the Jewish community and the creation of a homeland for all Jews when he gave an interview in May 1918 in which he stated that the "dignity and importance of our whole race will be enhanced by the existence of a national home where those of our people who have been compelled to live under less favorable conditions than we enjoy will be able to establish themselves on the soil of their ancestors."[34] It was this statement that caused Cohen to approach Mond and to ask him for a donation toward the Jewish National Fund in fall of 1918. Cohen was very cautious and did not ask for a specific amount. "He was generally reputed to be a millionaire, and it was therefore natural that I should expect a larger sum than I had hitherto obtained, but I could not recall

any donation to any Jewish cause in this country until then exceeding a few hundred pounds." When Cohen met with Mond in his office at the House of Commons, he was given a warm welcome. Cohen quickly "realized that Sir Alfred liked to talk". He, therefore, "decided to be a patient and appreciative listener." Mond engaged in a long monologue in which he

> spoke about the approaching end of the war, the confused situation in Russia, the future of the Jews in that country and other parts of Eastern Europe, the future of Palestine, and the implications of the Balfour Declaration. Now and again he would rise from his chair, continue talking as he paced up and down the length of the room, turn to me for a sign of corroboration, and then resume his seat. He also spoke about his personal interest in the establishment of a Jewish national home, referred to the anti-Semitic attacks against him in his constituency, and said that if he were not returned at the next election he would devote his time to the Zionist cause.[35]

Mond decided without much deliberation to donate £5000. This amount surpassed any expectations Cohen had held before he went into this meeting. While Cohen contended that this donation was "by far the largest sum that I have ever heard of as a gift to any Jewish cause",[36] it proves to be a gross exaggeration given that Baron Maurice de Hirsch provided in 1891/1896 nearly £8 million for the founding of the Jewish Colonization Association, which helped Eastern European Jews migrate to North and South America and provided the means to establish agricultural settlements in the receiving countries.[37] Mond expressed his hope to Cohen that his generosity would "make some of our rich Jews sit up and do the right thing"[38] by providing funds toward the Jewish National Fund. The idea to create such a fund in order to acquire land for Jewish settlers in Palestine was the brain child of the rabbi and professor of mathematics at the University of Heidelberg Hermann Schapira. He presented his proposal for a fund that was to purchase land in Palestine for the creation of the Jewish state to the First Zionist Congress in Basel in 1897. According to his concept, the fund was to collect donations from Jews across the world for the acquisition of Jewish territory which he envisioned as "inalienable" land that "could not be sold even to individual Jews".[39] The fund was to become the sole owner of the land that should be leased out to individual Jews for periods of up to 49 years. After much controversy and strong opposition from Theodore Herzl, the fund was

created as the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Leisrael) at the Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel in 1901.[40]

The concept and practice of land acquisition for Jewish settlers through the Jewish National Fund was, according to Zvi Shilony, strongly influenced by the attempts of successive Prussian and later German governments to Germanize the population and the landownership in the Province of Posen, which had been annexed by Prussia in the course of the divisions of Poland between Austria, Prussia, and Russia at the end of the eighteenth century. Rather than expropriate Polish estate holders and peasants, the Prussian state pursued its goal of pushing the native Polish-speaking population out by legislative and administrative means. The Prussian Colonization Committee became the most important tool of this policy. Founded in 1886, the Prussian Colonization Committee was charged with the sole task of purchasing agricultural land from Polish nationals and leasing it exclusively to German settlers. Land acquired by the Prussian Colonization Committee could only pass into the hands of German settlers who co-owned the land together with the Prussian state.[41]

In the years following the Fifth Zionist Congress, donations were collected across Europe and North America for the creation of the Jewish National Fund. Lacking large-scale donors, funds only trickled into the collection boxes. The assets of the fund were reported as £19,767 in 1903 and £41,997 in 1905. This amount fell significantly short of the lofty goals of £10 million set by Schapira and even the £200,000 set by the Zionist Congress in 1901. The Jewish National Fund, nevertheless, made its first purchase of land in 1905 with the acquisition of 5600 (Turkish) dunums at Kefar Hittim (northwest of Tiberias), Hulda (south of Ramle), and Ben Shemen (east of Lydda). Since Ottoman Law demanded that land could not be left uncultivated and since the Sixth Zionist Congress had banned leasing land acquired by the Jewish National Fund to Arabs, this land acquisition forced Zionist leaders to expand Jewish colonization of Palestine.[42] The decision to hold the acquired land in trust rather than to sell it to individual Jews promoted alternative cooperative forms of social and economic organization such as the kibbutz. The first kibbutz at Deganya was established in 1909 on the land acquired by the Jewish National Fund south of Tiberias in 1905.[43]

Until the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, the Jewish National Fund continued to collect donations from Jewish donors that were used to enlarge the portion of land in Palestine owned by Jews. In the process, the Jewish National Fund became the second-largest land owner in

Palestine, holding 54% of land owned by Jews.[44] The governing principles of the fund were repeatedly modified by successive Zionist congresses but the fundamental principle—that the Jewish National Fund was to acquire land for the Jewish people for whom it would hold the land in trust rather than sell the land to individual Jews—remained unchanged. Zionist leaders did not prohibit private ownership of land by Jews, but they severely discouraged it through the land policies embraced by the Jewish National Fund. The Zionist Congress in London in 1920 adopted, nevertheless, some important modifications to the land-leasing practices of the Jewish National Fund, which made the leases more permanent. Land leases, originally limited to 49 years, could be renewed for another 49 years, bringing the total lease time to 98 years. Leases could also be inherited by one designated heir.[45]

The creation of the Jewish National Fund and the growing support for this fund among wealthy Jewish donors was a reflection of the necessity to acquire title to the land within the future state of Israel. Otherwise, most land within the territory of Palestine would have continued to have been the property of Arabs and the British Crown. Mond and other leading Zionists realized that receiving the political support of Great Britain for a Jewish state in Palestine was not sufficient for the creation of a viable nation-state. In November 1918, Mond participated in the meetings of the Advisory Committee on Palestine, which focused on the issue of land ownership and the acquisition of land for Jewish migrants. Sir Alfred Mond's daughter Eva, the Marchioness of Reading, remarked in her autobiography:

> A National Home without land was an anomaly, as Chaim Weizmann himself always pointed out. Even if Crown land, or waste or unoccupied lands could be purchased they would not satisfy the needs of the Jewish population. The rich Arab absentee landlords controlled some sixty per cent of all arable land in the country: the problem was to get them to sell some of this land at a fair price.[46]

Initially Mond believed that it was up to the British government to provide land for Jewish settlers. He insisted that "if the British Government desired to assist in the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine it was only right and proper that the Government should give, free from debt and without any money consideration all Crown lands to the Jewish people."[47] Mond's proposal found little support within the government,

and Jews were forced to buy land at quickly rising rates. But it was not just the acquisition of land that needed to be funded; the construction of the infrastructure for an entirely new state also needed the support of Jews worldwide. For this purpose, a second fund-raising body was founded at the World Zionist Congress in London in 1920 under the name of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod). Sir Alfred Mond took the lead in the fundraising activities of this fund in England, which started in December 1920 in Manchester. He gave the opening address in which he pointed out that this fund needed to collect about £25 million for the construction of the state of Israel.[48] To entice other large donations, Mond set an example by contributing £10.000 to this fund.[49]

As in the case of the Jewish National Fund, expectations with regard to the donations were set too high. By 1939, donations for the Palestine Foundation Fund had reached only £7.3 million and, thus, less than a third of the anticipated target. Most donations came from Jews living in the USA (47%) and from across continental Europe (26%). British donations accounted only for 6% of the total donations.

Donations Toward the Palestine Foundation Fund from April 1921 to September 1939[50]

Region/country	*Total donations in £*	*Share in percentage of total donations*
USA	3,425,414	47
Continental Europe	1,901,107	26
South Africa	821,408	11
Great Britain	450,749	6
Canada	240,090	3
South and Central America	192,856	3
Palestine	166,211	2
Asia, Australia, and North Africa	157,839	2
Total	**7,355,674**	**100**

Thirty-one percent of the fund's expenditures were directed toward building up agricultural settlements through the funding of housing construction, drainage projects, and the training of farmers. The number of settlements established by the Palestine Foundation Fund rose from 25, with a population of 2205 people in 1922, to 111, with a population of

28,909 people in 1939.[51] A further 19% of the fund's budget went into culture and education. The fund supported the building of kindergartens and schools, and played a major role in the financing of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem from its inception in 1918 and in the funding of the Hebrew Technical Institute in Haifa, which was founded in 1925.[52]

The Palestine Foundation Fund also supported enterprises such as the Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Mining Syndicate through direct investments. It provided the funding necessary for preliminary exploration work and for setting up the electric company. The fund also helped to finance the Palestine Potash Company, which began in 1930 with the extraction of minerals from the Dead Sea. And in 1921, the Palestine Foundation Fund formed the General Mortgage Bank of Palestine as the central credit institution for construction in towns and suburbs.[53]

Expenditures of the Palestine Foundation Fund from April 1921 to September 1939[54]

Items of expenditure	*Total amount in £*	*Share of expenditures in percentages*
Immigration and training	1,069,431	12
Agricultural settlement	2,723,160	31
Labour and housing	894,243	10
Urban settlement, trade, industry and investments	680,86	8
Education and culture	1,655,801	19
Health and social services	374,823	4
National organization, security and emergency aid	758,087	9
General administration and miscellaneous	580,650	7
Total	**8,737,055**	**100**

Sir Alfred Mond's activities on behalf of both the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund as well as for the Jewish Agency were not without conflict. In 1928, he was alarmed by the creation of socialist/communal settlements (kibbutzim) on the land bought with the funds collected through the Jewish National Fund. Kibbutzim emerged as a form of communal rural settlement among Jews who came to Palestine

from Russia and Eastern Europe. After the first kibbutz was created at Deganya in the swamp desert of the Jordan River valley at the southern shore of Lake Galilee in 1909, many more such communal settlements followed on land purchased by the Jewish National Fund. Mond was fundamentally opposed to any kind of socialist experiment in Palestine, and he criticized leaders of the Zionist movement for embracing such ideas. In a letter to Chaim Weizmann from February 28, 1928, Mond wrote: "Anyone who is responsible for the incredible muddle of the colonisation system, and has submitted to a system of theoretical socialistic organizations apparently determining the colonization of a country, can scarcely carry much weight with me."[55]

In 1929, Weizmann convinced Felix Warburg and Sir Alfred Mond to join him in the formation of the Jewish Colonization Corporation, which was intended not as a philanthropic trust but as an enterprise with shares to be bought by wealthy Jews. Warburg contributed $500,000 and Mond subscribed £100,000 to this corporation. The purpose of this cooperation was to develop Palestine and to prepare it for the arrival of Jewish migrants.[56] Sir Alfred Mond further acquired a plot of land on the shores of Lake Galilee as a place to which he planned to retire.[57] Here he started citrus plantations for the purpose of attracting middle-class settlers. His daughter Eva, the Marchioness of Reading, wrote about the project:

> The land was divided up into individual orange and grapefruit orchards with a plot set aside for a house and garden. His agent Mr. Moses, toured Europe and sold orchards which were to be on a seven year plan, the time it takes for citrus to become full bearing; the company would develop the orchard and hand over to the purchaser a going concern. A small village was built for the labourers and it was named Tel Mond.[58]

His wife, Violet, resented Sir Alfred's ever growing engagement for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. He drifted farther and farther away from her and from his earlier dream of becoming a respectable Englishman. In Palestine, Mond finally emancipated himself from his overbearing father and from his futile attempts of being accepted into British High Society.[59] Ironically, he also returned to the ways of his father by employing philanthropy to achieve his goal of creating a transnational space: in Sir Alfred's case it was the geographic space of Palestine to be settled with Jewish migrants from across Europe.

Sir Robert Mond and the Infants' Hospital in Vincent Square

Sir Robert Mond did not share the political and social ambitions of his brother, Sir Alfred. He enjoyed the life of a philanthropist, scholar, and scientist who not only provided funding for the building of the Infants' Hospital but also was engaged at his estate at Combe Bank in research that was to improve the quality of milk and who not only gave money for archaeological excavations in Egypt but who actually participated and led such excavations. While Sir Robert sought a purpose for his life in these scientific and archaeological endeavors, it is his philanthropic support through which he achieved, according to his obituaries, greatness. The *Times* obituary stated: "He did not contribute overmuch to scientific literature. He was no specialist, but more of a wanderer in academic and scientific places."[60] And Charles Gibson wrote in his obituary for the journal *Nature*: "His scientific greatness lay not so much in what he himself discovered or achieved but in what he did to make it possible for those to achieve who were less fortunately placed."[61]

There was also a practical reason that prevented Sir Robert from seeking a political career and the integration into London's High Society in the ways of his brother. After his first wife had died, Sir Robert met Marie-Louise Guggenheim at one of the social events at his estate at Combe Bank. He fell in love with her, and they entered into a secret relationship that he did not want to become public because of her questionable reputation. Guggenheim was born into a very poor family in Belle-Ilse-en-Terre, Brittany. Her father, Guillaume le Manach, was a miller who together with his wife had ten children. When she turned 18, she moved to Paris and became a courtesan at the Moulin Rouge. Her life changed when she met Simon Guggenheim and married him in 1894. After his death in 1900, she entered into a scandalous and public relationship with Antonio Maria Luis Felipe Johann Florens d'Orleans et de Bourbon in 1900. Her lover was the Infante of Spain and the fourth Duke of Galliera in the Kingdom of Italy. Married since 1886 to his cousin Infanta Eulalia of Spain, the daughter of Queen Isabelle II of Spain, Antonio met Marie-Louise Guggenheim at the Savoy Hotel in London. Their public love affair became a topic of conversation in London, Paris, and Seville. After six years, Antonio left his lover, who by then had been introduced to London's High Society. It was after this breakup that Sir Robert Mond was introduced to her. Fearful of

the social repercussions, Sir Robert Mond and Marie-Louise Guggenheim decided to keep their relationship a secret for nearly 15 years. They finally married in 1922.[62]

Forgoing a political career and even rejecting the offer of a peerage in 1909, which would have called public attention to his private life, Sir Robert dedicated his life to philanthropy. As a philanthropist, he could remain in the background and still make influential decisions through the institutions and projects he supported. The death of his first wife was for Sir Robert Mond the occasion for engaging in a large charity project. In memory of his first wife, Edith Helena, Sir Robert Mond financed in 1907 the building of the Infants' Hospital in Vincent Square, Westminster. The marriage between Sir Robert and Edith took place in 1898 and lasted only seven years, until Edith's death. Edith Levis came from a well-off German-Jewish family. Her father had been born in Karlsruhe in 1831, and her mother had been born in Bad Dürkheim in 1837. After their relocation to England, her family had established itself as successful merchants (rubber importers) in Manchester. When her mother died in 1886 and her father in 1888, Edith came to live with her famous sister, Adele Mayer, who in 1883 had married the banker of the Rothschild Bank, Carl Ferdinand Meyer, who in 1909 gave £70,000 to the Shakespeare Memorial National Theatre.[63] Both families—the Monds and the Levis—shared a common experience of migration and of distancing from Judaism. Edith even went a step further by converting to Christianity after the death of her parents. The Monds and the Levis remained excluded from English society and culture, but in contrast to Ludwig and Frida Mond, who did not care about integration into English society, it was not for want of trying to fit in—in the case of the Levis. Imitating their English peers, the Levis rented country estates regularly and gave lavish parties. But German was the language spoken at these parties, which were attended by people of similar backgrounds. John Michael Cohen concluded that "they remained a still unassimilated enclave in a Gentile society, from which they were divided by both their love for music, their German habit of family celebrations for which humorous verse was still manufactured in the mother tongue, and by a certain uneasy sardonic humour which jarred on their neighbors."[64] The Mond family as well as the Levis family were, for Todd M. Endelman, with regard to their integration and assimilation into English society rather exceptional cases. Most German-Jewish families were eager to integrate into British society and to adopt the customs of the new homeland. "Many families eager to adapt to the English environment sent their

sons to élite English schools, for example, and made no effort to raise their children in a German-speaking atmosphere."[65]

Edith Mond had given birth to two children before she died from an overdose of sleeping pills in 1905. She had become involved in efforts to decrease infant mortality rates in London sometime in the late 1890s. And it was this interest that brought her into contact with Sir Robert Mond. Frida Brackley, the daughter of Sir Robert and Edith Mond, told an audience at the Children's Hospital in 1947 that her mother had been "a voluntary secretary and helper to a small welfare clinic in Hampstead."[66] And it was here that Sir Robert Mond met his future wife during his visit sometime in 1897.[67]

Infant Mortality

Infant mortality was a significant problem for all European nations around 1900. For the period of 1893–1902, the infant mortality rates for England and Wales were 152 babies out of 1000. The rate for Germany stood at 195, for Austria at 227, for France at 158, and for Italy at 173.[68] About 24% of all deaths in England and Wales in the year 1900 occurred, according to Ralph Vincent, among babies in their first year of life.[69] Malnutrition was the major reason for this extremely high mortality rate among infants. But those who survived childhood were according to Vincent, not necessarily better off. "The physical deformities, the mental and nervous defects, in the surviving child and adult are to be seen on all sides."[70] Vincent and many contemporary physicians and social reformers across Europe and North America framed the transnational phenomenon of malnutrition among working-class families as a national crisis. While these reformers always had an eye on the developments in neighboring countries and even across the Atlantic Ocean, the protagonists of this reform movement never called for a transnational solution to this transnational problem of early capitalist societies in the Western World but rather embraced an argumentation in which they highlighted the damages done by malnutrition and the high infant mortality rate to their respective nation and to their respective national economy. The argument about the deformations and disabilities caused by malnutrition as well as the argument about their economic and financial ramifications were steeped deeply in the vocabulary of the eugenic discourse (Figs. 5.3 and 5.4).

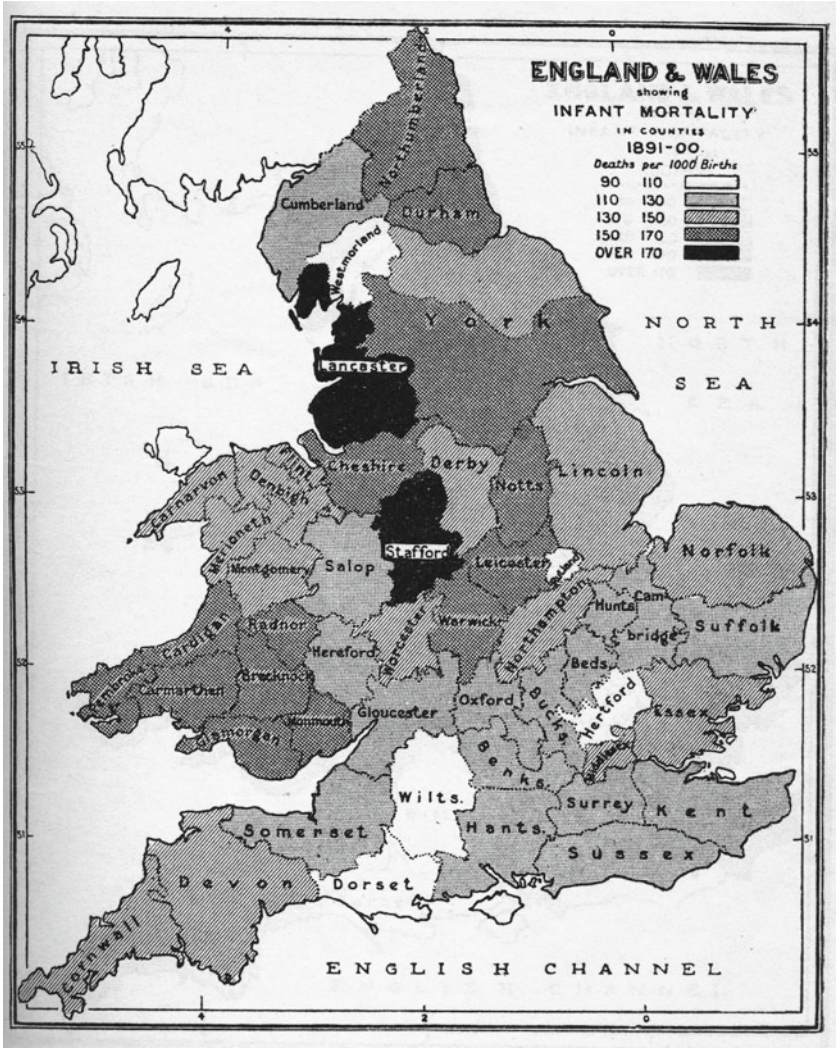

Fig. 5.3 The Infant Mortality Rate in England and Wales for 1891–1900. Reproduction from *George Newman, Infant Mortality: A Social Problem*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company 1907, p. 22

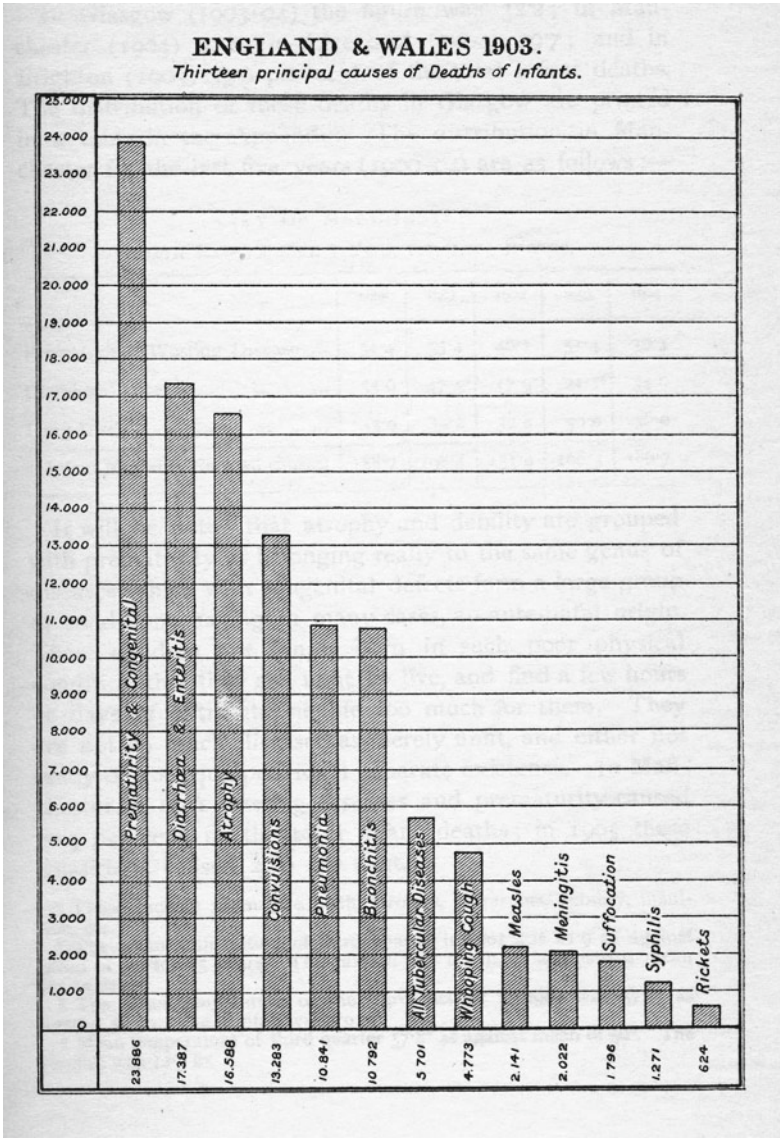

Fig. 5.4 The Causes of Death for Infants in England and Wales in 1903. Reproduction from *George Newman, Infant Mortality: A Social Problem,* New York: E. P. Dutton and Company 1907, p. 46

Deaths in England and Wales at Various Ages in the Year of 1900[71]

Age	*Number of deaths*
From birth to 3 months	68,820
From 3 to 6 months	30,283
From 6 to 12 months	43,809
Total under 1 year	**142,912**
From 1 to 2 years	37,240
From 2 to 3 years	13,973
From 3 to 4 years	9122
From 4 to 5 years	6713
Total from 1 to 5 years	**67,048**
From 5 to 25 years	48,249
From 25 to 35 years	32,062
From 35 to 45 years	41,288
From 45 to 55 years	50,196
From 55 to 65 years	63,579
From 65 to 75 years	72,799
From 75 years and upwards	69,697
Total for all ages above 5 years	**377,870**

And while infant mortality was a phenomenon that affected rural and urban areas alike, certain causes of death such as diarrheal diseases were much more fatal in urban districts than in rural districts. Infections of the respiratory system as well as gastrointestinal diseases were "aggravated by bad housing conditions, poverty, artificial feeding, and domestic insanitation. It has been shown that in poor homes diarrhœa alone may cause an infant mortality rate of 30 or 40 per 1000 births, whereas under better circumstances it may contribute only 10 or 12 per 1000 to the infant mortality rate."[72] The physician Theophilus Nicholas Kelynack reminded his audience in his guest lecture at the Infants Hospital in November 1907 that of 1000 children born in London, 150 did not reach their first birthday. In some places in England the mortality rate of infants reached much higher levels of up to one-third of the children born. And among children born out of wedlock, the mortality rate was as high as 50%.[73]

Before an improvement of this dire situation could be achieved, public awareness had to be created. As with all social reform efforts around 1900, large segments of the middle and upper classes simply ignored the situation of the lower classes since they rarely met. The worlds of laborers

and of lords were divorced, and contact was rather rare. Friendly visitor schemes for working-class apartments in London such as the one developed by Octavia Hill in the 1860s and 1870s were, therefore, so important because they brought together individuals from two different worlds and introduced the wealthy to the problems of the poor.[74] It was not much different with infant mortality that affected disproportionately the babies of working-class families. Infant mortality was, as George Carpenter pointed out, "a class mortality: it is practically confined to artisans and the laboring classes, and does not exist to any serious extent in the upper and middle classes."[75]

An institution dedicated to the care of babies from working-class families in their first weeks and months appeared absolutely essential to address this problem. In 1903 a small number of well-off women and men came together under the leadership of Edith Mond and the physician Dr. Ralph Vincent to establish a committee that sought to create an infants' hospital. For Vincent, improved milk supply seemed to be the key to an improvement of the survival chances for babies from working-class families. Therefore, he had been an active promoter of an improved milk supply through milk depots before he turned toward the creation of an infants' hospital. He also authored various reports on this topic and published his book *The Nutrition of the Infant* in 1904. Vincent was influenced in his ideas by the Boston physician and first professor of pediatrics at Harvard University Thomas Morgan Rotch, who "propounded a system by which the conditions of the natural food might be most closely approached, and by which the regulation of the food mixtures could be adjusted to the varying requirements of health and disease."[76] Rotch had joined the staff of the Children's Hospital in Boston in 1882. From early on in his career, he concerned himself with artificial feeding and the modification of cow's milk for nursing infants. Rotch established in 1890 together with Walker Gordon in Boston the first worldwide milk laboratory. He had already insisted in 1887 that milk given to infants needed to "correspond as closely as possible to human milk with the percent of fat, sugar, and casein altered to suit individual needs."[77] Since he was convinced that artificial feeding would inevitably increase with progress in civilization, Rotch developed detailed and minute protocols and procedures for the feeding of babies. Harry Bloch wrote about Rotch's approach: "His method comprised varying percentages of milk ingredients calculated with minute exactness down to tenths of a percent. In the first edition of his textbook, the chapter of feeding ran 134 pages (153–287) of a total of 1100."[78]

Vincent developed in his book *The Nutrition of the Infant* a concrete vision for the improvement of the feeding of infants with specially treated cow's milk. He wrote:

> Hospitals for the treatment of diseases of nutrition in infants need to be established in every large town or district. … The hospital in each district would serve as the centre of an organization, which should be arranged so as to include every important factor. While there should be one hospital, there should be crèches in great number distributed throughout the area, so that infants who cannot be adequately fed or cared for in their own homes may be provided for.[79]

Vincent was absolutely convinced that

> the poor mother working in a factory cannot secure for her infant the necessary care and attention. Systematic visitation and inspection of infants by suitable persons, carried out in a manner calculated to evoke the sympathetic assistance of the parents and relatives, would be an important part of the organization. The provision of pure cow's milk, with laboratories for its modification, together with arrangements for its daily distribution, would appear to be of the first importance.[80]

Even before his book was published, Vincent began in 1902 to apply his knowledge to practical solutions to the improvement of infant nutrition. He cooperated with the Walker-Gordon laboratories in Boston "in designing and arranging a farm and milk laboratory for the production of (1) pure whole milk, (2) modifying milk for infants."[81] He was also the driving force behind the founding of the Infants' Health Society in 1904, which was backed financially and socially by Edith Mond and her husband. The purpose of this society was to establish an infants' hospital that was to supply milk to newly born infants in cases in which the mothers were too weak to breastfeed their babies. The Infants' Hospital was first established on the premises of the St. Francis Cripples' Home at Denning Road, Hampstead Heath. A newspaper article that reported about the founding of this charitable institution read:

> The Hospital was founded "for the scientific treatment of young babies suffering from malnutrition," and it was the aim of the committee to make it "a centre for the treatment of infantile diseases, for the study of all the factors connected with the rearing of a strong people, and the prevention of the

> conditions responsible for the prevalence of tuberculosis and those physical imperfections endangering the national health."[82]

It was further to become a place that would "afford Medical Practitioners and Students adequate opportunity for becoming practically acquainted with the factors governing infantile nutrition; to train infant-nurses; and, generally, to investigate in the fullest possible manner the diseases and disorders of infants arising from primary malnutrition."[83]

The Infants' Health Society

In February 1904, Vincent's activities bore fruit with the founding of The Infants' Health Society. The objective of this society was

> to spread a knowledge of, and to put on an organized basis, the best methods of systematically dealing with the chief factors prejudicially affecting the health and life of Infants; to maintain the Infants' Hospital; to encourage the formation of institutions, such as Dispensaries and Milk Depots, etc. for the purpose of supplying, either with or without payment, food adequate in quantity and quality for the needs of each Infant; and to co-operate with other bodies, public or private, either by direct affiliation or otherwise; to make grants from any surplus funds at its disposal to any bodies responsible for undertakings in consonance with the aims of the Society; and generally to further the work of the Society by means of pamphlets, leaflets, lectures, and all other measures that may be deemed desirable.[84]

The membership fee was set at a modest one guinea. The founders made it clear, however, that larger sums were needed and that the Society "greatly desires to elicit the practical sympathy of ladies and gentlemen who are in a position to assist it by large donations or subscription."[85]

The Infants' Health Society sought to publicize information about infant mortality and actions that could be taken to lower it in order to raise awareness that would in time—at least this was the hope of the organizers—lead to financial support for this society. The Society's report for 1904 read: "Many thousands of leaflets have been issued dealing with the question of infant mortality and disease, and recently a pamphlet entitled 'The Present Conditions of Infant Life and their Effect on the Nation' has been published by the Society. This pamphlet it is intended shall be widely circulated for the double purpose of seeking additional financial support, and of endeavouring in a measure to bring

about a change in the existing state of affairs."[86] To further the Society's goal, five social events were held in the course of 1904 at the homes of prominent members of society—Lady Beachcroft (Craven Hill, Hyde Park), the Misses Mullins (Lyndhurst Gardens, Hampstead), Lord Mansfield (Kenwood, Hampstead), Edith Mond (Berkeley Square), and Miss Holland (Niddry Lodge, Kensington)—to which about 500 people were invited.[87]

The Society's pamphlet *The Present Conditions of Infant Life, and their Effect on the Nation* was brutally clear in the description of the conditions infants experienced in their first weeks and months of life. The authors also left no doubt that the high infant mortality rate was due to poverty, malnutrition, and exhaustion of the infants' working mothers. The problem was, thus, framed first as a problem stemming from the exploitation of the working class and second as a danger to the continued existence of the British nation. The pamphlet read:

> About one-fourth of the total deaths are contributed by the deaths of infants under one year of age, … Of the survivors among the working classes, about one-half appear to be so injured by the conditions as to be incapable of developing into healthy adults; so that not only do they contribute little in the shape of work or production, but many of them become a most severe incubus on the country by reason of the accommodation in the shape of lunatic asylums, hospitals, workhouses, infirmaries, prisons, etc., that are required to deal with them.[88]

Instead of regurgitating statistics, the authors chose specific individual cases to illustrate the problem and to paint a bleak picture that was intended to persuade the reader into supporting this society. One story related the case of a mother who had given birth to 12 children, of which five died before they had reached the age of four. Her youngest baby weight only seven pounds and ten ounces when she brought him to the Infants' Hospital. In spite of the help provided by the hospital he died within a few days.[89] The authors argued that there were two reasons for the high mortality rate among infants: (1) a large number of mothers were physically incapable of nursing their babies; and (2) there was no efficient substitute for the milk produced by mothers.[90] The result was malnutrition, which caused, in the eyes of the authors, "the retarded development of the country." Malnutrition did not just cause the death of babies; it also retarded the development of those who survived. The result was

an increasing number of cases of "rickets," epileptics, and insane people who have little resistance to childhood diseases such as measles and scarlet fever.[91] The pamphlet pointed repeatedly to the financial burden imposed on all members of society as well as the economic loss caused by the high mortality rate among infants as a result of the malnutrition crisis that affected babies from working-class families.

The authors of the pamphlet suggested that it was essential to create milk depots and outpatient departments at which babies could be seen by physicians at regular intervals. Trained nurses should be appointed to districts and charged with visiting the homes of mothers.[92] Furthermore, women from working-class backgrounds needed education about artificial food for babies to ensure that they obtained the right milk and to "break up superstitions."[93] The authors acknowledged that in many cases it was impossible for working-class parents to provide their infants with food "adequate in quantity and quality." It was therefore essential and in the best interest of the nation "to meet the requirements from external sources."[94]

The activities of the Infants' Health Society met with some resistance from medical doctors and members of the upper class. The medical debate over whether it is better to breastfeed or bottle-feed babies was raging, with some doctors such as George Carpenter suggesting that only breastfeeding would be appropriate, while Ralph Vincent, the expert on infant mortality and infant nutrition among the organizers of the Infants' Health Society, championed bottle-feeding. This discussion shows the limitations of understanding among members of the middle and upper classes for the social situation of mothers with working-class backgrounds. Many of these mothers were simply too weak and too exhausted from their daily work in factories to breastfeed their infants. And they were too poor to get the best possible supplement for their infants. As Vincent wrote in his book *The Nutrition of the Infant*: "To inform a poor mother that all she has to do is to obtain a 16 per cent. cream, a fat-free milk, a solution of lactose, etc., and to accurately blend these under certain strict precautions, is a form of irony scarcely to be recommended."[95] It was not just the malnutrition of the babies but also that of their laboring mothers that caused this health crisis, which was often framed by contemporary medical doctors in nationalist and eugenic terms. Carpenter reminded his readers, for instance, that the declining birth rate as well as high levels of infant mortality contributed to the decline of the English population. And he went on:

> Had it not been for the alien immigrant the actual population of England would have decreased. The infantile mortality question is one, therefore, of extreme importance, not only in relation to the growth of the population, but in regard to the physique of the nation. While thousands perish outright, hundreds of thousands who worry through are injured in the hard struggle for existence, and grow up weaklings—physical and mental degenerates. A high infantile mortality rate, therefore, denotes a far higher infantile deterioration rate, and this unwelcome fact must not be lost sight of.[96]

The medical expert on staff of the *Pall Mall Gazette* visited the hospital in its first location and wrote a glowing appraisal of its work. The anonymous physician told his readers:

> It would be no exaggeration to say that each child, when first admitted, was at death's door. It is saved, of course, by the administration of milk: and the question is, what sort of milk? All these children have been fed with the milk of commerce, and with various popular but useless 'foods,' and are dying thereon. But here they receive a milk every ingredient of which is selected as to quality and measured as to quantity. The whole is fresh, but sterilized. At each visit the medical officer notes down on specially prepared charts the exact proportion of each ingredient (casein, other proteids, fat, sugar, and salts) that he considers desirable for each case. The only drug in use in the hospital, except on the rarest occasion, is orange juice, which is reserved for children brought in suffering from infantile scurvy in addition to ordinary malnutrition. But the results here obtained are not merely due, as might be supposed, to the special care taken in the preparation of the milk for each individual child. This method—originally worked out by the American physician Rotch—is perhaps almost superfluous exact: and it does not account for all the hospital's success. For the question is answered at the beginning. The society owns a farm, which supplies the milk for the hospital. This is not to the end that each child—in accordance with the ancient medical superstition not yet explored in non-medical circles—may be fed with the milk from 'one cow', but is meant to enable the society's medical officers to study and control the production of the milk in the first place. The diet of the cows is carefully selected. They are not fed on the objectionable substances, such as oil-cake, which impart to the milk an indigestible oil mistaken by the uninitiated for the fat proper to milk. Indeed, every ingredient in the cow's diet is almost as carefully selected as in the case of the diet of the children whom they are to serve. The result is that these lucky babies are fed as no other non-breast-fed infants can possibly be fed: and they thrive accordingly.[97]

The Mond Family's Support of the Infants' Hospital Society

From the beginning, the Mond family supported this project very generously. In 1903, both Mond brothers, Sir Robert and Sir Alfred, as well as their wives, held memberships in this association and supported the hospital with membership fees and additional donations. In 1906, Ludwig Mond joined with a donation of £100. In 1907, the year in which the new building was opened, 11 members of the Mond family acquired memberships and provided donations. The accumulated contributions toward the Society from its founding to 1907 for Ludwig Mond run at £400 and for Sir Robert Mond at £1222. In 1908, Ludwig Mond, Sir Robert Mond, and Sir Alfred Mond were honored for their contributions to this society by being named vice-presidents. And in 1913, 13 members of the Mond family were members of this hospital society. Sir Robert Mond continued to provide significant contributions to this hospital by paying £500 for an annual subscription beginning in 1908 and about £4200 in additional donations.[98]

Subscriptions to the Infants' Hospital Society from Members of the Mond Family[99]

Name	*Subscription/donation in pounds*				
	1903	*1905*	*1907*	*1908*	*1913*
Dr. Ludwig Mond (b. 1839)	100	100	–	300	–
Mrs. Ludwig Mond (b. 1847)	–	–	–	21	500
Sir Robert Mond (b. 1867)	50	150	425	500	4648
Mrs. Robert Mond (b. 1873)	100	50	–	–	–
Sir Alfred Mond (b. 1868)	–	–	–	3	16
Lady Mond (b. 1867)	–	–	5	2	44
Henry Mond (b. 1898)	–	–	–	–	42
Miss Eva Mond (b. 1895)	–	–	5	20	130
Miss Frida Mond (b. 1899)	–	–	21	42	147
Miss Irene Mond (b. 1901)	–	–	21	42	147
Miss Mary Mond (b. 1901)	–	–	5	25	130
Miss Norah Mond (b. 1905)	–	–	5	5	–
Miss Rosalind Mond	–	–	–	20	130
Alfred Mond Junr.	–	–	2574	5	5
Emil Mond (neé Schweich) (b. 1865)	–	–	–	–	6
Miss May Mond	–	–	5	5	5
Total	**250**	**300**	**3066**	**990**	**5950**

The support from the Mond family for the Infants' Hospital extended across three generations from the grandparent generation (Ludwig and Frida Mond) to the generation of their sons, Sir Robert and Sir Alfred, with their spouses, to the generation of their grandchildren (Sir Alfred's four children Henry, Eva, Mary, and Norah and Sir Robert's two children Irene and Frida). This group from the core family was joined by Ludwig Mond's nephew Emil (Schweich) Mond, the son of his oldest sister, Philippina, who had died at age 33 in 1873. Emil had entered Ludwig Mond's business and married Sir Alfred's sister-in-law Angela Goetze. Two of their four children (Alfred Jr. and May) also joined this society.

Ludwig Mond's sister, Philippina, had married the jewelry trader Leopold Schweich in 1862. While Schweich was quite successful in his business affairs, Ludwig Mond considered him unreliable. His business interests—the export of jewelry to Russia—often kept him away from his children. Cohen, in his biography of Ludwig Mond, comes to the conclusion that Schweich's two children, Emil (born 1865) and Constance (born 1869), "received more help and encouragement from" Ludwig Mond than from their own father.[100] Mond kept an eye on Emil's education, which he received from the Collège de Sainte Barbe and the Lycée Condorcet in Paris, where he grew up, and from the Polytechnicum in Zürich.[101]

Emil, in turn, kept in close contact with Ludwig Mond when he was attending the Polytechnicum from 1884 to 1888 and informed him of the progress of his studies. Among his teachers was Georg Lunge, a friend of Ludwig Mond who also had worked with Bunsen at Heidelberg (although after Mond had left Heidelberg) and who had embarked on a career as an industrial chemist in England in the 1860s.[102] Lunge had joined Bunsen as a research assistant at the University of Heidelberg after he had received his Ph.D. in chemistry from the University of Breslau in 1859. In 1862, Lunge left Heidelberg and entered an industrial career in the alkali business that brought him to England in 1864. For 12 years, Lunge worked as a chemist and works manager with the Tyne Alkali Company. In 1876, Lunge finally received a call to a professorship of chemical technology at the Polytechnicum of Zurich.[103]

Even though Emil's academic performance and the grades he received from Professor Lunge, in particular, were deeply unsatisfactory to Ludwig Mond, his writing about the education he received at the Polytechnicum seemed to have convinced Ludwig Mond to send his first son Robert to attend this academic institution in Zurich, too. Robert attended the

Polytechnicum from 1888 to 1889, but he did not enroll in any courses with Lunge.[104] After Emil had finished his training in 1888, Ludwig Mond hired him but gave him only a minor job in his plant at Winnington. Unhappy with his position, Emil left his uncle's factory to start his own business, in 1892, in Jamaica together with a friend from the college in Zurich, Dr. Emile Bucher. Emil's company, The West Indies Chemical Works, produced dyes from logwood. It quickly became an industrial and financial success. Emil's initiative and success caused Ludwig Mond to reconsider his opinion of his nephew. He, as well as his two sons, invested in Emil's business. When Emil returned to England, he became a technical assistant to his uncle, who entrusted him quickly with running his enterprises. Since both Sir Robert and Sir Alfred had ambitions other than running the chemical enterprise of their father, Emil took over this responsibility. Ludwig treated him almost as if he were his own son, which is also expressed in Emil's decision to change his last name from Schweich to Mond. This change of name occurred long before his biological father Leopold Schweich died in 1906.[105] Ludwig Mond's appreciation for his nephew is also reflected in his appointment as trustee and executor of Mond's estate. He shared this honor with Mond's two sons, Sir Robert and Sir Alfred, and the family's lawyer Bourchier Francis Hawksley, who was a partner in the well-respected London law firm of Hollams, Sons, Coward & Hawksley.[106] And when Frida Mond composed her last will, she treated Emil as an equal to her two sons, Sir Robert and Sir Alfred.[107]

In 1894, two years after Emil had left his job at his uncle's factory for Jamaica, his sister, Constance, moved to the Poplars to live with the Mond family. Constance, who was then 25 years of age, was, according to Cohen, treated "almost as a daughter" by Ludwig and Frida Mond. Through Sir Alfred Mond's marriage to Violet Goetze in 1892, both Emil and Constance came into contact with the Goetze family and other houseguests of the Mond family. In 1894, Emil was married to Angela Goetze, Violet's sister. And in 1907, Constance at age 38, agreed to marry the painter Sigismund Goetze, thereby binding the Schweich/Mond and Goetze families extremely close together.[108]

And while Emil Mond supported the hospital project of his cousin Sir Robert, Constance, probably under the influence and guidance of Sir Robert Mond, created at the British Academy in 1907 an endowment "devoted to the furtherance of research in the archaeology art history languages and literature of Ancient Civilization with reference to Biblical Study."[109] While her brother abandoned his family name and became a

Mond, Constance kept alive the memory of her father, who had died in 1906, by naming the endowment the Leopold Schweich Fund. The gift of £10,000 had been carefully planned and negotiated between Constance and Israel Gollancz, who was a frequent guest at the home of the Monds and the Secretary of the British Academy since its inception in 1902. Since little is known about Constance and her father's interests, Graham Davies suggested that it was Sir Robert Mond who guided Constance in her decision to create this endowment: "The offer of Constance's benefaction came with detailed provisions for its use, including the support of excavations and the distribution of any objects found, and this would be much more intelligible if she were being guided by someone with the interests of Robert Mond."[110]

In 1907, Sir Robert Mond provided the necessary funds for the construction of the new building of the Infants' Hospital in Vincent Square, Westminster (opened in December 1907). The hospital wards provided accommodation for up to 50 infants free of charge to their parents. In addition to the patient rooms, there was also a lecture theatre as well as research laboratories, including a laboratory dedicated specifically to milk research, with elaborate refrigeration units.[111] While the hospital seems to have succeeded in providing care for infants from working-class families, its research and training facilities remained largely underutilized. In 1922, an article on the hospital in the journal *Maternity and Child Welfare* concluded: "The original objects for which the institution was founded were the scientific treatment of young babies suffering from diseases and disorders connected with nutrition, and to serve as a centre for research, and a training school for students. The latter aims have, however, hardly been fulfilled in the past; students have not come for training, and comparatively little use has been made of the research laboratory."[112]

To reinvigorate the project, Sir Robert Mond selected Eric Pritchard as the new director of the hospital in 1922. Pritchard was considered the foremost expert in the field of early childhood care. In contrast to Vincent, Pritchard had no preference for either breastfeeding or bottle-feeding of infants. He was convinced that "where the principles of physiological feeding are understood, a baby can be fed on any form of milk."[113] Pritchard had been actively involved in social reform projects for several years. In 1906, he had founded the first infant welfare centre of London.[114] When Pritchard took over the directorship of the Infants' Hospital, he presented a clear vision according to which this institution was to become "an important teaching centre both for nurses for sick babies and also

for health visitors."[115] However, Pritchard faced significant financial challenges since the hospital lacked an endowment "and is entirely dependent for its working expenses upon voluntary support. It is heavily in debt at present, and it is hoped that a generous public will come forward to prevent curtailment of the many forms of development proposed, for lack of necessary funds."[116]

Sir Robert Mond's support for the hospital project went beyond financial support. Medical experts and social reformers identified poverty, unsanitary housing conditions, and lack of proper feeding in the first weeks of life as the major reasons for the high infant mortality. The provision of nutritious and healthy milk appeared as one important aspect in the fight against infant mortality. Since many women were not able to breastfeed their babies, Infants' Milk Depots were created first in France and later in England.[117] These depots provided pure milk "suitably modified to make it as much like human milk as possible."[118] The Infants' Health Society embraced the idea of milk depots and spearheaded in 1904 the creation of a milk depot in St. Pancras.[119] Following these developments, Sir Robert Mond established a model dairy farm at Combe Bank, with cows to produce the milk provided to infants at the Infants' Hospital. Combe Bank was an estate in Sevenoaks, Kent, acquired by Ludwig Mond in 1906. Ludwig Mond had bought the estate for his son Sir Robert who had just one year earlier lost his first wife, Edith, and for his two young granddaughters Frida and Irene, "for whom their grandfather thought a permanent English country home was essential."[120] However, Combe Bank became the home to Ludwig and Frida Mond as well as Sir Robert Mond and his daughters. And as the other homes of the Mond family at Winnington, London, and Rome, Combe Bank turned into a social center for intellectuals and politicians. Charles Trick Currelly wrote about his visit to Sir Robert Mond at Combe Bank in 1908: "It was a home crammed with guests every weekend, and one might take in to dinner the wife of a cabinet minister, or a little struggling music teacher that Robert had heard of as needing a rest and change and a bit of feeding up."[121]

After his father died in 1909, Sir Robert Mond retreated to the estate at Combe Bank, which his father had left to him and established there laboratories for chemical and agricultural research. The milk produced by his cows was treated and then sent to the Infants' Hospital for dispersal among the patients.[122] In his autobiographical note, Mond wrote about his research into milk that he together with his friend and chief physician at the Children's Hospital Ralph Vincent "made a profound study

of the bacteriology of milk."[123] He further "studied the problem of the production of pure milk and the rational feeding of cows so as to produce milk free from noxious ingredient … and I also, with the assistance of Dr. Vincent, Sir Alexander MacFadyen and Mr. Pugh, made a prolonged study of both the preventive inoculation and the cure of cows afflicted with tuberculosis."[124]

The Infants' Hospital was the only such hospital in all of Europe at that time. And it depended entirely on private support through membership fees and donations such as the frequent donations of Sir Robert Mond, who first financed the construction of the building, then continuously paid annual subscriptions, and gave whenever it was needed, as when the hospital lacked £25,000 for the construction of an extension in 1930.[125] And Sir Robert Mond's support was always welcome, since the hospital required about £3000 annually to fulfill its task of improving the lives of infants. The income from subscriptions and donations regularly fell short of this goal. When founded in 1903, the hospital society could rely on the support of 35 women and 28 men who provided subscriptions in the amount of £103 and donations in the amount of £383. Two years later, the number of supporters had significantly increased to 86 women and 28 men. However, even though the subscriptions rose to £167 and the donation even to £1049, it still fell short of the amount needed to maintain the institution.[126]

The ranks of the hospital society were filled with individuals from London's High Society. Lady Margaret Evelyn Grosvenor, the Duchess of Teck, agreed to take over the presidency of the Society.[127] From 1903 to 1905 the Duchess presided over the Society before she was replaced by the Duchess of Albany in 1906. The organizing committee included William Cavendish-Bentick, the sixth Duke of Portland and Master of the Horse, and Constance Sybell Grosvenor as well as the Countess of Shaftesbury, who had served as Lady and Extra Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Mary. Lady Margaret and the Countess of Shaftesbury both belonged to the family of Victor Alexander Earl Grosvenor. The Society included members of the nobility as well as successful London bankers, lawyers, and industrialists. The majority of its members were women. Of the 113 subscribers for 1905, 85 (=75%) were women.[128]

A significant number of its subscribers came from well-off German-Jewish families who like the Monds had migrated to England just one generation earlier. This group included Gertrude Emily Spielmann, who was the daughter of the merchant banker and millionaire George Charles

Raphael and Charlotte Hanne. Married to Sir Meyer Adam Spielmann, whose parents had migrated to England from Prussia and established a bank in London, Gertrude Emily Spielmann engaged in a wide range of philanthropic activities for Jewish causes. She became a manager of the Jews' Infant School in 1884, and she was one of the founders of the Union of Jewish Women in 1902.[129] She was joined in this organization by her aunt, Ellen Cohen Montague, who was married to the merchant banker Louis Samuel Montague, who in 1911 "became the first professing Jew to inherit a peerage and a seat in the House of Lords."[130] Ellen Cohen Montague was the daughter of the banker Louis Cohen, who was a nephew of Baron Nathan Mayer Rothschild and a major leader of the Anglo-Jewish community.[131] In this group we find also Jessy Louise Solomon, who was the wife of the well-known stockbroker and philanthropist Sir Edward William Meyerstein, who was said to have given to charity £250,000 during his lifetime.[132] And last, but not least, Edith Mond's sister, Adele Meyer, who was married to the banker of the Rothschild Bank, Sir Carl Ferdinand Meyer, felt obliged to support the cause that was created in honor of her deceased sister.

After the death of Edith Mond, his brother's wife, Violet Mond took over a leading role in the Infants' Health Society's fundraising functions. Violet, who according to Jean Goodman "had a strong personality and social aspirations far beyond anyone in her husband's family," seemed to have recognized, in contrast to her husband, Sir Alfred, the social advantages of this position.[133] Violet came from a very artistic family that had very limited financial means. Her daughter, Eva, wrote in her autobiography about her mother's family: "The Goetzes could not be described as an affluent family, and the death of my maternal grandfather led to a severe strain on their resources. Mother told me that they rarely had a superfluity of anything and that her childhood had been a hard one—which may explain her lifelong sense of economy, a quality which she tried to instil in us."[134]

And while Sir Alfred did not share the philanthropic interests of his brother and instead focused on his political career, the two brothers and their families were otherwise quite close. Gordon Raybould, in his history of Combe Bank, argued that both brothers in spite of their very different career paths and interests visited each other very frequently and were in fact very close until 1926, when a split occurred over the formation of the Imperial Chemical Industries.[135] Gordon Raybould speculates that it might have been during one of the frequent parties at Combe Bank that Sir Alfred

Mond's ambitious wife, Violet, was seated right next to Lloyd George. Taking full advantage of the opportunity, Violet Mond apparently tried to persuade Lloyd George "to make her husband a Cabinet Minister."[136]

For Violet, the support for the hospital offered a great opportunity to place herself at the heart of London society. Violet's social climbing ambitions were very well served by the opportunity to organize fund-raising events for this hospital that were attended by the most important members of London's High Society. And since the hospital as well as the fund-raising events enjoyed from 1903 to 1905 the protection of the Duchess of Teck and from 1906 to 1913 the protection of the Duchess of Albany—Princess Helena, who was the widow of Prince Leopold, the fourth son of Queen Victoria, and Prince Albert—these events brought Violet closer to the royal court.

In November 1908, Violet Mond and Edith's sister, Adele Meyer, organized a well-advertised fundraiser at the Playhouse Theatre at Northumberland Avenue. The list of patrons of this event was opened by Queen Alexandra. She was joined by various members of the royal family, including Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll; the Duchess of Albany; Princess Margaret, the Duchess of Teck; and Princess Helena of Schleswig-Holstein. The sale of tickets for the benefit show with comedian Sir Charles Wyndham, Mary Moore, and Cyrill Maude, the owner of the theatre, brought in £500 for the hospital. "Everything tends", a newspaper article suggested, "to a gigantic success, both socially and financially."[137] The event was reported widely in all London newspapers, and Violet Mond was at the center of these reports. Violet Mond, one newspaper clipping from the Metropolitan Archive reads, is

> one of the leading Liberal women in London society. Her striking blond beauty is enhanced by an individual style in dressing. She is the possessor of a charming voice, which she occasionally displays at "Liberal Social" functions. At her gorgeous house in Lowndes Square, Mrs. Mond has figured as one of the most successful of Liberal hostesses, and is an active worker on the Ladies' Liberal Social Council, which has done so much to rival its counter-organisation, the Primrose League. It will be remembered that the portrait of Mrs. Mond, with her two children, was one of Mr. Sargent's chef d'œuvres in last year's Academy.[138]

Violet Mond worked hard at being noticed in London society. And the benefits event at the Playhouse Theatre benefited as much the Infants'

Hospital as it benefited her social ambitions. She was seeking the spotlight and she found it with events such as this one.

The hospital and its supporting society carried on until 1946, when it was amalgamated with the nearby Westminster Children's Hospital. The public discourse about the shortcomings of Great Britain's health care system, which included private, municipal, and charity schemes that led to the introduction of the National Health Service legislation in 1948, affected the future of the Westminster Children's Hospital. Frida Brackley in her address delivered in 1947 argued:

> Whatever may be said of the many faults of organizations in the efficient future, hoped for under State control, the voluntary bodies at least can count countless men and women often unknown, unthanked, who for no gain with pitifully inadequate implements have worked with the professionals of this country, with very little friction producing very far-reaching results, at their own expense, leisure and devotion, purely to alleviate suffering—a country possessing that spirit, possesses something more valuable than even science, let alone gold.[139]

To keep the memory of this voluntary culture alive and to memorialize her parents, without whom the hospital would not have existed, Frida Brackley unveiled in 1947 a tablet to the memory of Sir Robert Mond.[140] It seemed important to the Mond family to preserve the memory of its contributions to public life at the moment at which the hospital was not just renamed but merged with another institution.

These attempts to keep the memory of Sir Robert Mond as founder and financier of the Infants' Hospital alive coincide with the conflict that erupted between the descendants of Sir Alfred Mond and the National Gallery over the collection bequeathed to the museum by Ludwig Mond in 1909 and transferred to the gallery after the death of his wife Frida in 1924. In both cases, the Mond family faced a society that turned away from a reliance on voluntary action and private donations toward cultural and social institutions in favor of a tax-funded and state-centered society. There was little space for the recognition of men such as Ludwig Mond and Sir Robert Mond in this new "progressive" society that embraced a view according to which private funding for public institutions was a remnant of a premodern past. Voluntary action was increasingly considered outdated, and the memory of important donors faded into the mist of history. The Mond Collection was dispersed within the general collection of the

National Gallery and the Infants' Hospital was merged with other hospitals. In both cases, material evidence in form of pictures and buildings—that is, the Mond Room in the National Gallery and the hospital building—somehow survived. Their private sources, however, increasingly became invisible.

Notes

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CHAPTER 6

The Transnational Excavation of Ancient Egypt and Palestine

Finding His Calling: Sir Robert Mond's Contributions to Excavating Egypt's Glorious Past

Sir Robert Mond's intellectual and philanthropic interest in archeology predated his extensive support for the Infants' Hospital. When Mond in the late 1890s spent the winter in Egypt, his interest in Egyptian history was born. From 1902 to his death, Sir Robert Mond figured as one of the most prominent supporters of British Egyptology. But he wanted to be more than just a financier who watched excavations. He desired to be part of it and to engage in archaeological field work. The Egyptologist Percy Newberry wrote in his obituary of Sir Robert Mond: "Ever ready to help in financing explorations in the field, he himself took the keenest pleasure in the actual work of excavating and enjoyed nothing better than being at the bottom of a tomb-shaft, sifting the sand with his own hands in the hope of finding some hidden treasure."[1] His archaeological interest grew with age and extended beyond Egypt. From 1902 to 1938, Sir Robert Mond funded and participated in many archeological excavations in Egypt, Palestine, and France (Fig. 6.1).

Mond's career in Egyptology began in 1902, when he took over the concession for the excavation of Egyptian Thebes from Percy Newberry. Thebes (Waset) was one of the biggest cities in ancient Egypt and for some time its capital. He continued to financially support the excavation of this city when he surrendered the concession

T. Adam, *Transnational Philanthropy*,
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-29127-7_6

Fig. 6.1 Sir Robert Mond and His Mother. Courtesy of the Mond family

to Howard Carter and Arthur Weigall due to the tragic death of his wife in 1905. The Private Tombs at Thebes were "rock-cut funerary chapels of high dignitaries scattered irregularly along the main frontage of the western hills amid and above the straggling village of Gurnah."[2] The individuals buried in these tombs came from "very different ranks and stations in life, from the proudest priesthoods and administrative dignities down to the comparatively humble posts of scribes and minor officials."[3] Excavation of these tombs went hand in hand with their cataloguing (including a complete photographic survey), conservation, and protection through the installation of iron doors that were also paid for by Sir Robert Mond. Carter had experimented with various forms of protecting the burial sites from robbers who stole the tomb decorations to sell them to antiquities dealers in Luxor and Cairo. He first installed wooden doors, then iron grilles, before he moved on to

solid iron doors that proved sufficient for the protection of the graves.[4] In 1909 Mond sent the recent Oxford graduate Charles Gordon Jelf to support Weigall in his work until Weigall had to leave for health reasons in the fall of 1911. In 1914, Mond hired Earnest Mackay, the chief assistant to Flinders Petrie, to continue the excavations at Thebes. His work was interrupted by the outbreak of war and his being called into military service in 1916. In 1923, Mond returned to what he called "one of my day-dreams for many years" and hired Shmuel Yeivin to continue the excavations. One year later, Walter Emery joined Yeivin and took charge of the excavations on behalf of the University of Liverpool Institute of Archeology.[5]

Mond joined various excavation societies, including the Egypt Exploration Society, first in 1906 and then again in 1923, and the German Orient Society in 1912.[6] He was also a patron of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem from its founding in 1919 and joined the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1930. He occupied leading positions in these societies, becoming president of the Egypt Exploration Society in 1929,[7] honorary treasurer of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1920, and honorary treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1930.[8] Mond, further, joined the Committee of the Liverpool University Institute of Archaeology.[9] Percy Newberry wrote about Mond's involvement in the Egypt Exploration Society that from the time at which Mond became president of that society, he "not only financed entirely some of the Society's largest undertakings in the field (and the publication of the results), but gave his enthusiasm, guidance and influential help to all its deliberations."[10]

It is not entirely clear when and why Mond joined the Egypt Exploration Society. Newberry wrote in his eulogy of Mond that he had been a member of the Egypt Exploration Society since 1906.[11] The Annual Report of the Egypt Exploration Society for 1910 lists Mond as a subscriber. However, it seems that sometime thereafter Mond let his membership lapse for about ten years. This was probably due to his support for Flinders Petrie and Mond's support for Petries' British School of Archaeology in Egypt, which emerged as a rival association to the Egypt Exploration Society in 1906. In 1923, when Mond wanted to return to excavations in Egypt, he was forced to rejoin the society since he needed an institutional affiliation. New Egyptian legislation required that archaeologists be affiliated with a scientific body before they could hope to obtain a concession

for excavation. On September 13, 1923, Mond therefore wrote to the secretary of the Egypt Exploration Society:

> As you probably are aware I have been carrying out excavations and repairing works at the cemetery of Chiekh Abdel Gournah for the last 15 years, and hitherto I have had no difficulty in getting my concession renewed by the Egyptian Government. I have now received a communication from Mons. P. Lacau stating that the Antiquities Department is prepared to renew my concession on condition that I affiliate myself with a scientific body. As my work of exploration and restoration has been carried out on the lines which your Society has successfully undertaken for so many years and as I have been distributing the objects in the way which your Society has been doing, it would afford me very great satisfaction if you would accept the mandate and enable me to inform Mons. Lacau that you have done so.[12]

It is not clear whether his joining of the Egypt Exploration Society proved to be sufficient for the Egyptian authorities. It is also not clear why he did not use his affiliation with the German Orient Society, of which he still seems to have been a member at that time. The eulogy for him from the 1938 Annual Report of the Egypt Exploration Society stated that he used his affiliation with the University of Liverpool rather than his membership with the Egypt Exploration Society to gain a concession for excavation in 1923.[13]

In spring of 1927, Mond and Walter Emery began excavation at a new site at Armant (Hermonthis) about ten miles distant from Thebes. They discovered here the burial grounds of the sacred Buchis Bulls. Mond wrote in his introduction to the three-volume *The Bucheum*:

> Whilst completing the excavations in the vicinity of the Tomb of Ramose in the Theban cemetery during the spring of 1926 I was informed by my chief foremen, Moussa Abdel Maluk and Sheikh Omar, of the discovery of a bronze bull and inscribed stonework during some illicit excavations, carried on during the war, in the desert on the edge of the cultivation, about four miles due west of Armant, the ancient Hermonthis. We knew from many classical authors that one especial bull called Buchis by the Greeks and Bar-her-khat by the Egyptians was in the great temple at Armant. The possibility of finding the burial place of the bulls made a very tempting proposition, as Mariette's great discovery of the Serapeum at Memphis some eighty years earlier had thrown peculiarly little light on the cult and conceptions connected with it.[14]

Mond funded the excavations, participated in the excavations, and built an infrastructure for the staff that worked at the site for several years. First, he arranged for clearing a ten-mile long road from Medinet Habu to the excavation site. In 1929, he provided funding for the construction of a permanent camp. Tents were replaced with durable housing structures that provided living spaces for the archaeologists as well as working and store rooms, which were equipped with electric lights and water supplies. The excavations that were conducted from 1928 onward under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society, of which Mond became president in 1929, continued into 1932.[15]

A Transnational National Society: The Egypt Exploration Society

The Egypt Exploration Society had been founded by the numismatist Reginald Stuart Poole and the popular author Amelia Blandford Edwards in 1882 to raise funds for excavations in Egypt. Supported by distinguished religious leaders such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and many bishops of the Anglican Church, this society sought to encourage the finding of artifacts and documents from biblical history. The plan to bring English archaeologists funded by the Egypt Exploration Society into that region was helped by the political turmoil in Egypt that allowed in 1879 for the French and the British to take over administration of the country. However, Egyptian law prohibited the export of any historical artifacts and thus hampered the interest among individuals and museums in contributing to this fund since they could not expect to receive something in return. In 1883, the Society hired William Matthew Flinders Petrie to conduct excavations in the Nil Delta. In contrast to other Egyptologists who focused on studying the hieroglyphs, Petrie realized, according to Margaret S. Drower, "that much of the true history of Egyptian civilisation was to be read in the trifling things, the potsherds and the bricks, the breads and flints and small domestic objects whose broken fragments filled the debris of every settlement site and every cemetery."[16] Petrie received permission from the Director of Antiquities, Gaston Maspero, to purchase objects excavated by the English for the museums back home. This arrangement significantly increased the popularity of the Egypt Exploration Society and secured it subscriptions from across Europe and the USA.

The Egypt Exploration Society was from 1882 to 1914 a transnational phenomenon, with members coming from across Great Britain, continental Europe, and even the USA. In recognition of the transnational composition of its membership, the society had in 1910 vice-presidents for Great Britain, the USA, Australia, France, Switzerland, and Germany. Because of the large number of American subscribers, a separate American branch was established in 1884. Spearheaded by the Reverend William C. Winslow of Boston, American subscriptions were driven, according to Drower "because of its biblical aspect."[17] In 1890, the American branch had 810 subscribers. Of these, 104 subscribers (nearly 13%) identified their profession as Reverend. The British and continental European roster of 601 subscribers included only 42 subscribers (nearly 7%) who self-identified as occupying positions within the church hierarchies from Reverend to Bishop. The popularity of the fund was significantly increased by Edwards' American lecture tour in 1889 that lasted almost five months and brought her to 16 different states.[18] As a result of this publicity tour, the membership roster of the Egypt Exploration Fund was dominated in 1890 by American subscribers who represented 57% of its membership. And even in 1910, when American membership in the Egypt Exploration Society had significantly declined, American subscribers still represented 31% of the society's membership roster. This sharp decline in the number of members was not paralleled by a decline in funding. While the share of American subscribers declined by 26%; the American share of funding declined only by 9% (from 57% in 1890 to 48% in 1910). American subscribers provided in 1890 a total of £1534 (=$7668) and in 1910 still a total of £1241 (=$6205) to the budget of the Egypt Exploration Society.

The Egypt Exploration Society relied upon hundreds of individual subscriptions from wealthy Europeans and Americans. Among its subscribers were the Norwegian Egyptologist Jens Lieblein, the Danish architect Valdemar Schmidt, the President of the Geographical Society of France Prince Roland Bonaparte, and the German Egyptologists Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing and Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Among the well-known American subscribers were the multimillionaire and philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, the philanthropist and supporter of African-American education Olivia E. Phelps Stokes, and the philanthropist and feminist Phoebe A. Hearst, who was the mother of infamous media tycoon William Randolph Hearst. Museums and libraries from across the Western world held institutional memberships. Of the 231 museums and libraries that held subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1910, British institutions

accounted for 202 (=87.4%), while German institutions accounted for 20 (=8.7%), and American institutions accounted for 9 (=3.9%). The remaining 18 libraries and museums were located in France, Belgium, Denmark, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand. All major German university libraries had subscriptions to this fund.[19]

Libraries in the Non-English-Speaking World with Subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Society as of 1910[20]

Germany	*Belgium and France*	*Denmark and the Netherlands*
Berlin Royal Library	Brussels Bibliothèque Royale	Copenhagen Royal Library
University of Berlin	Brussels Institute de Sociologie	University of Groningen
Berlin Royal Museum	Doucet Bibliothèque	University of Leiden
Breslau University Library	University of Lille	
University of Freiburg		
University of Göttingen		
University of Greifswald		
University of Halle		
Hamburg Stadtbibliothek		
University of Heidelberg		
University of Jena		
Kiel University Library		
University of Königsberg		
Leipzig Althistorisches Seminar		
Marburg University Library		
Marburg Altphilologisches Seminar		
University of Münster		
University of Rostock		
University of Tübingen		
University of Würzburg		
Kunstgeschichtliches Museum		

The benefit received by non-English institutions from membership in the Egypt Exploration Society is not entirely clear. "The British Museum was always the greatest beneficiary," writes Margaret Drower in her history of the Egypt Exploration Society. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston also

received a fair share of artifacts in recognition "of the generous contributions made by the American Branch to the finances of the Fund." And even provincial libraries and museums across Great Britain received some items in return for their subscriptions. Whether continental-European and Scandinavian institutions also received artifacts is not clear from the existing records of the society.[21]

Individual Subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Society as of 1910[22]

	Members			*Subscription amounts in pounds for English and in Dollars for American members*[23]	
British subscriptions					
	Men	**Women**	**Clergy**[24]	**Men**	**Women**
Egypt exploration fund	386	164	31	£618	£234
Archaeological survey	100	44	7	£129	£57
Graeco-Roman branch	200	37	26	£268	£37
Subtotal	**686**	**245**	**64**	**£1015**	**£328**
American subscriptions					
Egypt exploration fund	204	128	16	$3258	$2039
Archaeological survey	32	10	2	$399	$165
Graeco-Roman branch	40	10	5	$256	$88
Subtotal	**276**	**148**	**23**	**$3913**	**$2292**

The Egypt Exploration Society shared some fundamental characteristics with the German Orient Society, which had been founded in Berlin in 1898. Both societies succeeded in attracting a large and growing number of individuals who contributed significant amounts of funding for the financing of excavations in the Middle East. The Egypt Exploration Society was able to rely on a large number of individual subscribers right from its founding. In 1890, the fund counted 1411 individual subscribers. By 1910 that number had slightly decreased to a total of 1355. The membership of the German Orient Society, by contrast, started out from a much smaller membership basis. In 1900 it only had 537 subscribers. Within the first decade of the twentieth century it experienced a tremendous growth of its membership basis which more than doubled. In 1910

it counted on the support of 1300 individuals and was thus nearly as big as its British competitor.[25]

Both societies recruited a large share of their membership in their respective capital cities. Of the 931 British subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society, 812 (=87% of the British membership) were registered with the London branch in 1910. This number included, however, subscribers from continental Europe. In the case of the German Orient Society, the number of subscribers from the capital of Berlin was, by comparison, significantly smaller but with 481 of 1175 German subscribers (=41% of the German membership), still significant. The subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society from London contributed 86% (£1159) to the budget of their society. The subscribers from Berlin to the German Orient Society, by contrast, provided only 28% (9825 marks) of the annual membership fees totaling 34,663 marks. Both societies relied on small subscriptions (20 marks for German subscribers, £1 for British subscribers, and $5 for American subscribers) as well as larger donations from wealthy individuals such as Sir Robert Mond in the case of the Egypt Exploration Society, and James Simon in the case of the German Orient Society.[26]

Jewish donors seemed to have played a major role in both societies. And both societies were founded with significant support from Christian churches and the Jewish community. The chief rabbis of Great Britain Nathan Marcus Adler and his son Hermann Adler, who succeeded him in this position, supported the founding of the Egypt Exploration Society and for some time held memberships in this society. The membership roster of the German Orient Society included prominent Jewish entrepreneurs and bankers such as James Simon, Leopold Koppel, and Rudolf Mosse, who had already a proven track record of generous philanthropic engagement. Also a member was the Berlin rabbi and professor at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* Sigmund Maybaum.[27]

Their membership rosters, and not just the activities of both societies, showed some overlap. There were a few important philanthropists and scholars who had joined both societies and held on to their memberships throughout their life. The collector of antique coins Alfred Güterbock from Manchester as well as the professor of Assyriology at Oxford University Archibald Henry Sayce, to name just two British examples, held memberships in both societies. And German Egyptologists such as Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing (University of Munich) and Wilhelm Spiegelberg (University of Strassburg) also bought subscriptions to both societies.

There were also some striking differences between the Egypt Exploration Society and the German Orient Society. While both societies included leading and influential men of their respective countries, the German Orient Society was, in contrast to the Egypt Exploration Society with its strong support in the USA, not able to attract a significant share of non-German members. Of the 537 subscribers in 1900, only five (less than 1%) came from abroad. Ten years later the situation had not changed much. Of the 1300 members, only 125 (=less than 10%) came from abroad. The majority of these foreign subscribers lived in the USA (37) and Great Britain (22). The Egypt Exploration Fund, by contrast, initially enjoyed significant support among American subscribers. Over the years, this support eroded because of a growing American attempt to claim a share in the exploration of Egypt independently from the UK. Within 20 years from 1890 to 1910, the number of American members of the Egypt Exploration Society dwindled from 810 to only 424.

Aside from the share of foreign members in the two societies, it was the share of female supporters that set the two societies visibly apart. While 29% (393 of 1355 members) of the membership of the Egypt Exploration Society was in 1910 constituted by women, women represented only 4% (51 of 1300 members) of the German Orient Society. The share of women within the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Society was, with 35% in 1910, slightly higher than the share of women among the British and continental-European subscribers, which stood at 26%.

As president of the Egypt Exploration Society, Mond not only supported British archeologists working in Egypt but also German explorers such as the German orientalist Hans A. Winkler. Oliver Myers, who had worked for Mond on the excavation site of Armant, introduced Mond in 1936 to the Tübingen orientalist Winkler, who had lost his teaching position at the University of Tübingen in 1933 due to his past political affiliation with the Communist Party of Germany. Winkler's research into rock-drawings caught Mond's eye, and he quickly agreed to fund Winkler's work.[28] Winkler had been trained as a specialist in Middle Eastern art, religion, and ethnology at the University of Göttingen and the University of Tübingen. He had received his first PhD in 1925 and his second doctoral degree (*Habilitation*) in 1928 from the University of Tübingen. From 1928 to 1933, Winkler taught the history of religion as an associate professor (Privatdozent) at the University of Tübingen. When he was a university student in the early 1920s, Winkler had little financial support. He was homeless and slept on the streets of Göttingen. Hunger

drove him to work as a miner in the salt mines by Eisleben in the Province of Saxony (Prussia). These experiences caused him to join the Communist Party in 1922. He remained a member of that party until 1928. The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, which was created to force out Jews, Liberals, Socialists, and Communists from civil service positions across Germany, caused the University of Tübingen to fire Winkler from his teaching position in September 1933.[29]

Following his first research trip to Egypt in 1932, which was funded by the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*, a national organization that was founded in 1920 to raise funds to support scholars from across Germany and from across all academic disciplines, he received a second grant for a research stay in Egypt at the end of 1933.[30] While Winkler opposed the Nazification of the University of Tübingen and was very isolated within the academic world because of his views with regards to Nazism, he appealed to the National Socialist authorities to be reappointed as a professor at the University of Tübingen, since he wanted to continue his career and since he needed to make a living. In his appeal, he used the fact that he volunteered to serve at the front lines of World War I in 1917 when he was barely 17 years of age. His Communist affiliation, Winkler explained to the NS-authorities, came from the poverty he had experienced while a university student. He argued that it was the social crisis of the early 1920s that caused him to join the Communist Party. And he added that only the Communist Party seemed to have, at least in his eyes, a clear program against the conditions imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. Winkler sought to portray himself as a National Socialist long before National Socialism had become a political force. His superiors attested that Winkler had a truly nationalistic orientation and that he had been a victim of Communist brainwashing.[31]

After his return from his second Egypt trip, Winkler voluntarily submitted to participation in a NS-reeducation camp for university professors from July to September 1935. He failed, however, to satisfy the authorities and was denied reinstatement as university professor. The failure at reintegration forced Winkler to leave Germany for Egypt and to seek out employment by non-German institutions such as the Egypt Exploration Society. It seems, however, that Winkler continued to receive financial support from German sources such as the German Archaeological Institute, the German Ministry of Science and Education, and the Society for the Support of the Sciences of Württemberg.[32] Sir Robert Mond became, nevertheless, his most important source of financial support. Mond agreed in

1936 to pay the salary for Winkler through the Egypt Exploration Society and in 1937 even agreed to hiring him on a more permanent basis so that he could continue his work in Egypt for several years.[33]

When Winkler left Germany in early 1936, he returned to Egypt to continue his exploration of rock-drawings in Upper Egypt. Although earlier travelers and archaeologists had already observed rock-drawings in Upper Egypt, these rock-drawings received little attention by European explorers. "It seems," wrote Winkler in his introduction to his *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, "that most of the explorers found excavation in the Nile valley so productive of results that it occupied their whole attention. Nobody expected important archaeological information from the rock-drawings in the deserts."[34] In spring 1936, Winkler explored rock-drawings along the Quft-Qoser Road and in adjoining wadis. This initial work enabled Winkler to distinguish between five different prehistoric cultures. Through his acquaintance with Oliver H. Myers, who worked for Sir Robert Mond on the excavation near Armant, Winkler was introduced to Mond in the fall of 1936. When Mond learned about the nature of Winkler's work, he offered to support the continued and more detailed documentation of rock-drawings along the Quft-Qoser Road. Mond was drawn to Winkler's research because of the artifacts he found during excavations in the cemetery of Armant. These "fragments of very coarse pottery" bore, according to Sir Robert Mond, "great resemblance to similar fragments found right across the width of Africa. This fact was unexpected and interesting, especially as it raised many new questions."[35] Mond hoped that Winkler's research about rock-drawings and ancient population movements could provide new clues about the history of Egypt from pre-dynastic times to the Roman period. During his frequent trips to Egypt since 1932, Winkler had documented drawings and inscriptions of Arabic, Greek, Latin, and prehistoric origin.[36] He had recognized the scholarly value of these neglected artifacts from previous civilizations. Rock-drawings were to Winkler as important as written records. "We may not only learn from them different artistic conceptions, but we may also obtain rich information about dress, weapons, hunting, shipping, wild and domestic animals; sometimes we can even draw certain conclusions as to the religious beliefs and social institutions of the authors of such drawings."[37]

Mond's interest and support for Winkler's research led him to finance in 1938 an expedition to the Gilf Kebir region and the sandstone and granite massif Uweinat, in the border triangle of Egypt, Libya, and Sudan.

This expedition was probably the most ambitious, complex, and successful of all his large-scale ventures. It involved what were in essence three distinct expeditions of Oliver H. Myers, who investigated the inflow of pre-dynastic desert dwellers into the Nile valley; of Ralph Bagnold who researched the physics of wind-blown sand; and of Hans A. Winkler, who established the academic credentials of a serious study of rock art.[38] This expedition opened up new avenues for research and even led to the creation of new scholarly fields. Winkler was able to publish a collection of photographs and drawings of rock-drawings from this expedition in the second volume of his *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt* of the *Archaeological Survey of Egypt* series published by the Egypt Exploration Society.[39] And Bagnold was able to develop a new branch of physics with his studies of desert sand.[40] The knowledge Bagnold accumulated during his many expeditions into the desert, which involved the testing of cars (especially the Model-T Ford) as means of transportation in the desert, enabled him to create with the Long Range Desert Group a highly efficient reconnaissance and raiding unit of the British Army during World War II.[41] Bagnold later contributed his expertise on moving vehicles across desert terrain to NASA and thereby to the first lunar landing. The expedition's navigator, Ronald Peel, became an expert on aridification, generally, and influenced much of the thinking of earlier years about the presence/absence of water on Mars.[42]

The Transnational Excavation of Biblical History: The Palestine Exploration Fund

In 1930, Mond joined with the Palestine Exploration Fund, another London-based society that was dedicated to the archaeological excavation of biblical history. The Palestine Exploration Fund had been created in 1865 under the chairmanship of the Archbishop of York William Thomson. It was a response to the growing interest into historical geography of the Holy Land and the attempts to spatially locate the events of the Bible in the landscape of nineteenth-century Palestine. The desire to acquire precise knowledge about the historical geography of Palestine was spearheaded by the Reverend Arthur Stanley. In the book that Stanley published about his travels from Egypt to Palestine in 1852, the author sought to provide "a careful study of the relationship between biblical history and the geography of the lands in which that history took place."[43] To this end, he commissioned the civil engineer George Grove

to compile a "Vocabulary of Hebrew Topographical Words." The work on this vocabulary made clear to Grove that "very little accurate and detailed information was known about the physical and historical geography of the Holy Land."[44] The first step in improving scientific knowledge about Palestine was the production of a geographical survey of the City of Jerusalem in 1864. The funding necessary for this survey was provided by Angela Burdett-Coutts, who was one of the wealthiest women in England. Burdett-Coutts had gained a reputation as an engaged philanthropist who supported many causes, including a social housing project in London as well as British colonial exploration of Africa.[45] She had been drawn to this project by "her well-known interest in access to potable water." Jerusalem lacked a modern water supply and a functioning sewage system, which was seen by contemporaries as the main cause for the frequent epidemics of typhoid, smallpox, and diphtheria. Captain Charles W. Wilson, who performed the first British Ordinance Survey of the City of Jerusalem, believed that it was a necessary step to improve the general health of that city's population. Burdett-Coutts shared Wilson's conviction, and in connection with the survey offered to the local Ottoman rulers funds for the rebuilding of the city's ancient aqueducts.[46]

While her offer to fund the rebuilding of the water supplies was rejected, the funding of the survey produced the "first exact map of that city and became the foundation for every map and plan of Jerusalem until World War I."[47] This map had a huge impact on the development of British archaeology in the Middle East. It convinced Grove and Stanley that it was time for larger archaeological projects that needed funding through a supporting society. In June 1865, the Palestine Exploration Fund was founded by a group of religious leaders and scholars. Rupert L. Chapman wrote about the intentions and hopes of the society's members, saying that while it was

> clear that many of the founders of the Fund hoped that archaeology and scientific research would buttress the historicity of the biblical account of history, it is also equally clear that their interests were not limited by that biblical account. More important was the fact that *they were prepared to seek the truth concerning the past of the Holy Land, whether it supported their own interpretation of the biblical account or not.* Until the major field efforts of the American Schools of Oriental Research (founded in 1900), which did not begin until after the First World War, the Palestine Exploration Fund was the single most active learned society specialising in the study of the

> Holy Land. It was also a very popular organisation, with branches in various cities in Britain as well as a branch in the United States. Following the foundation of the Fund, a multitude of similar societies was set up in various countries, among which there has always been both friendly rivalry and close co-operation.[48]

Founded 17 years before the Egypt Exploration Society, the Palestine Exploration Fund set an example with regard to the organization of such associations and the recruitment of members across Europe and the USA. Both societies resulted from a religious and philological interest into the historical geography of biblical times and enjoyed the support of representatives from both Christian and Jewish religious communities. In the case of the Palestine Exploration Fund, clergy accounted for 28% of all subscribers (356 of the 1248 subscribers as of 1910). There was, however, a significant difference between the share of religious professionals among British and continental-Europeans on the one side and the share of religious professionals among American subscribers on the other side. While only 27% of the British and continental European subscribers belonged to the clergy (315 of the 1135 subscribers as of 1910), 36% of the American subscribers (41 of the 113 subscribers as of 1910) were reverends.

Individual Subscriptions to the Palestine Exploration Fund as of 1910[49]

	Men	*Women*	*Clergy*[50]	*Subscription amounts*[51]
Subscriptions from London	655	206	249	£863
Subscriptions from Great Britain (outside of London)	231	43	66	£272
Subscriptions from the USA	94	19	41	£564
Total	**980**	**268**	**356**	**£1699**

While the Archbishop of Canterbury became the most prominent member of the Egypt Exploration Society, the Archbishop of York—the second most important leader of the Anglican Church—presided over the founding of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Prominent Jewish institutions from Great Britain, Germany, and Austria-Hungary bought subscriptions to the fund and supported its archaeological expeditions. These Jewish

institutions included the *Israelitisch Theologische Lehranstalt* in Vienna, a rabbinical and teacher's seminary that had been founded in the Austrian metropolis in 1893; the *Jüdischer Verlag* in Berlin, a publishing house that was dedicated to the propagation of German-Jewish culture, which had been founded in 1901; and Jews' College, a rabbinical seminary founded in London in 1855. The Palestine Exploration Fund was further supported by the London Jews Society. This association had been founded by the Christian convert Joseph Samuel Frey, who had arrived in London in 1801 from Poland and who had before he arrived in Great Britain converted from Judaism to Christianity in 1798. In 1809, he founded the society for the purpose of converting Jews to Christianity.[52]

Both societies, the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund, relied on hundreds of subscriptions that were collected mostly from their London branches. Eighty seven percent of the subscribers of the Egypt Exploration Society and 76% of the subscribers of the Palestine Exploration Fund were registered with their respective London branches. In both cases, subscribers from across continental Europe were not listed separately but included in the respective membership roster of the London branch. Both societies attracted subscribers from across continental Europe, and both societies also had an American branch. It seems, however, that the Palestine Exploration Fund attracted a larger number of members from across continental Europe and also from a wider geographical space—including Eastern Europe—than the Egypt Exploration Society. Among the more prominent non-English members were the Swiss scholar of Arabic epigraphy Max von Berchem, the President of the Geographical Society of France Prince Roland Bonaparte (also Egypt Exploration Society), the French orientalist and epigrapher Rène Dussaud, the Austrian priest Stefan Csarszky, the German publisher Karl Wilhelm Hirsemann, the professor of Hebrew and Israelitish Antiquities at Utrecht University Martinus Thodorus Houtsma, the professor of Semitic languages at Greifswald University Mark Lidzbarski, the French Jewish writer Armand Lipman, and the German pastor Valentin Schwöbel.

And although both societies enjoyed support among Americans and created an American branch, the American support for both societies showed significant differences. In 1910 American subscriptions to the Egypt Exploration Society accounted for 31% of the total number of subscribers. American subscriptions for the Palestine Exploration Fund accounted, by contrast, only for 9% of the total number of its subscriptions. And while the subscription list for the Egypt Exploration Society included quite a

few very famous Americans, there were no Rockefellers or Hearsts among the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund. The lack of American support for the Palestine Exploration Fund was certainly due to the existence of the competing American Palestine Exploration Society that was founded in response to the promotion of the work of the British Palestine Exploration Fund among American clergy and businessmen in 1870. Wealthy and religious Americans welcomed the information provided by the Reverends Henry Allon and James Mullonds, who toured the USA on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but instead of joining the ranks of the British society and establishing an American branch, Reverend Josiah Thompson created an independent American society that relied, just as its British counterpart did, on subscriptions and donations. Much support for the American Palestine Exploration Society came "exclusively and very generously from the moneyed families of the northern American cities, who were perhaps anxious to establish cultural and intellectual credentials."[53]

In spite of the small size of the Palestine Exploration Fund's American branch and the existence of an American competitive society, the financial support of American subscribers for the Palestine Exploration Fund was quite significant. Its American subscribers contributed in 1910 with 33% of the total funds an astonishingly disproportionately high share given that they accounted for only 9% of its subscribers. Both the British and the American branches of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Egypt Exploration Society attracted a significant number of reverends and bishops. However, the share of religious representatives was in 1910 with 30% much higher for the Palestine Exploration Fund than the share of reverends among the subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society (6%). The share of reverends among the American subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund was with 36% significantly higher than the share of reverends among the British and continental European subscribers, which stood at 28% in 1910.

Both societies also included a significant share of female members. In the case of the Egypt Exploration Society, women represented 29% of the subscribers in 1910. In the case of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the number of women was in 1910, with 23%, slightly lower. The share of women among the American subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund was, with 17%, significantly lower than the share of women among the American subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society, which stood at 35%. There seems to have been only a fairly limited overlap between the

membership rosters of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund. In 1910, only 44 of the 861 subscribers (=5%) registered with the London branch of the Palestine Exploration Fund also held a subscription with the Egypt Exploration Society. Among the more prominent members who had joined both societies were Prince Roland Bonaparte and Archibald Henry Sayce.

Last, but not least, both societies differed markedly with regards to the support they received from institutions such as museums and libraries. While the Egypt Exploration Society could in 1910 count on 231 institutional subscriptions from libraries and museums from across the Western world, the Palestine Exploration Fund relied on only 38 institutions. German university libraries were, with the exception of the University of Strassburg, not among the subscribers. Instead we find the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek and the Munich Royal Library in the list of institutional subscribers. Among the American institutions were Harvard University, Yale College, and the Library of Congress.[54]

Nationalizing Archaeology in Jerusalem: The Founding of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem

In addition to his involvement with the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund, he also took on a significant role in the creation of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1920. In 1919, the Palestine Exploration Fund together with the British Academy instigated the establishment of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and created an organizing committee that included the literary scholar Israel Gollancz, who was married to Henriette Hertz' niece Alide Goldschmidt; the president of the British Academy Fredric J. Kenyon; the orientalist David Samuel Margoliouth; the philanthropist Sir Robert Mond; the archaeologists Percy Gardner, Leonard W. King, R. A. Stewart McAlister, W. M. Flinders Petrie; and the banker Anthony de Rothschild.[55] Leonard King and Sir Robert Mond, in particular, have been identified as the driving force and inspiration for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Mond supplied money and ideas for the organization of the school. The archaeologist and assistant to the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum Leonard W. King has been publicly credited by Gollancz with providing the inspiration and idea for this school.[56]

The founding of this new school was due to two main reasons: (1) the Scottish archaeologist Duncan MacKenzie, who had conducted excavations in Palestine on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund before World War I, called the attention of British archaeologists and members of the Palestine Exploration Fund to the effects of World War I on the excavated and unexcavated sites within Palestine.[57] Military operations and the digging of trenches posed as much a threat to the integrity of historical sites as the military occupation and the potential "illicit digging" by curious soldiers had. Furthermore, there were because of the digging of trenches, many exposed remains "that the Fellahin and other illicit diggers are apt to start operations and thus do further injuries to any remains underground, after such a site has once more come into the range of the pacific area behind the lines"[58]; and (2) since other countries such as France, Germany, and the USA had already created schools of archaeology in Palestine before 1914, English archaeologists and classicists considered it a question of national pride to have their own national school of archaeology in Jerusalem. This school was to fulfill two functions: to organize and direct excavations and to train archaeologists. "The school will be British in the widest sense of the term," read the announcement about the preparation for the founding of the school published in *The Times* on June 3, 1919, "and will welcome students from all parts of the Empire."[59]

The Founding of National Institutes of Archaeology in Jerusalem

Archaeological Institute in Jerusalem	*Country*	*Year of creation*
École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem	France	1890
American School of Oriental Research	USA	1900
Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes	Germany	1900

The British School of Archaeology was to be funded in a similar way as the Palestine Exploration Fund, through subscriptions and donations. From June 12, 1918, to December 31, 1920, the organizing committee was able to collect subscriptions and donations from 162 individuals and institutions totaling more than £6000. The largest donations came from

Anthony de Rothschild (£500), Mrs. and Miss Holt (£250), Sir Robert Mond (£2835), Sir Walter Morrison (£1000), John Rankin (£500), and T. Woodsend (£100).[60] Since the maintenance costs, including rent and salaries for the school, were estimated at £1000 annually, the organizing committee appealed to the public for donations towards an endowment of £20,000. Sir Walter Morrison and Sir Robert Mond started the endowment campaign, with each donating £1000 towards the endowment. Mond also agreed to act as the treasurer of the endowment.[61]

The subscription roster for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem differed markedly from the subscription lists for the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund. With only 162 subscriptions, this endeavor had to rely on a much smaller but wealthier circle. Jewish donors such as Mond, Rothschild, and Holt here too played an important role. In fact, the subscriptions and donations towards the endowment provided by Jews accounted for 60% (£3585) of the total of £6064. Women and clergy men played a significant role in this endeavor, as they had already done in the case of the other two societies. Among the 162 subscribers were 22 women (=14%) and 20 clergy men (12%).[62]

In contrast to the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund, a hierarchical membership structure with different levels of contributions was created. There were associate members and members who paid a small annual membership fee of about £1–2. Foundation Members were expected to pay £10 annually or £100 for a lifetime membership. Founders contributed a one-time donation of £500. Universities, societies, and corporate bodies were expected to contribute £2 annually.[63] Fifteen of the 162 subscriptions came from institutions such as colleges and universities. With the exception of McGill University and Victoria Public Library, all institutions were located within the UK. The subscription list for the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, in contrast to the pre–World War I subscription lists of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund, did not include any subscribers from continental Europe or the USA. It was a strictly national (British) enterprise.

Trinity College, Oxford University, and Durham University were among the colleges that had bought subscriptions to the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The organizing committee extended invitations to these colleges and universities, acknowledging that most students of the school would be students or graduates from these institutions. But the founders also hoped that the colleges would create scholarships of £100 to

enable students to attend the school in Jerusalem.[64] In the Ordinances of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the setting up of scholarships was regulated as following:

> For each subscription of £20 a University or other Learned Society, and for each subscription of £50 any other Corporate Body, shall be entitled to nominate a Student subject to his being approved by the Council. Such student shall in respect of each £20 and £50 subscribed be deemed to be the holder of a scholarship for one year without payment of fees. The scholarship shall have attached to it the name of the subscribing Body or Society.[65]

Sir Robert Mond set an example when he provided the necessary funds to endow such a scholarship, which was named after him, the Robert Mond studentship.[66]

Mond's financial generosity was vital to the founding of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. He covered, according to the first annual report of the school, all initial expenses of this new institution which ran as high as £4000, and he "declined reimbursement of more than one-quarter of that sum." The members of the organizing committee, therefore, passed a resolution stating:

> That this First Meeting of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem recognizes that the generosity and far-sightedness of Mr. Robert Mond have contributed vitally to the successful inauguration of this Institution, and have alone enabled the Committee to surmount the financial difficulties of the moment, and directs that his name be placed at the head of the list of the Founders of the School.[67]

Beyond his support for the founding of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Mond also continued to provide funding for individual archaeological expeditions under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund. From 1932 to 1938, he generously supported a series of expeditions under the direction of James Leslie Starkey, who excavated Tell ed-Duweir, the site of the ancient city Lachish in Southern Palestine.[68] Trained by Flinders Petrie, Starkey made a remarkable discovery when he found a dozen letters written on potsherds in ancient Hebrew in 1935. Starkey's discovery was sensational, since it represented the first evidence of letters written in Biblical times as well as the first surviving scripts in Hebrew outside of the Bible. Aside from a few inscriptions, "there was in existence no ancient Hebrew outside of the Bible, and the Bible was

known only from manuscripts written hundreds of years after the events described."[69] Mond supported Starkey's excavation by supplying light railway equipment (700 yards of track and 11 cars) to transport the debris away from the excavation site.[70]

From the Excavation of Ancient Egypt and Palestine to the Excavation of Ancient Gaul

Mond did not limit his curiosity about prehistory and archaeology to Egypt and Palestine. His second marriage to Marie Louise Guggenheim, into which he entered in 1922, caused Mond to spend much of his life in Belle-Île-en-Terre, Brittany. Here Mond became interested, according to Richard Bradley, in megaliths.[71] Beginning in 1928, he joined the Belgian philanthropist Gabrielle Goldschmidt Philippson, the daughter of a rich Belgian banker, in funding the Institute Finistérien d'Etudes Préhistoriques.[72] This institute of prehistoric study of the region of Finistére was a society founded in 1921 by archaeology enthusiasts from Brittany including Charles Bénard, Alfred Devoir, Émile Morel, Canon Jean-Marie Abgrall, and Abbé Favret. The society depended as much as the Egypt Exploration Society did on private donations for its work.[73]

In the context of his interest for megaliths and his patronage for the Institute Finistérien d'Etudes Préhistoriques, Mond also supported from 1930 to 1935 the archaeological field work and research of comparative religion of the largely forgotten English archaeologist Vera Christina Chute Collum. After she had worked with the French archaeologist Zacharie Le Rouzic, Collum conducted three excavations in Brittany that were completely funded by Mond. The best documented of her excavations is the excavation of the megalithic tomb at Tresse in Brittany in 1931. Collum recalled in her excavation report:

> In 1929 Baron Robert Surcouf took Sir Robert Mond and myself to see the four curious bosses just visible above the turf on the north side of this transversal stone …., and we then ascertained that the western upright of this northern alcove likewise bore four such bosses. The "bosses" are realistically sculptured twin pairs of human breasts, in high relief, the stone having been chiseled away in a small rectangular field—difficult to detect with the eye, but quite apparent in a photograph … Relief sculptures are rare on Breton

> megaliths, and, so far as I am aware, no exact parallel to these sculptured breasts, set in double pairs, has been reported anywhere.[74]

Mond was invited by Baron Robert Surcouf, on whose property the megalith was located, to direct the excavation and restoration. Mond entrusted the work to Collum, to whom he lent his excavation equipment. It is not clear how Mond came to know Collum, but it seems that he had great trust in her. Collum dated the megalith to the first century A.D. It represented, according to Collum, "an Entrance to the Underworld that symbolized Return to the Womb of the Creatrix." She contended that the "goddess was the great Female Principle (comprehending a Male Principle), both in its unmanifested aspect as Potential Creatrix, and its manifesting aspect as Woman the Lover-Bride and as the all-nourishing Mother, whose cult was widespread in Asia Minor, Syria, Central Asia and NW. India, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Egypt." And she continued in her overreaching interpretation: "This Cosmic cult can be demonstrated both in the archaeological remains of Gaul and Great Britain, and in the occult poetry and religious epics of Ireland and Wales and in Gaelic hymns surviving orally in the Western Isles of Scotland." Collum contended that these megaliths were proof of a cosmic mother cult that linked India with France and the British Islands.[75]

Sir Robert Mond seemed to have been untroubled by such far-reaching and unsustainable conclusions since he continued to support Collum in her archaeological excavations and her comparative study of religion. In fall of 1932, Mond funded her excavation of the Déhus Cahmbered Mound at Paradis Vale on the island of Guernsey in the British Channel. This excavation project caused Collum to argue that ancient civilizations from Mesopotamia to Northern Europe were connected by a pre-religious and cosmic principle of duality—"a bi-sexed Creative Principle and a 'Word' who was Lover and Son in his relations to the Female Principle, and Messenger and Guide in his relation to the human race."[76] Collum concluded that "an occult teaching … has survived in European megalithic areas from the Great Oriental religions, through pagan 'druidic' teaching and Christian Gnostic teaching, into our own times. This unbroken tradition exists side by side with a folk memory of rites and 'mystery' dramas surviving from the pagan times through the medium of 'witchcraft.'"[77] Following in a rather occultist tradition and arguing that the Christian religion existed parallel with and superimposed upon pagan religion, Collum continued: "The local cult paid to the Great Mother can frequently be

discovered beneath the local cult paid to the Christian Virgin Mother, or to St. Bridget." Based upon these assumptions, Collum put forward the hypothesis that "up till the 12th or 13th century the bætylic cult was carried on under the cloak of adoration of the two-fold Virgin Mary."[78]

Collecting and Buying for Museums: Sir Robert Mond's Museum Patronage

Mond's financial engagement with the exploration of Egypt and Palestine's history went beyond funding excavations, the resulting publications, scholars, and the excavation societies and schools. He also created his own museum at his London home and liberally gave funds and artifacts to museums and colleges. Just as his father had collected paintings in his home, Sir Robert Mond filled his home with archaeological artifacts. "One striking result of his enthusiasm was to be seen at his London home in Cavendish-square," reads a newspaper clipping from the Metropolitan City Archive of London. "There, in an endeavor to accommodate many of his treasures in appropriate surroundings he had constructed in the basement a replica of a room in one of the palaces of the Pharaohs."[79] An obituary from the *Times* relayed about his passionate collecting of Egyptian artifacts in his London home: "It was typical of the intense enthusiasm that he brought to his archaeological work that he had his private museum of Egyptology transformed into a copy of a room in one of the palaces of the Pharaohs. He engaged famous artists to copy the decorations of those days and skilled craftsmen to reproduce the same styles of furniture."[80] However, "it was," according to Percy Newberry, "his invariable habit to give the best pieces he bought to museums, rather than keep them himself."[81]

The British Museum

The British Museum was the primary recipient of Sir Robert Mond's gifts during his lifetime and became the beneficiary for his private Egyptian Collection at his death in 1938. Sir Robert Mond did, in contrast to his father, not wait until his death before he began to transfer his collection to a public museum. Among the many gifts Sir Robert Mond presented to the British Museum in the last one and a half decades of his life, from 1924 to 1938, was Egyptian jewelry—a bull's head in lapis lazuli mounted in gold

(1928); fragments from a number of pots from the excavation at Armant and limestone stelae from the cemetery of the sacred Buchis bulls (1929); a bronze Syrian axe head dating from the first half of the second millennium B.C. (1929); rare Fayence objects from Upper Egypt and Luristan bronzes from Persia (1930); and an Egyptian papyrus inscribed with five copies of a demotic text as well as four mummy portraits of the Ptolemaic period from the collection of the carpet dealer and collector of Egyptian antiquities Theodor Graf of Vienna who had died in 1903 (1931).[82]

In addition, Mond together with his wife subscribed to purchasing funds such as the one for the acquisition of a small selection of Egyptian antiquities from the collection of General Sir John Maxwell, who had been Mond's predecessor in the position of president of the Egypt Exploration Society. The *Book of Presents* of the British Museum reads: "The major portion of the purchase-money has been subscribed by Mr. Mond."[83] In 1924, Mond had already contributed £100 to the purchasing fund of the collection of 1129 Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts from Dr. Moses Gaster, a leading figure of the Sephardic community in England, head of the Judith Montefiore College, and an eminent Samaritan scholar.[84] Mond also contributed significant sums to the purchasing fund of £10,000 for the acquisition of the Eumorfopoulos Collection from the banker and collector of Chinese, Korean, and Near Eastern Art George Aristides Eumorfopoulos in 1935.[85] And from 1927 onward, Mond continuously supported the British Museum's excavation at Ur with regular subscriptions ranging from £50 to £100.[86]

In his last will, Sir Robert Mond left to the British Museum his private collection of Egyptian artifacts stored at his private museum in his home at Cavendish Square.[87] Following his father's example, he decreed that the museum had free choice of objects from his entire collection. The Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities was to inspect the collection and to select the pieces he considered worthy of displaying in the British Museum. The remaining artifacts were to be sold or presented "to or among such museum or museums or person or persons as the Trustees shall in their discretion think fit."[88] The Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities Dr. Sidney Smith and the professor of Egyptian archaeology and philology at University College London Stephen R. K. Glanville decided together which artifacts were to go to the British Museum and which were to be sorted out. For this purpose, Glanville produced an extensive catalogue of the Mond Collection.

Smith was certain that the Mond Collection represented "a substantial monetary value, and certain objects," which had been preselected for the museum by Glanville, were "of outstanding interest." Among the objects chosen by Glanville were: (1) the bust of a man, painted limestone, XVIII dynasty; (2) chair leg in carved wood; (3) jackal, wood; (4) shell, mother of pearl, with inscription; (5) two trial pieces, royal heads, limestone; (6) alabaster stele; (7) a painting on fabric; (8) a wooden stele, painted; (9) figures of Bes and Thoth; (10) various inscriptions; (11) a ushabti box, complete with figure, exceptionally fine work; and (12) various vases and bronzes.[89] Some of the pieces not selected for the British Museum by Smith and Glanville were given to the Victoria and Albert Museum and to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt.[90]

The Royal Ontario Museum

Sir Robert Mond's support for museums was not limited to the British Museum or London. Because of his business interests in Sudbury, in northwestern Ontario (Canada), Sir Robert Mond came into close contact with the Toronto banker—he was the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce—and museum maker Sir Edmund Walker who was a member of the Board of the Mond Nickel Company. Walker managed to attract Sir Robert Mond's interest in the Royal Ontario Museum, which was the brainchild of Sir Edmund Walker and Charles Trick Currelly, who had been trained by Flinders Petrie.[91] Sir Robert and Sir Alfred Mond were introduced to Currelly by Sir Edmund Walker. Walker used his close business contacts to the Mond brothers to draw them into his ambitious project of turning Toronto into a cultured city through the establishment of eminent museums such as the Royal Ontario Museum. To this end, Walker organized fundraising dinners at his home to which he invited potential donors. Currelly was aware of Walker's ambitions and his abilities to raise funds through his business and social contacts. Since both Currelly and Walker shared the dream of creating a museum that provided space for Currelly's collection of Egyptian artifacts, Walker took up the task of finding supporters for his museum project. Sir Alfred and Sir Robert Mond were among those potential donors Walker approached in 1917.[92]

It is not clear when Sir Robert Mond and Charles T. Currelly met for the first time. In his autobiography, Currelly refers to an invitation to Sir Robert Mond's estate at Combe Bank in 1908. He arrived at Combe Bank after having spent money on Stone Age artifacts from the collection

of prehistoric antiquities owned by the well-known Irish antiquarian of Ballymena W.J. Knowles. When he told Mond about his purchase, Mond immediately asked, "Have you any money to pay for them?" Currelly, who had a habit of spending money on behalf of the museum project he did not have, responded, "No." Expecting such an answer, Mond took his check book and wrote a check covering the entire expense.[93]

To enable Currelly to make purchases such as this, Walker had opened a bank account of behalf of the Royal Ontario Museum with a limited overdraft. Since Currelly regularly overdrew this account, Walker needed to find a way that the charges to the account were repaid. To this end, Walker inaugurated in 1917 the *Twenty Friends of Art* as a small and select group of patrons who each agreed to contribute CAD$500 annually to the museum purchasing fund. Since this "friends of the museum" association did not attract as many supporters as Walker had hoped for, its name was changed in 1924 to *The Ten Friends of Art*. From 1917 to 1924, the ten members of this association provided more than CADS$24,000 towards the acquisitions made by Currelly.[94]

The Ten Friends of Art (1924)

Name	*Contribution in CAD$*
Sir Edmund Osler	3000.00
David Alexander Dunlap	3000.00
Sigmund Samuel	3000.00
Colonel R. W. Leonard	3000.00
Mrs. H. D. Warren	2500.00
Chester D. Massey	3000.00
Sir Edmund Walker	2500.00
W. C. Edwards	2500.00
Zebulon Aiton Lash	1000.00
Sir Alfred Mond	928.98
Total	**24,428.98**

While Sir Alfred Mond's support for the Royal Ontario Museum was marginal and limited to his membership fee to *The Ten Friends of Art*—it amounted only to 4% of the contributions made by *The Ten Friends of Art*—Sir Robert Mond "gave considerable sums of money" as well as art objects excavated in Egypt.[95] A letter by Currelly dated June 23, 1930,

reveals the extent of Sir Robert Mond's support for the expansion of the Royal Ontario Museum's Egyptian collection. "There arrived recently from Cairo a very fine carved sarcophagus in wood with a long inscription," Currelly wrote to Mond. "No word of any kind came with it. I naturally supposed that you had sent it."[96]

Sir Robert Mond's donations were not limited to Egyptian artifacts. When in 1933 Bishop William C. White, the Anglican bishop of Honan Province in China, informed the president of the University of Toronto, Dr. Henry John Cody, of the possibility that a very large private library and collection (considered the finest in Beijing) would become available for purchase, the Toronto businessman Sigmund Samuel and Sir Robert Mond provided the necessary funding for the acquisition of this collection for the Royal Ontario Museum.[97] Furthermore, both agreed to contribute to the necessary funds for an extension of the museum that was to house the new collection. The acquisition of this famous Chinese library made Toronto into "one of the chief centres of study in Chinese art and literature on this continent."[98]

The inclusion of the Chinese collection into the Royal Ontario Museum did, however, not sit well with Sir Robert Mond. In a letter dated May 2, 1938, he cautioned Currelly not to shift the focus of the museum's collections too much towards China. "Our museum is a medium of instruction and a guide to our growing generations in Canada. We should teach them a sound appreciation of what their ancestors have to tell them." And he continued to remind Currelly that our people "came from the East and not from the West." Mond was not opposed to the inclusion of artifacts from Pacific cultures but he warned of "an exaggerated emphasis" on Chinese history at the expense "of the past of those people who were ancestors of the populations of our Dominion."[99]

When Sir Robert Mond died in 1938, Currelly recognized Sir Robert Mond in his eulogy as the most important person in his life outside of his own family. He credited Mond with helping him in realizing the dream of creating an eminent museum in Toronto, which lifted the cultural reputation of the city and turned its university into a scholarly center for the history of Egypt and China. Mond "first helped with mummies he had found, then with small things he had from Egypt," and continuously supported Currelly in the acquisition of artifacts that were to further enhance the reputation of the Royal Ontario Museum.[100]

Sir Robert Mond's lifelong support of Currelly's purchases for the Royal Ontario Museum and Sir Alfred Mond's decision to transfer 20

paintings from Ludwig Mond's collection to the Toronto Art Gallery in 1926 should also be seen in the context of the Mond family's extensive business interests in Ontario. The mining operations at Sudbury in northwestern Ontario were very profitable, and the Monds faced some social pressure from Toronto's leading social circles to redirect some of their profits to the improvement of that province. The Monds' support for these two museum projects, which were so dear to the heart of Toronto's High Society, eased, according to Currelly, the criticism of the Monds voiced by local businessmen and citizens.[101]

The Petrie Collection

When Flinders Petrie in October 1907 offered to sell his extensive collection of Egyptian artifacts to the University College London (UCL), Sir Robert Mond was among the first philanthropists who offered to contribute to the purchase fund.[102] Petrie's collection consisted of objects he had excavated and bought while in Egypt. His collection was, however, very distinct from publicly displayed collections of Egyptian artifacts. "I have always bought unusual things," wrote Petrie in October 1907 in his letter to the Provost of the University College London Sir Gregory Foster, "rather than those which can be commonly obtained: hence the collection is largely supplementary to the national collection, and consists of objects for study rather than popular show."[103] There was sufficient space at the University College London for the housing of the Petrie Collection since the removal of the Yates Archaeological Library. However, glass display cases needed to be installed for the storing of Petrie's collection. These glass cases were estimated to cost at least £1000. Petrie estimated that his collection was worth about £5000. He offered the college that "provided UCL made the necessary cases available and performed the required structural alterations in his enlarged Department, he would give the College the option of purchasing the whole collection at any time within five years of the close of the present session." That gave the University College London until June 1913 to find £5000 to pay for the collection and another £1000 to pay for the construction of the cases. The majority of the funds to pay for the collection came from two individuals Sir Robert Mond (£1000) and Sir Walter Morrison (£5000).[104]

Sir Walter Morrison had been born—just as Sir Robert Mond—into a very wealthy family. He inherited a fortune of £4 million when his father James Morrison, a successful businessman with interests in the arts who

had been involved in the founding of the National Gallery in London, died in 1857. Morrison developed a keen interest in archaeology and became a major supporter of the Egypt Exploration Society and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Morrison and Mond's paths crossed repeatedly and both became staunch and important supporters of archaeological excavations in Egypt and Palestine in general and of Petrie's work in particular.[105]

Flinders Petrie's British School of Archaeology in Egypt

Morrison and Mond had been among the patrons who financially supported Petrie's organization of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in 1906. In contrast to the later-founded British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Petrie's school did not have a physical presence in Egypt. It was based at the University College London. The purpose of the school was to supply funding for Petrie and his students' excavations in Egypt.[106] The founding of this school and the separation of Petrie from the Egypt Exploration Society was not without conflict, since two bodies with very similar goals competed for patrons and their financial support. When Petrie announced the formation of the new body, which was to rely on private subscriptions as much as the Egypt Exploration Society did, British, continental-European, and American subscribers were caught in the middle of the fight between Petrie and the Egypt Exploration Society. When "Petrie and his helpers wrote to those who had hitherto supported his work describing his plans for the next season and asking for donations for the new School," the recipients of these letters and subscribers of the Egypt Exploration Fund responded by writing to the secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund "that they could not pay twice, and would now prefer to spend their money on Petrie's work."[107] The fight over subscribers pitted Petrie against the Egypt Exploration Society. Petrie was, according to Drower, able to convince a large number of his past supporters to join his new organization, of which he made himself honorary director.[108]

Sir Robert Mond became a staunch supporter of Petrie's new endeavor. His ever-growing enthusiasm for archaeology had, however, a surprisingly limited effect on his family. In the subscription rosters of the Egypt Exploration Society, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Sir Robert Mond was nearly the sole subscriber and supporter from the extended Mond family. Neither his brother nor his wife joined him

in these endeavors. The children of Sir Alfred and Lady Violet Mond, Henry and Mary, however, seemed to have developed some liking of their uncle's interests. Mary Mond was among the first subscribers to the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1920.[109] And her brother Henry Mond could be found among the subscribers to Flinders Petrie's British School of Archaeology in Egypt for 1928.[110] Lady Violet and Sir Alfred Mond show up only once in relation to Sir Robert Mond's archaeological interests. When Sir Robert Mond gave a banquet at the Savoy on June 19, 1930, in honor of Flinders Petrie's half-century research jubilee that was attended by 180 colleagues and students, Lady Violet and Sir Alfred Mond were among the guests (Fig. 6.2).[111]

A comparison of the subscription lists for the Egypt Exploration Society and Petrie's British School of Archaeology in Egypt tells, however, a different story. The British School of Archaeology in Egypt was essentially organized along similar lines as the Egypt Exploration Society, with a list


1930.

Half-Century Celebration of Flinders Petrie's Researches.

Dr. and Mrs Robert Mond

request the honour of the Company of

Mr. C. T. Currelly

at a Dinner at the Savoy Hotel

Embankment Entrance

on Thursday, 19th June, at 7.45 for 8 o'c.

R.S.V.P. to The Secretary,
9, Cavendish Square, W.1.

Orders and Decorations.

Fig. 6.2 Invitation to the banquet in honor of Flinders Petrie's half-century research jubilee in 1930. Courtesy of Christopher Coleman

of subscribers in a London branch and an American branch. The London branch was constituted by 600 subscribers in 1907. The American branch consisted of 142 subscribers. Of the 600 subscribers to the London branch, which included a much smaller number of subscribers from continental Europe than the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund, only 120 (=20%) had been previous subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society. Many of the subscribers seemed, however, to be related by birth or marriage to subscribers of the Egypt Exploration Society. The overlap between both societies within the subscriber roster for the American branch was by comparison, with 53%, significantly higher. The banker Sir Walter Morrison, the professor Archibald Henry Sayce from Oxford University, and the professor Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing from the University of Munich were among the more prominent members who continued to subscribe to both societies. Sir Robert Mond seems to have switched allegiances and continued to support Petrie but for some years stopped his support for the Egypt Exploration Society.[112]

Individual Subscriptions to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt as of 1907[113]

	Men	*Women*	*Clergy*[114]	*Subscription amounts*[115]
Subscriptions from the London branch	395	205	42	£2050
Subscriptions from the USA	102	40	16	£411
Total	**497**	**245**	**58**	**£2461**

The subscriber roster to Petrie's British School of Archaeology in Egypt shares many characteristics with the subscriber lists for the Egypt Exploration Society and the Palestine Exploration Fund. The most significant difference is perhaps that Petrie's society attracted the highest share of female supporters. Thirty four percent of the subscribers to the London branch were women (Palestine Exploration Fund: 23% and Egypt Exploration Society: 29% as of 1910). And while there were few individual subscribers from continental Europe, quite a few of the institutional subscriptions came from French and German institutions of higher learning and museums such as the Louvre and the University of Heidelberg.

Petrie purposefully advertised his new institution to American subscribers who had already proven to be important supporters to the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Egypt Exploration Society. These two societies enjoyed significant support from the religious establishment among Christian and Jewish organized religion. Both societies were headed by Anglican Church leaders and the Palestine Exploration Fund, in particular, counted a significant number of influential clergymen among its subscribers. The support of the clergy for the British School of Archaeology was with 7.8% of its members belonging to the clergy, minuscule compared to the Palestine Exploration Fund, with about 30% of its members in 1910 being members of the clergy. However, Petrie's British School of Archaeology still had slightly more clergy members among its subscribers than the Egypt Exploration Society, which counted only 6% of its members in 1910 as belonging to the clergy.

Petrie was fully aware of the large support the Palestine Exploration Fund received from its American subscribers and of the role American subscriptions played for the funding of both the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Egypt Exploration Society. In order to gain more support in the USA, he played to the higher interest for excavating remnants of biblical times among the American subscribers by announcing at the first meeting of his new school society that he "planned to excavate in the winter on the eastern side of the Delta, where it was hoped that traces of the Hyksos and the Israelites might be found." Petrie used, according to Drower, the Old Testament as bait for receiving subscriptions. And Petrie knew very well that "there were many Americans who would contribute to a biblical excavation, but not to that of a heathen temple."[116]

By supporting and joining these transnational associations, Sir Robert Mond's philanthropic engagement differed remarkably from the philanthropic activities of his father. In contrast to his father, who created singlehandedly entire institutions and collections named after him or named by him, Sir Robert Mond chose to support associations in which he shared philanthropic visions with a large number of fellow supporters. His contributions were large and significant for the survival of these associations, but his philanthropic support was even more discrete than the philanthropic activities of his father.

There is one more important difference between Ludwig and Sir Robert Mond's philanthropic engagement. Both types of philanthropic activity could be considered transnational in nature since it involved the crossing of borders and the creation of a transnational space that was

both greater and smaller than the national space. However, there were significant differences when it came to the philanthropic practice. Ludwig Mond's philanthropic engagement ignored national borders, and his gifts benefitted three different nations (Great Britain, Italy, and Germany). His philanthropic activity therefore became transnational through the space of his activities. Conflicts and collisions between his transnational activities and regional legislations, as in the case of Italy, forced his philanthropic activities into national contexts and resulted in the creation of art collections that became by default and not by intention "gifts to the nations."

Sir Robert Mond's philanthropic activities were, by contrast, not intended to benefit different nations. Virtually all the societies he supported were in name British and most of the artifacts excavated in Egypt and Palestine under the auspices of these associations went to British museums. However, these associations were by their membership and subscriber lists transnational bodies involving continental European and American patrons in national British projects. The outcome of these two different types of philanthropic activity—Ludwig Mond: individual and transnational in performing and Sir Robert Mond: collective and transnational in funding—was, ironically, identical. Both activities resulted in nationalized philanthropy. The result was, however, not so much determined by the activities as they were the product of increasing nationalism resulting from World War I. It was the context and the framework that changed and not the activities.

The Palestine Exploration Fund, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the Egypt Exploration Society, and the British School of Archaeology in Egypt differed in the scope of their transnational orientation. They competed with similar associations created in other nation-states for subscriptions and for excavation permissions in Egypt and Palestine. However, their openness towards subscribers from other countries, which could even include the creation of a branch such as the American branch of the Palestine Exploration Fund and of the Egypt Exploration Society, provided each society with a larger reservoir for gaining subscribers and funding. It was this transnational orientation that made it possible for four different societies to coexist and to succeed in gaining sufficient funding for their archaeological field work. World War I changed this transnational setup of funding completely. After the war, non-English subscribers became a rarity for the subscription rosters of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the Egypt Exploration Society. It seems that Wilhelm Spiegelberg, who had been professor of Egyptology at the University of Strassburg from

1899 until 1919 when Alsace Lorraine was returned to France and who then obtained a professorship at the University of Munich, was the only German member of the Egypt Exploration Society after World War I.

Notes

1. Percy E. Newberry, untitled letter to the journal *Nature* 142 (November 12, 1938), p. 863.
2. Alan. H. Gardiner, "Introduction", in: Alan H. Gardiner and Arthur E. P. Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, London: Bernard Quaritch 1913, p. 5.
3. Ibid., p. 6.
4. Thomas Garnett Henry James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun*, London, New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2001, p. 83.
5. Gardiner, "Introduction", pp. 5–11; Newberry, untitled letter, p. 864; Julie Hankey, *A Passion for Egypt: Arthur Weigall, Tutankhamun and the 'Curse of the Pharaohs'*, London, New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks 2007, p. 123.
6. *Fünfzehnter Jahresbericht der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft eingetragener Verein zu Berlin* erstattet in der ordentlichen Hauptversammlung am 23. Mai 1913, p. 19.
7. Newberry, untitled letter, p. 864.
8. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. First Annual Report, 1920, p. 5; Palestine Exploration Fund Minute Book 1935–1966, p. 77; Percy E. Newberry, "Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F. R. S. 1867–1938", in: *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XXIV, Part 2 (1938), p. 210.
9. Newberry, "Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F. R. S. 1867–1938", p. 208.
10. Archive of the Egypt Exploration Society, Egypt Exploration Society. Report of the Fifty-Second Ordinary General Meeting 1938, p. 10.
11. Newberry, "Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F. R. S. 1867–1938", p. 208.
12. Archive of the Egypt Exploration Society, Mond Mss 1921–1938, letter by Robert Mond to the Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Society dated September 13, 1923.
13. Archive of the Egypt Exploration Society, Egypt Exploration Society. Report of the Fifty-Second Ordinary General Meeting 1938, p. 9.
14. Sir Robert Mond, "Introduction", in: Sir Robert Mond and Oliver M. Myers (eds.), *The Bucheum* (Forty-First Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society), vol. 1: *The History and Archaeology of the Site*, London: The Egypt Exploration Society/Oxford University Press 1934, p. IX.

15. Mond, "Introduction"; Newberry, untitled letter, p. 864.
16. Margaret S. Drower, "The Early Years", in: Thomas Garnett Henry James (ed.), *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society 1882–1982*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1982, p. 19.
17. Ibid., p. 22.
18. Ibid., p. 23.
19. Archive of the Egypt Exploration Fund: Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Twenty-Fifth Ordinary General Meeting. Subscription List and Balance Sheet 1910–1911.
20. Archive of the Egypt Exploration Fund: Egypt Exploration Fund. Report of the Twenty-Fifth Ordinary General Meeting. Subscription List and Balance Sheet 1910–1911.
21. Drower, "The Early Years", p. 34.
22. Several individuals subscribed to two or three branches of this society.
23. The numbers given here are rounded up.
24. The members of the clergy have also been counted as men.
25. *Zweiter Jahresbericht der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin erstattet in der ordentlichen Hauptversammlung am 1. Mai 1900*, p. 6; *Zwölfter Jahresbericht der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft eingetragener Verein zu Berlin erstattet in der ordentlichen Hauptversammlung am 18. Juni 1910*, p. 9.
26. For James Simon's contributions to the German Orient Society see: Olaf Matthes, *James Simon: Mäzen im Wilhelminischen Zeitalter*, Berlin: Bostelmann & Siebenhaar 2000, pp. 199–265.
27. For Simon see: Matthes, *James Simon*. For Koppel see: Eckhardt Fuchs and Dieter Hoffmann, "Philanthropy and Science in Wilhelmine Germany", in: Adam, *Philanthropy, Patronage, and Civil Society*, pp. 107–109. For Mosse see: Elisabeth Kraus, *Die Familie Mosse: Deutsch-jüdisches Bürgertum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich: Beck 1999.
28. Newberry, untitled letter, p. 864.
29. Horst Junginger, "Das tragische Leben von Hans Alexander Winkler (1900–1945) und seiner armenischen Frau Hayastan (1901–1937)", in: *Bausteine zur Tübinger Universitätsgeschichte* vol. 7 (1995), Tübingen: Attempto-Verlag 1995, pp. 83–92.
30. For an account of the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft see: Ulrich Marsch, *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft. Gründung und frühe Geschichte 1920–1925*, Frankfurt am Main/New York: Peter Lang 1994.
31. Junginger, "Das tragische Leben von Hans Alexander Winkler", pp. 93–96. Some of this information was provided by Christopher Coleman.
32. Hans Alexander Winkler, *Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten im Lichte neuer Felsbilderfunde*, Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1937, pp. V-VI.

33. Archive of the Egypt Exploration Society, Mond Mss. 1921–1938, letter by Sir Robert Mond dated May 30, 1937.
34. Hans A. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I: Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition Season 1936–1937 Preliminary Report*, London: The Egypt Exploration Society/Oxford University Press 1938, p. 1.
35. "Foreword" by Robert Mond to Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I.*
36. Winkler, Völker und Völkerbewegungen im vorgeschichtlichen Oberägypten, p. 1.
37. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. I.*, p. 1.
38. Ralph A. Bagnold, "An Expedition to the Gilf Kebir and Uweinat, 1938", in: *The Geographical Journal* XCIII no. 4 (April 1939), pp. 281–312.
39. Hans A. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt. II: (Including 'Uwēnât) Sir Robert Mond Desert Expedition Season 1937–1938 Preliminary Report*, London: The Egypt Exploration Society/Oxford University Press 1939.
40. Ralph A. Bagnold, *The Physics of Blown Sand and Desert Dunes*, London: Methuen 1941.
41. Isla Forsyth, "Desert journeys: from exploration to covert operations" forthcoming in *The Geographical Journal*. Prepublished at the journal's webpage: The Geographical Journal, 2015, doi: 10.1111/geoj.12136.
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43. Rupert L. Chapman, "Pioneers of Biblical Archaeology", in: Jonathan N. Tubb and Rupert L. Chapman (eds.), *Archaeology and The Bible*, London: British Museum Publications 1990, p. 10.
44. Ibid., p. 10.
45. Susan S. Lewis, "The Artistic and Architectural Patronage of Angela Burdett Coutts" (PhD thesis University of London 2012); Diana Orton, *Made of Gold: A Biography of Angela Burdett-Coutts*, London: Hamish Hamilton 1980; Edna Healey, *Lady Unknown: The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson 1978; Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck, *Baroness Burdett-Coutts: A Sketch of her Public Life and Work Prepared for the Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition*, Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company 1893.
46. Mary McMichael Ritzlin, "The Bountiful Baroness: Angela Burdett-Coutts, Victorian Map Patron", in: *Cartographica* 37 No. 3 (fall 2000), p. 36.
47. Ibid., p. 25.
48. Chapman, "Pioneers of Biblical Archaeology", p. 15.
49. This table and the following interpretation is the result of the statistical analysis of the subscription list which can be found in: Palestine Exploration Fund. Annual Report and Accounts with List of Subscriptions for the Year 1909, pp. 5–25.

50. The members of the clergy have also been counted as men.
51. The numbers given here are rounded up.
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54. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Palestine Exploration Fund. Annual Report and Accounts with List of Subscriptions for the Year 1909, p. 5.
55. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), "Archaeology at Jerusalem. A Proposed British School", in: *The Times* June 3, 1919.
56. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), The First Annual General Meeting of Subscribers March 1, 1921. See also: Margaret S. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*, London: Victor Gollancz 1985, p. 344.
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58. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, "Memorandum on Ancient Sites and Military Operations in Palestine," Submitted to the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Duncan MacKenzie.
59. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BSAJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), "Archaeology at Jerusalem. A Proposed British School", in: The Times June 3, 1919.
60. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, First Annual Report, 1920, pp. 7–8.
61. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BSAJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), "Archaeology at Jerusalem. A Proposed British School", in: The Times June 3, 1919.
62. This interpretation is based upon a statistical analysis of the subscriber list. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, First Annual Report, 1920, pp. 7–8.
63. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, First Annual Report, 1920, p. 12.

64. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BSAJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), "Archaeology at Jerusalem. A Proposed British School", in: The Times June 3, 1919.
65. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, First Annual Report, 1920, p. 13.
66. Newberry, "Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F. R. S. 1867–1938", p. 210.
67. Archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund, BASJ Minute Book I (1918–1961), British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, First Annual Report, 1920, p. 6.
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69. James B. Pritchard, *Archaeology and the Old Testament*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1958, p. 10.
70. Ibid., p. 12. See also: Drower, *Flinders Petrie*, p. 390.
71. Richard Bradley, "Vera Collum and the excavation of a 'Roman' megalithic tomb", in: *Antiquity* 74 (2000), pp. 39.
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CHAPTER 7

Conclusion: Constructing Transnational Spaces

Proponents of traditional nation-centered history are right when they remind us that we need the dimensions of space and time to produce a meaningful account of past events. They are, of course, wrong in assuming that only the national space or the urban or rural space within a national space could be the appropriate space for meaningful history. Transnational historians need to construct their transnational space in as much as national historians have constructed their national spaces. But while transnational historians seem to be much more willing to acknowledge that their transnational space is a construction of historical actors and scholarly observers alike, too many national historians still cling to the illusion that their national space is somehow naturally given.[1]

Early studies in transnational history have not given too much thought to the conceptualization of transnational space. Migration scholars such as Leo Lucassen, for instance, perceived of transnationalism not as a space but as a set of relationships with loyalties and identities.[2] Other scholars such as Mark Renella who explored the phenomenon of transatlantic travel introduced the concept of liminal space as a space in between the world of departure and the world of arrival. Basing his concept of liminal space upon the work of the anthropologist Victor Turner, Renella argued that liminal space contains both "transition" and "potentiality."[3] And Pierre-Yves Saunier sees transnational spaces as a result of circulations of objects and individuals that can create topical regions that are quite similar to the imagined communities of nation-states.[4] Yet these transnational spaces

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have not yet been mapped in the way national spaces have been projected onto maps.

It has become clear that for transnational history to become a viable and durable alternative to national history, we need to take the question of space seriously. The philanthropic activities of the Mond family in the field of art collecting, the fight against early childhood mortality, the advancement of research and of higher education, and the archaeological excavation of biblical history in Egypt and Palestine provided for different transnational spaces that resulted from the activities of individuals, non-state actors, and financial and material flows. These transnational spaces had borders and procedures for acquiring a membership in self-governing entities. They had codified rules and regulations that their members had to obey. One could enter these transnational spaces either as a member or as a guest and one could decide to stay or to leave this space. Membership in transnational associations such as the Egypt Exploration Society had its privileges. Members received annual publications that kept them abreast of the progress in Egypt. Museums and institutions received artifacts in return for their membership fee. These associations created identities and contributed to the shaping of Western history and tradition. Furthermore, these entities had budgets and rival associations that also endeavored to create transnational spaces. There was competition and conflict between these transnational entities and spaces as, for instance, in the case of the Egypt Exploration Society versus Petrie's British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

These transnational spaces had much in common with the spaces invented by nationalists for the modern nation-state. And there is much overlap between both types of spaces since the expansion of transnational spaces into national spaces led to conflicts, as in the case of the ban on export of Renaissance art work from Italy, or the prohibition to export artifacts from Egypt. These conflicts led to negotiations between representatives of both spaces, and in the cases discussed in this book, compromises were struck that forced the transnational and the national spaces to contract or expand. And while past historians felt compelled to write the history of individuals within the confines of nation-states, the activities of the Mond family were neither limited to such a narrow framework nor could they be meaningfully explained within just one traditional national space. The Monds were neither German, Jewish, English, Italian, Egyptian, or French. They embraced a much larger transnational space as their own that included associations, institutions, places, and cultural artifacts from across the Western European and Mediterranean space.

Transnational history has already served to uncover the intercultural transfers that connected the cities and villages across the world, even in the most nationalistic times of the nineteenth and twentieth century. This focus on circulation of ideas and people has contributed to the destruction of national exceptionalist narratives. But it cannot be enough to destroy an existing narrative and to prove that existing spatial concepts are invalid. This can only be the first step towards the formation of a new spatial framework for historical narratives; a spatial framework that takes into account advances in the conceptualization of space in fields such as geography. Geographers such as Benno Werlen have long accepted that space is the result of human action and activities rather than a primordial structure.[5] Integrating such geographic concepts, transnational historians need to construct the spaces occupied by transnational communities. This spatial dimension would be determined by human activities that resulted in the creation and shaping of transnational spaces according to the needs and desires of those involved in these processes.

Such transnational spaces could emerge from the migration of members of a family or of a community such as Ludwig and Frida Mond to a distant place in which these members recreate aspects of their former life. Letters written to those left behind as well as travel and extended visits by relatives (as, for instance, Frida Mond's mother) and friends (as, for instance, Henriette Hertz) connected such spaces and provided the lifelines that became the backbones to the transnational space that connected at least two locations. Transnational associations such as the Egypt Exploration Society, by contrast, created transnational spaces not through migration but through their membership, which was located in various different places across several nation-states as well as through their excavation activities in Egypt and the distribution of artifacts across museums in the Western World. Mond's actions of collecting Italian Renaissance art created another type of transnational space, which only on the surface appeared to be determined by the actions of just one individual. This individual linked art production in the Mediterranean world with exhibition of this art in Northern Europe and art dealers and restorers of artwork in the South with museum audiences in the North. In all three cases, transnational spaces and entities resulted from human actions.

These different types of transnational spaces are as mapable as national spaces. One could produce a map that represented the movements of the Mond family or of the Egypt Exploration Society. These spaces on the map would be concentrated around headquarter(s) and show boundaries as

much as the mapping of a nation-state would. Transnational and national spaces, thus, have quite a few commonalities. Both have space, (often codified) rules and regulations, procedures of obtaining membership, operating budgets; they even create identities, engage in conflict solution, and experience competition with other transnational and national spaces.

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Notes

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