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COLNAGHI STUDIES JOURNAL – 12
MARCH 2023

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Rethinking Gilded Age collecting

JEREMY HOWARD

This special number of the *Colnaghi Studies Journal* is the first of two issues featuring articles on the art market during the so-called Gilded Age of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The term Gilded Age was first coined by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner in the eponymous novel published in 1873 which examined the glittering but, as they saw it, corrupt society of America in the aftermath of the Civil War, so memorably charted in the novels of Henry James and Edith Wharton. This was a period of astonishing economic development in the United States which saw its emergence as a world superpower and a shift towards American plutocratic collectors, such as J.P. Morgan, Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Mellon and the Huntingtons as the dominant force in the international art market

The period is sometimes defined as running approximately between 1880 and the outbreak of the First World War, as in Cynthia Saltzman's seminal study of the Old Master paintings market, *Old Masters, New World* (2008). But there are strong arguments for extending the timelines of the Gilded Age up until the outbreak of the Second World War: Joseph Duveen, the most famous art dealer of the period, did not die until 1939; J.P. Morgan died in 1913, but Frick went on buying avidly during the First World War, taking advantage of the turbulent events in Europe which forced many great works of art onto the market; Andrew Mellon's career as a collector did not really take off until the 1920s, and its acme was the hugely important "Paintings-for-Grain" deal of the early 1930s (sometimes described as "the Sale of the Century") when, through the agency of Colnaghi, Knoedler and the Matthieson Gallery, Mellon was able to acquire a string of astonishing masterpieces sold off secretly by the Soviets. These works laid the foundations of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Fig. 1 / Thomas Gainsborough, *The Blue Boy*, 1770, oil on canvas, 177.8 x 121.1 cm, San Marino, CA, The Huntington Library.

In 1876, four years after the publication of Twain's novel, Henry James wrote prophetically of his "acute satisfaction in seeing America stretch out her long arm and rake in, across the green cloth of the wide Atlantic, the highest prizes in the game of civilization". But, although the dominant narrative may have been of American money buying European art, the reality of the Gilded Age art market was much more nuanced geographically. This was a period when European private collectors such as Calouste Gulbenkian and various members of the Rothschild family, South African diamond merchants such as Alfred Beit and Julius Wernher, and European museums, notably the Berlin Gemäldegalerie under Wilhelm von Bode, were also major players in a market which was truly international. Many dealers, such as Knoedler or Duveen's, had galleries in London, Paris and New York and sold to collectors from as far east as Moscow and as far west as Los Angeles and Buenos Aires; the latter, as revealed in one of the essays in the present volume, became a very important and dynamic collecting centre in this period. The market was also far more complex than has generally been acknowledged in for example the sensational biographies of Duveen, its most high-profile dealer, which have tended to focus on the big-ticket deals involving the sale of Old Master paintings or British eighteenth-century portraits, such as Gainsborough's *Blue Boy* (fig. 1), for unprecedented sums to American collectors. This ignores the fact that during this period there were also very significant sales involving the decorative arts, including by the Duveens themselves whose picture business, as revealed in Charlotte Vignon's recent book *Duveen Brothers and the Market for Decorative Arts 1880-1940* (2019), was underpinned by antique dealing. Many of the works of art traded were also Asian or pre-Columbian rather than European, and not all European aristocrats were impoverished sellers of art – the Earl of Harewood, for example, was a major buyer of Old Master paintings in the Interwar period and, among European royalty, so was the Tsar of Russia whose purchase of Leonardo's *Benois Madonna* in 1914 set a record unbeaten in the Gilded Age. Alongside the market for older art, there was also a burgeoning market for Impressionist and Modern pictures in which dealerships such as Knoedler became increasingly involved.

The essays in the present volume, which arose from an international conference hosted by Colnaghi in November 2022, aim to present a more nuanced view of the art market during the Gilded Age. Our authors explore the careers of some dealers and collectors who have been overlooked in the traditional histories, as well as some less familiar aspects of those who are already well known, while also shining a beam of scholarship on some of the byways of this complex and fascinating period in the history of the art market. Our autumn issue will feature several additional papers from the conference which shed further light on the less well-charted aspects of the Gilded Age art market.

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Fig. 1 / Albrecht Dürer, *Young Venetian Woman*, ca. 1506, oil on panel, 29.1 x 23.5 cm, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Stephen T. Gooden at 57 Pall Mall: "An ambitious dealer" in the 1890s

BARBARA BRYANT

In May 1893, Sir Frederic Burton, Director of the National Gallery, complained about "an ambitious dealer" whose recent sale caused a maelstrom of public comment. The dealer in question was Stephen T. Gooden (1856-1909) who had just sold a painting attributed to Albrecht Dürer (fig. 1) for 1000 guineas to Wilhelm von Bode of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (later renamed the Bode Museum).[1] When Gooden arranged for this sale to be noted in *The Times*, the ensuing commentary in public and private quarters proved embarrassing for the National Gallery. For the dealer himself it was a stunning coup that paved the way for sales of Old Master and English paintings to Gilded Age collectors across the Atlantic throughout the 1890s. How did Gooden manage this art market feat and later ones after only four years as a young independent art dealer? Furthermore, how did he gain a foothold in the Old Master market in the early 1890s before the major art dealerships came to dominate this arena?

The previous extensive scholarship on the London art market in the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century has not yet turned a light on Stephen Gooden's gallery (other than a few provenance and exhibition references).[2] Quite rightly, priority has been given to the role of the big dealerships, such as Agnew's, Colnaghi, Duveen, Knoedler, and the other major players for whom abundant archival documentation survives in public repositories. The early death of the individual at its centre in 1909 pre-empted a long career that might have left further record. Furthermore, as the London Gallery Project reveals, in the early 1890s, Pall Mall, where Gooden was located, did not have the same density of art galleries as New Bond Street.[3] Therefore, creating a portrait of Stephen Gooden's gallery on Pall Mall has been a gradual research process (that is still ongoing),[4] drawing on newly published,[5] and unpublished manuscript material.[6]

The history of this commercial gallery is interconnected with the larger firms, as well as with agents such as Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919).[7] Gooden did not possess the stature of the older William Agnew (1825-1910). He did however play a noteworthy role in dispersing major works of art, a role that has yet to be illuminated. For this essay, Gooden's gallery will be seen as providing an insight into the complex "ecosystem" of the London art trade. We know the 1880s and 1890s brought a great influx of artworks from British aristocratic collections onto the London art market. Commercial galleries grew in number and thrived.[8] In addition, as Anne Helmreich has discussed, this period also saw the increasing professionalization of the art dealer.[9] Several episodes from Stephen Gooden's early career will show how the intricacies of sourcing, marketing and selling of masterpieces depended on a network of interconnected individuals.

Stephen Thomas Gooden was born in Salford, Greater Manchester, in 1856.[10] His father, a cotton spinner, died when he was aged fourteen. By the early 1870s, Gooden joined the original Agnew's gallery in Manchester. Gooden's humble origins suggest that family connections or friendships accounted for the direction of his nascent career. Gooden shared a common background with the Agnews in Salford; indeed, Gooden was an exact

Fig. 2 / Edward Salomons, *William Agnew in the Gallery at 39B Old Bond Street*, pen and ink with watercolour, 31.1 x 58.7 cm, Private Collection. Reproduced in Giles Waterfield, *Palaces of Art*, exhibition catalogue, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1991.

contemporary and later friend of William Agnew's son, Charles Morland Agnew (although unlike Morland, he was not educated at public schools and Cambridge University; instead he went into the workplace as a young man). The firm in Manchester transferred Gooden to their London branch, probably at the time when the new gallery at 39B Old Bond Street opened in 1877 (the firm's first London branch was in Waterloo Place) and required an influx of staff. Here Gooden met with another young assistant, Frederick Fox, who much later, in 1903, joined with him as a partner. Both were later dubbed "Agnew-ites" in reference to their common training at Old Bond Street.[11]

At this time, Agnew's specialized primarily in contemporary British paintings, watercolours and prints.[12] The 1870s saw a great boom in sale prices for British art, both modern and historic. In this field, Agnew's excelled; the firm had not yet moved decisively into the market for Old Master paintings. Edward Salomons (in partnership with Ralph Selden Wornum) designed the elegant new premises for Agnew's at Old Bond Street.[13] Here Gooden worked as a "Fine Art Salesman".[14] A watercolour by Salomons (fig. 2) reveals an interior more akin to a drawing room in the Aesthetic taste than commercial premises. William Agnew presided over this modern gallery, filled with framed watercolours, drawings and prints. It is noteworthy that the same year Agnew's new gallery opened, the Grosvenor Gallery staged its first exhibition of contemporary British painting, a landmark event that brought avant-garde art onto a wider public stage. Also on fashionable Bond Street, The Fine Art Society had recently opened. These galleries and many others were all symptomatic of a booming art world.

When the Settled Land Act of 1882 came into force, the art market was the inadvertent beneficiary. Sales from aristocratic collections followed, including the Hamilton Palace sale of 1882 and the Blenheim sale of 1886, bringing an influx of artworks to the marketplace.[15] The auctions at Christie's saleroom on King Street took on a theatrical dimension, as seen in the engraved illustration of 1888 from the *Magazine of Art* (fig. 3). Here William Agnew played a leading role, always wearing his customary top hat. As well as being an art dealer, he was also a pillar of the establishment who accumulated personal wealth and did much philanthropic work. A Member of Parliament in the 1880s, he was awarded a knighthood and then a baronetcy in 1895.

Gooden participated in the Agnew operation until the late 1880s;[16] no doubt he observed William Agnew's ability to generate excitement and publicity in the acquisition and selling of art. Certainly the sensational purchase, and then theft, of Gainsborough's *Duchess of Devonshire* in 1876 put the art market of that moment in the news. At the Royal Academy, the new President Frederic Leighton (elected 1878) enthusiastically promoted the Winter Exhibitions of Old Master paintings in the galleries of Burlington House. Henry Jamyn Brooks's *Private View of the Old Masters Exhibition, Royal Academy, 1888* (National Portrait Gallery) shows high society lenders (such as Michael Bass, 1st Lord Burton) mixing with dealers (William Agnew is prominent) and artists. These loan exhibitions brought works out of aristocratic and other private collections into public view with obvious advantages for art dealers.

By 1888, aged thirty-two, Gooden ventured out on his own. His personal confidence made a move away from the firm almost inevitable. He poached some clients of Agnew's, including George Holt of Liverpool and William Cuthbert Quilter. A caricature portrait of the latter in *Vanity Fair* in 1889 summed him up, "In Society and a Member of Parliament".[17] Quilter inherited money and continued to make more as a stockbroker and company director; his younger brother Harry was an art critic and journalist. Quilter's art collection was displayed in a separate picture gallery connected to his Mayfair mansion on South Audley Street (until 1909). Charles Fairfax Murray wryly observed that Quilter was:

> ... a gentleman who acknowledges having wasted £50,000 on his own education as a picture buyer. He has no idea of value, for many years he was in Agnews' hands and paid terrific prices for things. He is still too used to dealing with thousands rather than hundreds to properly estimate a picture.[18]

When Gooden left Agnew's, Quilter followed him and may even have backed him financially in his new gallery.

Gooden's equally important client was wealthy brewing magnate, Michael Arthur Bass, raised to peerage in 1886 as 1st Baron Burton. As a personal friend of the Prince of Wales, Burton moved in the most elevated circles.

Fig. 3 / *"A Sale at Christie's,"* drawn by T. Walter Wilson; engraved by R. Taylor, *Magazine of Art*, 1888, p. 229.

He trusted Gooden implicitly and paid enormous prices to him. Eventually, Gooden acted as his agent, aiding in the campaign to fill Burton's historic mansion, Chesterfield House, in Mayfair with a succession of grand manner portraits of the British school, such as Gainsborough's *Colonel John Bullock* (private collection) in 1892.[19]

With the promise of patronage from Quilter and Burton, among others, Gooden sought premises for his new gallery. In 1889 he is first recorded at no. 57 Pall Mall.[20] His gallery label proclaimed his position "opposite Marlborough House", the residence of the Prince of Wales (figs. 4 & 5).[21] Pall Mall, a stylish and highly commercial thoroughfare, was also a geographical space laden with historical associations, as the original home of the National Gallery, the Shakespeare Gallery, the British Institution, and the Society of Painters in Watercolours (until 1883). Gainsborough's former residence and gallery at Schomberg House was on the south side of the street. As Edward Walford noted in *Old and New London* in 1882: "Pall Mall has always been a place for exhibitions, especially of pictures."[22]

An array of London's grander clubs could be found on Pall Mall, including the recently established Marlborough Club, at no. 52 in a new building. Founded by the Prince of Wales himself, so he might smoke to his heart's content,[23] this club was the unofficial headquarters of a circle of pleasure-seeking aristocrats known as the Marlborough House Set. By the 1880s Pall Mall was moving into the modern era. There was the excitement of new architecture: Richard Norman Shaw's flamboyant offices in the "Franco-Flemish" manner for the Alliance Assurance Company comprised the western end of Pall Mall, at the junction with St James's Street (and still remains there today).

For an art dealer, the main draw of the western end of Pall Mall was proximity to the auction houses (fig. 6): Christie's, the principal one, was a quick jaunt through Crown Passage, which connected Pall Mall to King Street. The refurbishments of 1885 created a spacious new gallery there. Situated a few doors down from Gooden's premises at no. 54 was Foster's, another prominent auction house (until 1940). Robinson and Fisher's sales were held at Willis's Rooms on King Street. The north side of the avenue had traditionally been divided up into smaller commercial properties, including a few art galleries, chiefly Martin Colnaghi's Marlborough Gallery at no. 53.[24] For Gooden, 57 Pall Mall proved to be convenient for the salerooms, yet it also linked him to the Prince of Wales's domain. By comparison Martin Colnaghi could only bill himself as "nearly opposite Marlborough House", unlike Gooden who was exactly "opposite". Colnaghi lived above the shop in Pall Mall, but this was not for Gooden. Once he married and started his gallery he established his growing family in a smart suburban villa in Tulse Hill in leafy south London. Again, following Agnew, if the lifestyle of the dealer conveyed affluence, it could yield potential connections with the highest in society.

Fig. 4 / Stephen T. Gooden, gallery label, on the verso of Frederic Leighton, *Rocks of the Sirens, Capri*, The Maas Gallery, London (courtesy of Rupert Maas).

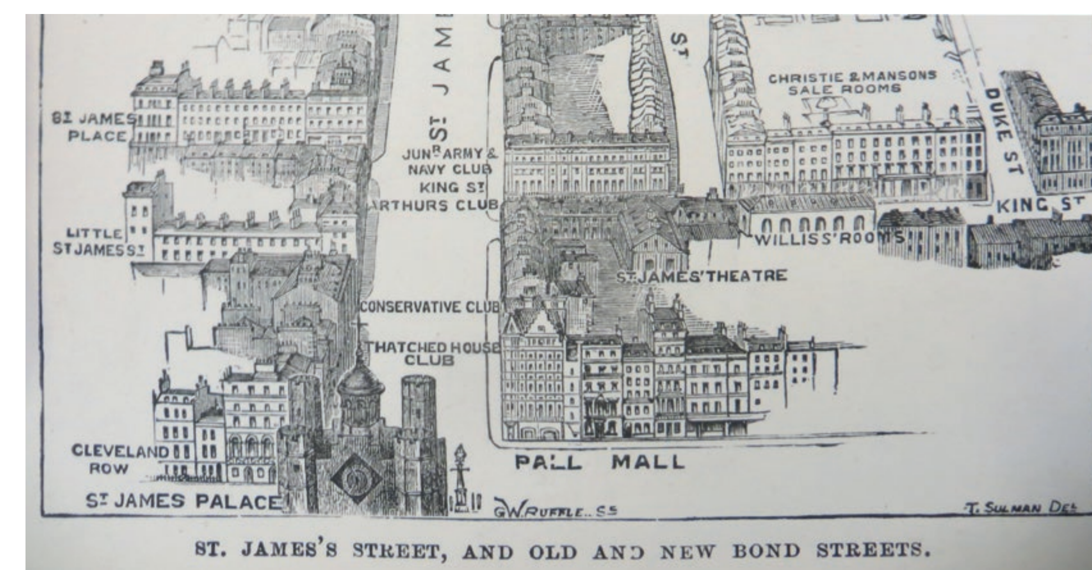


Fig. 5 / View of Pall Mall in *Round London: An album of pictures from photographs of the chief places of interest in and round London*, George Newnes Limited, London 1896.

Fig. 6 / Herbert Fry, *London in 1889: illustrated by eighteen bird's-eye views of the principal streets, London*, 1889, pl. VII (detail).

Fig. 7 / Chas. E. Goad, Insurance Plan of London, Vol. IX, sheet 208 (detail, with Gooden's premises highlighted in yellow), 1889, London, British Library.

There are many views of the western portion of Pall Mall, showing the position of Gooden's gallery, but no full images of the exterior (or interior) survive. We can, however, gauge its physical footprint thanks to Goad's Insurance Plan of 1889 (fig. 7). Gooden's substantial premises extended back from the shop frontage on Pall Mall, with skylit gallery space suitable for exhibitions. In his first full year of business, Gooden hit the art market at a furious pace. He immediately gained a public profile in June 1889 by showing a painting destined for Queen Victoria and the Royal Collection.[25] From the outset, the gallery drew attention in the press, not only for its exhibitions. In August 1889, no. 57 was on the ceremonial route for a royal wedding when the Prince of Wales's daughter Louise married the Duke of Fife. The *Graphic* newspaper issued a special supplement noting:

> ... exactly opposite the great gates of the Prince's residence, the fine-art gallery of Mr. S. Gooden was adorned with much taste […] the window on the level with the street was occupied by ladies whose "silks of holiday" attire made a pretty break in the somber hue which generally prevailed in neighboring fronts.[26]

Such public notice indicates how quickly Gooden had arrived in fashionable London, positioning himself to network as a one-man dealership.

Gooden's family connections added to his social networks, when in 1888 he married Edith Epps, the niece (by marriage) of Lawrence Alma-Tadema. Thus Gooden gained a link to one of the most popular artists of the day. Edith belonged to the famous Epps family of homeopathic doctors and producers of a well-known brand of cocoa. Furthermore, she was the granddaughter of Henry Duff Linton, a prolific wood engraver. Both familial links with artists gave Gooden an edge among his competitors.[27] He owned the copyright to several paintings by his popular relation, Alma Tadema, which he issued as engravings or photogravures. Indeed, in his first year or so of trading, Gooden identified himself as a print publisher and seller.

Commissioning and publishing engravings produced a continuing income stream for the gallery. Gooden rose in the professional body of the Printsellers' Association, whose members included prominent dealers and publishers of engravings, such as David Croal Thomson (of Goupil Gallery) and Arthur Lucas.[28] Through the Printsellers' Association he fraternized with established dealers. This context provides the only known photograph of the man himself, published in 1897 (fig. 8). It accompanied an article on the members of the Association.[29] Not for him a simple head and shoulders shot; instead Gooden sought out the firm of Alexander Bassano, the leading society and royal photographer in London, for a three-quarter-length photo. This vivid image stands out from the rest of his colleagues (as he surely intended it would). He strikes a confident, indeed swaggering, pose. In his personal self-fashioning, Gooden shows himself as a modern figure. His confident stance is modelled on the eminent elder statesman in the field, William Agnew, the man whose firm gave him his early break back in Manchester in the 1870s.

As a one-man dealership, trading under his own name, Gooden employed a variety of strategies in the marketplace in London: publishing engravings, staging exhibitions and utilizing his contacts. One key contact was the painter Charles Fairfax Murray, who later became an operative for Agnew's, but at this stage was a free agent as a dealer and connoisseur of Old Master paintings and decorative arts.[30] Murray had sold paintings to Sir Frederic Burton (1816-1900), the director of the National Gallery, and he was in close touch with Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929) of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. Gooden traded in contemporary British art as well as in the historic British school. Increasingly he also handled Old Master paintings. Only a few years after opening his gallery, he made some major acquisitions that resulted in important sales. But how did he do it? Three cases are worth looking at in some detail. The first, as mentioned earlier, was the sale of a work by Dürer to Bode, possibly Gooden's greatest coup and the one that put him on the map with international collectors.

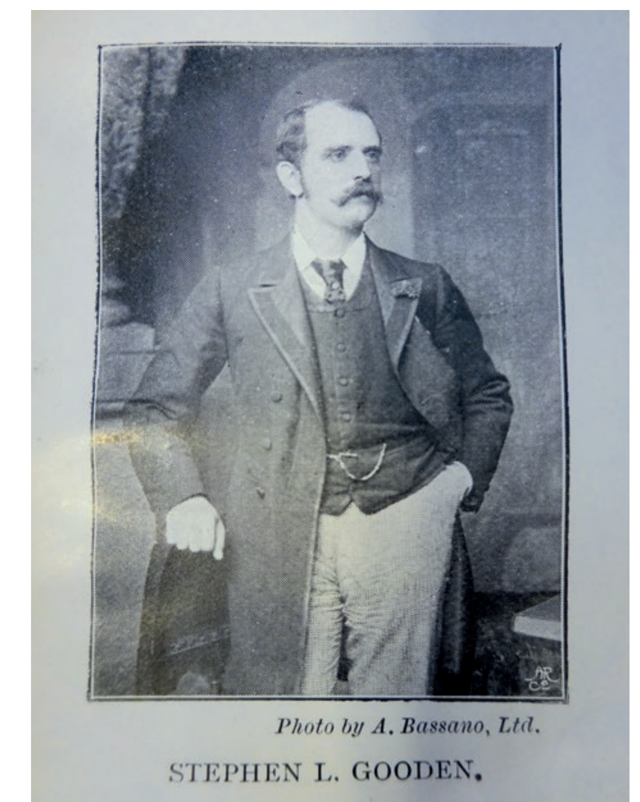


Fig. 8 / Stephen T. Gooden, photograph in *The Year's Art*, 1897, opp. p. 294.

In the early 1890s Gooden came into contact with Reginald Cholmondeley (1826-1896), an artistically inclined, well-to-do landowner, who had trained as a painter and sculptor in the 1850s. Cholmondeley had exhibited at the Royal Academy and counted many of London's artists such as G.F. Watts and John Everett Millais as personal friends. In 1864, this gentleman had inherited an extensive landed estate, along with the family seat, Condover Hall, said to be the "grandest Elizabethan house in Shropshire".[31] Famously eccentric, he used his skills as an artist to make decorative additions to the historic fabric of his country house. Condover Hall contained a notable art collection featuring Elizabethan portraits, Old Master paintings, and much more (notably a collection of birds of paradise). As a bibliophile, he befriended living writers such as Robert Browning and Mark Twain (indeed the American author visited Condover twice in the 1870s). Cholmondeley's extravagance caused the debts on his estate to mount up. As his health declined in the 1890s, his brother, Rev. H.R. Cholmondeley took over the management of the family's financial affairs. To raise money, works of art were sold, initially privately, through Gooden. How the dealer came in contact with this family is key to what followed. It seems that an introduction of some sort came from Gooden's patron and client, Michael Bass, Lord Burton, who was a Midlands landowner like the Cholmondeleys.[32]

From Condover, Gooden secured a small painting, long associated with Dürer, to sell privately (see fig. 1). Cholmondeley was a generous lender to art exhibitions, both locally in the county near his home and in London at the winter exhibitions of the Royal Academy. The Cholmondeley Dürer had been seen in 1879, when one critic, W.H. James Weale, noted: "we have no hesitation in saying that […] the beautifully-painted bust-portrait of a woman (no. 214), ascribed to Dürer, [is] certainly North Italian."[33] So there was always some question about its attribution. The embroidered inscription on the bodice of the woman portrayed happened to be A.D. but this was not Dürer's monogram.

In May 1893, Bode acquired the Cholmondeley Dürer for his museum for 1,000 guineas. Accounts of the purchase of the painting by Bode have long been known. He recounted the events in his autobiography *Mein Leben* (published in 1930), casting himself as the hero of the hour who "discovered" a lost Dürer;[34] Fairfax Murray credited himself as the prime mover who had always believed the picture was a Dürer.[35] Because Sir Frederic Burton rejected the attribution, the National Gallery did not acquire the work and it left the country. Events surrounding this purchase are discussed in the modern literature as, for example, in Jeremy Warren's pioneering article "Bode and the British" in 1996.[36] But Gooden's role has not as yet come into focus. It is worth going through the sequence of events because it indicates how informal social and professional networks could operate within a particular geographical sphere.

Bode and Fairfax Murray attended a sale at Christie's on Saturday 6 May. They had been friendly for at least a decade, with Murray filtering several works of art to Bode and squiring him around London visiting collectors. Bode's power increased in 1890 when Kaiser Wilhelm II appointed him Director of the Paintings Collection at the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. In seeking out works of art Bode had extensive dealings with art dealers in Europe and abroad.[37] He also studied collections in England and in October 1893 visited America where his efforts were aided by his "faultless" command of the English language.[38]

The first part of the sale on Saturday 6 May consisted of paintings from the collection of Viscount Clifden (formerly at Dover House, Whitehall), including two works by Rembrandt, one of Bode's chief scholarly interests. His presence was discreetly noted in the account of the sale in *The Times* as one of the "directors of some of the chief Continental Galleries" in attendance.[39]

During a lull in the auction, Fairfax Murray informed Bode that if he would like to see a work by Dürer, his friend Stephen Gooden had one hanging in his nearby gallery. A short walk down Crown Passage from King Street brought the two men to 57 Pall Mall in a matter of minutes.

Highly pleased with the painting (and quite convinced it was by Dürer), Bode immediately offered to buy it at the price Gooden named – 1,000 guineas. The offer was then relayed by telegram to the owner, Reginald Cholmondeley. Bode returned to Christie's and encountered his friend, the director of the National Gallery, telling him of his offer for the painting. Frederic Burton was then surprised, during the sale, to receive a telegram from someone he calls "an intimate friend", that is, Reginald Cholmondeley, who sought his advice. Should he accept the German's offer via Gooden? Frederic Burton was still convinced that the painting was not by Dürer, so he told Cholmondeley to accept the offer. Burton knew the work as part of his friend's collection and would have had further occasion to see the painting when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition in 1879.[40] In a later letter to Murray, he indicated that the painting had been offered to the National Gallery years before at a much higher price than 1,000 guineas, which he had refused.[41] Additionally, the initials A.D. embroidered on the bodice of the sitter's gown were not connected to Dürer's signature or known monogram. In Burton's mind, it was not something that he ever wanted for the museum.[42] And since his appointment in 1874, his decision was the final one on any acquisition (although that changed very soon after with the Rosebery Minute).

Bode and Fairfax Murray returned to Gooden's gallery in Pall Mall where Bode requested that the frame on the painting be removed. Initially, Murray objected; but the frame was taken off. In a dramatic outcome, the removal of the frame revealed Dürer's monogram, hitherto hidden, in the upper left corner. With the attribution vindicated, Bode triumphed and Gooden gained a substantial commission. His next step was to make a public announcement of his successful sale. On 9 May 1893, this statement appeared in the Court Circular of *The Times*:

> The Director of the Berlin Gallery purchased on Saturday, from Mr. Gooden, of Pall-mall, an extremely interesting portrait by Albert Durer, belonging to the Rev. H.R. Cholmondeley, rector of Hodnet, in Shropshire. As we have no example of Durer in the National Gallery, the loss of this fine portrait is much to be regretted.[43]

Further complications arose when a Member of Parliament, on visiting Gooden's gallery, became incensed that such an important work was leaving the country for Germany, fuelling the Anglo-German rivalry in the art market of the time. Burton came under fire in the press and in the Houses of Parliament for allowing a work by Dürer to go to Berlin.[44] Burton was seventy-four and due to retire the next year, but this episode did not enhance his reputation.[45] In addition, upon his retirement, the Rosebery Minute came into force giving significantly more power to the trustees. No longer did the director have the final say in any acquisition.[46]

On 19 May 1893 Burton wrote to Bode venting his anger at the events earlier that month:

> The whole thing was simply a puff on the part of the dealer //Mr Gooden and probably some persons not openly connected with him in business [. . .] I was very sorry to have to express any opinion publicly about a picture that had belonged to one old friend of mine and had been purchased //by another

> [. . .] What does very much annoy me is that you [Bode], who I think acted quite rightly in acquiring an interesting picture for the Berlin Museum, should now through the blundering and quite unscrupulous bragging of an ambitious dealer be subjected //possibly to some trouble. However I dare say you will be well able to defend yourself.[47]

This case occurred in 1893, so predates the great exodus of works of art from British collections to America that followed the introduction of new death duties in 1894. It also predates by some fifteen years Henry Clay Frick's pursuit of Holbein's *Duchess of Milan* in 1909, which raised alarm bells about national treasures leaving the country.[48]

Stephen Gooden may have made one enemy in the retiring director of the National Gallery, but his business gained a boost through that publicity in *The Times*. Indeed, this event, only four years after he opened his London gallery, put him on the map as an international player. It illustrates how a dealer in the modern art trade could enhance his reputation and that of his gallery. Soon after the Dürer episode, American buyers were knocking on the door of 57 Pall Mall. Philadelphians John Graver Johnson, P.A.B. Widener, and William Elkins arrived in London in the summer of 1894.[49] Wealthy corporate lawyer Johnson had already amassed a considerable collection of contemporary, mainly French, paintings. He had also published his book *Sight-seeing in Berlin and Holland among Pictures* (1892), which gave an account of summer travels on the Continent with his old friend and client Widener, also newly active as an art collector. As Arthur Wheelock has suggested, Bode's visit to America in 1893 may have been the impetus for this new phase of collecting by these men.[50] Their arrival in London was at the point when Johnson decided to devote himself to amassing a great collection of works by the Old Masters.

Recently Johnson's activities as a collector have come into sharper focus, thanks to the publications of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (especially Christopher Atkins's online resource and chronology)[51] and those of scholars such as Esmée Quodbach.[52] Johnson was a knowledgeable art collector and a voracious one, who was about to turn his attention to the Old Masters. In summer 1894, at the end of July, he and his friends were in London buying from Agnew's.[53] The route Johnson and Widener took through the art gallery districts also brought them to 57 Pall Mall. Given Gooden's newly acquired fame as a dealer with access to private collections of Old Master paintings, conversations must have ensued about what those two Philadelphia men were interested in acquiring. By November that year Gooden had sourced several masterpieces that he sold almost immediately to Johnson and Widener. How did he do that?

Stephen Gooden seems to have had the promise of paintings from the noted Heytesbury collection in Wiltshire. In the 1810s and 1820s diplomat William Holmes à Court, 1st Baron Heytesbury, gathered an exceptional collection of art, initially in Naples and later in Spain. In the 1850s Gustav Waagen drew attention to the treasures in his book *Galleries and Cabinets of Art*. The gem of the collection was a tiny painting by Jan van Eyck, *Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* (1430-1432) (fig. 9), which made a celebrated appearance at the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition of 1886.

In 1891 upon the death of the second Baron, the Heytesbury title passed to his grandson William Frederick (1862-1903), then a young man of twenty-nine. With an interest in hunting and shooting, rather than art, and a need to raise cash, he and his advisers planned sales of works of art. Here, as in the case of the Cholmondeley family, a private sale meant there would be no unwanted publicity for a family lacking funds.

Fig. 9 / Jan van Eyck, *Saint Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, 1430-1432, oil on vellum on panel, 12.7 x 14.6 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917.

Furthermore, a dealer such as Gooden could draw upon his contacts to place a work with the right owner. It is significant that Gooden alone gained access to this famous aristocratic collection. He in fact had an introduction to the Heytesbury family through his patron and chief client, Michael Bass, Lord Burton. As Fairfax Murray implied, Gooden selected "the pick of the collection".[54] Gooden later somewhat disingenuously expressed mild regret that he had not given Bode first refusal of the Heytesbury pictures.[55] The dealer could see that America with its wealthy plutocrats was the new fertile market.

After Gooden paid £300, the small panel painting by Van Eyck left Heytesbury House in November 1894. By early December the sale to Johnson at £700 was complete. The speed of this sale suggests that there had been prior discussion and agreement about it. This trophy object justified the mark-up on the price. Gooden later claimed that "our National Gallery" was interested,

although no evidence has yet been found.[56] For America, it was a landmark purchase as only the second work attributed to Van Eyck to cross the Atlantic. In 1886 Henry Marquand bought a painting of the Virgin and Child from Charles Sedelmeyer as a Van Eyck. He presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but the attribution to Van Eyck fell away by 1900. Gooden, having gained the confidence of Johnson, went on to sell further works to him in 1895[57] and after, including a so-called "Vermeer".[58]

From that same visit in the summer of 1894 to the galleries of London, Johnson's friend Peter Widener also looked to Stephen Gooden for new acquisitions. The Heytesbury collection was long renowned for its representation of the Spanish school. Widener's choices show not only great wealth, but also individuality of taste. For him, Gooden secured Murillo's *Les Gallegas* (the *Galician Women;* also called *Two Women at a Window*; National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC), a genre picture on impressive scale by one of the most admired Spanish artists.[59] In addition he also selected from the Heytesbury collection a painting thought to be by Velazquez, *The Drinkers* (or *Topers*), a variant on a well-known work in the Prado. Although attributed to the artist in its day, including by Waagen, it is now regarded as a seventeenth-century pastiche. Gooden sold both works to Widener for the considerable sum of £5,000.

With the Philadelphia buyers coming in the summer of 1894 and the resulting sales, Gooden realized that he needed to address the emerging American market head on. He travelled to New York City in October 1894, to see galleries, fellow dealers, and collectors. One visit was to the collection of George A. Hearn. Hearn inherited his father's dry goods empire; the department store bearing the family name (a rival to Macy's in its day) was a landmark on West 14th Street. Hearn later became a generous benefactor and trustee (1903-1913) of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Although primarily a collector of American art, at this time he was one of a number of mid-Atlantic Gilded Age collectors seeking what were called "Old English" paintings sourced primarily from salerooms and dealers in London.

Hearn generously gave Gooden access to his private collection at his townhouse at 46 East 69th Street, off Fifth Avenue. Here the dealer viewed paintings that may well have included the work by John Crome ("Old Crome") that Hearn eventually presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[60] But on this occasion, Gooden's manner did not find favour. He made a disparaging remark about a particular painting by Crome, claiming that it had been through the salerooms in London very recently, selling for a pittance, only for a dealer (later named as Sedelmeyer) to inflate its price substantially to sell onto Hearn. Because the New Yorker acquired his painting two years before, he knew it could not be the same picture. He felt so insulted by his English visitor that a public apology ensued in one of the American art journals.[61] (See the Appendix for Gooden's letter of 10 December 1894). Gooden had to eat his words, with some loss of face.

A one-man dealership rose or fell on the character and personality of its owner. Gooden had faults as well as skills. His reputation undoubtedly suffered in New York but he continued to prosper. He kept in touch with the man he addressed as "Professor". In one unpublished letter, in which he expresses concern for Bode's health,[62] he showed a familiarity that smoothed his relationships with clients and wider networks in the art trade.

By the mid 1890s Gooden's gallery stood on a par with Agnew's in terms of quality, if not quantity, of its paintings and network of clients. His portfolio of talents included his appeal to connoisseurs, as well as to men of power and influence. Another of his key assets, and the one that gave him some cachet amongst his colleagues, was his active networking amongst a range of social contacts. He sourced important works of art directly from aristocratic and well-to-do families (although it is not always possible to know how he managed these coups). He also had a nose for publicity. Gooden conducted his career in a freewheeling manner, buying at the top of the market, paying very high prices, and targeting some of America's first Gilded Age collectors. His failures and successes illustrate the emerging market for Old Masters in America at a key period in the early 1890s before the introduction of death duties in 1894 swelled the number of works leaving British collections, and before major players such as Joseph Duveen moved in on the market. Bode continued to flex his muscles. Dealerships in London, such as P. & D. Colnaghi, stepped up their activities in new ways with new personnel, such as Otto Gutekunst, attuned to the international marketplace. With the research presented here, Stephen T. Gooden can be reinstated as a pioneer player in the formation of the Anglo-American art market of the Gilded Age.

APPENDIX

Telephone No. 3965
Telegrams
Aquarius, London

57 Pall Mall
(Opposite Marlborough House)
London, S. W.

Dec. 10, 1894

Sir – Since my return to London I have made some inquiries respecting the picture which was sold at Christie's as by Old Crome in the spring of this year, and I find that I was mistaken in supposing that the picture in your possession is the same one. Under these circumstances I think it only right to inform you of this fact, and to express my regret at having come to so hasty a conclusion, which was undoubtedly a mistaken one. I beg, therefore, to tender you my apologies, and trust that you will see your way clear to accept them.

I may add that I had no desire whatever to cast the slightest aspersion upon the house of Sedelmeyer, with which house I have always been in the most cordial relationship, and entertain the highest possible esteem therefor.

Your faithful servant,
(Signed) Stephen T. Gooden

Geo. A. Hearn

NOTES

1. Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of a Young Venetian Woman*, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. no. 557G).
2. A listing of Stephen Gooden's Gallery is on the website *Exhibition Culture in London 1878-1908*, University of Glasgow, 2006. https://www.exhibitionculture.arts.gla.ac.uk/gallery.php?gid=851 (last accessed 21 January 2023).
3. For the dispersal of galleries in the West End of London (and the relatively few at the western end of Pall Mall), see the interactive map in Pamela Fletcher and David Israel, *London Gallery Project*, 2007 (revised September 2012): http://learn.bowdoin.edu/fletcher/london-gallery/
4. An analysis of dealers' networks is a potential area for further investigation, as are the contiguous spaces of the art world and specifically the geography of the London art market.
5. Paul Tucker's volume of Charles Fairfax Murray's letters in the Archive of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin has been invaluable to my project: Paul Tucker, ed., "A Connoisseur and his Clients: The Correspondence of Charles Fairfax Murray with Frederic Burton, Wilhelm Bode and Julius Meyer (1867-1914)," *The Seventy-Ninth Volume of the Walpole Society* (London: The Walpole Society, 2017).
6. Documentation relating to Stephen T. Gooden's gallery is in a private collection.
7. Murray was not yet as closely allied to Agnew's as he later became. On Murray, see also Paul Tucker, "Customer, Counsel, Associate, 'Trustee': Charles Fairfax Murray and Thomas Agnew and Sons (1886-1918)," in *Florence, Berlin and Beyond: Late Nineteenth-Century Art Markets and their Social Networks*, ed. Lynn Catterson, *Studies in the History of Collecting & Art Markets*, vol. 9 (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 209-248. See also David B. Elliott, *Charles Fairfax Murray: The Unknown Pre-Raphaelite* (Lewes: Book Guild, 2000).
8. Pamela Fletcher, "Shopping for Art: The Rise of the Commercial Art Gallery, 1850s-90s," in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London 1850-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 47-64.
9. Anne Helmreich, "David Croal Thomson: The Professionalization of Art Dealing in an Expanding Field," *Getty Research Journal* 5 (2013): pp. 89-100.
10. Gooden's life can be pieced together through obituaries, public records, memoirs of the period and a few letters, but it is only possible to sketch in his early years, including his time at Agnew's in Manchester and later London.
11. "Passing Events," *The Art Journal* (1909): p. 384.
12. The extensive literature on Agnew's includes [Geoffrey Agnew], *Agnew's 1817-1967* (London: Bradbury Agnew Press, 1967), as well as a range of modern studies, most recently Barbara Pezzini and Alan Crookham, "Transatlantic Transactions and the Domestic Market: Agnew's Stock Books in 1894-1895," *British Art Studies* 12 (2019): https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-12/pezzini-crookham; Barbara Pezzini, "Agnew's: From Modern Art to Old Masters," in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements, Museums, 1789-1939*, eds. Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini (New York and London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), pp. 117-130; and Alison Clarke, *Spaces of Connoisseurship: Judging Old Masters at Agnew's and the National Gallery, c. 1874-1916* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).
13. *Building News*, 19 October 1877, following p. 393.
14. As he is listed in the census of 1881.
15. See David Cannadine's introduction to *British Models of Art Collecting and the American Response*, ed. Inge Reist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 9-25.
16. He may well have done some private dealing before leaving the firm, as one stock book for drawings (private collection) starts in 1879.
17. "In Society and a Member of Parliament," caricature of William Cuthbert Quilter by Liborio Prosperi, *Vanity Fair*, 9 February 1889.
18. Letter of 16 June 1895, Murray to Samuel Bancroft, in *The Correspondence between Samuel Bancroft, Jr. and Charles Fairfax Murray 1892-1916. Delaware Art Museum Occasional Paper no. 2*, ed. Rowland Elzea (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1980), p. 93.
19. Gooden bought this work at auction for £525 and sold it to Lord Burton for £2,300. For a view of the dining room at Chesterfield House in 1894, see the photograph in *The Bedford Lemere Collection*, Historic England Archive, ref.: BL12788.
20. 57 Pall Mall had previously served as the gallery of William Cox, a dealer active from the 1850s until 1879 when he announced his retirement. The extensive premises, sometimes called "The British Gallery", were then put up for sale or leasehold. Cox continued to operate from this address until 1884 when his collection was sold at Christie's.
21. For the photograph of this label, on the reverse of a painting by Frederic Leighton entitled *Rocks of the Sirens, Capri*, sold at Leighton's studio sale in 1896, I am most grateful to Rupert Maas.
22. *Old and New London*, rev. Walter Thornbury and Edmund Walford (London: Cassell, 1887), IV, p. 136.
23. British History Online: https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols29-30/pt1/pp339-345 (last accessed 18 January 2023).
24. Susanna Avery-Quash, "'The Volatile and Vivacious Connoisseur of the old school': A Portrait of the Victorian Art Dealer Martin Colnaghi (1821-1908) and his Relationship with the National Gallery, London," *Colnaghi Studies Journal* 1 (2017): pp. 88-113.
25. He held an exhibition of *The Betrothal of Prince Henry of Prussia on the Ninetieth Birthday of Emperor Wilhelm I in 1887* (1889; Royal Collection) by Anton von Werner, the foremost Academic painter of Imperial Germany. The exhibition launched the publication of a photogravure by Hanfstaegel.
26. *The Graphic* (Wedding Number: H.R.H. Princess Louise of Wales and the Duke of Fife, K.T.), 2 August 1889, p. 30.
27. This artistic heritage continued into the next generation. Gooden's son, Stephen Frederick (1892-1955), became a noted printmaker and Royal Academician.
28. Gooden became Vice-President in 1903, and later President, of this Association.
29. "Committee of the Printsellers' Association," *The Year's Art* (1897): p. 294, where the initial "L." in the caption is incorrect.
30. Elliott, *Charles Fairfax Murray*, p. 120. David Elliot indicates that Murray used Gooden's gallery as a shop front for his own selling purposes. But since the address in London given is not Gooden's, this claim is undermined. Certainly Gooden staged an exhibition of Murray's *A Music Party* (also called *A Concert*) (private collection) in June 1889 and they collaborated in a variety of ways on and off throughout the 1890s.
31. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1958), p. 112.
32. As can be deduced from Gooden's much later unpublished letter of 22 July 1907 to Bode regarding Lord Burton: "through whose good offices I was able to secure for you many years ago the little picture by Albert Durer." (Berlin, Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: NC-BODE-2732). Gooden also obtained other works from the Cholmondeley collection, such as Johannes Lingelbach's *Hunting Party*, which he sold to another member of his network of associates, Walter Armstrong, Director of the National Gallery of Ireland.
33. W.H. James Weale, "Fine Art. The Old Masters Exhibition at the Royal Academy," Third Notice, *The Academy*, 25 January 1879, p. 81.
34. Wilhelm von Bode, *Mein Leben*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Barbara Paul (Berlin: Nicolai, 1997), I, pp. 245-246; II, p. 225. This section of *Mein Leben* appears in English translation in H.H. Pars, *Pictures in Peril*, trans. K. Talbot (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), pp. 191-192.
35. Murray to Bode, 23 May 1893, in Tucker, "A Connoisseur and his Clients," pp. 170-71 (letter 280).
36. Jeremy Warren, "Bode and the British," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996), p. 124; and Tucker, "A Connoisseur and his Clients," p. 249.
37. See the essays, especially Part I, in *Wilhelm von Bode and the Art Market*, ed. Joanna Smalcerz, *Studies in the History of Collecting & Art Markets* 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2023). This most recent discussion of Bode's activities does not include the Dürer episode or Stephen Gooden.
38. Later that year, when Bode travelled to New York, an interview in the *New York Times*, 11 October 1893, commented on his "faultless English", as noted by Catherine Scallen, "Wilhelm von Bode and Collecting in America," in *Holland's Golden Age in America: Collecting the Art of Rembrandt, Vermeer, and Hals*, ed. Esmée Quodbach, *The Frick Collection Studies in the History of Art Collecting in America* 1 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press and New York: The Frick Collection, 2014), p. 61.
39. "Art Sales," *The Times*, 8 May 1893, p. 7.
40. *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Members of the British School*, Winter Exhibition, Tenth Year, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1879), p. 40, no. 214 as *Portrait of a Woman* by Albert Dürer.
41. Tucker, "A Connoisseur and his Clients," pp. 276-277 (letter A62 from Burton to Bode on 19 May 1893).
42. From the Trustees Minutes (vol. 6) at the National Gallery Archive, it is clear that at this exact time Burton had other acquisition priorities, including, of course, works by British artists for the National Gallery of British Art, then part of the National Gallery.
43. *The Times*, Court Circular, 9 May 1893, p. 5.
44. United Kingdom, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons (HC Debate 15 May 1893), vol. 12, col. 913-914.
45. For the purposes of this article, and limits on length, I have not gone into all the ramifications of this episode, which could be given fuller attention.
46. Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Property, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Elena J. Greer, "Sir Frederic Burton and the Controversy of Art-Historical Expertise at the National Gallery, London, in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Art Historiography* 18 (2018): https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2018/05/greer.pdf (last accessed 28 January 2023).
47. Tucker, "A Connoisseur and his Clients," pp. 276-277 (letter A62, 19 May 1893).
48. Jeremy Howard, "The one that didn't get away: New Light on the Sale of Holbein's *Duchess of Milan*," *Journal of the History of Collections* 34 (2022): pp. 141-156.
49. Gooden had already attracted some American buyers, selling a painting by Joshua Reynolds in 1892 to R. Hall McCormick of Chicago, whose family money came from agricultural machinery.
50. See Arthur Wheelock, "The Dutch Painting Collection at the National Gallery of Art," in Quodbach, *Holland's Golden Age*, p. 128.
51. Christopher D.M. Atkins, ed., *The John G. Johnson Collection: A History and Selected Works*, https://publications.philamuseum.org/jgj/vol1 (last accessed 28 January 2023). This digital publication coincided with the exhibition "Old Masters now: Celebrating the Johnson Collection" (3 November 2017-19 February 2018). In the publication, on p. 182, it is noted that the seller to Johnson was Gooden and Fox, but it was Stephen T. Gooden at this point. Gooden did not create the partnership with Fox until 1903.
52. Esmée Quodbach, "'Never a Dull Picture': John Graver Johnson Collects Flemish Art," in *America and the Art of Flanders*, ed. Esmee Quodbach, *The Frick Collection Studies in the History of Art Collecting in America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press and New York: The Frick Collection, 2020).
53. In late July 1894 Johnson bought Constable's *Road to the Spaniards* (no. 858) from Agnew's, as noted in the online chronology cited above in note 51.
54. Tucker, "A Connoisseur and his Clients," pp. 179-180 (letter 303, 2 January 1895).
55. Gooden to Bode, unpublished letter, 16 March 1895, Berlin, Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: NL-Bode-2732.
56. Ibid.
57. In May 1895, Gooden sold Moretto da Brescia's *Virgin and Child with Donors* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. cat. 236) to Johnson and in August of that year, Thomas Gainsborough's *Portrait of George Coyte* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. no. cat. 833), among others.
58. In his lifetime Gooden had the reputation of handling one of the few available works by Vermeer, which he then sold to Johnson in 1896. It is another example of how he sourced Old Master paintings from private collectors (in this case, the banker Henri Louis Bischoffsheim). The painting was later supplanted by the version in the collection of Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh; see Julius Bryant, *Kenwood: Paintings in the Iveagh Bequest* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), no.14. See also Quodbach in "Collecting Vermeer, 1887-1919," pp. 98-99.
59. https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.1185.html
60. See https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/master-paintings-part-ii-n09307/lot.204.html (last accessed 21 January 2023). Included in Katherine Baetjer, *British Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1575-1875* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), pp. 208-209, no. 104, reproduced; deaccessioned at Sotheby's, New York, 29 January 2015 (lot 204), as English School, early nineteenth century.
61. "Views, News and Vagaries," *The Collector* VI (1895): p. 105. The editor, Alfred Trumble, placed this notice on the front page of this issue.
62. Gooden to Bode, unpublished letter, 16 March 1895, Berlin, Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: NL-Bode-2732.

Fig. 1 / John Pierpont Morgan and his son John Pierpont "Jack" Morgan Junior, in 1912.

On the early Italian pictures of John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913)

ELISA CAMPOREALE

John Pierpont Morgan died suddenly in Rome on 31 March 1913.[1] His net worth was estimated to be sixty-eight million dollars.[2] His personal fortune could be equalled or surpassed by a number of his contemporaries, but the social and political power Morgan exerted could be matched only by a few. In 1895 he was asked by President Grover Cleveland to protect the federal gold reserves and, in the so-called Panic of 1907, he was instrumental in stabilizing the stock market. A truly international player, his influence was pervasive, not only in finance, but also on the art market. The *New York Times* announced his death under the heading "Art Dealers Alarmed";[3] not only was he one of the greatest buyers of art, his example also stimulated other collectors. Morgan started collecting systematically in his early fifties, mostly after 1890, the year of the death of his father Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-1890), a London-based banker. Morgan's collecting tastes were notable for their breadth; however, he considered only certain objects such as paintings and maiolicas fitting decoration for his residences, while his purchases of Renaissance bronzes or medieval ivories were generally placed on loan to public museums, mostly in London and New York.[4] For the most part, Morgan's collections were kept in London and did not start to arrive in America until after January 1912. This shift was undoubtedly prompted in large part by the introduction of additional death duties in Britain in 1910, alongside the passing in the US of the 1909 Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, abolishing import duties on works of art older than one hundred years.[5] After the arrival of the greater part of his collections in the US, New Yorkers, museum officials, and the American press widely expected that they would be bequeathed by Morgan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on whose board he served as President from 1904 until his death.[6]

Following Morgan's death, his son and only heir John Pierpont Morgan Junior (1867-1943), known as "Jack" (fig. 1),[7] made arrangements for the dispersal of over 4,000 works of art, valued at sixty million dollars. Even though his collections were possibly never meant to be preserved and bequeathed in full, nearly the whole of the Morgan collection went on display in an already scheduled loan exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, which opened in February 1914, a few months before the outbreak of World War I, and ran until May 1916. The exhibition displayed 4,100 objects, shipped from London and Paris,[8] and filled ten galleries of the newly opened north extension on Fifth Avenue. It was a blockbuster: 137,000 people visited it in the first month alone, and almost a million had seen it by the end of 1914.

Between 1915 and 1916 Jack conducted negotiations with the Duveen Brothers and French & Co. over the sale of tapestries. In the end, he managed to sell around 60% of the collection, from Chinese porcelains which had been displayed at the Met for two decades, to French eighteenth-century furniture, to Fragonard paintings and Renaissance bronzes, maiolica, enamels and tapestries. The first items were taken off display while the exhibition was still open, as if the galleries were a saleroom.[9] Following Morgan's wish, expressed in his will, that a portion of his collections be made available to the public, the remaining 40% of the collection – including some important Old Masters

and medieval objects – was donated in 1917 by Jack to the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford (1,325 items), hometown of the Morgan family. The largest part of the collection (approximately 7,000 pieces) went to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Among them the celebrated medieval collection, the Hoentschel collection of *objets d'art,*[10] and Raphael's *Colonna Altarpiece*, already on show at the Met in January 1913 with twenty-eight of Morgan's other paintings.[11]

The majority of the Old Master paintings, considered the most valuable objects, were later sold individually.[12] Between 1935 and 1943 Jack Morgan sold on consignment to Knoedler's a number of important Italian Renaissance paintings from his father's collection, including works by painters such as Fra' Angelico, Andrea del Castagno and Filippo Lippi; he even deaccessioned his father's favourite painting, the *Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni* by Domenico Ghirlandaio, which in 1935 was acquired by Baron Thyssen and is now in Madrid.[13] Jack did not have the same passion for collecting art as his father and, when asked the reason of these sales, he simply answered that it was a favourable time to place Old Masters on the market.[14] Unaffected by the sales of 1915 and 1916, and practically left untouched as a separate entity, was the Morgan Library. Built in 1906 to house Morgan's beloved manuscripts and early prints, with Italianate architecture integrated with Italian Renaissance paintings as decoration, the Morgan Library was opened to the public by Jack in 1924.[15]

A small group of early Italian pictures that decorated the rooms of Morgan's London residence at Prince's Gate (and later of Wall Hall near London) was never shipped to America, nor donated, nor sold following the collector's death. Morgan's interest in one school in particular seems to have been piqued by a visit to an exhibition of Sienese art at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in June 1904.[16] He was elected a member of this exclusive collector's club in 1902[17] and had lent two maiolica pieces to the exhibition.[18] As had happened a few years earlier with medieval objects, a new collecting interest – now for the Sienese early masters – seems to have been triggered by a private tour of the exhibition; in this case he was led by Robert Langton Douglas who had curated the show and written the catalogue.[19] This marked the start of a professional collaboration. As Douglas stated in a typescript of ca. 1940:

> Mr. Pierpont Morgan, who had been an early visitor to the Exhibition, sent for me and asked me to make for him a small collection of Sienese paintings. I took great trouble to carry out faithfully this commission. Having resolved that I would acquire for him nothing that was not of high quality and in excellent condition, I bought for this great collector such works as the beautiful panels of the St. John predella of Giovanni di Paolo, and a fine Madonna by Matteo di Giovanni, from the collection of Mr. Henry Willett of Brighton. This last picture, Mr. Morgan hung in his own bedroom in London.[20]

Morgan's artistic interests were not, however, always prompted by visiting exhibitions; for example, he did not purchase any early Umbrian masters for his collection after seeing the exhibition of ancient Umbrian art in Perugia in 1907 with Roger Fry as his guide.[21] But Douglas, an Oxford-trained art historian and former Anglican clergyman, suited Morgan. After a private meeting in Paris, Douglas was sent a check for £1,000 by Morgan, not only enabling him to continue his scholarly activities but also implicitly commissioning him to find Sienese pictures. Less than two weeks later, Douglas sold several Sienese paintings to Morgan for £1,705. The scholar-dealer was probably able to meet Morgan's request so rapidly on account of his profound familiarity with private collections, both in Britain and Italy, which he must have acquired while doing research for the 1904 Burlington Club exhibition and for the revised editions of several books by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.[22]

Fig. 2 / Duccio di Buoninsegna, *The Crucifixion; The Redeemer with Angels; Saint Nicholas; Saint Gregory*, ca. 1305, tempera on wood, 60 x 39.5 cm (center; overall); 45.1 x 19.4 cm (left; overall), 45.1 x 20.2 cm (right; overall), Boston, Museum of Fine Art.

Through the mediation of Douglas, Morgan acquired sixteen paintings, all Sienese except for the *Coronation of the Virgin* by the Florentine Bernardo Daddi now in the National Gallery, London. The 1904 Burlington Club exhibition served almost as a showroom for Douglas, as three of the paintings were purchased by Morgan while still on display there: David Alexander Edward Lindsay's[23] *Crucifixion Triptych* by Duccio now in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston (fig. 2); Charles Butler's[24] four predella panels with *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* by Giovanni di Paolo now in the National Gallery, London (figs. 3a-d); and Henry Willet's[25] *Virgin and Child, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Michael the Archangel* by Matteo di Giovanni (fig. 4), once kept in Morgan's bedroom in Prince's Gate and today in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham. The display of the latter in such an intimate space in Morgan's residence probably reflects the personal enjoyment that he, a dedicated Episcopalian, derived from his Primitives.[26]

Fig. 3a / Giovanni di Paolo, *Birth of John the Baptist*, 1454, tempera on wood, 30.8 x 39.7 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 3b / Giovanni di Paolo, *Saint John the Baptist Retiring to the Desert*, 1454, tempera on wood, 31 x 50.5 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 3c / Giovanni di Paolo, *Baptism of Christ*, 1454, tempera on wood, 31 x 45 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 3d / Giovanni di Paolo, *The Head of John the Baptist Brought to Herod*, 1454, tempera on wood, 30.5 x 39 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 4 / Matteo di Giovanni, *Virgin and Child, Saint John the Baptist and Saint Michael the Archangel*, 1480-1485, tempera on wood, 59.7 x 41.2 cm, Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Art.

They certainly were not intended to impress his guests like the sumptuous decoration of the rest of the residence, nor were they the subject of lavishly illustrated scholarly catalogues like other categories of objects that Morgan collected, such as bronzes, jewels, and watches.[27] The early Italian pictures were not included in the privately printed 1907 catalogue of pictures displayed at Prince's Gate and Dover House by Thomas Humphrey Ward and William Roberts, perhaps because the authors did not have access to works in such private spaces as the bedroom and its anteroom, where they are recorded in a 1912 inventory of the house.

Douglas later supplied Morgan with other pictures, including a *Virgin and two Saints Adoring the Child* by Perugino now in the Morgan Library.[28] Although Morgan did not substantially add to his collection of Sienese pictures after purchasing this group of Primitives in 1904, his continued interest in Sienese art is confirmed by his visit to Siena with Douglas as his private guide in 1912, a year before his death.[29] Morgan did not accept the offer to part with his Sienese pictures even when their value was questioned in certain quarters; evidently their perceived religious mysticism held special appeal for the collector, as Douglas himself reported:

> When Mr. Morgan told me that the pictures that I had sold him had been labelled "junk" by a leading dealer, I offered at once, with some heat, to repurchase all the early Italian paintings that he had bought from me. He refused promptly to part with a single one. For the great collector had, in his complex temperament, a certain mystical strain, inherited, no doubt, from some Welsh ancestor. He liked Sienese pictures.[30]

Art historical interest in Italian Primitives developed gradually in England from the early 1800s[31] and was shared by a limited number of sophisticated American collectors; Samuel Kress and Robert Lehman for instance are known to have been particularly keen on their Primitives.[32] A growing revaluation is reflected by the prices these works began to fetch, as witnessed by Douglas himself who in 1904 claimed that Sienese Primitive paintings were cheap;[33] however, looking back on the market in 1925, he remarked that the price paid for certain Sienese Primitive paintings in the previous two decades had been exceedingly high.[34]

After Pierpont Morgan's death, his Italian Primitives were transferred to Jack's country residence, the Neo-Gothic mansion of Wall Hall at Aldenham in Hertfordshire, which had been leased in 1898 and purchased outright in 1910. No photographs of the interiors taken during the Morgans' residency have come to light, but a few details emerged during a redevelopment in 2009 when the building was converted into flats. In one of the apartments there remains beneath the kitchen a safe room which was used by Jack Morgan to lock up his valuables; in another, in what was once the library, a secret door was boarded up.[35] In 1943 after Jack's death, Wall Hall was put up for sale by the trustees of his estate and subsequently bought by Hertfordshire Council. Prior to his death, in 1937, Agnew's was invited to value the collection of paintings, although the Italian Primitives do not feature among the works assessed at this time.[36] The contents of the country residence were removed following the sale of the property and later sold between late March and early June 1944.

The auction of the paintings took place on 31 March 1944 at Christie's in London and contained a total of 147 lots.[37] The first forty-seven lots were mezzotints, sixteen lots were modern drawings, twenty-three lots were modern pictures, twenty-five lots were Old Master drawings, and thirty-six were paintings. The French school was finely represented by a few Nattiers and Greuzes, but the early Italian masters constituted the most important group of paintings. For the time, these works made reasonably good prices.

Fig. 5 / Bernardo Daddi, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1340-1345, tempera on wood, 111.7 x 75.5 cm, London, National Gallery.

Fig. 6 / Francesco di Vannuccio, Diptych, *Annunciation with two Donors* and *The Ascension of the Virgin*, ca. 1380, tempera on wood, each 36 x 15.2 cm, Cambridge, Girton College Picture Collection.

The early fourteenth-century *Crucifixion Triptych* by Duccio (see fig. 2) had a noble provenance coming from the late eighteenth-century collection of William Young Ottley.[38] Officially sold for £5,670 to a private client, it was actually purchased by Duveen acting on the advice of Douglas. It was the only painting to cross the Atlantic shortly after the sale as it was soon acquired from Duveen by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[39]

The 1340-1345 *Coronation of the Virgin*, listed in the sale catalogue as Nardo di Cione, was later attributed to an assistant of Bernardo Daddi by Richard Offner in 1958; however, the work has since been upgraded and the National Gallery currently gives it to the master himself (fig. 5). The painting had once been in the little-studied Horatio Granville Murray-Stewart collection which was dispersed in 1904. At that time it was acquired by Horne, most likely kept in England to be resold, and subsequently purchased by Morgan through Douglas. At the 1944 sale it was bought by Mrs. M.H. Drey for £945 and passed in 1955 into the Heinz Kisters Collection. Purchased by the National Gallery in 2004 at Sotheby's, in 2006 it was reunited in a temporary display with a panel depicting *Four Musician Angels* from the collection of Christ Church College, Oxford.[40]

Lot number 120 of the Wall Hall sale was a diptych by Francesco di Vannuccio, probably dating to ca. 1380 (fig. 6). The two panels, with sharp pointed gables, came from the Tacoli Canacci collection in Florence and were later in the Ottley Collection. They represent the *Annunciation with two Donors* and *The Ascension of the Virgin*. Douglas sold them to Morgan and handwrote the labels on the back with the correct attribution.

Acquired in 1944 for £997.10 by a private client representing Agnew's, the diptych was later sold to Ralph Wood and bequeathed in 1946 to Girton College, Cambridge.[41]

The early fifteenth-century *Adoration of the Magi* was given in the catalogue to Bartolo di Fredi. However, following an attribution made by Pope-Hennessy in 1982, it is now ascribed to his son and follower Andrea di Bartolo (fig. 7).[42] Before coming to Douglas, the painting passed through Stefano Bardini and sold in 1944 for £588 to the dealer Spink. Subsequently in private hands, it travelled to Holland, Albury, United Kingdom, and was by 1982 in Montréal, Canada. It remains to this day in a private collection, purportedly in New York.

The predella panels with *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* by Giovanni di Paolo now in the National Gallery, London, were retracted and acquired before the sale by the gallery for £12,000, with half of the purchase funds provided by the National Art Collection Fund (see. figs. 3a-d). Originally executed in 1454 for a polyptych, the central part of which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, they were sold by Douglas to Morgan in 1904 from the Butler Collection.[43]

Of unknown provenance, though perhaps also from the Butler collection,[44] is the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* by Sano di Pietro (fig. 8). The panel has been cut down but originally formed the central element of a triptych or polyptych and was flanked by standing saints. In 1944 it sold for £735 to Agnew's, and then to William Urwick Goodbody (Invergarry House, Invernesshire). When sold again at Christie's, London on 4 December 2012 by the executors of Goodbody's daughter, the date range proposed was mid-1460s to the early 1470s, following a written communication from Wolfgang Loseries.[45]

Fig. 7 / Andrea di Bartolo, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1400-1410, tempera on wood, 43.2 x 28.5 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 8 / Sano di Pietro, *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, ca. 1465-1472, tempera on wood, 83.5 x 59.2 cm, Private Collection.

Fig. 9a / Pietro Orioli, *Nativity with Saint Catherine from Alexandria*, ca. 1485, tempera on wood, 37.5 x 26 cm, present whereabouts unknown.

Fig. 9b / Pietro Orioli, *The Baptism of Christ*, ca. 1485, tempera on wood, 38 x 26.9 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

The four predella panels with *Scenes of the Life of Christ* (figs. 9a-d) ascribed to Giacomo Pacchiarotti came from the Butler collection and, according to a label pasted on the back of one, had been purchased by the collector in Florence. Today attributed to Pietro Orioli with a date of ca. 1480-1485, they have been associated with an altarpiece of the Ascension. However, they did not sell at the Wall Hall sale and were included in a subsequent anonymous sale at Christie's, London on 6 October 1944 (lot 74), when they were bought for £189 by a Mr. Wells for Alfred Scharf who sold them subsequently to the Arcade Gallery of London. The gallery exhibited them in 1945, and the following year the group was split, with *The Baptism of Christ* and *The Resurrection* acquired in 1946 by Mrs. Irene Mann, who bequeathed them to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1963.[46] After 1946 the *Nativity* was sold to the Finnish art dealer Gösta Stenman based in Stockholm, and the *Pentecost* to the dealer Aldo Briganti in Rome. The latter panel sold again in Milan at Finarte on 29 October 1964, and was, according to Federico Zeri, part of the Vittorio Cini Collection in Venice by 1976. The present whereabouts of the last two panels are unknown, but a fifth panel in the Walters Art Museum was connected to the series by Zeri in 1964-1965; it probably formed the central element of the predella as it depicts the Crucifixion.[47]

A work by Matteo di Giovanni was something of a "must-have" in art collections in the early twentieth century.[48] Not surprisingly his already-mentioned *Virgin and Child, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Michael the Archangel* (see fig. 4),[49] datable to 1480-1485, sold at the 1944 auction to a private client on behalf of the Barber Institute for £5,460, the second highest price – after the Duccio *Crucifixion Triptych* – for an early Italian painting in the sale.

Finally, it is difficult to identify two later Italian paintings not illustrated in the sale catalogue. The first is a *Virgin and Child with a Saint and Angel*, formerly in the Butler collection and ascribed in the catalogue to Girolamo del Pacchia, which sold for £89.50 shillings to a private client (the lowest price paid for an Italian painting in the sale). The second is a small *Annunciation* attributed to Lorenzo Costa, described as a representation of the Virgin, kneeling in a Renaissance courtyard with the Archangel holding lilies; this picture is recorded in the 1912 inventory of Prince's Gate as hanging in the Red Drawing Room, but did not sell in 1944.[50]

Fig. 9c / Pietro Orioli, *Resurrection*, ca. 1485, tempera on wood, 38 x 26.9 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.

Fig. 9d / Pietro Orioli, Pentecost, ca. 1485, tempera on wood, 37.5 x 26 cm, present whereabouts unknown.

In his London home Morgan kept eight Italian Primitive paintings, in total sixteen single items as some were multiple works or parts of predellas. Mostly they were purchased through Douglas in England from collections like the Butler, Ottley, Granville, and Willet. Only the small Andrea di Bartolo passed through the Florence-based dealer Bardini. Except for two panels and two predella elements, following the Wall Hall sale, all ultimately arrived in public museums, one in Boston and the rest in England. Besides the décor of Wall Hall, these were among the last remnants of the Morgan collection to remain in the family and sold only after Jack's death, alongside some miniatures, English silver, pottery and porcelain, and British and Flemish Old Masters. Probably a combination of circumstances made Morgan's Primitives part of the final dispersal of arguably the greatest collection of the Gilded Age. It is possible that Jack was reluctant to strip Wall Hall of its furnishing or procrastinated after the Second World War; perhaps he did not find a favourable time to place them on the market or to have them evaluated; or perhaps their alleged value was not deemed to be significant enough to warrant their sale. There could, however, also have been personal reasons for his not parting with these paintings at an early stage, given his father's particular preference for them reflected by their display in his most private spaces.

NOTES

1. For generously facilitating my research I am grateful to Alessandro Angelini, Wolfgang Loseries, Suz Massen of the Frick Art Reference Library, Linda Horvitz Roth of the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Elisabetta Sambo of the Fondazione Zeri, Hannah Westall of the Girton College Archives, University of Cambridge, and Molly Hepden of Christie's London, for kindly providing sale prices and buyers' names from the 1944 Wall Hall sale.
2. Morgan made his fortune through timely, forceful acts, among them the control over the federal securities market in the early 1870s, effective reorganization of several railroads in the 1880s, and his banking investments and the consolidation of major corporations such as General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph, and United States Steel. See Jean Strouse, *Morgan. American Financier* (London: The Harvill Press, 1999). For his career in art collecting see Linda Horvitz Roth, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector," in *J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector. European Decorative Arts from the Wadsworth Atheneum,* ed. Linda Horvitz Roth, exh. cat. (Hartford: The Wadsworth Atheneum; New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library; Fort Worth: The Kimbell Art Museum, 1987), pp. 26-42.
3. *New York Times*, 1 April 1913.
4. See Flaminia Gennari Santori and Charlotte Vignon, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Joseph Duveen e le collezioni americane di maiolica italiana," in *1909 tra collezionismo e tutela. Connoisseur, antiquari e la ceramica medievale orvietana,* ed. Lucio Riccetti, exh. cat. (Perugia: Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, 2009-2010), pp. 281-291, esp. p. 282.
5. The 1897 United States Revenue Act introduced a 20% import tax on important works of art; books and manuscripts were exempt as they were considered to be of educational value. Until 1909, when the Payne-Aldrich Bill eliminated this duty, Morgan brought only books and manuscripts to America while he assembled his art collection mostly in London. See Philip Conisbee, "The Ones that got Away," in *Saved! 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund,* ed. Richard Verdi, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery, 2003-2004), pp. 26-33, esp. pp. 29-30.
6. On his actions while serving as President, see Andrea Bayer, Barbara Drake Boehm and Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "Princely Aspirations," in *Making the Met, 1870-2020*, eds. Andrea Bayer and Laura D. Corey, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2020), pp. 72-91, esp. pp. 72-82.
7. For details on Morgan's will see Strouse, *Morgan*, pp. 684-686.
8. On the arrival of Morgan's collections to America, see Flaminia Gennari Santori, "Medieval Art for America. The Arrival of the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *The Journal of the History of Collections* 22 (2010): pp. 87-88; and Manfred J. Holler and Barbara Klose-Ullmann, "Art Goes America," *Journal of Economic Issues* 44 (2008): pp. 89-112.
9. For accounts on the 1914 exhibition see Edward Robinson, "Loan Exhibition of the J. Pierpont Morgan Collection," *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 9 (1914): pp. 33-42; and Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants and Masterpieces. The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1970), pp. 176-182. On the strategies applied by Pierpont Morgan as a collector, by Jack Morgan as a seller and donor, and by Duveen as the main dealer of the Morgan Collection, see Gennari Santori, "Medieval Art," pp. 81-82, 87-94; see also Flaminia Gennari Santori, "'I was to have all the finest'. Renaissance Bronzes from J. Pierpont Morgan to Henry C. Frick," *The Journal of the History of Collections* 22 (2010): pp. 307-324; and Flaminia Gennari Santori, "An Art Collector and his Friends. John Pierpont Morgan and the Globalization of Medieval Art," *The Journal of the History of Collections* 27 (2015): pp. 407-409. For a revision of the supposedly patriotic purpose of Morgan's collecting and for press coverage on the 1914 exhibition, see Flaminia Gennari Santori, *The Melancholy of Masterpieces. Old Master Paintings in America 1900-1914* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2003), pp. 105-122.
10. See R. Aaron Rottner, "J.P. Morgan and the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Art in America. Patterns of Collecting 1800-1940,* ed. Elizabeth Bradford Smith, exh. cat. (University Park: Palmer Museum of Art, Pennsylvania State University, 1996), pp. 120-126.
11. On the *Colonna Altarpiece* and the other two paintings bought as Raphael by Morgan, see David Allan Brown, *Raphael and America,* exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1983), pp. 62-74. On the vicissitudes of the altarpiece's history and the two million francs or 400,000 dollars paid for it by Morgan in 1901, see Linda Wolk-Simon, "Raphael at the Metropolitan. The Colonna Altarpiece," *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 63 (2006): pp. 48-59, esp. p. 55.
12. On the value and the appreciation of Old Masters in the twentieth century, see Peter Cannon-Brookes, "The London Art Market 1882-1931," in *Art, Commerce, Scholarship. A Window onto the Art World – Colnaghi 1760 to 1984,* ed. Donald Garstang, exh. cat. (London: Colnaghi, 1984); pp. 39-41; and Denys Sutton, "Collecting Old Masters in the Twentieth Century," in Garstang, *Art, Commerce, Scholarship*, pp. 42-44.
13. Morgan bought the portrait from Duveen for some £38,000 in 1907. Prior to 1913, the portrait was displayed on an easel in the West Room of the Library. See Gert Jan van der Sman, "Domenico Ghirlandaio. Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni, 1489-90," in *Ghirlandaio y el Renacimiento en Florencia,* ed. Gert Jan van der Sman, exh. cat. (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2010), pp. 84-85, 289. For a detailed list of the sales of the Morgan Collections from 1935 to 1983, see Roth, *Morgan,* p. 204.
14. See Jennifer Tonkovich, "Discovering the Renaissance: Pierpont Morgan's Shift to Collecting Italian Old Masters," in *A Market for Merchant Princes. Collecting Italian Renaissance Paintings in America,* ed. Inge Reist (University Park: The Frick Collection and Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), pp. 38-47, esp. p. 47.
15. The library, originally designed by McKim, Mead & White, was extended in 1928 after the demolition of the adjacent brownstone that was the Morgan family house. For this and other actions taken by Jack, see Belle da Costa Greene, "John Pierpont Morgan and The Pierpont Morgan Library 1913-1943," in *The Pierpont Morgan Library. Review of the Activities and Major Acquisitions of the Library 1941-1948* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1949), pp. 11-16. On the demolished family house see Arnold Lewis, James Turner, and Steven McQuillin, *The Opulent Interiors of the Gilded Age. All 203 Photographs from "Artistic Houses" with New Text* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2016), pp. 144-147. On the early fascination with Renaissance art in America and on the decoration of the library (McKim procured all the mantles in the building in Italy through the dealer Stefano Bardini), see Lillian B. Miller, "Celebrating Botticelli. The Taste for the Italian Renaissance in the United States, 1870-1920," in *The Italian Presence in American Art, 1860-1920,* ed. Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), pp. 1-22, esp. pp. 15-17 and Tonkovich, "Discovering the Renaissance," pp. 42, 47.
16. On the catalogue, content and context of this exhibition, see Elisa Camporeale, "Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena and Examples of the Minor Arts of that City," in *Il segreto della civiltà. La mostra dell'antica arte senese del 1904 cento anni dopo,* eds. Giuseppe Cantelli, Lucia S. Pacchierotti, and Beatrice Pulcinelli, exh. cat. (Siena: Museo di Palazzo Pubblico, 2005), pp. 224-237; and Elisa Camporeale, "L'esposizione di arte senese del 1904 al Burlington Fine Arts Club di Londra," in Cantelli, Pacchierotti, and Pulcinelli, *Il segreto della civiltà*, pp. 484-517.
17. London, National Art Library: Burlington Fine Arts Club, Candidates books, vol. VI, 86.KK.30, no. 945.
18. For the two dishes lent by Morgan see Robert Langton Douglas, *Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena and Examples of the Minor Arts of that City*, exh. cat. (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1904), pp. 79-80, nos. 10 and 12. On the rise of interest in Italian Renaissance maiolica in the years leading up to World War I in England and Europe, see Denys Sutton, "VII. Maiolica in Tuscany," *Apollo* 109 (1979): pp. 334-341. On the dispersal of Morgan's maiolicas, see Gennari Santori and Vignon, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Joseph Duveen," pp. 281-291.
19. For the consequences of Morgan's visit to the *Exposition retrospective de l'art française des origins à 1800* in Paris in 1900, see Gennari Santori, "An Art Collector," p. 404; and Gennari Santori, "Medieval Art for America", p. 83.
20. See New York, The Frick Art Reference Library: Douglas, The Collection of Frank Channing Smith, Typescript ca. 1940, p. 9.
21. See Charles Molesworth, *The Capitalist and the Critic. J.P. Morgan, Roger Fry, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016), pp. 126-127; and Lucio Riccetti, "J. Pierpont Morgan e Alexander Imbert. La scoperta e la fortuna della ceramica medievale orvietana intorno al 1909," in *1909 tra collezionismo e tutela. Connoisseur, antiquari e la ceramica medievale orvietana,* ed. Lucio Riccetti, exh. cat. (Perugia: Galleria Nazionale, 2009-2010), pp. 23-136, esp. p. 39.
22. See Denys Sutton, "XI Commerce and Connoisseurship," *Apollo* 109 (1979): pp. 366-377, esp. p. 371, and Imogen Tedbury, "Scholar, Dealer and Museum Man: Robert Langton Douglas in the International Old Master Market," in *Old Masters Worldwide. Markets, Movements and Museums, 1739-1939,* eds. Susanna Avery-Quash and Barbara Pezzini (London and New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2021), pp. 161-177, esp. pp. 163-164. On the sales of paintings after the 1904 exhibitions of Sienna and London and on the cultural context which generated these two events, see Elisa Camporeale, "La mostra del 1904 dell'antica arte senese a distanza di un secolo," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia toscana di Scienze e Lettere La Colombaria* 69 (2004): pp. 45-126, esp. pp. 93-96, and Camporeale, "L'esposizione di arte senese," pp. 500-505.
23. David Lindsay inherited the collection from Lord Alexander William Lindsay, a noted expert of Primitives. See Denys Sutton, "Aspects of British Collecting. Part IV From Ottley to Eastlake," *Apollo* 123 (1985): pp. 84-95, Hugh Brigstocke, "Lord Lindsay as a Collector of Paintings," in *'A poet in Paradise'. Lord Lindsay and Christian Art,* ed. Aidan Weston-Lewis, exh. cat. (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2000), pp. 25-33.
24. On Charles Butler, a director of the Royal Insurance Company, and the sale of portions of his collection, see Susanna Avery-Quash, "The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting in Britain with Particular Reference to Pictures in the National Gallery," in *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings 1,* ed. Dillian Gordon (London: National Gallery, 2003), pp. XXV-XLIV, esp. pp. XXXV-XXXVI; and Paul Tucker, "Trecento 'Characteristic', Trecento 'Grotesque': Frederic Burton, Charles Fairfax Murray and Early Sienese Painting in the National Gallery," *Predella* 15-16 (2017): pp. 87-114, esp. pp. 101-103.
25. See Jessica Rutherford, "Henry Willett as a Collector," *Apollo* 115 (1982): pp. 176-181.
26. See Roth, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector," p. 31.
27. For this tendency of producing catalogues, see Roth, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector," p. 38; Gennari Santori, "Medieval Art," pp. 82-83; and Gennari Santori, "An Art Collector," pp. 403, 406. A catalogue was planned also for the maiolicas; on this and on Morgan's approach to collecting maiolicas, see Riccetti, "J. Pierpont Morgan e Alexander Imbert," pp. 35-43, 133-136.
28. The painting was obtained by Douglas in 1911 from George Sitwell (who at the time was living south of Florence in Montefugoni Castle) for £30,000, a considerable price for the time. It was initially offered to the Metropolitan Museum but was then bought by Morgan. See Denys Sutton, "XIV Agent for the Metropolitan Museum," *Apollo* 109 (1979): p. 416 and p. 418, fig. 15. See also *In August Company. The Collections of The Pierpont Morgan Library,* exh. cat. (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1996), pp. 44-45; and Pietro Scarpellini, *Perugino* (Milano: Electa, 1991), p. 48, no. 118, p. 104, and p. 47, fig. X.
29. The cathedral pavement, usually kept covered for preservation reasons, was fully uncovered for Morgan's visit, see Camporeale, "La mostra del 1904," p. 86 n. 190.
30. See Frick Library: Douglas, Channing Smith, p. 11.
31. On the appreciation of Italian Primitives in England, see Elisa Camporeale, "In Homes and Novels: Early Italian Pictures in England from Early Nineteenth to Early Twentieth Century," *Predella* 15-16 (2017): pp. 233-255.
32. For this and more broadly on the taste for Italian Primitives in the United States during the Gilded Age, see Elisa Camporeale, "Dalle case ai musei: Primitivi italiani negli Stati Uniti tra Otto e Novecento," *Imagines. Il Magazine delle Gallerie degli Uffizi* 5 (2021): pp. 142-189 esp. pp. 166-167, https://www.uffizi.it/en/magazine-imagines/imagines-5-eng (last accessed 6 January 2023).
33. See Roth, "J. Pierpont Morgan, Collector," p. 27; and also Tedbury, "Scholar, Dealer and Museum Man," p. 164.
34. Interestingly, this statement was made by someone who greatly benefited from the circumstances. See Robert Langton Douglas's preface to Edward Hutton, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery* (London: Medici Society, 1925), p. V. For a profile of Douglas and his involvement in the Burlington Club exhibition, see Elisa Camporeale, "1904, *annus mirabilis* per l'antica arte senese," in *Medioevo/Medioevi. Un secolo di esposizioni d'arte medievale,* eds. Enrico Castelnuovo and Alessio Monciatti (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2008), pp. 114-116.
35. The Gothic Revival mansion of Wall Hall was built in 1802 after a design by Humphrey Repton. During World War I, Jack, who owned the whole village of Aldenham except for the church, lived in America; part of the Wall Hall property was used as a hospital, Voluntary Aid Detachment, and as a farm. In 1938 the County Council threatened to invoke the right to requisition the property. By 1939 Jack had left, lending the estate to Joseph Kennedy, United States Ambassador to Britain, who used it as a getaway until 1940. The house then remained empty until 1942, when it became the headquarters of the War Office Selection Boards and subsequently, in 1943-1944, was used for the STS39 school; around two hundred special agents were trained there. After sixty years of housing schools, the property was again sold in 2003, after which it was redeveloped into apartments. For the history of Wall Hall and its refurbishment, see https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001455?section=official-list-entry, last modified 19 April 2022, and Marie-France Weiner and John Russell Silver, "John Pierpont Morgan and the Wall Hall Estate during two World Wars," *The Local Historian,* 46 (2016): pp. 315-326, esp. pp. 316-321, https://www.balh.org.uk/publication-tlh-the-local-historian-volume-46-number-4-october-2016 (accessed 6 January 2023), and Francesca Steele, "JP Morgan and the Wall Hall Mansion," *The Times*, 9 January 2009, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/j-p-morgan-and-the-wall-hall-mansion-kgnsfn2qmth (accessed 1 November 2022).
36. See Tedbury, "Scholar, Dealer, and Museum Man," p. 175 n. 31.
37. The catalogue of the sale that took place on 31 March 1944 is only sixteen pages: *Catalogue of ancient and modern pictures and drawings and engravings, the property of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, Esq., and removed from Wall Hall, Aldenham, Herts* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1944). See also "Forthcoming Sales," *The Burlington Magazine* 84 (1944): p. 78.
38. On Ottley's collection see Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse, "Some Notes on William Young Ottley's Collection of Italian Primitives," in *Italian Studies Presented to E.R. Vincent on his Retirement from the Chair of Italian at Cambridge,* ed. Charles Peter Brand (Cambridge: Heffer, 1962), pp. 272-280; and Camporeale, "In Homes and Novels," pp. 235-236.
39. On the relationship between Douglas and the Duveen firm in relation to this triptych, see Edward Fowles, *Memoirs of Duveen Brothers* (London: Times Books, 1976), pp. 33-34, 203. His role as an art consultant allowed Douglas to live comfortably in his final years. The Director of the Museum of Fine Art George Harold Edgell and the Curator of Paintings William George Constable at the time of the sale of the triptych were old friends of Douglas. See D. Sutton, "XXII Sunset in Fiesole," *Apollo* 110 (1979): pp. 55. Variably dated slightly before, or slightly after, the great double-sided *Maestà*, was commissioned in 1308 and placed on the high altar of the Siena Cathedral in 1311. See Luciano Bellosi, "Il percorso di Duccio," in *Duccio. Alle origini della pittura senese,* eds. Alessandro Bagnoli et al., exh. cat. (Siena: Santa Maria della Scala, 2003), pp. 118-145, esp. pp. 138-139, and Laurence B. Kanter, *Italian Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), pp. 72-76.

40. See Simona di Nepi, Ashok Roy, and Rachel Billinge, "Bernardo Daddi's Coronation of the Virgin: The Reunion of the two Long-Separated Panels," *The National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 28 (2007): pp. 5-25; and Dillian Gordon, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Italian Paintings before 1400* (London: National Gallery Company, 2011), pp. 116-127.
41. See John Pope Hennessy, "A Diptych by Francesco di Vannuccio," *The Burlington Magazine* 40 (1948): pp. 136-141; and Gabriele Fattorini, "Francesco di Vannuccio (Siena, documentato da 1356 al 1389). Dittico con Annunciazione e due devoti; Assunzione ca. 1380," in *Da Jacopo della Quercia a Donatello: le arti a Siena nel primo Rinascimento*, eds. Max Seidel et al, exh. cat. (Siena: Santa Maria della Scala, 2010), pp. 156-157.
42. Freuler considered it by the school of Bartolo di Fredi, see Gaudenz Freuler, *Bartolo di Fredi Cini. Ein Beitrag zur sienesischen Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Condrau: Desentina Verlag, 1994), p. 506 and p. 507, fig. 408. For the current location, see Tedbury, "Scholar, Dealer and Museum Man," p. 175 n. 24. On the painter, see Anna Maria Guiducci, "Sienese Painting at the Time of Bartolo di Fredi. Protagonists and Supporting Actors from the Paintings in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena," in *Bartolo di Fredi. The Adoration of the Magi. A Masterpiece Reconstructed / L'Adorazione dei Magi. Un capolavoro ricostruito*, eds. Bruce Boucher and Francesca Fiorani, exh. cat. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Art Museum, 2012), pp. 73-89, esp. pp. 85-86.
43. See Gordon, *The Fifteenth-Century Italian Paintings*, pp. 85-103.
44. Ellis Waterhouse told Sutton that around 1909 Douglas managed to purchase more than thirty pictures from Butler. According to the obituary that was published in *The Times* on 27 July 1910, the collector's residences were filled with works of art; Italian Primitives could be found on the chairs of the dining room, and apparently there was a Sano di Pietro (this one?) on one of the sideboards of his London house. See Sutton, "XI Commerce and Connoisseurship," p. 383 n. 11.
45. Similarities were noted with the Virgins of the altarpieces of Badia a Isola (1471) and of Bolsena; the letter by Loseries, upon which the Christie's catalogue entry of lot 31 was based, is dated 19 March 2012.
46. On the provenance of the four predella panels, see Jack Weatherburn Goodison and Giles Henry Robertson, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge. Catalogue of Paintings. Volume II. Italian Schools* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museums, 1967), pp. 114-115. On the predella panels, see also Laurence Kanter, "The Nativity," in *Painting of Renaissance Siena 1420-1500*, eds. Keith Christiansen, Laurence B. Kanter, and Carl Strehlke, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), p. 339 n. 1; Marco Fagiani, "Pietro di Francesco Orioli (Siena, 1459-1496) Adorazione dei pastori," in *Federico da Montefeltro e Francesco di Giorgio. Urbino crocevia delle arti,* eds. Alessandro Angelini, Gabriele Fattorini, and Giovanni Russo, exh. cat. (Urbino: Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, 2022), p. 217.
47. The *Crucifixion* does not come from the Butler Collection like the other four predella panels but from the Massarenti Collection in Rome, where it was catalogued in 1897. See Federico Zeri, "Studies in Italian Painting: An Addition to Mariotto di Nardo; A Predella by Giacomo Pacchiarotto; A Panel by Lorenzo Costa, its Meaning and its Companion Pieces," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 27-28 (1964-1965): pp. 74-90, esp. pp. 79-86; Federico Zeri, "The Crucifixion (Inv. No. 37.662)," in *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery. Volume I,* ed. Ursula E. McCracken (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1976), pp. 138-139. For the life of Pietro Orioli as attested by documentary findings, see Giampaolo Ermini, "Pietro Orioli, una breve biografia," in *Le "gentilissime tavole". Una proposta per Pietro Orioli*, ed. Matteo Ceriana, exh. cat. (Milano: Pinacoteca di Brera, 2006-2007), pp. 40-41.
48. See Frank Dabell, "La fortuna di Matteo di Giovanni tra Inghilterra e Stati Uniti dall'Otto al Novecento," in *Matteo di Giovanni e la pala d'altare nel senese e nell'aretino, 1450-1500*, eds. Davide Gasparotto and Serena Magnani (Montepulciano: Le Balze, 2002), pp. 11-18, esp. p. 16.
49. The painting had belonged to the Bishop of Danzig, Samuel Herman de Zoete, and from 1885 to Henry Willet. See for the provenance *Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts University of Birmingham* (Cambridge: University Press, 1952), pp. 74-75; Erica Susanna Trimpi, *Matteo di Giovanni. Documents and a Critical Catalogue* (PhD diss., Indiana University Bloomington, 1987), pp. 19, 111-113. On the painter, see Alessandro Angelini, "Matteo di Giovanni: percorso esemplare di un quattrocentista senese," in *Matteo di Giovanni. Cronaca di una strage dipinta,* eds. Cecilia Alessi and Alessandro Bagnoli, exh. cat, (Siena: Santa Maria della Scala, 2006), pp. 14-27.
50. See Tonkovich, "Discovering," p. 46. The acquisition of this painting through Douglas in 1905 is only reported in Strouse, *Morgan*, p. 501.

Fig. 1 / Anonymous, French, *Allegories of France and America (American Independence)*, photograph from the personal archive of James Hazen Hyde, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

A Gilded Age collector: James Hazen Hyde (1876-1959) and the European art market

LOUISE ARIZZOLI

The US collector, Harvard alumnus, and expatriate in Paris, James Hazen Hyde (1876-1959) was a true "product" of the Gilded Age. Born in New York City in 1876, he lived his life in line with the trends of the era, in terms of social life, travels and ostentation, but also an interest in art collecting and the burgeoning of museums. His lifestyle and interests continued after he moved in 1906 across the Atlantic and settled in *Belle Époque* Paris where his taste for art continued to grow and enabled him to build a solid social network that supported his activities as a collector. Hyde was part of a world where socializing, speaking and writing about art, as well as collecting, were interconnected activities. At the end of the nineteenth century, collecting in the United States was still a relatively new activity; in Paris, however, it was a long-established tradition. What then was Hyde's contribution to this already complex panorama? My aims in this essay are varied: I would like to show how Hyde fit into the social networks of his time, how he connected his two worlds, New York and Paris, and how his network in Europe expanded. Hyde did not work alone in assembling his collection, but surrounded himself with individuals that supported his quest: art historians, museum curators, agents, and art dealers. Ultimately, I aim to show how Hyde's network functioned and who its principal players were within a global, interconnected world in constant change, in a period twice shattered by world wars.

James Hazen Hyde's collection is unique as he did not pursue Old Masters, like many collectors of his generation. Instead, he decided to pursue a collection that focused on a particular iconographic subject through which he developed his art historical interests. The major goal of his collection was to unfold a single theme – the Four Continents – throughout the ages, in a manner that aimed to be both academic and encyclopaedic. The resulting ensemble looks unusual, both eclectic and repetitive, and sometimes uneven in its quality.[1] Hyde's activity as a collector was inextricably linked to his activity as a researcher. His interest in collecting through the lens of a thematic subject finds correspondences in contemporary iconographical studies in Germany launched by Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl, and Erwin Panofsky; these unquestionably had an impact on the formation of Hyde's collection. Hyde also contributed to the field himself, with various publications that stimulated an interest in the subject of the Four Continents.[2] The imagery surrounding the personification of the continents connects art with geographical knowledge, and as Hyde's collection shows, it developed across time periods and artistic media in response to changing perceptions of the world.

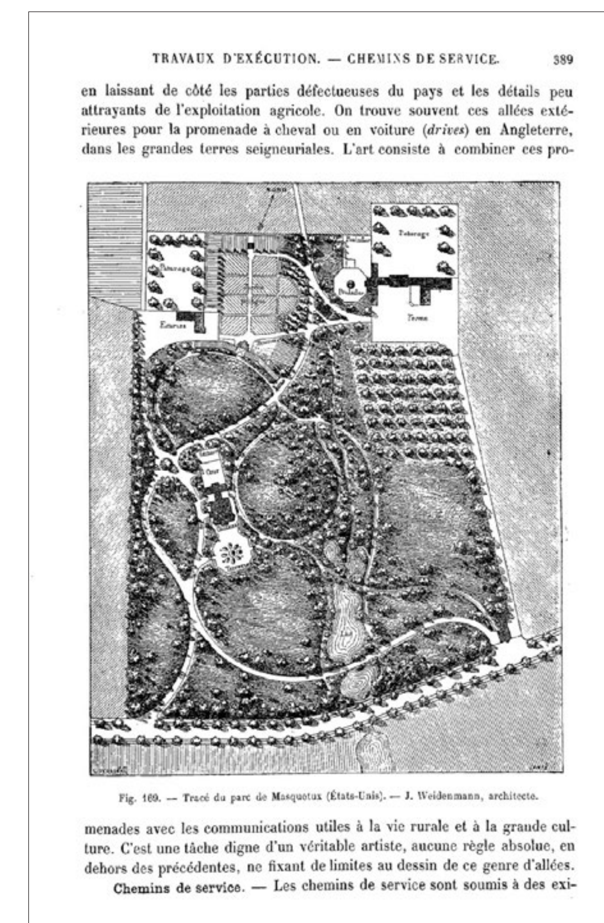
Personifications of the continents emerged in antiquity, when artists began to visualize the known world through the human body (mainly female, though occasionally male). At the end of the fifteenth century, with the discovery of lands previously unknown to Europeans, America was added to the figures of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The revival of the ancient tradition of depicting abstract concepts through human form contributed to a flourishing of allegories of the four parts of the world.[3] Continents appeared in processions, frescoes, maps, frontispieces, but also in prints, paintings, textiles, ceramics, and sculptures.

Fig. 2 / John Quincy Adam Ward, *Henry B. Hyde*, 1901, bronze, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, 1972.

Through their costumes, attributes, and other features these representations act as short-cuts that visualize the world in one glance, providing an interpretation of the complex relationships between Europe and the rest of the world in a moment of global expansion. Therefore, these allegories often construct "otherness" stereotypically as they are generally designed to express Europe's belief in its own superiority. And yet, depictions of bodies as places reveal the complex layering of symbolic meaning that constantly shifts through time, depending on its precise historical context.

Within the traditional imagery of the Four Continents, Europe was often represented as a queen, reflecting its perceived supremacy, not only in warfare and the arts, but crucially in matters of religion. Within the hierarchy, Asia was displayed second and, from the sixteenth century, was associated with a camel and incense burner. Among the four personifications, Africa can be considered the most ancient, appearing on Roman coinage minted by Pompey the Great as early as 71 BCE.[4] It is also the most consistent of all personifications, as the female figure is often easily recognizable through a headdress made with an elephant trunk. When America entered this imagery, it was often visualized as the unknown and monstrous "Other", holding human limbs as an attribute of the alleged practice of cannibalism. The iconography of the Four Continents reached an apex of popularity during the Baroque era. It adapted to religious and imperial visual language in order to convey a Eurocentric hegemonic message, and became particularly widespread in the eighteenth century, with images that reflected a fascination with the "exotic". This iconography continued to be popular in the context of imperialism and world exhibitions, where it was repurposed within a discourse of racial discrimination.

James H. Hyde's obsession with the theme can to some extent be understood through his Francophilia, his interest in Franco-American cultural and historical relationships, and his taste for eighteenth-century French art. The eighteenth century was indeed a particularly inventive moment for personifications of the continents, in which representations of France and America are shown as sisters in arms during the American Revolutionary War (fig. 1). It is through the renewed iconography of the continent where he was born that Hyde's interest was piqued around 1910. It is fair to say that his search for such imagery became not only a matter of personal fulfilment and research, but a veritable obsession.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en laissant de côté les parties défectueuses du pays et les détails peu attrayants de l'exploitation agricole. On trouve souvent ces allées extérieures pour la promenade à cheval ou en voiture (*drives*) en Angleterre, dans les grandes terres seigneuriales. L'art consiste à combiner ces pro-

Fig. 169. — Tracé du parc de Masquetux (États-Unis). — J. Weidenmann, architecte.

menades avec les communications utiles à la vie rurale et à la grande culture. C'est une tâche digne d'un véritable artiste, aucune règle absolue, en dehors des précédentes, ne fixant de limites au dessin de ce genre d'allées.

Chemins de service. — Les chemins de service sont soumis à des exi-

Fig. 3 / Jacob Weidenmann, Plan of Masquetux, published in Édouard André, *L'art des jardins. Traité général de la composition des parcs et jardins*, Paris, 1879.

Hyde's taste for France and French art emerged in the United States, both in New York and Boston, while he studied at Harvard. His education and influences during this time prove essential to understanding the formation of his profile as a collector. James was the son of Henry B. Hyde (1834-1899), the millionaire head of the Equitable Life Assurance Society (fig. 2). His wealth was acquired rapidly, between 1860 and 1880.[5] As was common among businessmen of the Gilded Age, Henry had no aristocratic background. One way to access a sought-for higher social standing was through the emulation of wealthy peers. In New York, the Hydes were neighbours of John Pierpont Morgan and William H. Vanderbilt on East 40th Street, where their first homes were located. Like these men, Hyde employed the Herter Brothers in the refurbishment of his house.[6] The by then well-established firm, founded by German-born Gustave and Christian Herter, specialized in importing sophisticated European craftsmanship and placing it at the service of the Gilded Age elite, supplying not only beautiful furniture but also complete interior designs. Henry B. Hyde also travelled extensively in Europe and in Asia, from where he brought back artworks, furniture, paintings (in the Academic style, for example paintings by Léon Bonnat), decorative arts, and tapestries. Only brief and minimal descriptions of the Hydes' interiors exist, and up to now only very little about Henry B. Hyde's collecting activities has been known.

Like many figures of the wealthy elite, Hyde also owned a country estate. He purchased a one hundred acre piece of land with an old farmhouse, named Masquetux, in Bay Shore, Long Island; the property was completely redesigned by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux,[7] together with their associate, the Swiss born Jacob Weidenmann,[8] best known for his picturesque landscapes. The design of the grounds was published in 1879, in a treatise devoted to artistic gardens by the French horticulturist Édouard André, *L'art des jardins: Traité général de la composition des parcs et jardins* (fig. 3).

Fig. 4 / Sem (Georges Goursat), James Hazen Hyde at *Chez Voisin*, in *Album blanc à cachet orange*, 1904, lithography, Paris, Musée Carnavalet.

Sadly, nothing remains of this New York period, as when the house at Bay Shore was sold in 1905, all its furnishings and artworks were sold at auction. A newspaper entry recited: "Fifth Avenue art galleries to sell Hyde's effects at auction, they include costly paintings many by the old masters, *bric à brac*, statuary, furniture, bronze antiques."[9] Research has not yet identified exactly when the auction of the collection housed at Masquetux took place, but if found, it would surely shed light on aspects of Henry B. Hyde's collecting in Gilded Age New York.

The reconstruction of James H. Hyde's Harvard years (1894-1898) highlights the emergence of his Francophilia, especially through the *Cercle Français*, a Harvard undergraduate club that promoted French language, theatre, and literature of which he became president. He was also the sponsor of an annual lecture series, that endowed a professorial exchange between Harvard and French universities (inviting for example scholars such as Georges Santayana and Bernard Berenson). This allowed him greater access to the Bostonian intellectual elite, including the professor of art history Charles Eliot Norton, his sister Grace Norton[10] (a well-known scholar of Montaigne), and Isabella Stewart Gardner.[11] All three served as mentor figures supporting his intellectual growth and social ambitions. The letters exchanged with Isabella Stewart Gardner, between 1897 and 1917, show a growing mutual fondness, and her guest book reveals that Hyde visited her regularly during these years; he was introduced to her growing collection of Old Masters in Beacon Street in 1898, and she also shared news later about the building of Fenway Court.

Despite the fact that his studies focused mainly on French literature and theatre, James was propelled into the path that Henry B. Hyde had prepared for him, that of becoming President of the Equitable Life Assurance Society. However, this role was not congenial to his personal inclinations. Nevertheless, through the directorship of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, he established professional connections with all the leading figures in the financial world – John Pierpont Morgan and Henry Clay Frick, among others. Between 1899 and 1905, James led a life of opulence and extravagance, best recorded in several artworks by Theobald Chartran, a French painter trained under Alexandre Cabanel, who specialized in history paintings but also in portraits that became especially popular among wealthy Americans. Among the many members of the cultural elite that Hyde encountered were Mary and Bernard Berenson who in 1903 were on a lecturing tour in the United States. Mary recorded this meeting with some piercing remarks about what she perceived to be at this point Hyde's less than promising taste for art, which could not be distinguished from his father's, likewise showing a preference for Academic paintings:

> We met at lunch at Mr. Hyde's, a young man of 26 who finds himself at the head of the Equitable Trust, with millions. He brings French people over to lecture here, and cares for nothing but French. His modern French pictures were the worst I have ever seen![12]

The love James had for France led him to conceive an event that would also eventually lead to his downfall: a lavish costume ball, hosting 600 guests, with the court of Louis XVI in Versailles as its theme. It was scheduled for 31 January 1905 at the Sherry hotel, on Fifth Avenue and 44th Street, a building designed in 1896 by Gilded Age architect Stanford White. Indeed, the uproar in the press caused by James's latest extravagance paved the way for his involvement in one of the major Wall Street scandals in the opening years of the twentieth century, an event that was to prove a turning point in his life and remain indelibly linked with his name.[13]

Although particularly noteworthy, Hyde's ball was not exceptional in a time described as "the party era". The interest and taste for eighteenth-century French Rococo style in the United States manifested itself in costume parties. Hyde's ball was one of the first to be documented fully in photographs, and indeed initiated Hyde's life-long interest for photography. The two-hundred photographs taken by the Byron Company reveal extravagant costumes and confirm the attendance of many prominent New York families (Edith Wharton was among the guests).[14] Costumes sometimes bore precise references to eighteenth-century paintings. According to an account of the ball – including descriptions of the costumes – in the *New York Times*, Elsie de Wolfe, a prominent early twentieth-century interior decorator, embodied the French eighteenth-century ballet dancer Marie-Madeleine Guimard in a painting by Fragonard.[15] However, Yuriko Jackall, has identified the costume as a reference to François Boucher's portrait of Madame de Pompadour, now in the Louvre.[16] Shortly after the ball, Hyde was accused of having used company funds to finance the lavish event, accusations which proved false after a formal inquiry, known as the Armstrong investigation, which lasted several months. Nonetheless, Hyde was forced to resign from the directorship of the Equitable. The events ultimately led to Hyde's decision to settle in Paris, where he would remain for thirty-six years, and where he started to pursue art collecting as the central activity of his daily life.

Georges Goursat, known as Sem, a famous Paris caricaturist and illustrator, vividly captured Hyde at the Café Voisin in the Rue Saint Honoré. In this illustration, Hyde sits next to two famed painters of the time, the Italian Giovanni Boldini and the French artist Paul-César Helleu (Fig. 4), who formed an inseparable trio with Sem.[17] The illustration brilliantly demonstrates how Hyde quickly became part of the Parisian cultural elite.

As he started a new life guided by his intellectual pursuits, he continued to build a widespread social network (until the outbreak of World War II), made up of artists, actors, playwrights, art historians, museum curators, collectors and art dealers. In 1904 Hyde purchased a *hôtel particulier* in the 16th arrondissement of the French capital, between the Bois de Boulogne and Trocadéro, a home that Hyde transformed into an hospital during the First World War. Later on, in 1918, Hyde purchased a second home in Versailles, at 7 Rue l'Ermitage – he had been fond of Versailles ever since his early years. The grounds were adjoined to the parc of the Palace of Versailles, with his neighbour on one side being a pavilion that had served as a hunting lodge to Madame de Pompadour,[18] and on the other, the Villa Trianon where Elsie de Wolfe lived. Unfortunately, no photographs of the interiors of this home have survived, although I have recently found photographs of the exterior, taken by the photographer and journalist Thérèse Bonney (1894-1978). A photographer primarily of French design and architecture, she is in fact best-known for documenting the Second World War.[19] She photographed several houses of Americans in Paris, and ten images taken by her of the exterior façade of Hyde's house, as well as its gardens, survive.[20] Reconstructing Hyde's interiors and the display of his collection is arduous but not impossible. Different archival sources preserved between New York and Paris provide crucial evidence, including two card catalogues that Hyde himself created: one recorded every work in his collection; the second inventoried and described artworks representing the Four Continents in public museums, monuments, private collections, and on the art market (auctions, sales, proposals sent by dealers), as well as objects that he himself owned.[21] In addition, he amassed a photographic archive with about 10,000 photographs of Four Continent imagery, while his diaries, consisting of ninety-three volumes, reconstruct his daily life from 1922 to 1939. These sources create an encyclopaedic visual system that has proven essential for the reconstruction of the collection, some of which was dispersed during the Second World War, but in large part was bequeathed before 1959 to different institutions in New York City, mainly the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cooper Hewitt, the New York Historical Society and the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

In order to trace, collect, inventory and study the Four Continents from antiquity to the late nineteenth century, Hyde worked with a wide network of experts, in different European countries – advisors, agents, and dealers – sometimes acting in various capacities. Using the four primary sources described above, it is possible to map Hyde's network of art dealers across Europe. Analysis of these archival sources also enables the individuation of collecting trends and patterns within the formation of Hyde's collection.

Shortly after he settled in Paris, around 1910, Hyde started collecting Four Continents allegories, a pursuit which he continued until 1939 when France found itself on the brink of WWII, with the ensuing capitulation to and occupation by the Nazis. During his Paris years, the city remained the main centre of his collecting, though he also expanded his network across Europe, mainly in large cities. Mapping his network highlights the locations where he most frequently bought artworks; after Paris was London, followed by Berlin, Frankfurt, and Munich, and then Madrid, Rome, and Vienna – the order reflecting the regularity with which he made purchases in each city. Even if his focus was centred on Europe, Hyde also entertained a continued relationship with New York dealers, with agents buying for him in that city. One name that recurs is that of Henry Rippe, who bought regularly for Hyde at New York's Anderson Galleries. In the same years – before the First World War – that he started collecting in France, he also began to turn his attention towards Italy, especially to Florence and Rome. Following the war and for the whole of the 1920s, his purchases in Italy (Florence, Rome, Genoa, Sicily), as well as in Spain (particularly Madrid, but also Seville), peaked. From the mid-1920s, for almost ten years, Hyde went to London to buy works of art (with a concentration in the years 1926-1928); thereafter his interests between 1928-1938 shifted to Germany. While purchases done on the German art market peaked before 1933, Hyde continued to return there until the Anschluss took place in March 1938. In both Austria and Germany, he concentrated on purchasing eighteenth-century decorative arts, especially porcelain.

Looking closer at the dealers from whom Hyde bought reveals that many of his purchases occurred at auctions, especially at the Hôtel Drouot, Christie's and Sotheby's, as well as at Dorotheum auction house in Vienna. He also regularly visited the art dealers with whom he had a continued relationship; touring antique dealers appears to have been a weekly activity. Indeed, after the scandal that forced him out of the Equitable, Hyde did not pursue any form of professional career but lived what Honoré de Balzac called the "elegant life", one only based on intellectual and social pursuits.[22] There are many references to repeated visits to art dealers in Hyde's diary, as for example, on 10 July 1922: "I visited also many of the principal *antiquaires* in Paris. I went to Jacques Seligmann a great *antiquaire* who has some beautiful museum pieces;" or again on 1 February 1924: "I went yesterday to Wildenstein's shop, to see his collection of pictures, and found there four very expensive but most beautiful paintings of the Four Parts of the World, by Fragonard; they are perfectly beautiful."[23] In other instances Hyde bought artworks directly from other collectors; for example, in 1927 he purchased a Louis XIV screen in Cordoba leather, with inserted paintings representing the Four Continents, from Jacques Doucet (1853-1929), the famous Parisian fashion designer.[24]

Fig. 5 / Germany (Bayreuth), Tea set with the Four Continents, second quarter of the eighteenth century, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The various sources described above also permit the reconstruction of Hyde's address book. In the card catalogue of his collection, Hyde was not always precise in providing consistent information; sometimes, in relation to a specific object, we find the name of the dealer with a precise address, but there are also instances where such information is lacking. Analysis of the card catalogue complemented by his diary, in which he recorded his life in detail, can provide us with more information about some of his acquisitions. In addition, interesting figures emerge from it, for example in Paris, where Hyde regularly purchased artworks from the following art dealers: the Duveen brothers, who had their shop at Place Vendôme, Nathan Wildenstein at Rue de Sèze, but also from Paul Cailleux, Louis-Auguste and Georges Vandermeersch located at 31 bis Rue des Saints-Pères. Hyde also frequented Jules Florange (17 Rue de la Banque) to buy pieces of ancient art, including coins and small bronzes with representations of Africa. From Alexandre Popoff, Rue Cambon, Hyde bought eighteenth-century porcelain (fig. 5), including, in 1927 for the sum of 14,500 francs, a German tea set with the Four Continents dating from the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Fig. 6 / Jean-Baptiste Auguste Clésinger, *America*, ca. 1840, marble, photograph from the personal archive of James Hazen Hyde, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

Fig. 7 / *Jupiter and the Four Continents*, eighteenth century, Tournai, photograph from the personal archive of James Hazen Hyde, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

Often he would ask for different appraisals before purchasing something; in the case of the tea set he called on Vandermeersch to do so. Maison Jansen, at Rue Royale, Hyde referred to in his diary as "one of the most interesting shops in Paris".[25] He purchased from them an allegory of America as an infant holding a casket of pearls with his hand on a crocodile, by the French nineteenth-century sculptor Jean-Baptiste Auguste Clésinger (fig. 6). Another name that recurs in Hyde's archive is Gilbert Lévy, an expert of eighteenth-century French decorative arts, who served as an advisor to great collectors of his time like John Pierpont Morgan, and who had his shop on Rue de Penthièvre, in the 18th arrondissement. There Hyde bought pieces such as *Jupiter and the Four Continents*, a work of eighteenth-century porcelain of Tournai, purchased for 15,000 francs in 1927 and appraised (again) by Vandermeersch (fig. 7).

Another interesting figure within Hyde's French network was Arthur Sambon (fig. 8).[26] Sambon came from a family that counted two generations of art dealers. Jules Sambon started the family's activities in Italy in 1878, working in Naples, Rome, Florence, Milan, and Turin. At the beginning of the twentieth century, he moved his business to Paris, where both of his sons started participating in the art trade. Arthur Sambon, who opened his own gallery, sold artwork to collectors across Europe and the United States; he was also a prolific writer and publisher until his death in 1947. While he specialized in numismatics, Gambon's gallery traded in antiquities, with an interest in medieval and Renaissance sculptures, as well as Old Master paintings. He regularly used his *hôtel particulier* at 7 Rue de Messine to organize selling exhibitions. In the 1920s and early 1930s Arthur Sambon often traded with the Italian art dealer Ugo Bardini, son of the famous Stefano Bardini. The Bardini archives in Florence preserve lists of artworks that Sambon bought from Ugo, especially capitals, sculptures, but also paintings and frames. Hyde bought several

Fig. 8 / Arthur Sambon, n.d., black and white photograph, Paris, Archives Nationales de France.

Fig. 9 / Jan van Kessel, *Africa*, 1670, photograph from the personal archive of James Hazen Hyde, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

Four Continents artworks from Sambon; one of the highlights is a late Gothic capital, purchased in 1928, with four heads representing the four known races of the world. It is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[27]

Hyde's network of dealers also extended to Germany, which he began to visit frequently at the end of the 1920s. During his long research trips he alternated visits to sites, museums, and private collections, assembled photographs of pieces that he saw, and purchased objects. Germany was particularly prolific in Four Continents imagery, especially in the eighteenth century. Hyde's photographic archive is rich with images he saw in various German cities such as Berlin, Frankfurt and Munich. The German landscape of dealers and auction houses is complex and deserves to be discussed in more detail, as dealers in the second half of the 1930s increasingly became either victims of racial laws and were forced to liquidate their collections, or alternatively, were collaborating with the Nazis in the spoliation of Jewish collections. Some of these actors on the art market have already been the subject of studies related to restitution claims pursued by their heirs, for example Hugo Helbing, who was killed by the Gestapo in 1938, and whose auction house was recently the subject of an exhibition in Munich.[28] In Hyde's archive, we also find the name of Alexander Ball, who has recently been flagged as a possible collaborator of the Nazis, as he played a role in identifying Jewish collections to plunder.[29] From Jacob and Rosa Oppenheimer – who were forced to sell their collection in 1935 and deported to Auschwitz in 1943 – Hyde purchased a set of four oils on copperplates representing the Four Continents by the seventeenth-century Flemish painter Jan van Kessel the Elder (fig. 9).[30] He displayed these in the grand salon in his house in Versailles, together with paintings by Luca Giordano and the Neapolitan school, and larger artworks, such as Flemish tapestries.

Fig. 10 / Antoine Vestier, *America*, eighteenth century, drawing, photograph from the personal archive of James Hazen Hyde, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

To help him in his quest to purchase works of art depicting the Four Continents, Hyde had a solid network of advisors and agents to rely on. In France, he relied on a network of trusted art historians, archaeologists, and museum curators, who provided bibliographic research and letters of introduction to museums, but also advice on certain objects; among these scholars were Emile Mâle, Louis Réau, Léonce Bénédite, Pierre de Nolhac, and Henri Focillon. Within this French network, one of the most relevant figures was Salomon Reinach,[31] a famed archaeologist and leading erudite figure in the French art world.

Hyde corresponded extensively with Reinach from 1905 to 1932, on a variety of topics, but mostly about art historical literature and the iconography of the Four Continents in antiquity.[32] Through Reinach, Hyde met another figure who became a relevant contact: Eugénie Sellers Strong, also an archaeologist, who was associate director of the British school at Rome from 1909 to 1925.[33] She too gave Hyde advice on his Four Continents collection, and helped him become acquainted with the world of Roman art dealers. Hyde also regularly asked for appraisals from art historians such as Max Jacob Friedländer and Adolfo Venturi. Solid art historical expertise proved essential as he expanded his network in Europe. In London for example, he relied on the Finnish art historian Tancred Borenius, who served as his agent at Sotheby's. In England he also worked closely with another interesting figure, Edward Knoblock, not an art historian, but a famous playwright. Knoblock was a collector himself, and in Hyde's correspondence and diary, we find Knoblock at work for him, searching for imagery of the Four Continents; letters document his proposals of objects and transactions of purchases carried out for Hyde.

As noted, in the years that he was purchasing artworks for his collection, Hyde amassed an impressive collection of photographs documenting the Four Continents in the visual arts. It ultimately consisted of 10,000 examples of Four Continents personifications that Hyde had seen on monuments, in museums and private collections, at dealer's sales or auctions, in addition to artworks in his own collection. Some of the works documented in Hyde's photographic collection are no longer accessible, and therefore it constitutes an important resource for scholars; likewise, its singular thematic focus offers a unique opportunity to chart variations reflecting different functions and uses of imagery, depending on geographical provenance, artistic media, and historical origin. Indeed Hyde's photographic archive can be considered one of the earliest examples of its kind in the nascent field of art history.[34] It highlights how photography became an essential tool in the art trade, as images were extensively circulated between dealers and collectors. As such, photographs are crucial pieces of evidence for reconstructing networks of people and the trade of objects. Especially interesting are photographs of artworks seen or proposed by dealers which Hyde kept in order to compare with his own pieces: for example, he owned a drawing by Antoine Vestier that he had bought at Gilbert Lévy, but also had in his archive a photograph of its pendant which he saw at Paul Cailleux's gallery (fig. 10). Through photographs he established a comparative system to supplement his own collection. In the case of a late seventeenth-century tapestry by Lodewijk van Schoor that he bought through George Charles Williamson in 1912 (displayed in his *grand salon* in Versailles and now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington), he kept a photograph of a similar tapestry which had sold for a higher price at Wanamaker's Gallery in New York but which he considered less well preserved than his own; he had paid 75,000 francs for his, while the tapestry in New York sold in January 1926 for $25,000 – 650,000 francs according to his calculations.[35]

Hyde's photographic archive served as a complex visual system in complement to his encyclopaedic project, one that he truly considered as an extension of his collection. More broadly, Hyde's unusual and systematic approach to his collection can at once be viewed as highly unique while also grounded in collecting trends of his time. As a case study, he sheds crucial light on the trans-Atlantic network of individuals who shaped the art world and its practices in the Gilded Age.

NOTES

1. For the Four Continents in the visual arts, see a selection of recent publications: Michael J. Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Wolfgang Schmale, Marion Romberg and Josef Köstlbauer, *The Language of the Continent Allegories in Baroque Central Europe* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016); Marion Romberg, *Die Welt im Dienst des Glaubens. Erdteilallegorien in Dorfkirchen auf dem Gebiet des Fürstbistums Augsburg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017): and Maryanne C. Horowitz and Louise Arizzoli, *Bodies and Maps: Early Modern Personifications of the Continents* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).
2. James H. Hyde, "L'iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 10 (1924): pp. 253-272; James H. Hyde, "The Four Parts of the World as Represented in Old-Time Pageants and Ballets," *Apollo* 4 (1926): pp. 232-238 and 5 (1927): pp. 19-27.
3. For personifications in the visual arts, see Walter Melion and Bart Ramakers, *Personification. Embodying Meaning and Emotion* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
4. For the allegory of Africa, see Joaneath Spicer, "The Personification of Africa with an Elephant Head Crest in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia (1603)," in Melion and Ramakers, *Personification*, pp. 677-715.
5. Equitable Life Assurance Society, *Henry Baldwin Hyde. A Biographical Sketch* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1902); R. C. Buley, *The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States 1859-1864* (New York, 1967), I. For an account of the Equitable, see also John Rousmaniere, *The Life and Times of the Equitable* (New York: The Equitable Companies Incorporated, 1995).
6. For the Herter Brothers see Katherine S. Howe, *Herter Brothers: Furniture and Interiors for a Gilded Age* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1994).
7. Francis R. Kowsky, *Country, Park and City. The Architecture of Calvert Vaux* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 257, p. 349.
8. Rudy J. Favretti, *Jacob Weidenmann: Pioneer Landscape Architect* (Hartford, CT: Cedar Hill Cemetery Foundation, Incorporated in cooperation with Wesleyan University Press, 2007).
9. *Plain dealer*, 19 August 1905.
10. Renée Tursi, "Cambridge's Grace Norton: An Absent Presence," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 19 (2017): pp. 117-148.
11. I have reconstructed Hyde's correspondence with these individuals which is preserved in New York, New York Historical Society (hereafter NYHS): James H. Hyde Correspondence, folder Gardner and Norton.
12. Mary Berenson to her mother, 17 December 1903 (MB trip to America Sept.-April 1903-1904), The Bernard and Mary Berenson Digital Archive.
13. For a detailed account of Hyde's ball, see Patricia Beard, *After the Ball* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003).
14. "James H. Hyde Gives Splendid Costume Fête," *New York Times*, 1 February 1905.
15. This portrait is reproduced in Olivier Blanc, *Portraits de femmes. Artistes et modèles à l'époque de Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Edition Carpentier, 2006), p. 303.
16. Yuriko Jackall, "American Visions of Eighteenth-Century France," in *America Collects Eighteenth-Century French Painting*, eds. Yuriko Jackall and Joseph Baillio (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; London: in association with Lund Humphries, 2017), p. 21.
17. Madeleine Bonnelle and Marie-José Méneret, *Sem* (Périgueux: éditions Fanlac, 1979); Francesca Dini, *Boldini, Helleu, Sem. Protagonisti e miti della Belle Epoque* (Milan: Skira, 2006); Barbara Guidi and Servane Dargnies, *Boldini: les plaisirs et les jours*, exh. cat. (Paris: Petit Palais, 2022), p. 160.
18. Xavier Salmon, *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, exh. cat. (Musée national du château de Versailles: 2002), pp. 90-91.
19. Lisa Schlansker Kolosek, *The Invention of Chic: Thérèse Bonney and Paris Moderne* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).
20. Claire Bonney Brüllmann, "Thérèse Bonney: The Architectural Photographs" (Ph.D. diss., University of Zürich, 1995), p. 50.
21. The card catalogue and the photographic archive are preserved at the Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, while the diaries and correspondence are preserved at the New York Historical Society (NYHS), in New York City.
22. Honoré de Balzac, *Traité de la vie élégante, suivi de la Théorie de la démarche* (Paris, 1822), esp. p. 36.
23. NYHS: James H. Hyde, Diary, 10 July 1922 and 1 February 1924. Although his tours are often referred to in his diaries, I could not always find in his card catalogue the matching piece that was bought.
24. Jacques Doucet assembled an impressive collection of eighteenth-century French art between 1896 and 1912, the majority of which was sold at auction in 1912, after which he devoted himself to collecting Impressionist and Modernist artworks. See Chantal Georgel, *Jacques Doucet collectionneur et mécène* (Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs, Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2016).
25. NYHS: James H. Hyde, Diary, Thursday 5 January 1928.
26. For the Sambon family as art dealers see Paris, Archives Nationales: Fonds Sambon.
27. Vera K. Ostoia, "To Represent What Is as It Is," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23 (1965): pp. 367-372; Louise Arizzoli, "Collecting the Four Continents: James Hazen Hyde (1876-1959), an American in Paris," in Horowitz and Arizzoli, *Bodies and Maps*, p. 365.
28. The exhibition came into being after some 800 sales catalogues were donated to the Zentral Institut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich: "Hugo Helbing – Auktionen für die Welt. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der Schenkung von annotierten Katalogen an das Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (ZI)," https://artsandculture.google.com/story/nQWxXPJHKm3FJA?hl=de (accessed 13 January 2023).
29. See Art Provenance Research Red Flags, Open Data, Linking Databases to Detect Looted Art: https://www.openartdata.org/2018/05/ball-art-provenance-research-red-flags.html (accessed 13 January 2023).
30. Hyde's set is closely related to the one produced in 1664-1666 by Jan van Kessel and preserved since 1799 in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich. For Van Kessel's Four Continents see Nadia Baadj, *Jan van Kessel (1626-1676): Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp* (London: Harvey Miller, 2016), esp. chapter 3.
31. Hervé Duchêne, "Aux origines d'une métamorphose. Salomon Reinach, éditeur et traducteur de Bernard Berenson (1894-1895)," in *Berenson e la Francia*, ed. Monica Preti, *Studi di Memofonte* 14 (2015): pp. 36-48; Jacques Jouanna et al., eds., *Au-delà du Savoir: Les Reinach et Le Monde des Arts. Actes du 27e Colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer, 7-8 Octobre 2016* (Paris: De Boccard, 2017).
32. NYHS: James H. Hyde's correspondence, folder Reinach; and Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes et Archives Municipales: Reinach correspondence, folder Hyde.
33. On Sellers Strong see Stephen L. Dyson, *Eugénie Sellers Strong: Portrait of an Archaeologist* (London: Duckworth, 2004).
34. Aby Warburg assembled his photographic archive in the 1880s. His unique iconographic system may have inspired Hyde, who launched his archive in 1910.
35. He worked with a conversion rate of roughly 26 francs to a dollar.

A transatlantic hybrid and a "*Fauve de la Curiosité*": Edouard Jonas (1883-1961), dealer and curator[1]

BARBARA LASIC

Fig. 1 / Edouard Jonas (1883-1961), ca. 1930, 1 negative: glass, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, Washington, DC, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

When the Cognacq-Jay Museum opened in its first incarnation in Paris in 1929, in the left wing of the Opéra branch of the department store *La Samaritaine de Luxe* on Boulevard des Capucines, the French and international press were quick to report on the inauguration of the new institution.[2] *The Chicago Tribune and Daily News* praised "an admirable reconstruction of an interior of the ancien regime" and the *New York Herald* remarked that "18th-century life and fashion, with all their daintiness and elegance are brought to life again".[3] Assembled over a period of forty years by entrepreneur and philanthropist Ernest Cognacq (1839-1928), the founder of the Parisian department store *La Samaritaine*, it contained indeed a vast array of French paintings and precious furniture and porcelain from the eighteenth century.

While the generosity and good taste of the founders was unanimously acclaimed, the vast majority of press reviews also almost systematically mentioned the name of Edouard Jonas (1883-1961) (fig. 1), the museum's first curator, and they were equally quick to praise what he had achieved. *The Chicago Tribune and Daily News* extolled his "sure taste and erudition", while *The Comœdia* described him as a "perfect man of taste".[4]

Striking a rather tangential note, in *La Renaissance*, art historian Henri Clouzot (1865-1941) discussed the professional background of the curator and wrote somewhat cynically that his taste and erudition had not been "formed – and deformed – by a previous curatorial appointment" and that it was this institutional inexperience which had given him the freedom to realize his vision.[5] Edouard Jonas might have indeed been an institutional novice but he was certainly not new to the art world. Arguably one of the most important art dealers of his day, he was supplying works of art to a large network of private collectors and public institutions across Europe and America. With two large galleries on the Place Vendôme in Paris and on the Upper East Side in New York, he was doing regular business with Joseph Duveen (1869-1939), Paul Rosenberg (1881-1959) and Jacques Seligmann (1858-1923) and was directly or indirectly linked to the creation of some of the most important American institutional or private collections of the first half of the twentieth century.

This article therefore hopes to illuminate the somewhat nebulous and, so far, greatly overlooked career of Edouard Jonas. The different fields in which his expertise and connoisseurship were tested and performed will be considered by, in a first instance, interrogating his collaborations and sometimes conflicting relationship with Joseph Duveen. In a second instance, the present study will examine Jonas's advisory and curatorial role in the formation of the Cognacq-Jay collection and the management of the first incarnation of the museum, analyzing in particular his strategies for promoting the institution and disseminating its collections both in France and abroad. Finally, this essay will consider Jonas's collections in the light of the Nazi occupation of France and his relationship with fellow exile Paul Rosenberg.

Born into a Jewish family of antique dealers, Jonas followed early on in the family footsteps. First listed by the French Register of Commerce at 6 Boulevard des Capucines in Paris (the same address as his brothers Paul and Marcel), he settled into new premises on 3 Place Vendôme in 1903. A few years later, he opened a New York branch on the Upper East Side (9 East 56th Street) – a branch that he was forced to close down in 1932 due to declining business.

As shall be discussed, Jonas dealt in Old Masters and decorative arts, the latter mainly French, but also ventured into the world of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism. Photographs of the interiors of his Parisian gallery reveal that he was employing well-worn display strategies for the presentation of his *hôtel d'exposition*, and the collections were carefully staged in hybrid salons evoking both eighteenth-century domestic interiors and early twentieth-century collecting practices.

Jonas's arrival at Place Vendôme and the expansion of his business in New York put him on a par with one of the most important art dealers of his age, Joseph Duveen (fig. 2). An ubiquitous figure of the commercial art world with galleries in London, Paris and New York, Duveen had a remarkable network of clients, and was instrumental in the collections assembled by Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), Andrew Mellon (1855-1937) and John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937). Jonas's physical proximity to Duveen was echoed by a sustained business relationship with him, and the Duveen Brothers' records abound with references to their commercial dealings which spanned two decades.[6] The archives reveal that both men were in very regular contact, with Jonas seeking Duveen's advice on purchases, requesting authentification letters, or offering him goods, or his own services as intermediary. In short, Jonas solicited Duveen's expertise and connoisseurial input as much as his commercial and economic contribution.

The two dealers probably had a rather ambiguous relationship. As early as 1925, Duveen remarked on Jonas's professional skills and wrote that they must "keep on good terms with this man as he finds things and can be very useful to us".[7] Yet a few weeks later Duveen was also advising caution and warned against Jonas's perceived ruthless selfishness: "keep as friendly as possible with Mr E. Jonas, so that you can see all things he [is] bringing over, but be careful not to tell him too much as he is very dangerous, great egoist, no friend of anyone but himself".[8] This is of course far from surprising as both men were professional competitors and a man with Duveen's ego and ambitions would have not easily conceded that another dealer's connoisseurship and flair could exceed his own.

The Duveen Brothers records reveal that Jonas regularly asked Duveen's opinion. For instance, in 1928 he contacted him about a painting by Nicolas Lancret he had just purchased, and Duveen, rather benevolently, conceded that it was "painted in Lancret's best period […] marked by all the charming characteristics of the Master".[9] Jonas also bought directly from Duveen, as evidenced by Cosimo Rosselli's *Madonna Adoring the Christ Child* acquired in 1931, and for which an attestation of authenticity from Berenson was duly requested on 23 April 1931 (fig. 3).[10]

Fig. 2 / Sir Joseph Duveen, with his wife, and daughter Dorothy, ca. 1920, photographic print, Washington, DC, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Fig. 3 / Cosimo Rosselli, *Madonna Adoring the Christ Child*, ca. 1490, tempera on lindenwood panel, 52.4 x 35.6 cm, Tulsa, OK, Philbrook Museum of Art.

Fig. 4 / Maurice-Quentin de la Tour, *Portrait of Madame la Présidente de Rieux*, 1742, pastel on paper, 116 x 90 cm, Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay.

In turn, Duveen acquired items on a regular basis from Jonas, and the Duveen Brothers records list for instance a Riesener commode acquired in December 1927 for $35,000, today in the collections of the Hillwood Museum in Washington, DC.[11] The acquisition nearly failed however, as Duveen had criticized the piece to fellow dealer Arnold Seligmann (possibly in order to keep competitors at bay), and the latter duly repeated Duveen's derogatory comments to Jonas. Edward Fowles (1885-1971), Duveen's collaborator who headed the Paris branch of the business, realizing Duveen's mistake, admitted that "it [was] essential to do something to repair this error to keep on friendly terms with him" and suggested that the "best thing to do [was] to send telegram to Jonas saying something nice about [the] commode which he could show people".[12] Duveen obliged and, a few days later, sent him a placatory note: "I am pleased to say I consider your Louis XVI commode finest quality and I should be delighted if you would show this telegram to anyone imputing to me contrary opinion."[13]

Not all of Jonas's offers were met with acceptances, however, as evidenced by the failed transaction of Olivier van Deuren's *Geographer*. Then believed to be by Vermeer, the painting was acquired by Jonas with dealer René Gimpel (1881-1945) from the Comte de Renesse in 1929. It was offered to Duveen as "Jonas has had enough of the picture and would be quite willing to realise his share. He wonders whether it would interest you to acquire his half. He would be pleased to get his money back so as to place it elsewhere."[14] The transaction failed with a member of Duveen's staff claiming that "the picture [was] dull and uninteresting".[15]

Another instance of an aborted transaction between Jonas and Duveen concerns that of Maurice-Quentin de la Tour's pastel portrait of Madame de Rieux executed in 1742 and now in the Cognacq-Jay Museum (fig. 4).[16] Listed in Jonas's stock in 1925, the Duveen Brothers records reveal that it was offered to the

Fig. 5 / François-Hubert Drouais, *Family Portrait*, 1756, oil on canvas, 244 x 195 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

dealer for 400,000 francs before being acquired by Ernest Cognacq.[17] Rather smitten, an unidentified member of Duveen's firm, possibly Ernest Duveen (1883-1959), wrote that it was "a very charming picture, undoubtedly by the master and with a unique provenance as it has always been in the family since it was painted. Although the woman has white hair she is not old, very probably her hair was powdered. She is very distinguished looking […] it is a first-class picture and is not expensive today."[18] The author of the note also confidently suggests that he could get it for 50,000 francs less than what Jonas had originally offered. Oblivious to the picture's charms, Joseph Duveen scathingly remarked that Jonas's pastel was "much too heavy and we do not want it at any price".[19] Thankfully Ernest Cognacq did not share Duveen's opinion and Jonas did find in him an eager buyer for his picture.

A more successful episode involved the acquisition of Francois-Hubert Drouais's exquisite *Family Portrait* of 1756 now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (fig. 5). First mentioned in the Duveen Brothers records in 1925, between 1933 and 1936, the portrait was the subject of protracted negotiations between Jonas (acting for Duveen) and the owner Lady Swinton, who was fully intent on getting a high price for her picture. Jonas eventually closed the deal and the picture exchanged hands for the modest sum of £25,000.[20] The extent of Jonas's commission remains unknown, but the painting was eventually acquired in 1942 by the Samuel Kress Foundation and presented to the National Gallery of Art in 1946.[21]

Edouard Jonas's involvement in 1925 in the purchase of the seven pictures by Stefano di Giovanni, known as Sassetta, from Georges Chalandon – on behalf of Joseph Duveen – brought him the latter's praise. If the story of the National Gallery's acquisition of the Sassetta pictures has been well documented, and, in the process, Duveen's commercial integrity questioned, Jonas's role and negotiating skills have so far remained unacknowledged.[22]

Fig. 6 / Jeanne-Madeleine Favier, *Portrait of Ernest Cognacq*, 1903, oil on canvas, 117 x 89 cm, Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay.

Archival sources reveal that the owner of the pictures was asking $105,000 but that Jonas managed to bring the price down to $83,000, prompting Duveen to write generously that they should: "give Jonas 10% on Chalandon as […] he had been working very hard over this matter for 3 years and wants to encourage him to work with us more than with Wildenstein".[23]

If Jonas's dealings with Duveen were largely performed in private away from the public eye, his involvement with the Cognacq-Jay collection and museum was arguably one that put him in the limelight and attracted considerable public attention in his own lifetime.

The circumstances surrounding the first meeting between Edouard Jonas and the businessman, department-store owner Ernest Cognacq (fig. 6) are unknown. Having started in the world of collecting with a taste for Barbizon and Realist painting, Cognacq rapidly switched his aesthetic allegiances to the art of the *Ancien Régime* and assembled over a period of thirty years or so a collection marked by a preference for the art of eighteenth-century France, *Le Bel Âge*, which echoed the tastes of a number of wealthy bankers and industrialists such as the Camondo and Rothschild families or Henry Clay Frick.

An entity of mixed and unequal quality, the collection nevertheless contains some gems including François Boucher's *Diana Returning from the Hunt* or a small mechanical table boasting a unique chintz pattern by royal *ébéniste* Jean-François Oeben (1721-1763).[24]

Although Jonas played a significant role in the creation of Cognacq's collection and the management of the early museum, Cognacq did not just rely on him to form his collection, but also sought out and benefited from the advice of the Petit Palais curator Camille Gronkowski (1873-1943) for his early acquisition of Barbizon and Realist paintings. It was common practice for collectors to seek the advice of art historians or curators; Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911) for instance benefited from the expertise of Carle Dreyfus (1875-1952), collector and Louvre curator, as well as Jacques Guérin (1881-1962), future chief curator of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. As for the diamond magnate Julius Wernher (1850-1912), his relationship with museum director Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929) is well documented.[25]

Cognacq also appears to have enlisted the help of a number of dealers, echoing the growing commodification of collecting which increasingly came to resemble high-end shopping. He employed Oscar Stettiner (1878-1948) who acquired for him items from the sale of the Jacques Doucet collection sold through the Galerie George Petit in 1912, as well as a still life by Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779) bought at the Léon Michel-Lévy sale of 1925.[26]

Fig. 7 / François-Hubert Drouais, *Son of Présidente Desvieux*, 1760, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 55.9 cm, San Marino, CA, The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens.

Edouard Jonas was, however, Cognacq's main agent and sold him some of the choicest pieces in his collection, including Clodion's delightful miniature terracotta *Monument to a Dog*, originally commissioned by the financier Pierre-Jacques Bergeret de Grandcourt (1715-1785).[27] Cognacq also purchased through the dealer eight drawings by Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) at the 1919 sale of Henri Michel-Lévy, including a drawing related to the celebrated *Enseigne de Gersaint*.[28]

Jonas's sources of supply were not limited to France; he also acquired items for Cognacq in England. A rarity among French collectors, with the exception of Nélie Jacquemart (1841-1912), Cognacq shared the taste of many Anglo-American plutocrats for British portraiture. Scrutiny of the Agnew's Archives reveals that in 1911 Jonas purchased for his client a pastel of Lady Diana Beauclerk as Terpsichore by the eighteenth-century British portrait and genre painter William Peters (1742-1814).[29] Cognacq was also partial to elegant eighteenth-century genre scenes, and Jonas bought from renowned art dealers Colnaghi a gouache by Nicolas Lavreince (1737-1807), *La Consolation de l'Absence*.[30]

Importantly, in addition to sourcing items from abroad, Jonas actively encouraged and contributed to the temporary display of the Cognacq collection outside of its French domestic confines. Assuming a proto-curatorial role, in October 1926, Jonas organized a month-long temporary exhibition of a selection of pieces from the Cognacq collection in his New York Gallery. This was not the first time that the collection was put on public display and, twice before, part of it had been exhibited in three rooms on the ground floor of Cognacq's *Samaritaine de Luxe* at Boulevard des Capucines in Paris. As argued by Jonathan Conlin, these ephemeral displays blurred the boundaries between attractive consumer objects and *objets d'art* while also intersecting with the *Samaritaine*'s commercial strategies which in turn borrowed from the display methods and language of museums by staging temporary exhibitions within its walls.[31]

The New York exhibition of Cognacq's collection was opened by Queen Marie of Romania (1875-1938) *en grande pompe*, and an accompanying catalogue was duly published. The latter explicitly articulated that the exhibition anticipated the donation of the collection to the French nation and reveals that Cognacq lent some of his finest pieces, such as Boucher's *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, Quentin Latour's *Portrait of the Présidente de Rieux*, or François-Hubert Drouais's *Son of President Desvieux* (fig. 7) today in the Huntington Collections.[32]

One could argue that the exhibition was envisaged by Jonas as a means of elevating the status of his gallery by including soon-to-be public pieces, while simultaneously broadening the international reach of Cognacq's collection. In addition, after the collection's temporary passage at the *Samaritaine de Luxe*, a temple of non-artistic commerce, its move to Jonas's New York gallery served to relocate and re-anchor it within a more traditional professional artistic sphere. The exhibition was thus both a testament to the taste of the owners and the skill and connoisseurial eye of the dealer who had contributed to its creation and display.

Fig. 8 / Musée Cognacq-Jay, 25 Boulevard des Capucines, ca. 1930, postcard, 9 x 14 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

At the death of Ernest Cognacq in 1928, the collection was bequeathed to the city of Paris. Cognacq and his wife were childless and had been heavily involved in philanthropic ventures so they may have envisaged the foundation of a museum as a way of perpetuating both their names and continuing their philanthropic endeavours. In addition, in 1904 Ernest Cognacq had come to England to celebrate the *Entente Cordiale* and took the opportunity to visit the Wallace Collection at Hertford House, which may have also inspired his decision to institutionalize his collection.[33]

Echoing the museumification of the Herford-Wallace collection, only a portion of Cognacq's collection was bequeathed to the city of Paris, and the modern paintings as well as a portion of the Old Master paintings and drawings were given to his nephew Gabriel Cognacq (1880-1951) who sold part of it shortly afterwards (the remainder of the collection was dispersed at his death).[34]

This in turn allowed Jonas to buy back one of the drawings that he had originally sold to Cognacq: Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's drawing of Lady Cavendish Bentinck which he had acquired in England in 1918 from Lady Stapleton.[35] The drawing had been in Cognacq's collection from 1921 to 1928.[36] It had rentered Jonas's stock by 1934 and was displayed in Jacques Seligmann's Parisian gallery in March and April of that year.[37]

Importantly, Jonas was appointed curator of the Cognacq-Jay collection for life (*conservateur perpétuel*), albeit on a voluntary basis. In this capacity, he oversaw the installation and display of the collection in its first location in eight rooms next to the *Samaritaine de Luxe* (fig. 8). The museum's proximity to the department store blurred the boundaries between the merchandise on sale in the store and the works of art forming the collection, conflating museum visiting with shopping.

The display strategies adopted by Jonas for the new museum were a reflection of the presentation practices employed at his own *hôtel d'exposition* at Place Vendôme and at the galleries of many contemporary dealers (fig. 9), namely to stage their goods in lavish pseudo-domestic settings. Framed by authentic period panelling, Cognacq's collection was displayed in eighteenth-century French period rooms not dissimilar to the opulent interiors devised by the Rothschilds or the Camondos.[38] These aestheticized displays presented visitors with an imagined and idealized vision of a collector's private realm. Interviewed in the periodical *Comœdia*, Jonas justified this choice by explaining that he did not want for the museum to be a "banal museum" and that he wanted the collections to be displayed in a "harmonious and authentic decor".[39] Jonas went on to explain that, two years before his death, Ernest Cognacq had set aside a substantial sum of money for the acquisition of *boiseries* aimed at providing a suitable architectural backdrop for the collections. One of his first tasks as curator had therefore been to acquire panelling then believed to be from the Château d'Eu in Normandie, former summer residence of King Louis Philippe (1773-1850). Significantly, Jonas was quick to stress that the inclusion of the panelling constituted a return since they had been acquired in England. Here we therefore see Jonas inscribing his curatorial role within the context of a project of national cultural repatriation, somewhat blatantly contradicting his transatlantic commercial activities as a dealer, since he would have himself been shipping objects abroad on a regular basis.

Jonas was not just involved in the display of the collections in their new site, he was also responsible for the publication of a catalogue a year after the museum's opening in 1930. Jonas's contribution was, however, only nominal and, in content and format, the catalogue was a quasi-exact copy of that published in 1929 by art historian Seymour de Ricci (1881-1942).

The paintings were listed first, followed by the pastels and the drawings, and included finally furniture and *objets d'art*, evidently reflecting well-established hierarchies that find their origins in eighteenth-century sale catalogues. In line with contemporary cataloguing practices, provenances and exhibition histories were highlighted when known.

The catalogue also gives us an insight into how Jonas viewed his own curatorial practice as being exogenous to the collections, as the recently acquired eighteenth-century *boiseries* were not listed in the catalogue, testifying to their perceived status as mere architectural props. Signing the preface to the publication, Jonas was quick to emphasize the humility of its previous owner, and the modesty of the collections aimed at evoking the intimacy of eighteenth-century life. Rather than positioning the museum in competition with its eminent predecessors, the Louvre or Versailles, its rationale was to offer an harmonious ensemble of eighteenth-century decoration intended to complement "the precious [period rooms] of the Musée Carnavalet".[40] The new institution's identity was thus located within a museological domestic framework aimed at recapturing the eighteenth-century *art de vivre*, thus recalling the Goncourt Brothers' aesthetic project and their own predilection for *l'intime*.

Evidently eager to inscribe the museum and its collection within a large network of exchange, Jonas supported an active loan policy. Institutional records held at the Archives de Paris reveal that objects were lent on a regular basis to museums across the country.[41] The early loan strategy culminated with the museum's participation in the retrospective exhibition on eighteenth-century French art organized by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York between 6 November 1935 and 5 January 1936.[42]

It is unclear who initiated the loan. Jonas had an established and ongoing working relationship with the Metropolitan Museum of Art: he had donated in 1922 a pair of pedestals in the Boulle technique, as well as a portrait of a woman by Johann Nikolaus Grooth (1723-1797).[43] A letter in the Metropolitan Museum archives tells us that the museum was responsible for paying all the shipping and insurance costs. Another letter from the Met's director Herbert Winlock (1884-1950) to Jonas preserved in the Cognacq-Jay institutional files does not, unfortunately, shed any more light on the matter, but merely conveys formal and polite professional gratitude for the loan. Jonas and Winlock were seemingly on excellent professional terms and further correspondence between the two men reveals that Jonas was also acting as an intermediary to secure a private loan for the show: Jean-Jacques Caffieri's (1725-1792) *Hope Nourishing Love* of 1769, then belonging to Princesse de Faucigny Lucinge (1901-1945).[44]

The Cognacq-Jay's contribution to the exhibition was in fact modest, and the museum only lent three pieces. They were, however, among the choicest from the collection and included Boucher's *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, a Venus then ascribed to the celebrated sculptor Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716-1791) but now attributed to Jean-Pierre-Antoine Tassaert (1727-1788), and a bust of Madame Récamier by Joseph Chinard (1756-1813). Significantly, the exhibition included iconic pieces from a number of important international private and public collections such as Jacques-Louis David's *The Loves of Paris and Helen* from the Louvre, Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *Love Letter* from private collector Jules Bache (1861-1944; who subsequently left a large part of his collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Detroit Institute of Art), or George Blumenthal's (1858-1941) bust of Louis XV (1710-1774) commissioned by Madame de Pompadour to Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704-1778) in 1757.[45]

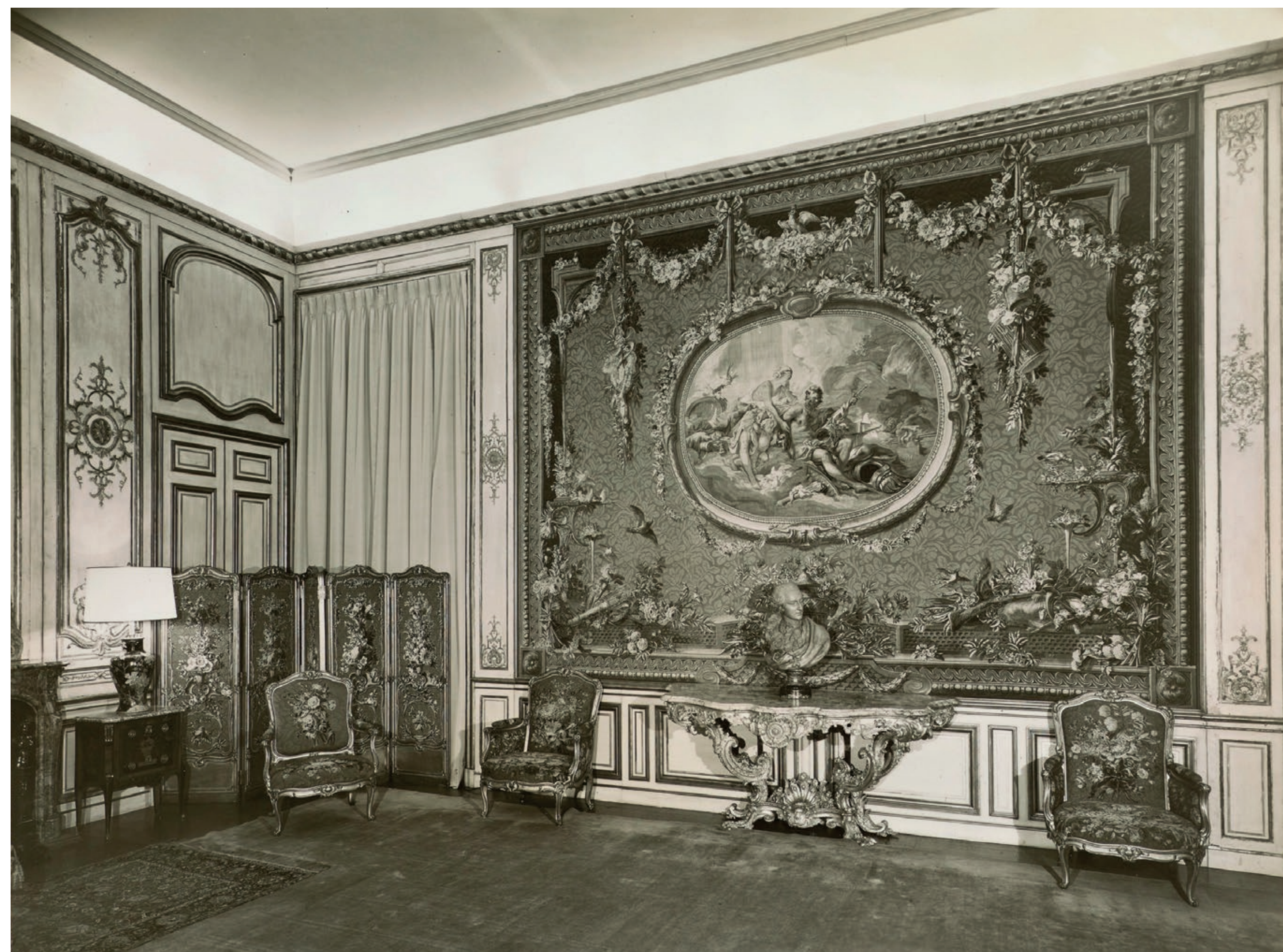


Fig. 9 / Unknown photographer, Interior view of Duveen showrooms, the Inventories of Duveen showrooms, n.d., from: Duveen Brothers stock documentation from the dealer's library, 1829-1965 (2007.D.1), Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

Jonas probably envisaged the loan as a way of validating and raising the status of the collection he oversaw while simultaneously expanding his network and enhancing his own position as a dealer who operated on both sides of the Atlantic. The exhibition certainly benefited from extended press coverage, and the newly founded Cognacq-Jay museum was put on a par with some of the most important collections in the world. The *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* noted for instance that "important paintings [came] from the Palace of Versailles, the Louvre, and […] the Musée Cognacq-Jay".[46] In addition to having objects singled out for their aesthetic merit or historical significance, the passage through the Metropolitan Museum's galleries and the juxtaposition with its own pieces was further proof of Cognacq's collections' unimpeachable pedigree and authenticity. An accompanying catalogue of the exhibition was published with preliminary essays on eighteenth-century French painting and sculpture written by the Metropolitan Museum curator Preston Remington (1897-1958), thereby freezing for posterity this ephemeral aesthetic and intellectual dialogue.

The Second World War significantly affected Jonas's professional endeavours. His Jewishness made him a victim of German ordinances and Vichy France's anti-Semitic measures. By the early 1940s, Jonas's activities as an art dealer had considerably reduced, and he had moved to Oklahoma where he had started a new venture in the oil industry. Jonas nevertheless attempted to bring his French stock to safety and, in June 1940, sent it to Bordeaux where it was stored by the firm R. Médeville & Fils. His French nationality was revoked shortly afterwards, and, between 21 and 25 September 1940, the works of art that he had stored in Bordeaux were confiscated by the German art dealer and rug expert Josef Angerer (1899-1961), one of Hermann Göring's chief art buyers. Angerer was helped by Louis Charles Marie Liénard, a police inspector who assisted the Germans in the tracking of Jewish art collections. Jonas's collections were assessed by Jacques Beltrand (1874-1977), professor at the École des Beaux-Arts and member of the Conseil Supérieur des Beaux-Arts.[47]

Documents preserved at the French *Archives diplomatiques* as part of the *Archives des services français de récupération artistique* give us a good idea of the extent of the spoliations and Jonas's own attempts to recover his collections.[48]

Nineteen crates containing porcelain, silver and *objets d'art* were confiscated. They were supplemented by thirty-one pieces of furniture (commodes, tables and armchairs), including a lacquer cabinet by Weisweiler and a small table stamped Boudin, some Sèvres and Meissen porcelain, furnishing bronzes, five tapestries including one made in Brussels after a design by David Teniers the Younger (then listed as being from the Gobelins), and twenty-three paintings.[49] Eighteen of those pieces ended up in Hermann Göring's private collection, known as *Die Kunstsammlung Hermann Göring*.[50]

After the war, Jonas and his wife, with the assistance of Jonas's brothers Paul and Marcel, attempted to recover the goods that had been confiscated in Bordeaux in 1940. By 1953 Jonas had only managed to recover two paintings and he called in the help of Rose Valland (1898-1980), head of the French *Service de protection des oeuvres d'art*, a governmental body responsible for facilitating the restitution of spoliated works of art to their owners: "I failed to recover any of the beautiful things that belonged to me and I am at your disposal to meet with you [...] I am sorry to bother you but I am sure, knowing your usual kindness by reputation, that you will be willing to assist me in this instance".[51] Rose Valland responded favourably, albeit with a delay of ten months: "rest assured that I am entirely at your disposal to help you recover the works of art that were stolen from you by the Nazis and I should be extremely pleased to succeed".[52]

This resulted in the restitution of some of his paintings that had been recovered in Germany. Among them was a fifteenth-century Italian panel depicting Saint George that had been part of Göring's Collection (number G579).[53] It was transported to the Central Collecting Point in Munich on 27 July 1945 (Munich number 5256) and repatriated to France in September 1947.[54] Recovered works were temporarily placed under the aegis of the French state until they could be given back to their rightful owners, and Jonas's *Saint George* was allocated to the Louvre in 1950 with the number MNR249. Interestingly, the painting did not stay at the Louvre and ended up being sent to the Algiers Museum of Fine Arts on 18 December 1952, thereby giving evidence of the intersection between France's restitution project and its colonial cultural policies.[55] Jonas also recovered two eighteenth-century French anonymous genre scenes, a painting attributed to Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744-1818), a *Music Lesson* ascribed to Robert Levrac-Tournières (1667-1752), a still-life by Pierre Laprade (1875-1931), and two panels from a triptych by Maarten van Heemskerck depicting a *Visitation with the Virgin and Saint Elizabeth*. Also once part of Göring's collection (G313), the latter were returned to their rightful owner on 7 October 1960 and are now in the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen in Rotterdam (fig. 10).[56]

Despite these successes, Jonas sadly failed to recover the major part of his collection, and none of the decorative arts "considered, due to their quality, as works of art" were ever returned to him.[57] He however received some financial compensation for his losses from the German State following the closure of his restitution research procedure on 31 October 1960.[58] Thankfully restitution efforts did not stop at his death, and a landscape attributed to Adriaen Frans Boudewijns (1644-1719) and Pieter Bout (1658-1719), as well as a sixteenth-century Dutch *Portrait of a Man with his Dog* were returned to his heirs in 2012, and sold at Sotheby's Paris in June 2021.[59]

The fate of Jonas's collections is not complete without recalling that of the works belonging to fellow art dealer Paul Rosenberg. Rosenberg ran a successful gallery in Rue de la Boétie in Paris where his stock included Barbizon, Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painters, as well as more avant-garde artists like Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso whom he also represented, alongside Henri Matisse. Also a victim of German ordinances and Vichy France's anti-Semitic measures, Rosenberg left France for the United States in 1940. Despite efforts to protect his personal collection and his stock, they were subjected to extensive spoliations – the full extent of which is still unknown today.[60] Jonas sustained a life-long friendship and professional relationship with Rosenberg, as evidenced by the wealth of material in the Paul Rosenberg Archives in New York.[61]

The first recorded instance of commercial dealings between them dates back to 28 February 1907 with Jonas selling a *Winter Scene* by Adriaen van de Velde to Rosenberg for the sum of 1,000 francs.[62] The entire Jonas family was in fact involved with Rosenberg: his brothers Paul and Marcel were also transacting with him, as shown by a commission of 3,000 francs they received for the purchase of the portrait of Madame Edmond Cavé by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres.[63] In short, instances of commercial transactions between Jonas and Rosenberg were numerous and spanned their entire careers. In line with Rosenberg's artistic trajectories, their dealings appear to have mostly concerned Post-Impressionist paintings, such as the *Nature Morte au Melon Vert* by Paul Cézanne acquired by Rosenberg from Jonas on 25 June 1949 for $4,500.[64]

Examination of the Rosenberg archival records reveal a warm relationship between the two men and regular epistolary exchanges that sometimes had little to do with commercial transactions, a reflection of "their long friendship which dates back to their youth".[65] Bound by their exile in America and Jewishness which provided them with a sense of kinship, a number of letters offer poignant commentaries on the war that was raging in Europe, with Jonas writing that "he never stopped thinking about those they left in France and whom they couldn't help", and Rosenberg, in response, expressing with some optimism that he believed "1942 would bring some positive changes in Europe and in the world" that would allow them to go back to France and regain their freedom.[66]

Positioned at the nexus of the Franco-American art market, involved with the key private, commercial and institutional figures of the early twentieth-century art world, Edouard Jonas cut a complex figure. Art dealer and advisor, he was also a museum curator, a role which he performed with care, working diligently to expand the national and international reach of the collection in his charge. Jonas also embraced a political career and became a Member of Parliament for the city of Grasse in 1936. He seemed to have himself resisted any rigid categorizations, blurring the boundaries of his professional identity, as evidenced by a letter written to the curator of the then Musée Galliera in Paris in which he replied in his role as the curator of the Cognacq-Jay museum, gave his address as a dealer (3 Place Vendôme), and signed as Deputy for the Department of the Alpes-Maritimes.[67]

Fig. 10 / Maarten van Heemskerck, *Visitation, Virgin and Elizabeth*, 1550, oil on panel, 175 x 100 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to thank Pascal Faracci, Sixtine de Saint Léger, and Claire Scamaroni for their help in the preparation of this article.
2. For a consideration of the years preceding the opening of the Cognacq-Jay Museum, see Jonathan Conlin, “Le ‘Musée de Marchandises’: The origins of the Musée Cognacq-Jay,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 12 (2000): pp. 193-202, , https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/12.2.193 (accessed 8 January 2023).
3. B. J. Kospoth “Cognacq-Jay Museum Opens on Downtown Boulevard,” *The Chicago Tribune and the Daily News, New York*, 24 May 1929, p. 2; Seymour de Ricci, “A Museum on the Grand Boulevards, the Musée Cognacq-Jay,” *The New York Herald*, Art Supplement, European Edition, June 1929, p. 9.
4. Kospoth, “Cognacq-Jay Museum Opens on Downtown Boulevard,” p. 2; “L’Inauguration Officielle du Musée Cognacq-Jay,” *Comoedia*, 5 June 1929, p. 3: “ce parfait homme de goût qu’est Edouard Jonas”.
5. Henri Clouzot, “Le Musée Cognacq,” *La Renaissance*, January 1929, p. 299: “un Conservateur n’ayant subi aucune formation – ou déformation – préalable”.
6. The earliest record of Jonas’s involvement with Duveen in the Duveen Brothers records dates back to 1923 with a painting by Pieter de Hooch (*A Music Party*, now in the Indianapolis Museum of Art, inv. no. 67.21) offered by Jonas to Duveen. Duveen Brothers records preserved at the Getty Research Institute (hereafter DBR): Box 253, Reel 108, Folder 16. The latest record linking both men in the DBR is dated 1948 and relates to the sale of a terracotta bust by Jean Antoine Houdon. DBR: Box 255, Reel 110, Folder 18.
7. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, letter dated 22 October 1925.
8. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, cable dated 30 November 1925.
9. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, letter dated 24 April 1928.
10. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, transcript of commercial cable dated 23 April 1931. Cosimo Rosselli, *Madonna Adoring the Christ Child*, 1490, tempera on panel, Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma (inv. no. K515). The painting was sold by Jonas to Samuel H. Kress in 1938.
11. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4. The commode, made ca. 1775, is today part of the Hillwood Museum collections (inv. no. 31.11).
12. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, cables dated 22 and 25 October 1924.
13. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, cable dated 27 October 1924.
14. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, letter dated 19 November 1924.
15. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, cable dated 5 May 1930.
16. Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Portrait de la Présidente Rieux*, 1742, pastel on paper, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J120). The companion portrait of Gabriel Bernard de Rieux, Madame de Rieux’s husband is now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Angeles (inv. no. 94.PC.39).
17. It features as an advertisement on the second page of the January 1925 edition of the periodical *L’Amour de l’Art*.
18. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, letter dated 14 March 1925.
19. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, cable dated 26 March 1925.
20. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4.
21. Philip Conisbee et al., *French Paintings of the Fifteenth through the Eighteenth Century. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 136-142, no. 27.
22. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4. In 1925 Duveen acquired the Sassetta pictures from George Chalandon. He sold them in 1927 to Clarence Mackay of Long Island, from whom the National Gallery purchased them in 1934 through the agency of Duveen. However, Kenneth Clark argues in his memoirs that the panels never left Duveen, that the sale to Mackay was a paper transaction only, and that in fact Duveen negotiated the sale with himself which put him in a disingenuous position given that he was a trustee of the National Gallery. Martin Wyld and Joyce Plesters, “Some Panels from Sassetta’s Sansepolcro Altarpiece,” *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 1 (1977): pp. 3-17, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42616240 (last accessed 8 January 2023).
23. DBR: Box 363, Reel 218, Folder 4, cable dated 5 November 1925.
24. François Boucher, *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, 1745, oil on canvas, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J10); Jean-François Oeben, Mechanical Table, ca. 1760, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J373).
25. Jeremy Warren, “Bode and the British,” *Jahrbuch Der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): pp. 121-142.
26. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, *Bust of Hermann-Maurice, Marshall of France*, ca. 1747, terracotta, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J227). Galerie Georges Petit, *Collection Jacques Doucet, dessins, pastels, sculptures, tableaux, meubles et objets d’art du XVIIIe siècle, 5-8 juin 1912* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1912), p. 8. Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *Le Chaudron de Cuivre*, 1735, oil on canvas, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J 19). Galerie Georges Petit, *Catalogue des Tableaux de l’Ecole Française du Dix-Huitième Siècle, 17-18 Juin 1925* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1925), p. 98, no. 135.
27. Claude Michel dit Clodion, *Monument to a Dog*, before 1785, terracotta, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J206).
28. Jean-Antoine Watteau, *Étude pour l’Enseigne de Gersaint*, 1720, chalk on paper, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J195). The drawing was sold for 30,100 francs. Galeries Georges Petit, Fernand Lair-Dubreuil, Henri Baudoin, Jules Féral and Marius Paulme, *Catalogue Des Tableaux Anciens* […] *Vente des 12 et 13 Mai 1919* (Paris: Galerie George Petit, 1919), p. 81, no. 119. Guillaume Glorieux, *A l’Enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-Francois Gersaint, Marchand d’Art sur le Pont Notre Dame* (Seyssel: Editions Champ Vallon, 2016), p. 76.
29. London, National Gallery, Agnew’s Archives: Stockbook 9, entry 3618.
30. Nicolas Lavreince, *La Consolation de l’Absence*, ca. 1785, gouache, Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. J156). Windmill Hill, Colnaghi Archives: Wastebook no. 17, 24 July 1922.
31. Conlin, “Le ‘Musée de Marchandises’.”
32. *Loan Exhibition of French Eighteenth-Century Works of Art from the Ernest Cognacq Collection Paris* (New York: Edouard Jonas Galleries, 1926), nos. 13, 22, 43, 48.
33. For the bequest and foundation of the museum see Benjamin Couilleaux, “La collection Cognacq, entre legs et dispersion,” in *Choisir Paris: les grandes donations aux musées de la Ville de Paris*, ed. Chantal Georgel (Paris: Publications de l’Institut national d’histoire de l’art, 2015), https://doi.org/10.4000/books.inha.6906 (accessed 11 April 2022).
34. Couilleaux, “La collection Cognacq.”
35. See for the provenance of the drawing, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the object record on the Rijksmuseum’s website: http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.18579 (last accessed 8 January 2023).
36. Henry Lapauze, *Exposition Ingres: du 8 mai au 5 juin 1921, Hôtel de la Chambre syndicale de la curiosité et des beaux-arts* (Paris: Galerie George Petit, 1921), p. 32, no. 83.
37. *Exposition de portraits par Ingres et ses élèves: 23 mars-21 avril 1934* (Paris: Jacques Seligmann et Fils, 1934), p. 26, no. 19.
38. For the Rothschild family’s collecting of eighteenth-century panelling see Bruno Pons, *Waddesdon Manor Architecture and Panelling* (London: Philip Wilson, 1996).
39. Max Frantel, “Que verrons-nous au Musée Cognacq,” *Comoedia*, 3 July 1928, p. 1: “ce ne sera pas un musée banal […] tableaux et objets auront un décor authentique et harmonieux.”
40. Edouard Jonas, *Collections Léguées à la Ville de Paris par Ernest Cognacq* (Paris: Frazier-Soye, 1930), p. 6: “le visiteur du Musée Cognacq-Jay trouvera réuni un ensemble artistique, où il ne devra pas chercher les vastes toiles et les grands meubles d’apparat qu’on admire dans les immenses galeries du Louvre et de Versailles […] Le Musée Cognacq-Jay prolongera […] les précieuses séries du Musée Carnavalet.”
41. Archives de Paris: 3880W 13-15, Administration, fonctionnement et activité scientifique du Musée Cognacq-Jay (1928-2012).
42. *French Painting and Sculpture of the XVIII Century, November 6, 1935–January 5, 1936*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1935).
43. Pair of pedestals, in the manner of André-Charles Boulle, eighteenth-century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 22.175.1.2; gift of Edouard Jonas, 1922); Johann Nikolaus Grooth, *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1760, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 22.174; gift of Edouard Jonas, 1922).
44. The group is now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (inv. no. 86.SA.703). It was acquired by Wildenstein from the Princesse de Faucigny Lucinge in 1869.
45. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, *Bust of Louis XV*, 1757, marble, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 41.100.244; Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941). Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Love Letter*, early 1770s, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, York (inv. no. 49.7.49; The Jules Bache Collection, 1949).
46. Harry B. Wehle and Preston Remington, “French Painting and Sculpture of the XVIII Century,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30(1935): p. 206.
47. Martine Poulain, “Collections et bibliothèques d’art spoliées par les nazis, deux pertes irréparables,” *Perspective* 2 (June 2017) (accessed 26 April 2022). Archives Diplomatiques, Paris (hereafter ADP): 209SUP/25; Hector Feliciano, *Le musée disparu: enquête sur le pillage des œuvres d’art en France par les nazis* (Paris: Austral, 1995).
48. ADP: 209SUP/25.
49. ADP: 209SUP/151. The objects are also listed in 144 entries, some with photographs, on the Proveana, German Lost Art Foundation database: https://www.proveana.de/en/start (last accessed 8 January 2023).
50. See the database *Die Kunstsammlung Hermann Göring*: https://www.dhm.de/datenbank/goering/dhm_goering.php (last accessed 8 January 2023).
51. ADP: 209SUP/25, letter from Jonas to Rose Valland dated 24 April 1953: “Je n’ai pu récupérer aucune des belles choses que je possedais et je suis à votre disposition pour vous voir […] je m’excuse de vous importuner, mais je suis sûr, connaissant de réputation votre bienveillance habituelle, que vous voudrez faire votre possible pour m’être utile en cette circonstance.”
52. ADP: 209SUP/25, letter from Rose Valland to Jonas dated 10 February 1954: “soyez assuré que je suis entièrement à votre disposition pour vous aider à retrouver les oeuvres d’art qui vous ont été volées par les Nazis et qu’il me serait extremement agréable d’y réussir.”
53. It was returned to Jonas on 23 June 1961. ADP: 209SUP/25.
54. See the database *Récupération Artistique* (MNR Rose-Valland).
55. ADP: 209SUP/25.
56. Central Collecting Point numbers 5251-5252. It left Paris on 24 September 1940 under the aegis of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR). ADP: 209SUP/25, letter from Jonas to Rose Valland dated 7 October 1960.
57. ADP: 209SUP/25, letter from Rose Valland to Jonas dated 10 November 1961.
58. ADP: 209SUP/25.
59. Sotheby’s Paris, *Tableaux Dessins Sculptures 1300-1900*, 17 June 2021, lots 104 and 105.
60. For in-depth studies of Paul Rosenberg’s career, see MaryKate Cleary, “Mapping the Transnational Networks of the Galerie Paul Rosenberg in the United States,” in *Pioneers of the Global Art Market: Paris-based Dealer Networks, 1850-1950*, ed. Christel Force (New York: Bloomsbury, 2020), pp. 171-184; MaryKate Cleary, “Paul Rosenberg: Reconstructing the Fate of a Nazi-spoliated Collection,” in *Market and Might: the Art Trade in the Third Reich*, eds. Uwe Fleckner, Thomas W. Gaehtgens, and Christian Huemer (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2017), pp. 219-235; Emmanuelle Polack, *Le marché de l’art sous l’Occupation, 1940-1944* (Paris: Tallandier, 2017).
61. New York, Museum of Modern Art: The Paul Rosenberg Archives, a Gift of Elaine and Alexandre Rosenberg (hereafter PRA). I am grateful to the estate of Elaine and Alexandre Rosenberg for granting me access to the archives prior to their physical transfer to the MOMA.
62. PRA: IC1: Invoice from Jonas, dated 28 February 1907.
63. PRA: IC31B, Invoice from Paul and Marcel Jonas dated 13 April 1923. The painting was acquired for 30,000 francs to which was added Paul and Marcel Jonas’ commission. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Portrait of Madame Edmond Cavé*, ca. 1831-1834, oil on canvas, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. no. 43.85.3; Bequest of Grace Rainey Rogers, 1943).
64. Sotheby’s, New York, *Impressionist and Modern Art Evening Sale*, 8 May 2007, lot 8, sold for $25,520,000.
65. PRA: IC11A14, letter from Rosenberg to Jonas dated 29 December 1941: “notre longue amitié qui date de notre jeunesse”.
66. PRA: IC11A14, letter from Jonas to Rosenberg dated 26 December 1941: “je pense sans cesse à ceux qui nous sont chers et que nous avons laissés en France et pour lesquels nous ne pouvons rien!”; PRA: IC11A14, letter from Rosenberg to Jonas dated 29 December 1941: “je crois que l’année 1942 apportera de grands changements en Europe et dans le monde. Peut-être nous sera-t-il donné de retourner dans notre pays et de retrouver une liberté qui ne nous appartient plus momentanément.”
67. Archives de Paris: 3880W 13-15, *Administration, fonctionnement et activité scientifique du Musée Cognacq-Jay (1928-2012)*, letter from Edouard Jonas to Yvon Bizardel, 21 December [year missing].

Fig. 1 / Unidentified photographer, George Blumenthal (1858-1941), 1926, photographic print, Washington, DC, Library of Congress.

An exceptional transatlantic partnership in the Gilded Age: Jacques Seligmann & Company and George and Florence Blumenthal

REBECCA L. TILLES

Collectors, philanthropists, and husband and wife team, George and Florence Blumenthal amassed an important collection of medieval sculpture and enamels, ivory plaques, Flemish tapestries, Italian maiolica, and French eighteenth-century furniture and Sèvres porcelain for their palatial residences in both New York and France during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The Blumenthals met and married in New York in 1898 during the Gilded Age, a moment of rapid economic growth when wealthy financiers, businessmen, and industrialists showcased their tremendous power and fortunes by commissioning leading architects and designers to design and construct immense estates, while relying on emerging agents, advisors, and dealers to compete for and acquire costly works of art. It was also a moment of great interest in a variety of period styles of interior decoration, as the growing art market provided access to important art collections and historic antique architectural elements.[1]

Over the course of the couple's thirty-two year marriage, the Blumenthals embodied and embraced a rare collecting partnership, commissioning and decorating multiple homes on both sides of the Atlantic, culminating in a fifteenth-century-style Florentine palazzo located at 50 East 70th Street and Park Avenue in New York City, built and decorated between 1911-1919; a nineteenth-century neo-Greek style château on the Boulevard de Montmorency in the 16th arrondissement of Paris, purchased in 1919 and complete with a Gothic chapel addition composed of historic medieval architectural elements erected by Florence Blumenthal in the early 1920s; and the eighteenth-century Château de Malbosc in Grasse, purchased in 1925 and the only extant, yet heavily altered, residence today. To assist them with the design and furnishing of their multiple residences, the Blumenthals developed a close relationship with a number of dealers and designers; however, their personal and business relationship with one particular dealer, Jacques Seligmann & Co., considered one of the leading French and American art dealers in antiquities and decorative arts who supplied works of art to the foremost American and European collectors of the day, was perhaps the most significant. Jacques Seligmann, founder of the firm, played a key role in shaping, documenting, and overseeing the dispersal and legacy of the Blumenthal collection, many pieces of which were subsequently donated to the Louvre in Paris, as well as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Cloisters in New York. Close childhood friends and social equals, George Blumenthal and Jacques Seligmann represent a rare client-dealer relationship. The Blumenthals and the Seligmanns introduced one another to contemporary collectors, designers, and artists, and Florence Blumenthal, in particular, often acted as an intermediary between the dealers and influential American collectors, paving the way for the latter to become future clients.

George Blumenthal (1858-1941) was born in Frankfurt, Germany (fig. 1). In 1882, at the age of twenty-four, he was sent to New York by the German bank Speyer & Company. In 1888, Blumenthal joined the New York branch of the French bank Lazard Frères & Company and in 1893, at the age of thirty-five, he became senior partner. Developing a niche in buying and selling securities, he was a self-made millionaire. Following his retirement in 1925, Blumenthal decided to devote himself to philanthropy and to his growing collection of European paintings and decorative arts. He served as the seventh (and first Jewish) President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1934-1941, as well as President of Mount Sinai Hospital in New York from 1911-1938.

Florence Blumenthal (née Meyer, 1873-1930) was the third of eight children born in Los Angeles in 1875 to a French father, Eugene Meyer Sr., a merchant from Strasbourg, and an American mother, Harriet Newmark (fig. 2). In 1859, Eugene Meyer settled in Los Angeles to work in a dry goods store owned by his cousin, Solomon Lazard, the future founder of the international banking firm Lazard Frères. Meyer became the West Coast manager of Lazard and relocated his family to San Francisco, eventually transferring to New York in 1895 to become partner. It is likely through her father that Florence was introduced to George Blumenthal.[2]

George and Florence Blumenthal married in 1898. That same year they welcomed a son, George Blumenthal who died prematurely at the age of ten. The loss of their son would play a significant role in the Blumenthal's collecting, and according to Jacques Seligmann's son, Germain:

Fig. 2 / Giovanni Boldini, *Portrait of a Lady (Florence Blumenthal) (née Meyer, 1873-1930)*, 1912, oil on canvas, New York, The Brooklyn Museum of Art.

Fig. 3 / Unidentified photographer, Jacques Seligmann (1858-1923), undated, photographic print, Washington, DC, Jacques Seligmann & Company records. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

> The shock of [their son's] death, added to the knowledge that she could never bear another child, left Mrs. Blumenthal in such despair that every means was employed to create new interests for her. Chief among them was travel, with long stays in Italy and France. Gradually her innate taste and love of beauty was reawakened. Guided by special tutors, she plunged into a serious study of the history of art. By the time she began to develop her ideas for the New York house, she had acquired real knowledge to complement a natural bent.[3]

In 1919, Florence herself articulated her motivation behind the couple's philanthropic collecting following the death of her son, declaring:

> I'm rich, pampered, elegant, and people think I'm happy […] How can I be! I've lost my son […] The child whom I created is dead; so I had to create something else, and I made this house, a personality of stone. We'll bequeath it, with the collection, to the city of New York, but its spirit will be gone, for these rugs caress the stones below; the familiars of all this furniture they adorn, will have to be put away, protected behind thick glass.[4]

Born in the same year in Frankfurt, George Blumenthal and Jacques Seligmann were childhood friends and classmates and maintained an exceptional life-long connection. Both were self-trained and believed that no amount of theory or literature could replace the training of the eye.[5] The two men likely reconnected in New York through their association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art where Blumenthal had been elected a fellow in 1905, and subsequently a trustee in 1909. Seligmann, thanks to J.P. Morgan, was elected a fellow in 1907. Throughout their correspondence during the 1920s, Jacques Seligmann often addressed George Blumenthal (in both English and in French) as "My dear sweet friend," "My dear George," and "Mon cher ami," and signed his letters "Your sincere friend," reiterating their close personal relationship.[6] As Elizabeth Cleland has argued, correspondence between the Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann often extended beyond art collecting, revealing a particular informality, ranging from advice about stocks to Jewish causes.[7] There were also several physical similarities between the two men; anonymous black and white photographs of George Blumenthal and Jacques Seligmann, as well as two seated oil portraits, reveal nearly identical dress, stature, and pose (figs. 1, 3, 4 & 5).

Jacques Seligmann (1858-1923) was one of the preeminent Parisian art dealers of the Gilded Age. Born to a moderately successful Jewish merchant family as the second son of four children, he arrived in France in 1874 where, at the age of sixteen, he began his career in the art world as an assistant in the firm of Maître Paul Chevallier (1852-1908), the leading Parisian auctioneer of the day, in the Hôtel Drouot. Seligmann soon left Chevallier to work with Charles Mannheim (1833-1910), the foremost expert in medieval art and an advisor to the Rothschild family. By 1880, Seligmann had begun to accumulate enough capital to purchase works of art on his own and opened a modest shop under the name Jacques Seligmann & Co. on the Rue des Mathurins in the

9th arrondissement; at the age of only twenty-two, he was already attracting important clients such as Baron Edmond de Rothschild. During this early period, Seligmann also caught the attention of Asher and Charles Wertheimer, proprietors of the renowned Bond Street gallery, resulting in a long and mutually profitable association.[8]

By 1900, as a result of his growing business, family of five children, and perhaps in an attempt to emulate the lifestyle of his successful clients, Jacques Seligmann moved to a more spacious and fashionable apartment on the Avenue Kléber in the 16th arrondissement. The gallery was moved to a grand townhouse at 23 Place Vendôme, closer in proximity to an international clientele and the best hotels, jewellers, and couturiers (fig. 6). Seligmann's early clients of this period included Edouard André, founder of the Jacquemart-André Museum in Paris; the Dutuit brothers of Rouen, who left their collection to the Petit Palais; Sir Philip Sassoon; Benjamin Altman; Henry Walters; William Randolph Hearst; and J.P. Morgan, many of whom were acquaintances of George Blumenthal.[9] Seligmann specialized in a wide range of works of art, including medieval and Renaissance ivories, enamels, Italian bronzes, maiolica, Romanesque and Gothic sculpture, Italian Renaissance and French eighteenth-century marbles, and French and Flemish tapestries, reflecting the taste of his clients and consistent with the taste for luxurious materials and a range of stylistic revivals during the Gilded Age.

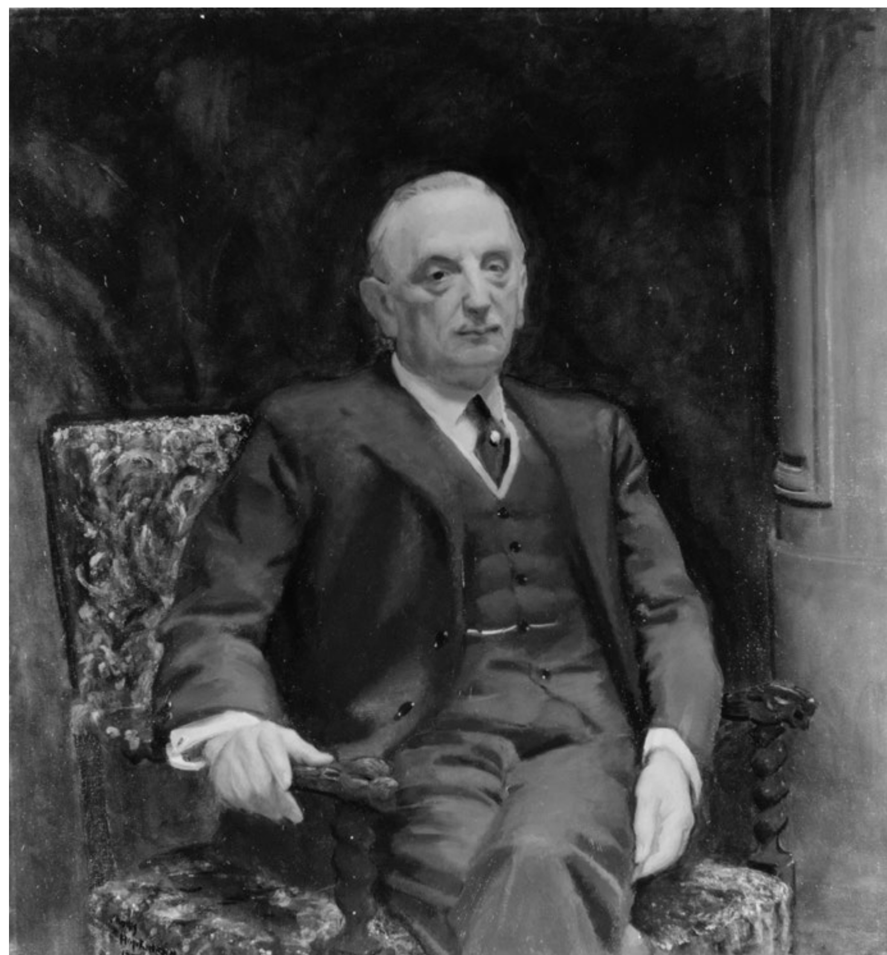


Fig. 4 / Charles Hopkinson, *Portrait of George Blumenthal*, 1933, oil on canvas, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Around this time Jacques's two brothers Arnold (1871-1935) and Simon Seligmann (1854-1927) joined the business as partners, resulting in the opening of a New York City branch of the business in 1904, located at 7 West 36th Street, and the purchase of the Hôtel de Sagan at 57 Rue Saint-Dominique in 1909, originally built in 1784 for the Princess of Monaco, and today the residence of the Ambassador of Poland.[10] Seligmann's large exhibition space and rich display at Hôtel de Sagan was described in an American newspaper as "rivaling some of the world's museums".[11] It is also extremely likely that Arnold Seligmann's wife, Georgette (née Sussmann, 1881-1929), was a close friend of Florence Blumenthal and that they shared similar social circles in Paris, as both women were patrons of French hospitals and received medals for their philanthropy. They were both interested in art collecting (alongside their husbands), and each was painted by the fashionable Gilded Age society portraitist in Paris of the day, Giovanni Boldini.[12]

Fig. 5 / Joaquin Sorolla y Bastida, *Portrait of Jacques Seligmann*, 1911, oil on canvas, Castres, Musée Goya.

Fig. 6 / Petit Salon Chez Monsieur Seligmann, 23 Place Vendôme, Paris, 1922, photographic print, Paris, Musée Carnavalet.

Among the Blumenthals' earliest acquisitions from Jacques Seligmann during this period was a sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry, purchased in 1911, just as the construction of their New York mansion had begun.[13] In 1912, a family dispute resulted in a lawsuit that divided the Seligmann company in two, with Arnold Seligmann presiding over the gallery at Place Vendôme, now renamed Arnold Seligmann & Co., while Jacques consolidated his activities at the Hôtel de Sagan as Jacques Seligmann & Co., later known as Jacques Seligmann et Fils.[14] To overcome the loss of the Place Vendôme address, Jacques also rented a space on the ground floor of 17 Place Vendôme, between the old firm and the Ritz Hotel. Ultimately he relocated to 9 Rue de la Paix where the gallery remained until it was closed by the Nazis in 1940.[15]

As a result of the separation between Jacques and Arnold, the New York gallery was relocated in 1913 to 705 Fifth Avenue and 55th Street, where it was managed by Eugene Glaenzer (d. 1923), a well-known figure in the art world. The gallery eventually moved again to 3 East 51st Street, ultimately settling at 5 East 57th Street.[16]

Fig. 7 / Unidentified photographer, Germain Seligman (1893-1978), photographic print, Washington, DC, Jacques Seligmann & Company records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

That same year, in May of 1913, Jacques Seligmann organized a loan exhibition of medieval and Renaissance art at the Hôtel de Sagan for the benefit of the French Red Cross. Composed of objects from private American collections, the exhibition prompted the first occasion for European objects from American collections to re-cross the Atlantic and included works owned by Metropolitan Museum board members and patrons Philip Lehman, Jules Bache, J.P. Morgan, and George Blumenthal, who lent two medieval ivory plaques and three Renaissance Flemish tapestries.[17] The recent separation of the family business may have been the motivation behind Jacques Seligmann's impressive international display. Seligmann, perhaps intending to flatter the ego of the collector, celebrated George Blumenthal as "superior to the generality of (American) connoisseurs", stating: "[Th]ere is no body (and this is not to flatter you) in all America of whom you can say, except the Rothschilds, that he possesses such a marvelous chosen collection as yours."[18] In the same year, George Blumenthal purchased from Seligmann an early sixteenth-century two-story marble patio from the castle of Don Pedro Fajardo at Vélez Blanco, Spain (near Almería), that would soon form the nucleus of their future New York house and serve as a framework for the couple's growing collection of tapestries, Renaissance sculpture, and maiolica.[19] A few years later in 1916, Arnold Seligmann wrote to the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to confirm the shipment of three Gothic architectural elements purchased by George Blumenthal as gifts to the Museum: one stone door, one large window, and one small window.[20] This is an interesting foreshadowing of additional architectural elements from the Blumenthal collection that would soon serve as the foundation of the Cloisters, erected during George Blumenthal's presidency of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This was the first time that the Seligmann's correspondended with the Museum on behalf of George Blumenthal.

Upon Jacques's death in 1920, the same year that the Blumenthals unveiled their Park Avenue mansion, his son, Germain Seligman (who dropped the second *n* when he became an American citizen in 1943) became partner of the firm and president of the New York City branch office (fig. 7).[21] Like his father, Germain was one of the Blumenthals' principal dealers and served as a first-hand witness to the couple's interiors on Park Avenue, while maintaining a personal relationship with them. Germain's memoirs (published in 1961) serve as an invaluable source of primary information about George's temperament and approach to acquisitions, especially as many of Blumenthal's personal records and correspondence were later destroyed:

> From the start, dealings between George Blumenthal and myself had been put on a simple basis – there was to be no bargaining. I would name a price at once, whether he had evinced an interest or not; should he be tempted and find the price justified, he would purchase it; if he thought it too high, he would leave it. I cannot recall a single instance in which there was any discussion about price, even though at times I had to admit that I might have paid too much for a certain object which I had been unable to resist.[22]

Impressed by Isabella Stewart Gardner's Venetian palace in Boston, Florence Blumenthal likewise set out to assemble architectural elements around which each room of her New York mansion would be built. According to Germain, referencing the arrangement and installation of the Vélez Blanco patio that the Blumenthals had purchased from his father years earlier, "[i]t was a grandiose scheme, the likes of which had never before been undertaken in such completeness."[23] He also reported that "[e]very capital work of art was to be chosen before the actual building began […] so that it would fit ideally into the place planned for it both in physical proportion and in relation to the aesthetic scheme."[24] In 1922, the Blumenthals acquired from Germain Seligman Justus of Ghent's *The Adoration of the Magi* as one of the principal paintings for integration into the Vélez Blanco patio display.[25]

In his description of the sumptuous interiors of the Blumenthals' New York residence, Germain Seligman once again credited the talent of Florence Blumenthal:

> Once inside, the impression of austerity was replaced by a world of imagination, far from the material bustle of New York. It was a dreamlike oasis of beauty, complete with melodious sound of running water from the patio fountain […] It is difficult to explain how so sumptuous and impressive a house could be so intimate; this was but one of the achievements of an extraordinary woman [...] Florence Blumenthal moved about like a fairy-tale princess […] In the evening, she often wore Renaissance velvet gowns, in dark jewel-like colors which not only enhanced her beauty but gave her an air of having been born to this superb environment where every work of art seemed tunelessly at home. She actually lived among the treasures, as it has been intended one should; while seated in one of the low, comfortable chairs, she could let a hand stroke the cool marble of a small sculptured head or the sharp edges of an ivory diptych on a nearby table.[26]

First-hand accounts like those of Germain Seligman, that detail the interior tranquility of Florence Blumenthal and highlight her talents, also suggest that she may have had more direct contact with the dealers in the planning and acquisitions for

the Park Avenue home than her husband George. The Vélez Blanco patio was eventually bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in George Blumenthal's gift of 1941 – along with more than 600 works of art from the New York collection – however, it was initially conceived to remain in situ in the Park Avenue house as an extension of the museum. The Blumenthal's concept of transforming a private house into a public museum, linked to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, likely took shape around 1908, following the death of their only child and in the early stages of the couple's collecting, and was expressed in George Blumenthal's original will.[27] Sadly, the house was ultimately demolished in 1945, and the patio was transferred to the Metropolitan Museum. It was eventually reinstalled in its current location within the museum in 1964.

In 1919, just as the Blumenthals were completing the decoration of their New York mansion, they commissioned Armand-Albert Rateau (1882-1938), who previously served as artistic director of the Parisian interior design firm maison Alavoine & Co. – of which Jacques Seligmann & Co. were clients and who likely made the initial introduction to the Blumenthals – to produce a suite of bronze furniture for their basement level indoor pool. The Blumenthals had barely completed their New York palazzo when in 1920 they purchased a neo-Grecian style mansion on the Boulevard de Montmorency in the neighbourhood of Auteuil in the 16th arrondissement of Paris.

Shortly after the purchase of the Parisian property, Florence Blumenthal oversaw the construction of a *salle gothique*, or Gothic room, adjoining the main house, designed and constructed as a public space for meetings and concerts and featuring historic medieval French architectural elements, including doors, windows, stained glass, and including cloisters.[28] Chicago philanthropist and collector Kate Sturges Buckingham (1858-1937) was greatly inspired by the collection of medieval art of the Blumenthals and partially modelled her own Gothic room, which she donated and installed for public display at the Art Institute in 1924, on the Blumenthals' Gothic room in Paris. Correspondence between Germain Seligman and Florence Blumenthal in 1921 reveals that Florence served as an intermediary in the negotiation of a set of Gothic stalls and tapestries between the Seligmann dealership and Kate Buckingham, who eventually acquired the works upon Florence's approval.

In a letter dated 21 December 1921, Germain wrote to Florence Blumenthal:

> When my father and I went to Chicago a short time ago, we had the pleasure to meet Miss Buckingham, who told us of her desire to acquire Gothic stalls. We mentioned to her that we had some very beautiful ones in Paris; she immediately asked whether you knew them, and whether you could eventually recommend them […] My father […] would be very pleased to have Miss Buckingham interested in these stalls but of course did not want to write further to her about them until having had your opinion on the subject.[29]

Following his meeting with Buckingham in Chicago regarding the stalls, Jacques Seligmann also reiterated Buckingham's confidence in Florence in a letter to her dated 20 January 1922: "[s]he told me: 'Why don't you show them to Mrs. Blumenthal, and she can buy them for me if she likes'."[30]

In her response to Germain, Florence was also involved with mediating and advising Buckingham on the acquisition of additional works of art from Seligmann:

> I have written to Miss Buckingham that I shall see the stalls when I go to Paris. As for the andirons, I shall come in to see them as soon as I return. In fact, I have advised her to buy them [...] Before your father left he told me that he would let Miss Buckingham have the tapestry for 1,3000,000 francs. She will take it.[31]

In 1925, the Blumenthals acquired a property in the south of France near Grasse, known as the Château de Malbosc. As in Paris, the couple renovated, enlarged, and landscaped the home. To produce architectural panelling, furniture, textiles, lighting fixtures, and small decorative objects in the *moderne* style, an interesting contrast to their collection of eighteenth-century furnishings and Gothic art in New York and Paris, the Blumenthals once again enlisted Rateau for the decoration. Rateau developed a small, loyal, international clientele that responded to his personal vision of modern design. Some of his most prominent clients included the Spanish Duke and Duchess of Alba, as well as the couturier Jeanne Lanvin, and Cole and Linda Porter in Paris.[32] These celebrities and international royalty, at the center of contemporary fashion, music, and culture, provide a context in which to understand the Blumenthals.

To coincide with the 1925 *International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Art* in Paris, Rateau showcased some of his earlier designs at the Arnold Seligmann gallery on the Place Vendôme between 1-15 June. These included a recreation of the bathroom for the Duchess of Alba from 1920-1921, complete with a similar black and gold panelling made for Florence's bathroom at Malbosc and an identical bronze chair from the Blumenthals' New York pool, reiterating the interconnected relationship between Rateau, the Blumenthals, and the Seligmanns.[33]

While the Blumenthals purchased a variety of works of art between 1919-1929 from the Seligmann gallery in New York, ranging from medieval ivories and enamels to Renaissance bronzes and eighteenth-century Sèvres porcelain and decorative arts, the majority of their acquisitions comprised eighteenth-century French furniture, some destined for their Park Avenue residence and others to be shipped to Paris. Records also show that the Blumenthals purchased seven pieces of eighteenth-century French furniture in 1920 from Seligmann Gallery in New York for delivery to the decorators and dealers French & Company who also assisted the Blumenthals with the furnishing of their residences in both New York and in France.[34] Between 1929 and 1934 the Blumenthals made a series of gifts of works of art to the Louvre, including a Louis XV armchair covered in Savonnerie upholstery acquired from Jacques Seligmann, with the purpose of donating it to the museum.[35]

Between 1924 and 1927, the Seligmann Gallery in New York organized a series of loan exhibitions for charity, to which the Blumenthals were important lenders. In 1924, a portrait of George Blumenthal by Adolphe Déchenaud was exhibited at the Seligmann Gallery for the benefit of the State Charities Aid Association.[36] Between March and April 1927, in honour of Germain Seligman's benefit exhibition supporting the restoration of the Basilique of the Sacré Coeur in Paris sponsored by the archbishops of Paris and New York, George Blumenthal was among the prominent lenders of industrialists and bankers, loaning two gold woven tapestries and several enamels from his collection.[37]

Following Florence Blumenthal's death in 1930, George Blumenthal decided to sell the contents of the couple's French houses through Galerie Georges Petit, first in a small sale of furniture and linen on 21-22 October 1932, followed by a second, larger sale of works of art on 1-2 December 1932.

According to records, he adamantly wished to have arranged to "get rid of everything" before his definitive departure from Paris on 5 September 1932.[38] The first day of the December sale featured ninety-five lots consisting of engravings, watercolours, drawings, and pastels, Old Master paintings, mounted and unmounted porcelains, showcase objects, and other objects of assorted nature. The second day featured eighty-nine lots, including bronzes, sculpture, furniture and chairs, screens and fans, and rugs and carpets.[39] In response to the sale, Germain Seligman remarked, "[f]or the last three years there hasn't been an auction of such importance […] This auction is an answer to those who thought that paintings and works of art would reflect the trend of general depression."[40] There was substantial publicity for the Blumenthal sale through advertisements and articles placed in international art periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic.[41] One particular article in the daily newspaper *Paris Midi* referred to the collection of eighteenth-century French objects as "of the highest class and taste".[42]

Several museums, such as the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Musée du Louvre expressed interest in specific lots from the Blumenthal sales. Even George Blumenthal himself hoped to buy back a mechanical table by the royal cabinetmaker Jean-Henri Riesener, previously made for Queen Marie Antoinette, perhaps because it embodied a particular association with Florence (fig. 8).[43] In a letter dated 12 November 1932, George Blumenthal wrote to the auctioneer Maurice Ader giving the Seligmann gallery permission to purchase twenty-one lots on his behalf.[44] While it is not clear why George Blumenthal ultimately sold works of art from his collection that he intended to buy back, it was perhaps a strategic financial tactic to increase bids and interest in the sale. The *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* reported that the Blumenthal sale earned a total of 8,339,350 francs, approximately £4.7 million today. Buyers included Germain Seligman and his cousin Jean, Arnold Seligmann's son, who became the head of Arnold Seligmann & Co. in 1935 when his father Arnold died.[45]

In 1940, the year before George Blumenthal's death, Jean was killed by the Nazis, and the Seligmann gallery in Paris and its holdings were seized by the Vichy government and sold at public auction.[46] Jacques Seligmann's other son, André Seligmann, died in 1945 shortly after returning from exile in the United States. The family house on Rue de Constantine and its contents were also confiscated, as was Germain Seligman's private collection. The remaining Paris records were destroyed by the family to prevent them from falling into Nazi hands too.[47] Eventually reopened, Germain Seligman continued running the business until his death in 1978, at which time the company officially closed. In 1994, Germain's widow, Ethlyne Seligman, donated the majority of the firm's documents to the Archives of American Art in Washington, DC. Through additional funds provided by the Getty, Kress, and Terra Foundations, many of the documents were digitized in 2010 and made available online to scholars worldwide.[48] Unfortunately, George Blumenthal destroyed his personal collecting records, otherwise perhaps additional correspondence between the collector and dealers might have survived.

The Blumenthals and the Seligmanns shared a unique bond over many decades, both in New York and in Paris. Jacques Seligmann and his family helped shape the Blumenthals' principle home in New York, – early on erected and conceived by them as an extension of the Metropolitan Museum of Art – facilitated the decoration of two subsequent homes in France, assisted by the introduction to Rateau, aided in the dispersal of the couple's collection at auction in Paris, and ensured the legacy of the collection through publications and bequests. Along the way, Florence Blumenthal, in particular, introduced the Seligmanns to other influential American collectors and museum benefactors, and endorsed certain of their acquisitions. While the Blumenthals worked with a select group of additional dealers, such as French & Company, Alavoine, and Joseph Brummer, it was perhaps this particular long-lasting friendship and business relationship that was the most unique.

Fig. 8 / Mechanical table by Jean Henri Riesener, Paris, 1778, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

NOTES

1. Shelley M. Bennett, *The Art of Wealth: The Huntingtons in the Gilded Age* (Pasadena, CA: The Huntington Library Press, 2013), pp. xiv, xv.
2. Many of Florence Blumenthal's siblings were also important collectors of modern art and patrons of the arts in their own right, including her brother Eugene Meyer (1875-1959), who, with his wife Agnes (1887-1970), were active supporters of the avant-garde movement in New York in the 1910s and collected modern paintings and sculpture. Many works from their collection were donated during the 1950s and 1960s to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, where they can still be found today. Florence Blumenthal's sister Elise Meyer Stern (1872-1952) bequeathed her entire collection to the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and served as its first female president of the board; another sister, Aline Meyer Liebman (1879-1966), collected modern paintings, drawings, and sculpture and was a client of César de Hauke of De Hauke & Co., a contemporary New York branch of the Seligmann Gallery which was among the first to foster contemporary European art. For more information on Florence Blumenthal and the Meyer family, see Rebecca Tilles, "The Artistic Patronage and Transatlantic Connections of Florence Blumenthal," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 31 (2020): doi: https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.3349
3. Germain Seligman, *Merchants of Art, 1880-1960: Eighty Years of Professional Collecting* (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1961), p. 144.
4. René Gimpel, *Diary of an Art Dealer* (New York: Universe Books, 1963), pp. 100-101.
5. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 26; Calvin Tomkins, *Merchants & Masterpieces. The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Henry Holt, 1970), pp. 221-222.
6. Washington, DC, The Archives of American Art: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978, bulk 1913-1974, Box 6, folder 2.
7. Elizabeth Cleland, "Collecting Sixteenth-Century Tapestries in Twentieth-Century America: The Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann," *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 50 (2015): pp. 146-161, esp. p. 153.
8. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 4.
9. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, pp. 12, 19.
10. Soon after, Jacques, along with his second wife and six children, purchased a family home on an adjoining residential property on the Rue de Constantine near Les Invalides. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, pp. 30, 32; see also https://www.doaks.org/resources/bliss-tyler-correspondence/annotations/jacques-seligmann-and-cie (last accessed 11 January 2023).
11. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 32.
12. Florence Blumenthal was first painted by Boldini in 1896 at the age of twenty-three, two years before her marriage to George Blumenthal (Musée d'Orsay, Paris; on deposit at the French Embassy in Vienna), and again in 1912 as a fashionable society woman (New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art). Georgette Seligmann was painted by Boldini in 1900; this portrait is today in a private collection (it was last auctioned in 2017 at Christie's London; see https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6123674). For more information on Arnold and Georgette Seligmann's art collection which was sold in Paris on 4-5 June 1935, see *Collection de Madame et Monsieur Arnold Seligmann* (Paris: Galerie Jean Charpentier, 1935).
13. The tapestry *Mercury Changes Aglauros to Stone* is conserved today in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 41.190.134).
14. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 43.
15. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, pp. 45-46.
16. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 79.
17. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 47; Washington, DC, The Archives of American Art: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978, bulk 1913-1974, Box 177, folder 27. Two of the Flemish tapestries were acquired from Seligmann, one of which was among the Blumenthal's early purchases described in footnote 13.
18. Cleland, "Collecting Sixteenth-Century Tapestries in Twentieth-Century America: The Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann," p. 154.
19. Unpublished documentation pertaining to the transaction of the Vélez Blanco Patio reveals that, between 1905-1909, Raoul Heilbronner (d. 1941), the German-born antiques dealer specializing in Gothic and Renaissance art in Paris, charged Jacques Seligmann for expenses related to the Vélez Blanco Patio, including insurance and importation costs. These records suggest that George Blumenthal likely acquired the Patio through Jacques Seligmann via Seligmann's agent, Heilbronner. Previous literature on the history of the Vélez Blanco Patio at the Metropolitan Museum of Art only refers to the French interior decorator J. Goldberg in Paris, as the supplier and transporter of the architectural elements from the castle. Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division: Raoul Heilbronner Papers, 1887-1952, MSS25650, Container 5. See Cleland, "Collecting Sixteenth-Century Tapestries in Twentieth-Century America: The Blumenthals and Jacques Seligmann," p. 150; Monique Blanc, *Les Frises Oubliées de Vélez Blanco* (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1999), p. 7. For more on J. Goldberg, see Olga Raggio, "The Vélez Blanco Patio: An Italian Renaissance Monument from Spain," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 23 (1964): p. 142.
20. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives: George Blumenthal files, Office of the Secretary Records.
21. See https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann--co-records-9936/historical-note.
22. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 147.
23. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 83.
24. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 84.
25. Justus of Ghent, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1475, distemper on canvas, 109.2 x 160 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. no. 41.190.21).
26. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, pp. 142-143.
27. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives: Office of the Secretary Records, George Blumenthal files, "Last Will and Testament of George Blumenthal," 9 January 1941, pp. 6-7.
28. George Blumenthal first proposed the idea of presenting various doors, windows, and medieval stonework from the Gothic room in Paris, to then Metropolitan Museum of Art director Joseph Breck, in April 1933. Blumenthal suggested they could be integrated into the future Cloisters Museum, an extension of the Metropolitan Museum, planned for construction between 1934-1941 and coinciding with Breck's presidency of the Museum. Following an initial selection of stonework, Rateau was hired in July 1933 to assist with removal, packing, and transportation of these elements from the Gothic room in Paris to New York; the Seligmann Gallery was also employed to monitor and facilitate Rateau's work. Sleepy Hollow, NY, Rockefeller Archive Center: Cultural Interests MMA-Cloisters, 1929-1935, Group III 2E, Folder 29; MMA Archives: Office of the Secretary Records, George Blumenthal files.
29. Archives of American Art: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978, bulk 1913-1974, Box 1, folder 4.
30. Archives of American Art: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978, bulk 1913-1974, Box 6, folder 2.
31. Archives of American Art: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978, bulk 1913-1974, Box 1, folder 4.
32. See Frank Olivier-Vial and François Rateau, *Armand Albert Rateau: Un Baroque Chez Les Modernes* (Paris: Les Editions de l'Amateur, 2000), pp. 14-52; 58-69; 140-141; Jared Goss, *French Art Deco* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), p. 177.
33. Rateau's display at the Seligmann Gallery was such a success that the American Association of Museums organized its own touring exhibition the following year through seven American cities featuring works from the 1925 exhibition. In February 1926 it was presented at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which prompted the institution to acquire a dressing table designed by Rateau of the same design as the one belonging to the Duchess of Alba. It is extremely likely, given the Blumenthals' close relationship with Rateau, and their involvement with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, that they encouraged and supported the touring exhibition and museum acquisition. For more information, see Goss, *French Art Deco*, p. 178; Alistair Duncan, *Art Deco Furniture* (London, 1984), p. 23; Albert Flament, "Salle de Bains Moderne," *La Renaissance de l'art français et des industries de luxe* (1925): p. 234; and www.annesophieduval.com/rateau-armand-albert (last accessed 11 January 2023).
34. Letter from Jacques Seligmann & Co. to George Blumenthal, 28 May 1920 in the Archives of American Art: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904-1978, bulk 1913-1974, Box 1, folder 4.
35. Inv. no. OA 8093, Objects department, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Several of these gifts were bequeathed to the Louvre following Florence's death.
36. The present whereabouts of the portrait is unknown; a later version by Maxwell B. Starr now hangs in the boardroom of Mount Sinai Hospital.
37. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, p. 147. Seligmann received newspaper coverage of the show and published the accompanying catalogue *Loan Exhibition of Religious Art for the Benefit of the Basilique of the Sacre Coeur of Paris* (New York: Jacques Seligmann & Company, 1927).
38. Loïc Métrope and Edmée Benoist de la Grandière, *La résidence du Parc de Montmorency et avant? Entre les deux guerres: une présence américaine, George et Florence Blumenthal* (Paris: Librairie, 34 rue du Docteur Blanche, 2002), p. 32.
39. *Blumenthal Collection* (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1932).
40. Arthur R. Blumenthal, *George Blumenthal: Art Collector and Patron* (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, 1965), p. 8.
41. Paris, Archives de Paris: D43E3 125.
42. Archives de Paris: 2482 W 106.
43. George Blumenthal submitted a maximum bid of 650,000 francs for the Riesener mechanical table (lot 168). Archives de Paris: D43E3 125.
44. Archives de Paris: D43E3 125.
45. Archives de Paris: D43E3 125.
46. For more information on the Seligmann Gallery during World War II, see Samantha Schnell, "Art Looted During World War II: A Family History," https://untappedcities.com/2013/04/02/art-looted-in-paris-during-world-war-ii/ (last accessed 12 January 2023).
47. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, pp. 233-234.
48. See https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann-co-records-9936

Fig. 1 / A Peruvian vessel, baked clay, Chimu culture (late period), London, Sir John Soane's Museum.

From the "barbarian clutter" of bric-à-brac shops to the "temple of amateurs". Nineteenth-century dealers and collectors of pre-Columbian artefacts between Paris and London

SUSANA STÜSSI GARCIA

For most of the nineteenth century, artefacts from the pre-Conquest Americas occupied an ambiguous place in the world of art amateurs and collectors of antiquities. Objects from the New World had been collected in Europe since the sixteenth century as part of natural history collections or as wonderous curiosities in the tradition of the *Wunderkammer.* Later, vases, masks in precious stones, figurines and sculptures from the "ancient Mexicans and Peruvians" appeared alongside weapons and ornaments of the "savages" in catalogues as *curio* or *exotica*. With the American independences in the early nineteenth century however, these types of objects became more accessible to collectors, as the former Spanish and Portuguese territories were now open to European travellers, scholars, businessmen, diplomats, and artists. Thus, they acquired new value for collectors, who purchased them not only as antiquities and curiosities but as *objets d'art*.

Still, the aesthetic merits of pre-Columbian artefacts were a matter of debate. For some, the *fétiches* (fetishes) of ancient Mexico and the vases from ancient Peru were viewed as little more than ugly, *maladroit* attempts at producing art by more primitive or inferior peoples. To others, they were valuable archaeological and ethnographical documents, worthy of collecting for their unique, albeit bizarre, shapes and motifs. In 1853, a visitor at the Louvre was alarmed to see a new exhibit of Aztec sculptures – "barbarian clutter" – turning his museum, temple of the arts, into "a bric-à-brac shop".[1] Similarly, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* described the house of Bram Hertz (1794-1865?), a well-known collector of all kinds of antiquities and curiosities – including pre-Columbian artefacts – as "a pawnbroker's shop".[2] Half a century later, François Poncetton invited his readers to discover the treasures of the ancient Americas at the Hôtel Drouot, which had become the new "temple of amateurs" of the arts.[3]

The choice of words of these three writers reflects the evolution in how pre-Columbian artefacts were perceived throughout the century, of where they did or did not belong – from the cabinets of amateurs and art museums to the shelves of shops of "exotic" objects and curiosities – and finally into the modern art market. There is still much we do not know about the circuits through which pre-Columbian artefacts were bought and sold, but they seem to conform to the general trends of the market for art and antiquities. Although not absolute, the market is a good indicator of changes in taste and collecting practices and an overview of that market allows us to examine some of the developments in the aesthetic considerations of pre-Columbian artefacts and their value throughout the century.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. MUSEUMS AND *AMATEURS*

Some collections brought from the Americas were acquired early in the century by museums such as the Louvre and the British Museum, whilst others remained in private hands. In 1824, William Bullock (1773-1849) organized a highly popular exhibit in London showcasing the wonders of "Ancient and Modern Mexico" at the Egyptian Hall.[4] Bullock had recently returned from Mexico with a large collection of natural history, antiquities, and casts of famous Aztec monuments; several of these objects were ultimately acquired by the British Museum.[5]

The show also sparked interest amongst private collectors, including those across the Channel, where French newspapers covered the event.[6] One visitor to the show was the antiquarian and architect Sir John Soane (1753-1837).[7] Soon after, he acquired a number of treatises on the ancient architecture of the Americas for his library, including an imperial folio copy of Humboldt's travels in the Americas,[8] a prospectus for Lord Kingsborough's monumental *Antiquities of Mexico*,[9] drawings of the ruins of Mitla by Edward Muhlenpfordt (1801-1853),[10] and two copies of Joseph Friedrich Racknitz's rare and lavish treatise *Darstellung und Geschichte des Geschmacks der vorzüglichsten Völker*, with illustrations of idealized architectural decor from "primitive and civilized" nations, including ancient Mexico.[11] In addition, Soane also purchased twelve ancient Peruvian vases in 1834 (fig. 1),[12] and in 1829 was gifted a cast of a Mexican statue by Thomas Phillips (1770-1845), a portraitist and professor at the Royal Academy.[13] Mentions of private collectors are, however, rare this early in the century, and often come from the proceedings of learned societies. For example, a Mr. Cook de Barnes owned at least "twenty-two vases and painted lamps found in the tombs of the Incas in Perou [sic]," as was reported by Alfred John Kempe (ca. 1784-1846) at a meeting of the *Société libre des Beaux-Arts* of Paris in 1836.[14]

Fig. 2 / Anthropomorphic figurine, 1450-1532, silver, 4.5 x 1.5 x 2.2 cm, Paris, Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.

In Paris, amateurs and erudite collectors were also buying samples of artefacts from the New World to complete their cabinets. The collections of Dominique Vivant Denon (1747-1825), the first director of the Louvre, were sold at auction after his death in 1826. Included were ancient Mexican sculptures, ceramic figurines, Peruvian vases, and even a small figurine in silver of a divinity holding maize ears which sold for 58 francs (fig. 2).[15] The auction catalogue was written by Léon-Jean-Joseph Dubois (1780-1846),[16] an artist working at the Musée Charles X and a well-known *antiquaire* in Paris. He was also an art dealer, and acted as an acquisitions expert for the Louvre, helping the museum obtain several pre-Columbian collections.[17]

Collectors who had never visited the Americas acquired pieces either directly from travellers who brought them back, or through intermediaries (often anonymous, as in the case of the seller of objects to Soane), or through personal exchanges, like Vivant Denon.[18] Nevertheless, concrete information about sellers and prices is scarce, and it was not always easy for collectors to find pieces to purchase. The art expert Camille Roussel (?-1866) explained in the catalogue of the collections of L.M.J. Duriez, who lived in Lille, that the owner was "very knowledgeable" but "regrettably lived far from the capital", and therefore asked buyers to overlook the smaller and more obscure works in the collection. Duriez had a "rhinoceros cup decorated with reliefs illustrating scenes from the history of ancient Mexico", clothes and shoes from "Mexican Indians" and from the inhabitants of Canada but alas, no authentic antiquities from the New World.[19]

In Paris, some merchants dealing in "curiosities" *(marchands de curiosités)* offered pre-Columbian antiquities, either in auctions of mixed lots or in the sales of well-known collections.[20] Benoît-Antoine Bonnefons de Lavialle (1781-1856), a respected dealer of paintings and engravings, organized several sales in the 1830s and 1840s containing artefacts from South America and Mexico: modern "ethnographic" *sauvageries*, in this case weapons and plume ornaments, pre-Columbian urns, vases, sculptures, and figurines.[21] He partnered with a handful of experts, such as Camille Roussel, Alphonse Lhéric, and especially Sigismond Mannheim (1798-1880).[22] Other auctioneers, such as Auguste Philibert Arnault Lacoste, Charles Ridel, and J.S. Merlin and the art expert Jacques Théret also sold pre-Columbian antiquities, which appeared in general sales alongside a variety of antiquities and curiosities, as a specialized market for these artefacts had yet to fully emerge.

In London, pre-Columbian antiquities appeared with some rarity in auctions before the 1850s. Ceramics, vases, figurines and small statues are the most common objects found in sales catalogues of this period. The collection of W. Knight, sold in 1848 by Foster's, included "specimens of the earliest Mexican pottery" and "a cinerary urn with masks and chimeras from Tezcoco".[23] In the sale of the Duke of Buckingham's collection, held by Christie's in 1849, we find a "Mexican double bottle, of marble, with characters in relief".[24] The 1846 sale of the collections of the architect Henry Rhodes is of particular interest, as it included a dedicated section of "Mexican Antiquities", with a total of 134 "idols" and "penates".[25]

There is evidence of antiquities being brought to England from the Continent early in the century. Latour Allard (1799-1863), a Frenchman born in New Orleans, had offered his collections of Aztec sculptures that he acquired in Mexico in 1824 to both the Louvre and the British Museum in the late 1830s, but was refused by both institutions.[26] A turquoise mask, possibly representing Xiuhtecuhtli, made of cedro wood overlain with turquoise that belonged to German-born diamond merchant Bram Hertz, a well-known lover of antiquities and curiosities, is likely to have come from Italy. The mask was subsequently purchased and bequeathed to the British Museum by historian and collector Henry Christy (1810-1865).[27] According to the original owner, Hertz, he had bought the mask from a François Deschryver (ca. 1801-1841?), a man "travelling as courier with an English familly […] [who] settled afterwards as a curiosity dealer in London". Deschryver, who thought the mask was Egyptian, had originally asked Hertz to pay £300. Marjorie Caygill recently identified this Deschryver as the antiques and furniture dealer established in London in 1834 at 3 Great Newport Street.[28] Deschryver was known for importing paintings and antiques from the Continent and selling them through auction houses in London. Hertz owned two other turquoise artefacts of Mixtec-Aztec origin, today also at the British Museum: a sacrificial knife, and a human skull covered with turquoise and lignite mosaic, perhaps a representation of Tezcatlipoca.[29] The knife was bought in London from Samuel Luke Pratt of 47 New Bond Street, an antique furniture dealer known today for his many forgeries of early modern armour. According to the dealer, the Xiuhtecuhtli mask had originally come from a Florentine collection.[30]

Other British collectors known to have bought from dealers and collectors on the Continent include Joseph Mayer (1803-1886), who also later purchased part of Hertz's collection – including his pre-Columbian pieces – when it was sold at Sotheby's in 1854.

Furthermore, a catalogue of the collection at Lomberdale Hall (Middleton, Derbyshire) from 1855, home of the antiquary and collector Thomas Bateman (1821-1861), lists alongside his many British antiques, twenty-two antiquities and curiosities from Mexico. One of these pieces, a helmet in turquoise mosaic, described as a "horned head-dress," had previously been bought from an art dealer in Paris by William Chaffers (1811-1892), a renowned authority in ancient goldwork and makers' marks on pottery and porcelain.[31] Pieces also moved in the opposite direction. An annotated catalogue of the sale of Hertz's collection records a Mr. "Roussey" or "Rousell" as a buyer,[32] possibly the French dealer and expert Roussel, who was also selling Mexican antiquities in Paris in the 1840s and 1850s.

Despite a growing interest in the Americas – its resources, its antiquities, and its history – collectors buying pre-Columbian art and artefacts were still mostly scholars, antiquarians and art amateurs. Commercial exchanges are usually hard to identify and retrace, as more specialized circuits of supply and distribution had yet to be put in place. When it comes to singular or a few pieces that appear in sales catalogues of mixed lots, it is impossible to know when or how they arrived in Europe, as only cultural or geographical provenance is given in descriptions. Larger collections, such as those of William Bullock and Latour Allard, were recent arrivals, brought back by individuals travelling from the Americas. However, some of the rarer, more spectacular pieces seem to have been in European collections since the seventeenth century and resurface in the market during the first half of the nineteenth century. This was the case of the Xiuhtecuhtli mask belonging to Hertz, whose provenance is indicated as coming from an old noble family from Italy.[33] Similarly, his turquoise-covered skull had previously belonged to Joseph van Heurne (1752-1844), a rich landowner and aristocrat collector from Bruges, and said to have arrived in Europe in the sixteenth century.[34]

If we exclude the collectors who had lived or travelled in Latin America and in Mexico, the profiles of the few names that appear in the sources follow Manuel Charpy's analysis of an art and antiquities market that was still mostly an extension of the late eighteenth-century world,[35] made up mostly of prestigious erudite collectors and art amateurs, such as Vivant Denon and Soane. Other examples that fit into this category are the Comte de Clarac (1777-1847), curator of the Antiquities department at the Louvre,[36] and Baron Pierre-Nicolas van Hoorn van Vlooswyck (1743-1809), a reputed collector of *objets d'art* who had amassed a "true treasury"[37] in his home at the *hôtel* of Mathieu Molé: this included two "fetishes" from the Caribbean (one in the shape of an owl and the other resembling the head of a ram); two other sculptures from Santo Domingo; a Mexican vase decorated with "a great number of small figures and the head of a man on the handle"; two Peruvian zoomorphic vases; and two polychrome bowls also from ancient Peru.[38]

MID-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS. NEW COLLECTORS AND NEW SENSIBILITIES

Towards the middle of the century, a perceptible expansion of this small world of aristocratic and amateur collectors was underway. An important sociological shift took place in the 1850s and 1860s, as collecting art, antiquities, and curiosities, was no longer considered a practice exclusive to the aristocracy and erudite circles; it also became a pastime of the emergent bourgeoisie class. A good early example of this evolution is the writer, photographer and art collector Eugène Piot (1812-1890), who is considered a precursor in popularizing a taste for Italian Renaissance and medieval French art amongst a new group of collectors.[39] Piot came from a well-established bourgeois family and began to publish short articles and essays chronicling the latest trends in exotic and antique art, as well as the day-to-day of the Parisian auctions. Some of the sales which he records in his writings demonstrate the expansion of pre-Columbian collections within European museums like Louvre and the Berlin Kunstkammer.[40] He also regularly organized sales of exotic objects, *bibelots*, antiquities, and curiosities. A collector himself, his cabinet included the occasional ancient American artefact.[41] Writing in the 1840s, Piot had prophesized that the bourgeois amateur would soon transform the world of collecting. No longer "an improvised and instinctive act" motivated solely by curiosity, collecting would become more akin to an exact practice, both science and art, and informed by taste. As Piot wrote, "just as there is an endless variety of objects to collect, taste is also infinite". [42]

The shifting profile of buyers, now including bankers, architects, writers, journalists, and businessmen, is reflected in new configurations of the art and curiosity market. Antiquities and art dealers were now, in general, well-established and successful commercial enterprises. Supply networks became more structured, including auction houses, experts, and agents placed throughout Eurasia and the Americas. In London, pre-Columbian antiquities appeared more frequently in auction sales at Sotheby's and Christie's. The objects sold were still mostly ceramic vases, figurines, and sculptures, as well as occasional pieces in gold. In most cases, these works were included in sales of private collections,[43] although occasionally objects appeared in sales consisting of mixed lots.[44] There was an increase in the number of sales in the 1850s and early 1860s, likely in relation to an increased English presence in Central America (Guatemala and Belize) and a renewed interest for Mayan artefacts after the publication of Stephens and Catherwood's influential travel accounts in the region.[45] Writing his recollections of Mexico in the 1850s, the ethnographer and archaeologist *abbé* Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874) noted the large numbers of Englishmen purchasing antiquities which the National Museum of Mexico (established in 1825 and now the Museo Nacional de Antropología) was not able to acquire for their collections.[46]

In Paris the situation was similar. The records concerning the opening of a new "American Museum" at the Louvre in 1850 provide us with indirect evidence of collectors and some art dealers who offered objects for sale or gifted them to this new collection.[47] For example, Charles Mannheim and a *Mme* Raffenot, a "merchant of metals" (*marchande de métaux*), are two of the dealers that approached the Louvre at this time offering pre-Columbian antiquities.[48] Sixteen new collections of works from the Americas entered the Louvre between 1850 and 1853, of which thirteen were bequeathed. The donors were still mostly collectors of the *amateur* type, like the musician and composer Pauline Duchambage (1778-1858) and Edmond du Somerard (1817-1885).[49] Other objects came from individuals with personal or professional ties to the Americas: naval officers, diplomats, captains of commercial ships, and businessmen. A third category of donors is illustrative of the expansion of the practice of collecting antiquities and curiosities to the bourgeoisie: they consist of collectors who were writers and journalists, such as Hyacinthe Audiffred, or civil servants, such as one named Rougeon.[50] Finally, a number of museum conservators and a new generation of scholars appeared on the scene. Many are now considered to be founding figures of nineteenth-century French archaeology, such as Henri Louis Alphonse Massieu de Clerval (1820-1896), Jean-Gaspard-Félix Lacher Ravaisson Mollien (1813-1900) and Victor Place.[51]

There was also a noticeable increase in the number of collections, especially of Mexican antiquities, that appeared in sales in the 1860s and early 1870s. Similar to England, where colonial interests in Central America sparked a new interest in Mayan artefacts, the Second French Intervention in Mexico (1861-1867) under Napoleon III inspired a revival of "Mexicanist" studies in France.[52] Numerous collections of antiquities made their way to Paris during and immediately after the war. In the late 1860s, the encyclopaedist Pierre Larousse wrote that "not one day goes by without new curiosities

being sold at Drouot […] The war in Mexico was the first one to introduce in our country the monuments of Aztec art, and this is indeed the best thing to have come out of the military affair."[53] Ethnographer Lucien de Rosny (1810-1871), at the time a leading specialist of Pre-Columbian languages and writing systems, recorded his visits to several collections of pre-Columbian art in the 1860s while he was preparing a treatise on the history and iconography of ancient American pottery.[54] Among the most notable objects that he records is an Aztec obsidian mask estimated to be worth 2,000 francs by the auctioneer Delbergue-Cormont.[55]

At the same time, and from the 1860s onwards, there was a growing interest in all things archaic, exotic, and primitive. This fascination with the "primitive horizon"[56] allowed, in turn, the reconnaissance of a certain type of beauty in pre-Columbian antiquities and artefacts, despite their non-classical forms, strange proportions, and unfamiliar iconographies. In *Le peintre de la vie moderne,* Baudelaire writes that "the past is interesting not only because of the beauty that artists, for whom it was their present, were able to capture, but also because of its historical value […] I find joy in seeing [in the art of different peoples] the morals and the aesthetics of [each period]", further adding that there is in art a "certain type of barbarism which is inevitable" and "visible in arts that are [also] perfect (Mexican, Egyptian or from Niniveh)".[57] Other examples of this new sensibility include journalist Germaine de Poligny's account of the ancient *Yucatèque* and *Mixtèque* artefacts on show at the Paris *Exposition historique des arts anciens* of 1878. De Poligny, when confronted with the sculpted head portrait of a young woman, writes: "a masterpiece […] a true revelation […] the [artist's] style is at once large and sober, skilful and naïf, [the sculpture] without brutal realism […] it is simply charming."[58]

The 1850s and 1860s thus mark a turning point, as collecting works which were perceived to be exotic, primitive, and archaic became a pastime largely practiced by the bourgeoisie. This considerably expanded the potential number of collectors and buyers of pre-Columbian antiquities. At the same time, an increasing number of archaeological and ethnographical expeditions in Central and Latin America brought new collections into museums in London and Paris.[59] Long gone were the days of the eccentric and obsessed collectors like Bram Hertz and Baron Van Hoorn, who were mocked in the writings of Balzac and Champfleury as being odd recluses, hoarding worthless trinkets.[60]

THE LAST THIRD OF THE CENTURY: TOWARDS A SPECIALIZED MARKET

In the last third of the century collectors, but especially art dealers and curiosity merchants, become easier to identify. In Paris, most of the dealerships and *boutiques* selling pre-Columbian antiquities in this period were located on the Rive Gauche, between the Panthéon and Invalides, close to artistic and scientific institutions like the École des Beaux-Arts, the Sorbonne, and the Musée de Cluny. Other dealers had shops in the newer and more fashionable neighbourhoods in the north of Paris. We know the names of some dealers – like L. Lefèvre, Alix,[61] C. Léman,[62] Humbert,[63] Charles Baur, C. Heymons, L. Yvan and Dorat – all of whom, despite selling pre-Columbian artefacts occasionally, were not specialized. Nonetheless, their clients ranged from casual buyers to great collectors and museums. A *Monsieur* L. Yvan[64] for example sold costumes and ornaments of "Mexican savages" to the Musée de l'Artillerie in 1878,[65] as well as several ancient Peruvian vases and even the mummy of an "Inca chief" to the collector Émile Guimet (1836-1918), founder of the Musée Guimet in Lyon and then in Paris.[66] Merchants like Yvan frequently acquired works for their stock from auction houses, as in the case of a statue of a "Mexican divinity" which he bought from Drouot for 200 francs.[67] Alternatively, travellers returning from the New World continued to be a valuable source for new objects coming on the market.

In one of his letters to Guimet, Yvan announces that he had recently acquired a collection of artefacts from a "German gentleman" returning from Peru.[68] Similarly, chemist and collector of rare stones Auguste Damour wrote to his friend and merchant Eugène Boban Duvergé (1834-1908) that a dealer by the name of Dorat, located at 3 rue Grenelle, had offered to sell him "Inca" silver figurines which he had received from a traveller who recently arrived in Paris.[69]

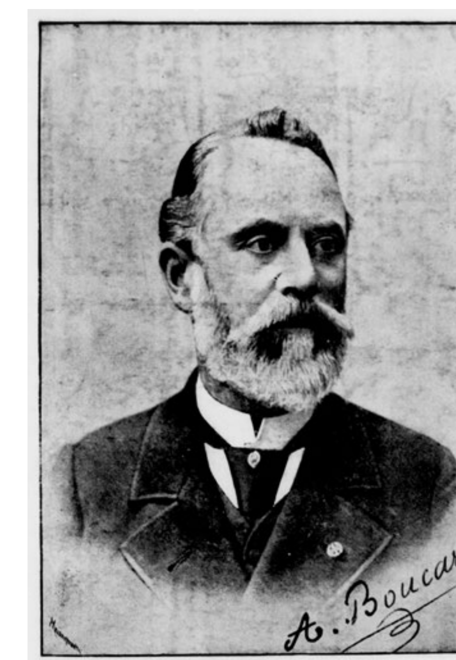
The activity of dealer and *antiquaire* Eugène Boban is exceptionally well documented. He lived in Mexico during the 1850s and 1860s, where he opened an art and curiosities shop and developed a keen interest in Mexican archaeology. In 1868 he returned to Paris, where he quickly became known as the leading dealer in pre-Columbian antiquities in the city as well as a trusted specialist of Mexican archaeology (fig. 3).[70]

Fig. 3 / Boban's shop, exterior view, Paris, from: *Correspondance de l'américaniste Eugène Boban-Duvergé (1869-1899)*, Bibliothèque National de France, Département des Manuscrits.

Fig. 4 / Portrait of Adolphe Boucard, from: *Correspondance de l'américaniste Eugène Boban-Duvergé (1869-1899)*, Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Département des Manuscrits.

Looking at his business associates and clients, we can identify several additional sellers working in Paris and in London. They formed a small network of art and curiosity dealers and of natural history merchants who had, like Boban, lived or spent time travelling in the United States and Central America in the 1840s and 1850s, before returning to Europe and opening their dealerships. Their personal knowledge of the American territories proved useful for the supply of their businesses through personal connections and agents.

Another French dealer, Adolphe Boucard (1839-1905), for instance, lived in California and in San Francisco and mounted several expeditions to collect rare bird specimens in Central America, which he then sold to museums and private collectors (fig. 4). He was well known for his hummingbirds.[71] Upon returning to Europe he opened a dealership at 55 Great Russell Street in Bloomsbury, near the British Museum, a popular location for art and curiosity dealerships.[72]



Boucard sold taxidermy specimens as well as rare plumes and insects to collectors, and for use in high-end fashion design. He also had pre-Columbian antiquities and "ethnographic curiosities" on offer: ceramics, small sculptures, arrowheads, and ornaments. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, he sold around one hundred objects from Mexico and Central America to the British Museum, mostly pottery and ceramic objects from the archaeological culture of Chancay (ca. 1000-1470 CE, Peru) and from Venezuela, as well as figurines from Mexico. Boucard was also dealing in Paris in collaboration with Boban, and with another natural history merchant, Auguste Sallé (1820-1896). An entomologist, Sallée had travelled in Central America and Mexico during his youth and later started a very successful business selling natural history specimens to a well-established clientele.

Boban, Boucard, and Sallé had regular exchanges, selling antiquities and sharing clients throughout the years.[73] In one instance, Boucard asked Boban for help finding a client for a large, sculpted granite head which he said came from Tabasco; this was eventually purchased in 1871 by the British Museum (fig. 5).[74] Conversely, Boban contacted Boucard to find a buyer for some "Aztec" gold bells in London, to which Boucard answered confidently that they would both "make a tidy profit".[75] Another example of cross-Channel, mutually advantageous deals is demonstrated in Boban's business with Bryce McMurdo Wright Jr. (1850-1895), a successful dealer of precious stones located at 90 Great Russell Street, who also sold prehistoric fossils and artefacts (fig. 6). He supplied Boban with British fossils and antiquities and bought from him American prehistoric pieces.[76] On another occasion, he asked Boban for help finding a buyer for an obsidian mirror "rare, or rather very rare", similar to one he had seen at the British Museum. He proposed to sell it for £12, or 300 francs.[77]

In general, information about dealers who operated only in London is scarcer but, like their French counterparts, they tended to offer a wide range of wares: furniture, paintings and *objets d'art*, alongside exotic trinkets and antiquities.[78] English collectors also still continued to buy from the Continent and French dealerships. In the spring of 1870, Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), keeper of British Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum, purchased from Léman, 12 Rue de Seine,[79] a mosaic mask adorned with two coiling serpents (inv. no. Am1987,Q.3). This turquoise mask of Aztec-Mixtec origin (ca. 1400-1521), likely a representation of the god Tlaloc, had previously been in the collections of renowned amateur Anatole Demidov (1812-1870), prince of San Donato, from Florence. Léman acquired the mask during the sale of the collection in Paris in 1870.[80] The antiquarian Eugène Boban had several clients in London, including the anthropologist Augustus Pitt Rivers (1827-1900),[81]

Fig. 5 / Skeletal head (axe; mould; marker), 300-1200, stone, 26.3 x 2 cm, London, British Museum.

Fig. 6 / Portrait of Bryce McMurdo Wright, from: *Correspondance de l'américaniste Eugène Boban-Duvergé (1869-1899)*, Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Département des Manuscrits.

Fig. 7 / R. Quilien, Mexican antiquities from the collection Goupil/Boban, 1889, photograph, Musée du Quai Branly – Jacques Chirac.

and William Bragge (1823-1884), a civil engineer and antiquarian from Sheffield who had an extensive collection of precious stones and a library relating to the history and consumption of tobacco (*Bibliotheca nicotiana*), including several Aztec pipes.[82]

As the end of the century drew near, pre-Columbian antiquities sales were at an all-time historic high, coinciding with the explosion of the "primitive" and "exotic" market.[83] Boban's clients for instance included not only museum curators and archaeologists in Europe and in the Americas, but also doctors, civil servants, lawyers, rich businessman, and artists. A good example is Eugène Goupil (1831-1896), a rich businessman of Franco-Mexican origin, for whom Boban acted as a personal merchant and curator for nearly ten years (fig. 7). Boban even sold small, inexpensive pieces and reproductions to casual buyers.[84] If we look at auction sales, pre-Columbian antiquities still appear more often in mixed-lot sales, organized by well-established auctioneers and experts of the time, such as Charles Pillet, Paul Chevallier, Charles Mannheim, and A. Bloche. Pieces in gold, silver and rare stones, such as jadeite and serpentine, appeared more frequently, both in Paris and in London. "*Americaneries*", art pieces incorporating vaguely "ancient Mexican" themes – like a silver sculpture of an "ancient Mexican" in the collections of a Mr. Deschars[85] – and ethnographic *sauvageries* also began to be used as exotic *décor*.[86] Ceramic vases from "ancient Mexico" had become so popular that fakes were commonplace.[87] Chronicler and writer Paul Eudel (1837-1911), in discussing the trading going on at the Hôtel Drouot, wrote that: "It is impossible to trust any specimen of Aztec ceramics that arrives on the market […] All of it is absolutely fake (*archifaux*), but they are well priced […] In Europe, these objects have become quite famous and end up in the museums and in the hands of collectors that accept them a bit too quickly."[88]

News of pre-Columbian archaeological findings and collections began to appear in magazines such as the *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot*.[89]

Eugène Boban died in 1908, just as "primitive art" was becoming fashionable. The sales of pre-Columbian artefacts at auction reached an all-time high during the Interwar Period.[90] Between the 1890s and the 1920s, there is evidence of a shift in the approach to and appreciation of these objects. Masks and small, delicately carved pieces in jadeite and other hard stones in particular became favourites amongst collectors (fig. 8). In the last third of the century, collectors might have been discussing pre-Columbian artefacts in aesthetic terms, but they were hesitant to consider them "art-works" on par with western and classical art. If De Rosny described the masks he saw in the collections of Aristide Le Carpentier and Édouard Pingret as "very beautiful" (*très beaux*),[91] this admiration was mitigated by his belief that despite their *genie*, Aztec artists were limited because they would "copy" what they saw in nature, instead of interpreting it to create art. Similarly, orientalist scholar Émile Burnouf (1821-1907) wrote that ancient Mexican art was based on "a poetics of ugliness".[92] The situation seems radically different in the 1920s, when the exhibit *Les arts anciens de l'Amérique* at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris proclaimed its purpose was to "retrieve from the realm of the purely scientific, objects […] that ought to be considered also from an artistic point of view".[93]

This recognition of pre-Columbian artefacts as works of art was on the one hand part of the wider vogue amongst avant-garde artists and collectors for all things "primitive", a response to the alienating realities of life in the urban, contemporary and industrialized capitals of the modern world. At the same time, this new-found aesthetic appreciation also stemmed from contemporary relativist currents in ethnography and anthropology, allowing for a progressive deconstruction of the absolute notions of "beauty" and "art" of the western classical tradition. There is still work to be done to understand the concrete mechanisms of the aestheticization process, especially given the complex nature of the relations between Modernism, "primitivist art", and the racial and historical biases present in the western canon and artistic thought towards non-European artworks and cultures.[94]Auction houses and art dealers, however, seem to have been key in transforming pre-Columbian artefacts into "artworks" during the first half of the twentieth century, proposing new ways of "seeing". As a reviewer of Basler and Brummer's 1928 *L'Art précolombien* wrote: "Today, Pre-Columbian art is in fashion, just like the *art nègre* […] whatever role commercial syndicates have in creating new taste and fashion for art amateurs […] they ask us to admire *ugly* things. And although every man is free to *not* admire them, we should at least learn how to see them."[95]

Fig. 8 / Ceremonial Ax ("Kunz Ax"), 1000-400 BCE, jadeite, 31 x 16 x 11 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

NOTES

1. "Il nous répugne d'ailleurs de voir le Louvre, ce sanctuaire consacré aux plus grandes civilisations … donner asile à des friperies barbares … Cette accumulation de prétendues richesses fera bientôt ressembler … notre magnifique musée à une boutique de bric-à-brac." Edmond Texier, *Tableau de Paris* (Paris: Paulin et Le Chevalier, 1853), p. 285. All translations are mine.
2. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 71 (1852): p. 603, article cited by Marjorie Caygill, "Henry Christy, A.W. Franks and the British Museum's turquoise mosaics," in *Turquoise in Mexico and North America: Science, Conservation, Culture and Collections*, eds. J.C.H. King and The British Museum (London: Archetype, 2012), p. 181.
3. François Poncetton, "Découvrons l'Amérique," *Cahiers de la république des lettres, des sciences et des arts* 11 (1928): pp. 65-70, esp. p. 65.
4. William Bullock, *A description of the unique exhibition, called ancient Mexico; collected on the spot in 1823, … and now open for public inspection at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly* (London: self-printed, 1824).
5. Emma Isabel Medina Gonzalez, "Structuring the Notion of 'Ancient Civilisation' through Displays: Semantic Research on Early to Mid-Nineteenth Century British and American Exhibitions of Mesoamerican Culture" (PhD diss., University College London, 2011), pp. 136-148.
6. "Exposition de M. Bullock à Londres," *Le Courriel*, 2 April 1824.
7. Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, *Hooked on Books: The Library of Sir John Soane, Architect 1753-1837*, exh. cat. (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2004), pp. 19-20.
8. *Vues des Cordillères, et monumens des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique. Par Al. de Humboldt* (Paris: chez F. Schoell, 1810). Purchased in April 1824; London, Sir John Soane's Museum, inv. no. 2499.
9. The prospect was published and distributed by Agostino Aglio, the artist who executed most of the illustrations for the work and actively publicized its sale. Purchased in 1830; Sir John Soane's Museum, inv. no. 1567.
10. Purchased in February 1835; London, Sir John Soane's Museum, inv. nos. 83/1/1-83/1/13.
11. J.F. Racknitz, *Darstellung und Geschichte des Geschmacks der vorzüglichsten Völker* (Leipzig, 1796-1798). Purchased in 1826; London, Sir John Soane's Museum, inv. no. 3109.
12. London, Sir John Soane's Museum, inv. nos. MP151-162. See also London, Sir John Soane's Museum for Soane's notebooks of 1834, for acquisition slips from the 1st of January and the 1st of June, and a letter to the British Museum from 17 May 1834.
13. Letter from Phillips to Soane of the 28th [w/m] 1829. Letter inserted and kept in Soane's copy of David Ramsay Hay's *The laws of harmonious colouring adapted to house painting. By D. R. Hay, of the firm of Nicholson and Hay, house painters, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh Place, printed for D. Lizars; G.B. Whittaker, London; and W. Curry, jun. and Co. Dublin, 1828). Book inventory number: Soane 2438.
14. Alfred John Kempe, "Connaissance de l'Amérique par les Anciens," *Journal des Artistes* 10 (1836): p. 190.
15. Today at the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, inv. no. 71.1887.135.8. A copy of the annotated catalogue with price information is in the RKD, The Hague (Lugt 11328).
16. L-J-J. Dubois, *Description des objets d'arts qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le Baron V. Denon. (…)* (Paris: Imprimerie d'Hippolyte Tilliard, 1826).
17. Examples include his report on the collections of Latour Allard (1830s), Hipollyte Séguin (1833), *Mme* Sallée (1835-1836), and Léonce Angrand (1839). On Dubois and his activity in the art market selling pre-Columbian antiquities, see my forthcoming doctoral thesis: Susana Stüssi Garcia, "Les Arts méconnus des Anciens Américains. Considérations esthétiques, collectionnisme et marché en France au 19e siècle" (PhD diss., Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, expected February-March 2023), pp. 114-124.
18. Dubois, *Description*, p. iii.
19. Roussel, *Catalogue des Objets d'Arts (…) composant le cabinet de feu M. L. M. J. Duriez (de Lille) (…)* (Paris, 1829), p. i-ii.
20. See for example: *Catalogue d'objets d'art, de curiosités et d'histoire naturelle*, Salle Ventadour, Paris, 10 December 1833; *Catalogue des Antiquités et objets d'art composant le cabinet de Feu M. le Comte de Clarac*, Salle Ventadour, Paris, 19 April 1847; *Vente du Cabinet de M Eugène Piot*, Salle Ventadour, Paris, 28 November 1848.
21. For examples see: *Catalogue d'Objets d'art, de curiosité et d'histoire naturelle*, Salle Ventadour, Paris, 12 March 1833; *Catalogue d'objets d'art et de curiosité*, Hôtel des Ventes Mobilières, Paris, 18 March 1844.
22. Sigismond Mannheim, located at 7 Rue Saint-Georges, well known for selling Japanese and Chinese antiquities and porcelain. His son, Charles-Léon (1833-1910) was also an expert and art dealer, who organized many of the great art sales in Paris and Florence starting in the 1860s.
23. Sale of the property of the late W. Knight, Foster's, London, 24-26 July 1848 (Lugt 19111).
24. Duke of Buckingham Collection from Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, Christie's, London, 5-14 March 1849 (Lugt 19255).
25. *Catalogue of the very important and very interesting collection (…) formed by Henry Rhodes, esq. (…) sold by auction by Messrs. Christie and Mason*, 24 March 1846, pp. 2-3.
26. Marie-France Fauvet-Berthelot, Leonardo López Luján and Susana Guimarães, "Six personnages en quête d'objets: Histoire de la collection archéologique de la Real Expedición Anticuaria en Nouvelle-Espagne," *Gradhiva* 6 (2007): pp. 104-126.
27. London, British Museum, inv. nos. Am, St.400 and Am, St.401.
28. Caygill, "Henry Christy," p. 184.
29. London, British Museum, inv. no. Am, St.399.
30. See for the details of the turquoise collections of the British Museum Caygill, "Henry Christy," and an earlier catalogue by Elizabeth Carmichael, *Turquoise Mosaics from Mexico* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970).
31. Thomas Bateman, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities and Miscellaneous Objects Preserved in the Museum of Thomas Bateman at Lomberdale House* (Bakewell: self-published, 1855), p. 236. The helmet is in the collection of the British Museum (inv. no. Am,+.6382). Catalogue reference originally cited by Caygill, "Henry Christy," p. 195. It is not clear how the piece became part of Bateman's collection. It could have been purchased from Chaffers, gifted or exchanged. According to Caygill, Chaffers seems to have been regularly buying from the Continent in the 1850s (Caygill, "Henry Christy," p. 195). Chaffers had other pre-Columbian pieces in his collections, including Mexican pottery and "gold Mexican idols" (possibly fakes), which appear in a Sotheby's sale in 1857 (Lugt 23354).
32. Caygill, "Henry Christy," p. 184.
33. For the provenance history of Mesoamerican mosaics in early modern European collections, and in Italy in particular, see Davide Domenici, "Mesoamerican Mosaics from Early European Collections: Style, Provenance and Provenience," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 59 (2020): pp. 7-65.
34. The British Museum skull (inv. no. Am St.401) is generally accepted as being part of the so-called "Early European Corpus", comprising of twenty to twenty-four extant Mesoamerican mosaics believed to have been brought to Europe in the sixteenth century, although several had no documented history prior to the early nineteenth century. The skull had been integrated into a *vanitas* piece, placed inside a box, serving as the *memento mori* counterpart of the portrait of a young women painted on the outside of the box. See Davide Domenici 2020, "Mesoamerican Mosaics from Early European Collections: Style, Provenance and Provenience," in *Estudios De Cultura Náhuatl* 59 (2020): pp. 7-65 and Christian Feest "Mexican turquoise mosaics in Vienna," in *Turquoise in Mexico and North America: Science, Conservation, Culture and Collections*, eds. J.C.H. King and The British Museum (London: Archetype, 2012), pp. 103-116. The description of the *vanitas* in Van Huerne's house is given by Henri Vandervin, *Catalogue des collections (…) formant le Cabinet Van Huerne (…) Bruges (…) 21 octobre 1844*, (Ghent: De Busscher, 1844), p. 106, no. 483.
35. Manuel Charpy, "Le Théâtre Des Objets. Espaces Privés, Culture Matérielle et Identité Bourgeoise. Paris, 1830-1914" (PhD diss., Université François-Rabelais de Tours, 2010), p. 505.
36. Benoît-Antoine Bonnefons de Lavialle, *Catalogue des antiquités et objets d'art composant le cabinet de feu M. le Comte de Clarac (…)* (Paris: Imprimerie de Maulde et Renou, 1847) ; and Charles Pillet and Mannheim (père et fils), *Catalogue des objets d'art et de curiosité composant la collection de M. Daigremont (…)* (Paris: Imprimerie Pillet et fils aîné, 1861).
37. "C'est une véritable salle aux trésor," letter from the Comte de Clarac to the Marquis de Lagoy, from 5 May 1807. The letter is transcribed in Alexandre Pradère, "Baron Van Hoorn: An Amateur of Boulle, Antiquity and the Middle Ages under the Empire," *Furniture History* 43 (2007): pp. 205-225, esp. p. 205.
38. Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, *Catalogue des objets rares et précieux du plus beau choix … Provenant du cabinet de feu M. le baron P.N. Van Hoorn van Vlooswyck, membre de l'Académie royale des Antiquités de Cassel, de celle de Carlone, etc.* (Paris: Lebrun, 1809), p. 78.
39. Charpy, "Le Théâtre," p. 659 and ff. and Charlotte Piot, "Piot, Eugène (11 Novembre 1812-17 Janvier 1890)," in Claire Barbillon and Philippe Sénéchal (dirs.), *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale* (Paris: INHA digital publications, 2010), https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/piot-eugene.html (accessed 6 January 2023).
40. Eugène Piot, "Le Musée du Louvre et la Collection Campana," *Le Cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire* 1 (1863): pp. 341-352; and Eugène Piot, "Le Cabinet de Curiosités ou le Kunstkammer à Berlin," *Le Cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire* 8 (1845): pp. 433-456.
41. Benoît-Antoine Bonnefons de Lavialle, *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection d'objets d'art et de curiosité (…) appartenant à M Piot (…)* (Paris: Imprimerie et Lithographie de Maulde et Renou, 1848).
42. "Les goûts (…) tout comme la variété d'objets, sont infinis". Eugène Piot, "Introduction," *Le Cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire* (1842): pp. 5-14, esp. pp. 12-13.
43. John Bidwell Collection, Christie's, London, 22-24 July 1854 (Lugt 21735); W. Chaffers Collection, Sotheby's, London, 17-20 February 1857 (Lugt 23372); Cecil T., Earl of Clarendon Collection, Christie's, London, 17 June 1859 (Lugt 24966); William Russell Sale, Christie's, London, 2-12 March 1863 (Lugt 27156); James West Collection, Christie's, London, 15 June 1869 (Lugt 31371).
44. "Antiquities, porcelains and *curiosa*," Christie's, London, 3 May 1854 (Lugt 21888); "From China," Christie's, London, 2 February 1859 (Lugt 25119).
45. Robert D. Aguirre, *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture* (Minneapolis, ME: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), pp. 61-101; and Markéta Křížová, "Retorno de la civilización a Quiriguá: Arqueología maya y los juegos de poder y prestigio en Centroamérica en los siglos XIX y XX," *Entre Diversidades* 6 (2019): pp. 171-202, esp. pp. 171-180.
46. Etienne-Charles Brasseur de Bourbourg, "Des antiquités mexicaines. A propos du Mémoire sur la peinture (…)," *Revue archéologique* 9 (1852): pp. 408-421, esp. p. 410.
47. See the survey study of this documentation done by Susana Guimaraes, "Le musée d'Antiquités américaines du Louvre (1850-1887). Une vision du collectionnisme américain au XIXe siècle" (MA thesis, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1994).
48. Paris, Archives du Musée du Louvre: A6 "acquisition Raffenot 7 août 1857", and Guimaraes, "Le musée," p. 82.
49. The son of Alexandre du Sommerard, founder of the Musée Cluny in Paris.
50. Paris, Archives Nationales: Archives des Musées Nationaux, Département des Antiquités grecques et romaines du musée du Louvre (série A), 20140044/2, "Lettre de Rougeon à Nieuwerkerke, 19 octobre 1850" (previously: Paris, Archives du Musée du Louvre: Série A2, Administration).
51. Stüssi Garcia, "Les Arts méconnus," pp. 132-35.
52. Pascal Riviale, "La science en marche au pas cadencé: les recherches archéologiques et anthropologiques durant l'intervention française au Mexique (1862-1867)," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 85 (1999): pp. 307-341.
53. "Il ne se passe guère un jour qu'il n'y ait à l'hôtel Drouot une vente de curiosités (…) Il n'est pas jusqu'à l'expédition du Mexique qui n'ait introduit chez nous certains monuments de l'art aztèque, et c'est, en vérité, le meilleur résultat qu'elle ait produit." Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie P. Larousse et Cie, 1866), p. 683.
54. Lucien De Rosny, "Introduction à Une Histoire de La Céramique Chez Les Indiens Du Nouveau-Monde," and "Recherches Sur Les Masques, Les Jade et l'industrie Lapidaire Chez Les Indigènes de l'Amérique Antique," posthumous publications in *Archives de La Société Américaine de France* 1 (1875): pp. 147-185 and 297-320. Among them were fellow historians such as Jean-Frédéric de Waldeck and *abbé* Charles-Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg, but also a number of other non-specialist collectors, such as the minister Baron Oscar de Watteville, the architect César Dally, two otherwise unknown amateurs – a certain Auguste Reboux and Bertoutl – and renowned collector Aristide Le Carpentier, who was known in Paris as the "prince of knick-knacks". See also Pierre-Michel-François Pitre-Chevalier, "Causeries, souvenirs et anecdotes. Curiosités et bric-à-brac," *Musée des familles, lectures du soir* 25 (1857-1858): pp. 225-230, esp. p. 226.
55. De Rosny, "Recherches Sur Les Masques," p. 312.
56. Charpy, "Le Théâtre," pp. 700-732.
57. "Le passé est intéressant non seulement par la beauté qu'ont su en extraire les artistes pour qui il était le présent, mais aussi comme passé, pour sa valeur historique (…) ce que je suis heureux de retrouver [dans l'art] c'est la morale et l'esthétique du temps" and "une barbarie inévitable (…) qui reste souvent visible dans un art parfait (Mexicain, Egyptien, Ninivite)": Charles Baudelaire and Francis Moulinat, *Écrits sur l'art. Charles Baudelaire. Texte établi, présenté et annoté par Francis Moulinat* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2013), part i, "Le Beau, la mode et le bonheur," and part v, "L'art mnémonique."
58. Germaine de Poligny, "L'Ancien art mexicain," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 20 (1878): pp. 883-889, esp. p. 886.
59. Pascal Riviale, *Los viajeros franceses en busca del Perú antiguo (1821-1914)* (Paris: Institut français d'études andines and Fondo editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, 2000), pp. 53-139.
60. Dominique Pety, "Le personnage du collectionneur au XIXe siècle: de l'excentrique à l'amateur distingué," *Romantisme* 31 (2001): pp. 71-81.
61. *Annuaire des artistes et des amateurs Lacroix* (Paris: Vve Jules Renouard, 1861), p. 62 and De Rosny, "Introduction à une histoire," p. 177.
62. De Rosny, "Introduction à une histoire," p. 183.
63. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF): Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé NAF 21478, Letter from Teobert Maler to Boban, early 1880s, fol. 246.
64. In 1879 his address is at 2 Place Valois and at 7 Rue Lafayette. In the 1880, he is at 50 Rue Caumartin and at 6 Rue de Seine, the first of which might have been his personal address. *Annuaire-Almanach du Commerce et de l'industrie Didot-Bottin 1889* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Imprimeurs de l'Institut de France, 1889), p. 479.
65. Pascal Riviale, "L'anthropologue et l'antiquaire: les relations entre Ernest Théodore Hamy et Eugène Boban," *HISTOIRE(S) de l'Amérique Latine* 12 (2017): p. 9.
66. Paris, Archives du Musée national des arts asiatiques-Guimet (hereafter MNAAG): Correspondance d'Emile Guimet, Letter from Yvan to Emile Guimet [no date, possibly early July 1879] and letter from 7 August 1880.
67. New York, Hispanic Society of America (hereafter HSA): Eugène Boban archives, B2245.
68. MNAAG: Correspondance d'Emile Guimet, Letter from Yvan to Emile Guimet [no date, April 1880?].
69. BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé, NAF 21477, fol. 14, letter from Auguste Damour to Boban from the 7 June 1892. "Le marchand les tient en dépôt pour le compte d'un amateur qui les a rapportés de son voyage."
70. See the biography by Jane MacLaren Walsh and Brett Topping, *The Man who Invented Aztec Crystal Skulls* (New York: Berghahn, 2019).
71. Charles A. Kofoid, "A Little Known Ornithological Journal and its Editor, Adolphe Boucard," *The Condor* 25 (1923): pp. 85-89, and W.F.H. Rosenberg, "Concerning Adolphe Boucard," *The Condor* 2 (1924): pp. 38-39.
72. "Boucard, Pottier and Co" later moved to 225 High Holborn Street.
73. BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé NAF 21479, Letters between Boban and Sallée, fols. 45-49; and between Boban and Bouccard NAF 21476, fols. 322-332.
74. London, British Museum, inv. no. AM891.
75. "Nous aurons un bon pourboire de chaque côté." BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé, NAF 2147, Letter to Boban from 27 October 1891, fol. 329.
76. BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé, NAF 21479, Letters of 14 March 1877 (fol. 511), and 13 August 1890 (fols. 509-510).
77. BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé, NAF 21479, Letter from 24 September 1894, fols. 512-513.
78. One example is David Falcke, who was located at 92 Bond Street. Falcke Collection, Christie's, London, 19 March-12 May 1858 (Lugt 24460).
79. Gabriel De Mortillet, "Objets Dans Le Commerce," *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et philosophique de l'Homme* 4 (1868): p. 331.
80. Caygill, "Turquoise in Mexico and North America," pp. 188-189.

81. BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé, NAF 21477, fols. 572-575.
82. BNF: Correspondance de l'Américaniste Eugène Boban Duvergé, NAF 21476, fols. 380-384. Boban sold him a number of treatises on tobacco consumption in Ancient Mexico and other antiquities, including Aztec pipes.
83. Charpy, "Le Théâtre," pp. 665-670.
84. Eugène Boban Duvergé, *Comptoir d'Archéologie Préhistorique. Eugène Boban Antiquaire (...) Catalogue Des Collections* (Paris: J. Tremblay, 1878), pp. 12-13.
85. *Catalogue de La Collection de M Deschars (...) Perrot Commissaire-Priseur et MM Mannheim et Haro Experts*, l'Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 13 May 1887.
86. For example, the comedic actress Anna Judic (1849-1911) had in her home weapons and instruments from the "savages", Mexican Colonial *objets d'art* such as a tortoise shell comb, contemporary Mexican artisanal objects (silver spurs with embossed patterns, a saddle and a bridle), as well as antiquities (Mexican ancient pottery vases). *Catalogue des bijoux, diamants, perles, objets d'art et d'ameublement (...) le tout appartenant à Mme Anna Judic (…), par M Chevallier commissaire-priseur et Mannheim expert (...) Chevalier et Couturier commissairespriserus et MM Mannheim et Bloche experts*, l'Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1-12 Decembre 1891.
87. W. H. Holmes, "The Trade in Spurious Mexican Antiquities," *Science* 7 (1886): pp. 170-172; Thiollet, "Notice Sur Un Vase En En Terre Cuite Trouvé Dans Le Département de l'Yonne," *Revue archélogique* 11 (1854): pp. 695-697.
88. "Il est impossible de se fier désormais aux monuments de l'art céramique chez les Aztèques qui nous arrivent aujourd'hui (…) Tout cela est archifaux; mais comme c'est bon marché (…) A leur arrivée en Europe, elles prennent, faute de contrôle, une certaine notoriété et vont souvent dans des collections de musées et d'amateurs qui les acceptent trop facilement." Paul Eudel, *Le Truquage. Les Contrefaçons Dévoilées* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1884), pp. 49-51.
89. See for example: "Echos et Nouvelles. Une Ville Préhistorique," *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* 3 (1893): p. 17.
90. Léa Saint-Raymond and Elodie Vaudry, "A New 'Eldorado'. The French Market for Pre-Columbian Artefacts in the Interwar Period," in *Acquiring Cultures. Histories of World Art on Western Markets,* eds. Bénédicte Savoy, Charlotte Guichard, and Christine Howald (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), pp. 101-119.
91. De Rosny, "Recherches sur les masques," p. 308.
92. Emile Burnouf, "Amulettes et Tentetels Mexicains," *Archives de La Société Américaine de France, Nouvelle série* 1 (1875): pp. 371-372, p. 371.
93. "Faire sortir du domaine du purement scientifique des objets […] qui méritent d'être aussi considérés du point de vue artistique." Georges Salles, quoted in an interview with F. Carnot, "Quelques Opinions recueillies par G. Brunon Guardia," *Les Cahiers de la République des Lettres, des Sciences et des Arts* 11 (1928): pp. 76-83, esp. p. 82.
94. Focusing on the 1890-1920s, I hope to develop this topic as my next research project, after defending my PhD dissertation. It would be impossible to present a comprehensive bibliography on the rich critical corpus on "primitivism" as a western construct, but we can cite classic examples in Frances S. Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason: Primitivism in Modern European Art and Aesthetics, 1795-1907* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); and Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd ed. 2001); and more recently Philippe Dagen, *Primitivismes. Une invention moderne* (Paris: Gallimard, 2019).
95. "Aujourd'hui, l'art précolombien est à la mode, comme l'art nègre […] quelque rôle que l'on puisse assigner, en tout cela, aux grands syndicats commerciaux qui créent les modes parmi les amateurs […] peu importe, après tout, qu'on essaie de nous faire admirer des choses fort laides; libre à nous de ne pas admirer, mais sachons voir." Salomon Reinach, "L'Art," *Revue Archéologique* 5 (1928): pp. 181-182.

Fig. 1 / *Buenos Aires, Plaza de Mayo, Centenario de la Revolución de Mayo 1810–1910*, 1910, special edition postcard (publisher: J. Cunill), Buenos Aires, Archivo General de la Nación.

Buenos Aires in the Gilded Age. Decorative Arts collecting in a South American art metropolis

FLORENCIA RODRÍGUEZ GIAVARINI

This article examines the formation of an art market in Buenos Aires and analyzes the extraordinary abundance of European decorative arts available to the city, beginning in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Public and private collections in Buenos Aires and Paris, as well as public exhibitions held in the Argentinian capital, will be considered in order to provide an overview of the predilections of taste of Argentine collectors and assess their buying power. Ultimately, I aim to shed light on the importance of this often overlooked, once burgeoning, art market.

The year 1880, when Buenos Aires became the capital city of Argentina and the seat of national authorities, can be marked as the beginning of unprecedented economic expansion. Argentina's emergence onto the international market as a primary exporter of raw materials and commodities, brought great prosperity to the young nation. The capital city's income, in great part derived from a flourishing port, fostered what seemed to be unstoppable impulses to renew and modernize its infrastructure. These initiatives were enthusiastically driven by the city's first mayor, Torcuato de Alvear (1822-1890), in office from 1883 to 1887, whose modernization projects resulted in a new urban layout of paved streets, wide avenues, and landscaped plazas (fig. 1).

Also at this the time a vast wave of immigrants, who would continue to flow into the city for several decades, first arrived: 1,500,000 Europeans disembarked in the port of Buenos Aires between 1880 and 1910. From this point on, European immigrants would form fifty percent of the city's population; this percentage would only begin to decline in the 1920s. Hospitals and schools were built and equipped for the growing number of inhabitants, as were new public buildings needed to house an expanding bureaucracy. Such edifices were embedded with a strong symbolic appearance in order to project the image of a powerful modern and civilized nation. During this "building wave", which started in the 1880s, the most prominent public institutions still standing in the city were constructed: these include the Palace of Justice, inaugurated in 1904; the National Congress, completed in 1906; the National Postal Services building, whose construction began in 1888 and – although later refurbished – was completed in 1908; and the renewed Colón Theatre, the city's main opera house, inaugurated in 1908.

Material prosperity brought about behavioural changes and new consumption patterns for the affluent *porteños*, that is individuals born in the port city of Buenos Aires. Rich *estancieros* (cattlemen), men of letters, and other members of the elite, took up the habit of spending long seasons in Europe. Some of them kept *hôtels particuliers* in Paris, where they attended theatres, visited museums, updated their wardrobes, and acquired luxury items – including numerous pieces of fine and decorative arts that were to furnish the new residences in Buenos Aires. Local newspapers of the time are filled with notices advertising sales of residential properties and their contents, when owners decided not to return from Europe for months, sometimes even years, subsequently coming back with many new pieces of European decorative arts which better suited their newly acquired taste.

In terms of architectural taste, Beaux-Arts buildings and eclectic compositions replaced the Italianate style which had prevailed earlier. Most members of the elite engaged French architects to materialize the grandeur they aspired to reflect in their family homes. How European sojourns shaped the preferences of these southern clients is exemplified by Celedonio Pereda's residence, now the Brazilian embassy in Buenos Aires. This rich cattleman engaged the French architect Louis Martin to reinterpret the Parisian Jacquemart-André Museum, while including a grand horseshoe staircase, leading to the gardens, evocative of Fontainebleau. In terms of fine arts, artistic taste was broad. Collectors gravitated primarily towards nineteenth-century art. Impressionism and Post-Impressionism were already *en vogue* in Europe, however, Academic, Realist, and Barbizon School paintings were preferred by Argentine collectors, though contemporary artists were occasionally favoured.[1] In Pereda's case, a few years after the completion of his residence, he became mesmerized by the work of Spanish artist José María Sert, whose polyptych for the cathedral of Vich he had seen exhibited in Paris at the Jeu de Paume in June 1926. After seeing more of Sert's work at Sir Philip Sassoon's ballroom in London and Maurice de Wendel's residence in Paris, Pereda commissioned five canvases from the artist which were delivered in 1932 to be installed in ceilings: these included *El aseo de Don Quijote* in the dining room; *Los equilibristas* in the grand hall; *Diana the Huntress*, for the so-called Golden Room; *La tela de araña* in the small dining room; and *El agujero celeste* in the music room.[2] It was one of several commissions Sert received from Argentine clients.

The institutional artistic scene in Buenos Aires, on the other hand, had been lagging behind, especially compared to neighbouring nations such as Chile, Brazil or Mexico, where art academies were established between the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Argentina did not have a national art academy or the equivalent of a fine arts museum until much later; the National Academy of Fine Arts was established as late as 1905, while the Museum of Fine Arts was inaugurated in 1895. Prior to this, access to artworks for the general public was mediated by private initiatives. These included exhibitions held by the first commercial art galleries established in Buenos Aires and the occasional opening to the public of private art collections, which charged admission fees that were donated to charity. In addition to purchases made in Europe at auction houses or galleries such as Georges Petit, Boussod, Valadon & Cie (the successors to Goupil & Cie) or Hôtel Drouot, numerous transactions took place in Buenos Aires itself. Research carried out in the Goupil & Cie/Boussod, Valadon & Co stock books held at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), has shown the depth and extent of Argentine fine art consumption. Such stock books record purchases made by forty-seven buyers from Buenos Aires who, between 1886 and 1913, bought 234 works of art. This amount contrasts sharply with sixteen buyers from Santiago de Chile who purchased twenty-six works, fourteen buyers from São Paulo who acquired twenty-three pieces and seven buyers from Rio de Janeiro who made thirteen acquisitions, while there are no records of Mexican buyers.[3]

Argentines with deep pockets certainly caught the attention of art dealers and merchants dealing in luxury items. Beyond what was available to them in European capital cities, the commercial opportunities offered by Buenos Aires began to attract dealers to the city. Joseph Allard, who kept a Parisian gallery at 20 Rue des Capucines, became an active dealer in this South American market from 1907 onwards. Forming a partnership with Boussod, Valladon & Cie, they organized several exhibitions in Buenos Aires, all of which were well acclaimed by critics, very successfully attended by visitors, and in 1909, to cite just one example, achieved record sales amounting to 200,000 francs.[4] Georges Petit also established a presence in Buenos Aires, partnering with the local books and art dealer Domingo Viau. Galerie Georges Bernheim formed an alliance with the local Witcomb Gallery and mounted exhibitions of French art in the city. Antiques and furnishings merchants also established Argentine branches. Maison Jansen of Paris, Maple & Co of London, and the Swedish Nordiska Kompaniet are but a few examples of European firms that established branches in the city, hoping to satisfy the desire for European furniture. Among these South American buyers, Matías Errázuriz Ortúzar (1866-1953), whose former residence is now the National Museum of Decorative Arts (MNAD), is probably the best example of a wealthy collector who foresaw a public purpose for the collection he was amassing. While stationed in Buenos Aires, this Chilean diplomat married Josefina de Alvear, niece of the first mayor of Buenos Aires mentioned earlier, Torcuato de Alvear. In 1906 the couple was sent on a diplomatic mission to Paris, where in 1911 they engaged French architect René Sergent (1865-1927), to design the private residence they would go on to build in Buenos Aires; the architect was simultaneously working on Moïse de Camondo's residence in Paris, today the Musée Nissim de Camondo.[5]

The epistolary exchange between the architect Sergent and his South American client demonstrates that from the outset Errázuriz imagined that he might be laying the foundations for a future museum of decorative arts. This ambition materialized in 1937 when the Argentine State bought his residence and part of the collection it originally housed, with a view to establishing the MNAD (fig. 2). Errázuriz had spent considerable time and hard cash on works not only of the highest quality, but also with

Fig. 2 / Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo (MNAD) in Buenos Aires. Former Errázuriz-Alvear residence.

Fig. 3 / Workshop of Cornelius Mattens, *The Continence of Scipio*, late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century, tapestry, 420 x 590 cm, Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo.

prestigious provenances, acquired from prominent galleries, auction houses and private sellers, and artists themselves. Among his most prestigious acquisitions were three Flemish tapestries: the *Combat of Tessino, the Continence of Scipio* (fig. 3) and the *Banquet of Syphax* – part of the *Deeds and Triumph of Scipio Africanus* woven from cartoons by Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni in the famed Brussels workshop of Cornelius Mattens. Errázuriz acquired them from the Spanish collection of the Duque of Sesto, Marquess of Alcañices. He also owned a *commode* produced by Pierre-Eloi Langlois for Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill residence in Twickenham (fig. 4). This had been bought by Errázuriz from the Gallerie Georges Petit at the dispersion of the collection of Eugène Kraemer in 1913.[6] In 1903, he purchased El Greco's *Christ Carrying the Cross* at the auction of Marczell de Nemes of Budapest, held at Galerie Mancini in Paris. At the request of his son, Matías Errázuriz Alvear (1897-1941), he also commissioned José María Sert to execute four murals illustrating Balzac's *La Comédie humaine* for his private apartment in the family residence.

The Argentine State's acquisition of the Errázuriz residence, and 900 of the artworks it contained, for the establishment of a museum of decorative arts was soon followed by the creation of a foundation (Fundación Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo) intended to support and expand the collection. Numerous wealthy benefactors contributed funds and donated further artworks. Many donors also made objects from their private collections accessible to the public through loans to temporary exhibitions organized by the MNAD. Such exhibitions demonstrated the wide appreciation among Argentine collectors for European – especially French – decorative arts. One example in a long series of exhibitions is *El arte de vivir en Francia en el siglo XVIII (The Art of Living in France in the Eighteenth Century, in Argentine Collections)*, mounted in 1968. This show offered the general public an opportunity to imagine aristocratic lifestyles in prerevolutionary France through the recreation of *salons* and *petits appartements* combining eighteenth-century paintings, sculptures, and decorative arts drawn from Buenos Aires collections.[7] Among the most prominent painting and sculptures included were works by the following artists: Hubert Robert (five paintings); Jean-Marc Nattier (four portraits); Claude Joseph Vernet (four seascapes); François Boucher (three paintings); Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin (two paintings); Joseph-Siffred Duplessis (two paintings); Jean-Honoré Fragonard (two paintings); and Nicolas de Largillière (two paintings). Four sculptures by Étienne-Maurice Falconet were displayed, and another four by Jean-Baptiste Houdon. On show were also numerous artworks by Jean-Baptiste Pater, Carle Vanloo, Antoine Vestier, Elisabeth Vigeé-Lebrun, Pierre Chinar, Claudion (Claude Michel), as well as a few "*école de…*" and anonymous works of great artistic merit. Documented provenances included the collections of Eugène Kraemer and William Randolph Hearst; the palace of Tsarkoye Selo; the Prince of Condé at the Château de Chantilly; and the dealer René Gimpel. According to the provenance records, purchases by those collectors had been made at Wildenstein, Buenos Aires; Georges Petit, Paris; Knoedler & Co., London, among numerous other art dealers, as well as through direct transactions with reputed collectors, both in Europe and Buenos Aires.[8]

Fig. 4 / Pierre-Éloi Langlois, *Commode à vantail*, 1763, Buenos Aires, Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo.

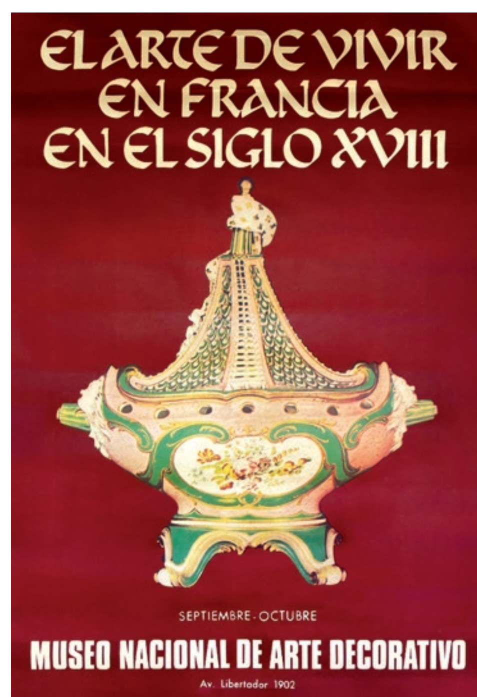


Fig. 5 / *El arte de vivir en Francia en el siglo XVIII*, exhibition catalogue, cover.

Fig. 6 / *El arte de vivir en Francia en el siglo XVIII*, exhibition poster.

In terms of decorative arts, a total of 135 pieces of furniture were displayed. Sixty-three of them bear the marks of the most prestigious *ébénistes* of eighteenth-century France: Guillaume Benneman; François Blanchet; Martin Carlin; Courbin; Charles Cressent; Georges Jacob; Jean-Baptiste Lelarge; Jean-François Oeben; David Roentgen; Jean-Henri Riesener; Claude-Charles Saunier; and Charles Topino. Several of them also bore the carved "JME" (*Jurande des Menuisiers et Ébénistes*), mark of the woodworkers and furniture maker's guild.[9]

The exhibition also included numerous Vincennes soft-paste and Sèvres porcelain pieces, the most prestigious of which was proudly presented on the cover of the catalogue and the poster promoting the show: a *vaisseau à mât* from the Pierpont Morgan collection (figs. 5 & 6). In addition, 108 pieces of *argenterie* were displayed and included a wide range of the *orfèvres* who undertook royal commissions in eighteenth-century France; ten bore Jacques-Nicolas Roettiers's mark; another ten were marked by Edme-Pierre Balzac; and another six were marked by Thomas Germain. A caption on a central page of the exhibition's catalogue (fig. 7) identifies a picture of two tureens with *présentoires* as part of the famed Orloff service, commissioned of Jacques Roëttiers (1707-1784) by Empress Catherine II of Russia for her favourite, Count Grigori Grigoryevich Orlov (Orloff; 1734-1783). This extraordinary service, executed by Roëttiers and his son Jacques-Nicholas (1736-1788), goldsmiths to king Louis XV of France, marked the debut of Neoclassicism in French silver. It is believed to have consisted of more than 2,000 pieces, though most are now lost. Among the surviving pieces, 169 are held in Russia at the Hermitage and the Moscow Kremlin Museums. There are a few pieces in Musée du Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, while one tureen is held by the Musée Nissim de Camondo in Paris. In 1994 another tureen with *présentoire* arrived in Buenos Aires. It was illustrated on the cover of the catalogue of the Xth Salón del Anticuario de Buenos Aires (fig. 8), having been acquired by an Argentine collector shortly before at the auction of works owned by the Spanish collector Jaime Ortiz-Patiño.[10]

As no display of eighteenth-century French decorative arts could be complete without tapestries, there were numerous textiles included in *The Art of Living in France in the XVIII Century*. In 1965, three years earlier, another show entitled *Flemish Art in Argentine Collections* was mounted at the MNAD (in the presence of the Belgian monarchs), signifying the Argentine appreciation for this type of artwork. It showcased the significant number of tapestries of extraordinary quality owned by Argentine collectors, as well as other forms of Flemish art, including paintings and sculptures by well-known masters. However, this was not the first time the MNAD had dedicated a display to this form of textile art. In December 1939, it had organized the exhibition *Tapestries from the XVth to XVIIIth centuries*, which showcased eighty-three

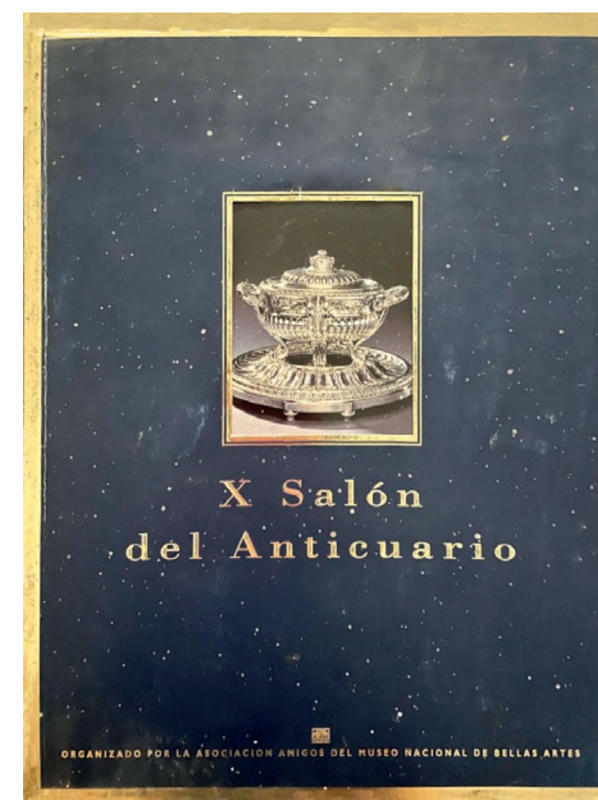


Fig. 7 / *El arte de vivir en Francia en el siglo XVIII*, exhibition catalogue, plates CLXXXI and CLXXXII.

Fig. 8 / *X Salón del Anticuario de Buenos Aires*, exhibition catalogue, cover.

tapestries from Argentine collections. The latter exhibition was so extensively covered by the national press and raised such interest with the general public, that the MNAD came to an agreement with the National Railways System (Administración General de Ferrocarriles) to reduce the price of train tickets for visitors coming from the provinces.[11]

Research undertaken at the Universidad del Salvador in Buenos Aires has demonstrated that, between 1880 and 1980, more than 2,000 tapestries of European origin were imported into Buenos Aires. Since 1960, on the other hand, exports from Buenos Aires of many of these works – mainly to Europe and the United States – as well as other fine and decorative arts, has become very significant. As official records are lacking, it is difficult to quantify this exodus. However, information obtained from commercial galleries in London specializing in tapestries, shows that a large number of high quality works have been acquired from Argentine collections.[12]

It must be noted that not all artworks acquired by Argentines in Europe arrived in South America. To illustrate this, I will conclude by examining the collection of French seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries decorative arts of the diplomat Ricardo Penard Fernández (1882-1959), which was auctioned in 1960 at Palais Galliera in Paris. Among the treasures that adorned his Parisian residence on Rue Cognac-Jay, was a pair of *encoignures* by the prestigious *ébéniste* Matthieu Criaerd, one of which were donated by the collector to the Louvre in 1951. A firm believer in the restoration of lost furnishings to their original contexts, Fernández also donated a pair of chimney andirons (*feux "aux lions"*) by Louis Boizot to the Salon de la Paix at Versailles, the setting for which they were originally made. Fernández's conviction is not surprising given his friendship with the expert Pierre Verlet (1908-1987), who was extensively involved in the restitution of dispersed furnishings to Versailles.

Following Fernández's death, Verlet wrote the prologue to the catalogue of the auction of his collection. While part of the collection remained in France, some of Fernández's prized objects crossed the Atlantic having been purchased by the Mellons and the Wrightmans. The latter subsequently donated these works to the Metropolitan Museum of Art where they are currently on display. Fernández was also in regular contact with the director of the MNAD, Ignacio Pirovano (1844-1895), who not only visited him in Paris, but also often praised his collection in the museum's bulletin, undoubtedly in the hope that some of these treasures would one day end up in the Argentine museum. This hope, which allegedly the collector had himself also expressed, remained unfulfilled.

This article has only been able to provide a glimpse of all that was acquired by Argentine buyers during the Gilded Age, especially as not all buyers were collectors, strictly speaking. In fact, most of the purchases made by wealthy Argentines functioned principally as markers of status and are now difficult to track down. Argentina's once flourishing economy enabled very rapid economic growth and provided plenty of opportunities for newcomers to climb the social ladder. The local elite, unlike European aristocracy, lacked a clearly defined hierarchy. While descendants of families present in the territory since viceregal times claimed aristocratic status, by the end of the nineteenth century this "upper class" came to include the offspring of prosperous immigrants, many of whom had only been present in the South American "promised land" for one generation.
In order to assert their place within the wealth and privlege of this social stratum, and distance themselves from "common people", and a never-ending threat of newcomers, they adopted refined manners and distinguished themselves through the acquisition of luxury goods. Consequently, the private homes of both those already established and the newly wealthy were adorned with the finest works of art that were flooding out of Europe at the time; this phenomenon led this once unnoticed city to become not only an active art market, but also a true celebration of the *Ancien Régime*.

NOTES

1. On the development of Buenos Aires as an international art market see María Isabel Baldasarre, "Buenos Aires: An Art Metropolis in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Ninteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16 (2017): p. 1, https://doi.org/10.29411/ncaw.2017.16.1.2, (accessed 9 June 2020).
2. For Sert's commission from Celedonio Pereda see Guillermo Whitelow, "José María Sert in Buenos Aires," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 18 (1992): p. 76.
3. Baldasarre, "Buenos Aires: An Art Metropolis in the Late Nineteenth Century," p. 8.
4. Baldasarre, "Buenos Aires: An Art Metropolis in the Late Nineteenth Century," p. 9.
5. French architect René Sergent designed several buildings for rich *porteños*. In fact, several hundred meters down Avenida del Libertador (on which the Errázuriz residence is located), the so-called Palácio Bosch can be found, current Embassy to the United States in Buenos Aires. It was commissioned by Elisa de Alvear, Josefina de Alvear's sister, and her husband Ernesto Bosch.
6. A counterpart to the commode is now in the Legion of Honor, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. The four *encoignures* that completed the set may be lost.
7. All works of art displayed in the exhibition belonged to Argentine collectors with only three exceptions; the three loans that the Musée du Louvre contributed.
8. For further reference see *El arte de vivir en Francia del siglo XVIII en las colecciones argentinas*, exh. cat. (Buenos Aires: Museo Nacional de Arte Decorativo, 1968).
9. This mark was in use between 1751 and 1789. Once the work of a certain maker of furniture was validated as being in compliance with the quality standards of the Parisian corporation of artisans, it was marked with the JME *poinçon* and taxes were thus collected. This quality control system was abolished after the French Revolution, as it was thought to be detrimental to individual creative freedom and solely in favour of the corporation's interests.
10. It is believed to have been sold again at auction very recently, after the collector passed in Buenos Aires in 2020.
11. Ignacio Pirovano, "Exposición de tapices de los siglos XV a XVIII," *Boletín Museo Nacional Arte Decorativo* 2 (1947): p. 4.
12. Astrid Maulhardt, "Tapices europeos en las colecciones públicas y privadas argentinas. Su importancia en el desarrollo del coleccionismo argentino" (MA thesis, Universidad del Salvador, 2017-2018).

Fig. 1 / Raphael, *Alba Madonna*, ca. 1510, oil on panel transferred to canvas, overall (diameter) 94.5 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

Collecting the United States: William F. Davidson and the westward expansion of M. Knoedler & Co.[1]

ELIZABETH A. PERGAM

As the oldest art dealer in America, M. Knoedler & Co. has a storied place in the history of art collecting in the United States. From its origins in 1857 as the successor in New York to the equally storied French gallery Goupil & Cie., to its ignominious closure in 2011, Knoedler's has long represented a link between the collectors and dealers of Europe and the collectors of the United States.[2] An essential but understudied aspect of the gallery's business strategy was their promotion of the collecting of art beyond the East Coast elites. In following the westward expansion of the development of the continental United States, the firm recognized the need both to cultivate new markets for their stock, as well as to nurture new areas of collecting. To facilitate this business model, it was necessary to gather information on collections – private and public, large and small; the documents collected by Knoedler's American art department, therefore, not only represent an archive in miniature of the gallery's overall activities but also provide invaluable insight into the very notion of creating an American collection.

If the establishment of Goupil's branch on lower Broadway in 1846 with Michael (né Michel) Knoedler (1823-1878) at its helm was recognition of the market potential of the burgeoning wealth concentrated in New York and its neighbouring states, Knoedler's sales to collectors based west of the Mississippi in the last part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth reflected the increasingly competitive art market in both Europe and the United States. Even as the firm's American art division helped shape numerous individual and institutional collections, the narrative of the growth of collecting in America has emphasized Knoedler's role in the importation of Old Master paintings and their placement in the country's defining collections. However, the dealer's archives, now at the Getty Research Institute (GRI), allow us to reconstruct the importance of American art in the firm's one-hundred-and-ten-year history as a predominantly Knoedler family enterprise. Series IX, the records of the American art department, documents collections across the continental United States through correspondence, inventories, appraisals, photographs, newspaper and journal clippings, and even credit reports. These date from the 1930s and extend through the post-war period and provide much needed evidence of the extent to which the gallery and its representatives worked with, kept track of, and actively pursued collectors and institutions across the United States.[3] From California to Connecticut, from New Orleans to New England, the directors at Knoedler's made it their business to know who was collecting, what they collected, and how the dealership might help shape these collections. How and why Knoedler's, now best known for brokering deals with Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Mellon, identified and nurtured collectors outside the financial and political capitals of the United States and cultivated relationships with those whose wealth was generated far away from the mid-Atlantic corridor, reinserts American art into the narrative of collecting in America.

Central to this endeavor, and hitherto unstudied, was William Francis Davidson (1905-1973), who worked for the firm for over fifty years.

In his obituary published in the *New York Times*, Sanka Knox calls this native New Yorker, "a connoisseur" and "a super salesman", who enlisted "the support of oil and cattlemen and others endowed with means and regional pride".[4] In looking at Davidson and Knoedler's American art division, we learn about the commercial gallery business in the first half of the twentieth century and how Knoedler's business model, in particular, adapted from the roaring years of the 1920s to weather the depression of the 1930s, extending the so-called "Gilded Age" well into the 1950s. Notably, the acquisition of works by artists active in the United States formed a significant counter trend to the high profile masterworks bought from European collections.

The most significant reason Davidson's name has been largely forgotten reflects the emphasis of histories of the marketing of art to American collectors from the end of the nineteenth century. In accounts of M. Knoedler & Co., many promulgated by the firm, and in broader treatments of this period, the transfer of the patrimony of European royalty, aristocrats, and landed elite to the newly rich American Robber Barons has been central to the narrative of the "New World" flexing its new-found financial clout.[5] Fundamental to this interpretation of the international art market from around 1880 until 1940 is the acceptance that essential to the United States' increasing participation in the cultural sphere was its adoption of the European intellectual heritage. Thus, in books such as Cynthia Saltzman's *Old Masters, New World* and Flaminia Santori's *The Melancholy of Masterpieces*, it is the transatlantic trade in paintings by the likes of Raphael, Rubens, and Rembrandt that has been the focus of their attention.

To be sure, the tales of securing works marketed as art-historically significant trophies make for entertaining reading. At the time of this newsworthy importation of artistic treasures from Europe to America, Henry James recognized in Frick's failed attempt to buy Holbein's *Duchess of Milan* the themes of possession, matrimony, social climbing, and social anxiety that often preoccupied his novels. In 1909, the very year of the Holbein episode, James first sketched out the plot of a play, which, when unproduced, became the novella *The Outcry*, published in Britain and the United States in 1911. The cast of characters include the obligatory crass but wildly wealthy American (Breckenridge Bender, often considered to be modelled on J.P. Morgan), the art rich but cash poor aristocrats (Lord Theign; Lady Sandgate), even an up-and-coming art critic (Hugh Crimble, a stand-in for Bernard Berenson) and paintings by Renaissance masters, as well as the great British portraitists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[6] While James does not include a dealer figure in his novella, the relationships with and deals executed for high-profile collectors has been fundamental to the reputation of Knoedler's as the oldest and most socially-connected American gallery whose clients routinely made headline-grabbing purchases of paintings with sterling provenances and who eventually gave their collections to the nation.

No Jamesian literary embellishment is necessary for the episode that encapsulates the length to which negotiations for paintings rivalled the intrigue of international espionage: the sale to Andrew Mellon (1855-1937) of paintings from the economically-distressed Soviet Union in 1930-1931. Some of these acknowledged masterpieces, now amongst the most treasured at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, had been hanging in Leningrad's Hermitage since the reign of Catherine the Great, who was herself a notorious buyer of entire collections from Sir Robert Walpole and others.[7] This protracted transaction has become central to the reputation of Knoedler's as the most powerful art dealer in America. In the words of Knoedler chronicler Sam Hunter, "It represented the largest outlay of private funds in a single art transaction to that time, a purchase that simply could never be repeated in terms of numbers or quality of works acquired."[8] In his unpublished history of Knoedler & Co., the Princeton art historian places the gallery's president, Charles Henschel, grandson of Michael Knoedler, at the center of this unprecedented deal, noting, "The complex and lengthy negotiations necessary to satisfy the byzantine Soviet bureaucracy were handled with circumspection and the utmost secrecy by Charles Henschel."[9] So significant was this episode, that the subheading of the *New York Times* obituary on Henschel's death in 1956 reminded its readership that he had "Bought Paintings from Soviet".[10] Davidson was, in a marginal way, involved in this transaction; as Knox relates in her obituary, the young employee was "sent abroad to buy frames for the famous collection of paintings, the Alba Madonna included, which the gallery had purchased from the Russian Government for Andrew Mellon" (fig. 1).[11]

Fig. 2 / James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac*, 1891-1892, oil on canvas, 208.6 x 91.8 cm, New York, The Frick Collection.

Arguably even more important a client than Mellon was Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), who was highly dependent on the firm, in particular Charles Carstairs (1865-1928). Hunter has calculated that "In the period 1895 through 1916, according to Knoedler's stock books, Frick bought an astonishing total of 229 paintings, laying out a cumulative sum of $7,350,059."[12] The result of this close relationship between industrialist and dealer, according to Hunter, was that over half the paintings at what became the Frick Collection had been acquired through Knoedler. A significant category of works in the collection are English grand manner portraits from the seventeenth through the late nineteenth centuries. Thus, for example, Frick acquired Van Dyck's monumental family portrait of the 7th Earl of Derby through Knoedler in 1913,[13] John Hoppner's *The Ladies Sarah and Catherine Bligh* in 1915,[14] and James Abbott McNeill Whistler's *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac* in 1914 (fig. 2).[15]

December 16, 1936.

MEMORANDUM for Mr. Messmore:

COMPARISON TABLE - MELLON AND FRICK COLLECTIONS

SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF PICTURES Represented		NUMBER OF ARTISTS Represented	
	MELLON	FRICK	MELLON	FRICK
FLEMISH	13	10	7	8
ITALIAN	15	15	9	14
GERMAN	4	2	3	1
SPANISH	8	7	3	3
DUTCH	29	24	11	12
FRENCH	7	46	6	19
BRITISH	27	27	9	11
AMERICAN	3*	6	3	2
TOTAL	106	137	51	70

*This number does not include the 175 paintings in the T. B. Clarke Collection.

Attached hereto are lists, by schools, of the artists and pictures included in the above summary.

Fig. 3 / "Memorandum for Mr. Messmore: Comparison Table-Mellon and Frick Collections, 16 December 1936", Los Angeles, Knoedler Archive, Getty Research Institute, Series IXA. Box 3793. Folder 15.

However, works by other American artists remained mostly absent from this iconic private collection made public. As we see from a revealing memo dated 16 December 1936, in which Frick and Mellon's collections are compared, American paintings and artists are literally at the bottom of the list (fig. 3).[16] Enumerating the number of paintings of each school and the number of artists in each category, the memorandum, written for Knoedler partner Carmen Messmore (1882-1975), charts Mellon's holdings of American paintings as totalling three (representing three different artists); Frick's holdings amount to six paintings (representing two different artists). Compared to examples of the British (twenty-seven paintings each) or Dutch (twenty-nine for Mellon and twenty-four for Frick) schools, the paucity of paintings by artists of their own country is striking but not surprising. In addition to the fact that the two collections were very similar in their geographic range, Frick and Mellon's collections reflect the tendency to privilege the collecting of European paintings at the expense of collecting works by home-grown artists. As Thomas Donaldson summarized in his 1883 article advocating the "Protection to American Art", "Between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000 worth of art – oil and watercolor paintings, etchings and statuary – was sold in this country in 1882 of which our artists sold less than $700,000 of their own productions."[17] He lays the blame on the art market, specifically American dealers, claiming "Six firms in America can make or destroy the value of a picture."[18] Although he does not name them, Donaldson, no doubt, was thinking of Knoedler's. His article was published in the context of the debates over the passage of import duties on works of art from abroad.[19] At that time, the preponderance of paintings from Europe were the contemporary productions of artists such as Jean-Léon Gérôme and Adolphe Bouguereau.[20] Indeed, when Frick began to collect while still living in Pittsburgh, he was acquiring the French Academic paintings that Donaldson bemoaned.[21]

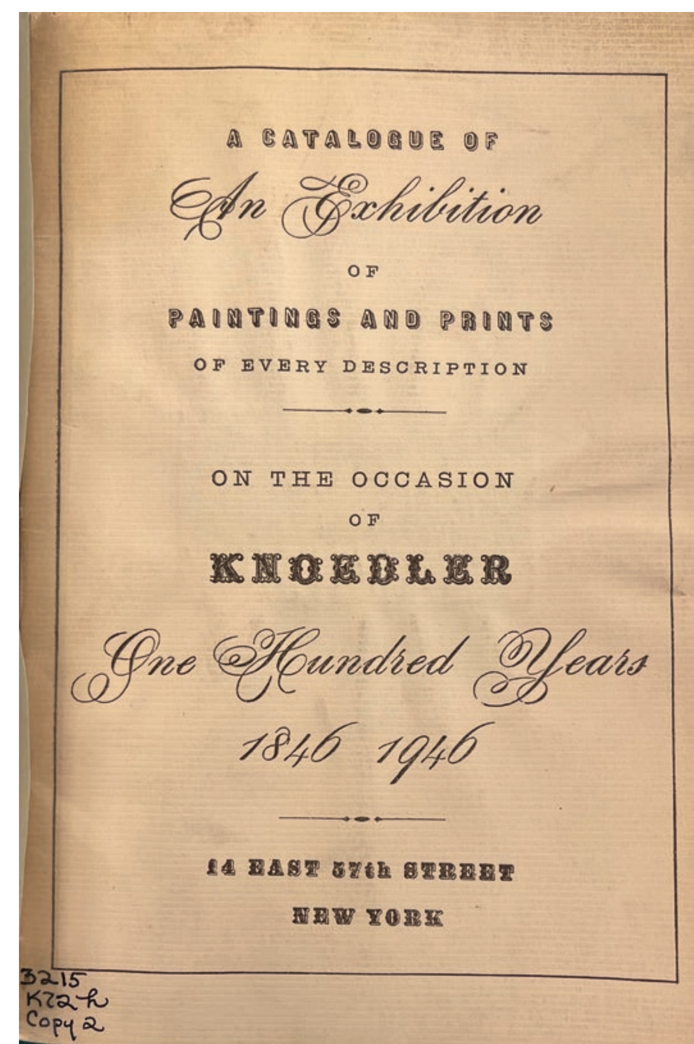


Fig. 4 / Front cover of *A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings and Prints of Every Description, on the Occasion of Knoedler, One Hundred Years, 1846-1946* (New York, Knoedler & Co.).

In Henschel's reminiscence of the history of the gallery for their centennial celebration in 1946, he dates the momentous change from a concentration on living artists to historic paintings to 1895.[22] In that year, Knoedler's opened its Paris and London branches, and Carstairs joined the firm: "It was at his prompting that we began to deal in the earlier schools and he launched such well-known collections as those of A.M. Byers of Pittsburgh, Henry Clay Frick, and Andrew Mellon."[23] Time and again, in publications such as the 1946 exhibition catalogue (fig. 4), the customers whose vast wealth allowed them to make eye-popping purchases are lauded as public-minded citizens, or, "collector-patrons" according to their 2000 exhibition celebrating both its past and current clientele.[24] The enormous sums paid for European masterworks are justified by their eventual donation to the nation's public institutions to benefit those whose annual incomes were significantly less than even the price of a single painting. In fact, one of the primary motivations behind the establishment of public museums first along the eastern seaboard in the 1870s and eventually across the country in the first decades of the new century, however, was to provide models of the "best" works of art from which aspiring American artists could learn the technical lessons necessary, and it went without saying that it was the European tradition that was privileged. Because of the influx of "masterpieces" by those artists forming the received Western canon of painting, by 1946, Henschel believed "it is no longer necessary for Americans to go abroad to study the art of the past as they had to do in my grandfather's day."[25] Thomas Gilcrease (1890-1962), in a profile published in *Life* magazine in 1954, remarked upon the Old World emphasis of museum collections in the United States: "[I] began to realize that not only the European galleries were full of European masters – the American galleries were too."[26] As a response, we will see that Gilcrease formed an unparalleled collection of American art with the wealth that resulted from striking oil in Oklahoma.

Fig. 5 / Wurts Bros., *14 East 57th Street. Knoedler Art Gallery*, ca. 1924, dry collodion negative, New York, Museum of the City of New York.

Henschel also uses his essay – reprinted for the 1996 sesquicentennial – to detail the gallery's various relocations in Manhattan.[27] Knoedler & Co.'s dependency on wealthy New Yorkers is thus reflected in their multiple moves during their first seventy-five years, from below Canal Street when first independent of Goupil in 1857, ever northwards before landing at 14 East 57th Street in 1925 (fig. 5). To put it another way, the gallery followed the residential patterns of New York's millionaires, who by the first decades of the twentieth century had begun building mansions in the East Fifties along Fifth Avenue. With Frick's 1906 purchase of the former Lenox Library site on Fifth Avenue between 70th and 71st Streets, the fabulously wealthy began their colonization of the Upper East Side more than thirty-five years after New York City had alotted land in this neighbourhood for their new municipal museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

In this same essay, Henschel notes that California-based Charles Crocker "bought eight paintings just one month after the Union Pacific made its first transcontinental run, indicating that the art business was now nation-wide".[28] Although there are no transactions in the stock books dating to June 1869 – that is, the month after Leland Stanford drove in the "Last Spike" at Promontory Point, Utah – Crocker appears as a buyer by 1875, acquiring works by the contemporary European painters such as Charles Baugniet, Ernest Meissonier or Erskine Nicol whose now-forgotten names were once widely-known to American collectors of the last decades of the nineteenth century.[29] Stanford, for example, chose the French academician Léon Bonnat to paint his portrait, as well as that of his wife and son (fig. 6).[30] As Donaldson put it in the *International Review*: "The best collections of the contemporaneous art of France and the continent are to be found in our country."[31]

Fig. 6 / Léon Bonnat, *Portrait of Senator Leland Stanford*, 1884, oil on canvas, 237.5 x 161.3 cm, Stanford, CA, Cantor Arts Center, Stanford University.

If the East Coast fortunes of Morgan, Frick, and Mellon are associated with the banking and steel industries, then the fortunes of these early western collectors of the late nineteenth-century such as Stanford and Crocker were generated from the development of the railway, the various gold rushes, and the increased mechanization of agriculture.[32] As we have seen, their collections, for the most part, reflected the prevailing trends of collecting in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s – that is, art associated with the academies of Europe. Knoedler's dealings with clients residing in Illinois, Colorado, or Oklahoma, represent a more sustained campaign to capitalize on these new centres of wealth beginning in the 1920s – that is, after Frick's death in 1919 – accelerating through the 1930s and early 1940s, with noticeable growth during post-war prosperity. A memorandum prepared by Davidson for Messmore, dated 3 January 1938, gives an account of Davidson's visits to numerous mid-western collectors.[33] Davidson summarizes his visits to Robert Hall McCormick in Chicago, Mrs. William Butterworth in Moline, Illinois, J. B. Schlotman, E. L. Ford, and Dr. Torrey among others in Detroit, assessing their collections, the condition of paintings and possibilities for purchase or sale.[34]

To be closer to patrons in these locations, by 1929 Knoedler had opened a space in Chicago at 622 South Michigan Avenue, a short walk from the city's Art Institute.[35] Handwritten notes in the "Chicago, Illinois" file record William Davidson's reconnaissance of the thriving mid-western city. Arriving in the late afternoon of Wednesday, 21 June, "on schedule … despite severe powerstorm over the city", Davidson surveyed the art gallery landscape along the city's famous Michigan Avenue on a stroll after dinner. He observes that Holland Galleries were displaying a sign in their window with a "self-portrait by Angelica Kaufmann [sic]", one which he notes had a Knoedler connection.[36] But the wide open plains of dramatic buffalo hunts and vertiginous mountain ranges depicted in works by the likes of Albert Bierstadt, Frederic Remington, and others which passed through the Knoedler galleries meant that no single urban center outside of Manhattan could serve as the art market hub; further, the gallery correspondence, often directed to clients at their New York hotels, register the frequent visits collectors made to New York.[37] Davidson's expenses from the early 1950s reflect his active travel schedule with regular trips along the East Coast but also to Tulsa, St. Louis, and Chicago.[38]

As the archives prove, at the heart of this American expansion was Davidson, who spent his entire career with the firm. Because he was not a Knoedler, Henschel, or member of the extended art-dealing family his name is less familiar and his role within the gallery largely overlooked. Sam Hunter provides a long list of the significant deals relating to "Western Art"

with which Knoedler was involved; however, Davidson, head of the American Art division at the time of these important transactions, receives no mention.[39] Nor does his name appear in Henschel's 1946 short history even though by this time he had been with Knoedler's for more than twenty years. The only time Hunter includes Davidson's name is in listing the officers of Knoedler's at the time of the firm's reorganization on Henschel's death. At that time (1956), Davidson was vice-president; from a teenager when he began to work at the gallery at its 46th Street location to his promotion to Carman Messmore's secretary – and finally executive vice-president from 1964 until his retirement in 1971, Davidson exemplified how one could rise through the gallery ranks even if not the son, nephew, or grandson of the owner. Contributing to his absence from the art historical record, is Davidson's eventual concentration on "American" art for those "regional" collectors characterized by *Times* art reporter Knox; we have seen that this area of dealing and collecting has been considered secondary in treatments of the history of collecting (and art dealing) in America.

Although Knoedler's was proud of its support of American artists, it is telling that in Henschel's retrospective of the gallery, he observes that the American Art-Union, to which the gallery had contributed, had "sponsored scholarships enabling young artists to study in European *ateliers*".[40] The artists Henschel lists as among those to whom the gallery provided financial backing are Winslow Homer, William Sidney Mount, Frederic Edwin Church, and John Singer Sargent – all of whom, except Mount, spent time abroad.[41] While Knoedler's exhibition program provides tangible evidence of the artists whom they promoted and the digitized archives include information about specific transactions and works of art, the importance of the American art division files compiled by Davidson lies in the fact that they provide a gauge of the conditions of collecting across categories and across periods in locations rarely discussed in histories of collecting. And while it is true that the boxes dedicated to East Coast cities, such as Baltimore, Boston, and New York are certainly the most fulsome, and material concerning collections in Iowa, Kansas, and Kentucky, for example, require just the one box (3795), the fact that collectors resided in these states and supported local arts institutions needs to be recognized in order to write a complete history of collecting in the United States. The multi-million dollar deals that characterize the Frick and Mellon accounts and the paintings lured out of royal, aristocratic, and even nationalized collections are the outliers that, more often than not, obscure the quotidian transactions that made up the bread and butter of a commercial art gallery's business in the early twentieth century. In contrast, the files of Knoedler's American art division construct a very different picture of the daily activities that involved constant correspondence, vigilent monitoring of newspapers and art journals, and frequent travel.

The letters, newspaper clippings, and internal memoranda in these files document several aspects to Knoedler's recognition that it was necessary to set their sights beyond the new mansions of Fifth Avenue or the corridors of power in Washington. As should come as no surprise, the gallery actively nurtured interest in the collecting of historic European paintings to those with ever-deepening pockets in boom towns such as Cody, Wyoming; Denver, Colorado; and San Francisco, California. Profit margins on these works were no doubt a motivating factor. So too was the need to develop new market centers, especially as the Depression extended its grip into the 1930s and with the deaths of their most reliable clients – Frick in 1919 and Mellon in 1937. To do so, Davidson and his staff members, such as Elizabeth Clare, kept track of individual loans to exhibitions or exhibitions dedicated to a single collection, subscribed to museum bulletins or newsletters, and cold contacted numerous people who had bought works of art years before.

Thus, for example, along with a note that one Mrs. Francis Beidler of Lake Forest, Illinois, had bought a Hoppner portrait of Richard Brinsley Sheridan in 1932, five years later we find Davidson, in an unsolicited letter, offering a 25 x 30 inch portrait by the Scottish painter Henry Raeburn of Francis Horner for $9,500.[42] The depiction of the British politician eventually sold to New York-based Clendenin Ryan for $7,700.[43] Although that was $700 more than Knoedler's had paid the London dealer Agnew's, it was a price that reflects the steep decline the category of British portraits experienced after the record prices of the 1910s and 1920s.[44] And, yet, when compared to the prices of American paintings, these works represented an important income stream for Knoedler's. The tracking of the whereabouts of such historic works is best represented by the proliferation in the files of pages from two significant exhibitions from the 1930s: the *Century of Progress* from 1933-1934 in conjunction with the 1933 Chicago World's Fair and *Masterpieces of Art*, a division of the 1939 World's Fair held first in New York.[45] These exhibitions reflect the shift from private collection building to public-facing exhibitions and institutional growth of that decade of economic depression; not surprisingly, representing Knoedler & Co., Charles Henschel was involved in the organization of these exhibitions.[46]

By way of conclusion, however, it is Knoedler's relationship with those western and mid-western collectors of what is known as "Western" art that underscores their response to market conditions. It is also important to note that Knoedler's was actively promoting works connected to the American West in their European branches. For example, in 1930, Knoedler's Paris gallery dedicated an exhibition to Los Angeles-based Kathryn Woodman Leighton's "*Portraits d'Indiens du Nord de l'Amérique*".[47] The passage in which Sam Hunter accounts for the major deals involving "Western" art is instructive and not just in its overlooking of Davidson; he lists a number of major transactions, including the sale of the Mint Collection of the works of Charles M. Russell to the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas; the Coe Foundation's acquisition of the Remington Studio Collection, which was donated to the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming; and the "Artists of the Western Frontier Collection" to Northern Natural Gas, which is now at the Gene Autry Western Heritage Museum in Los Angeles.[48] These major sales occurred in the 1950s and 1960s, however, the collections themselves had been formed in the decades prior. Hunter goes on to explain this area of collecting: "Western art appealed to collectors for many reasons, not the least being that it documented […] a recent, arcadian past that had almost disappeared."[49] While Hunter's rationale seems naïve at best, the example he gives of the collection of Thomas Gilcrease is a useful one to examine to understand better this collecting category.

In the words of the volume produced by his titular museum "The story of Thomas Gilcrease (1890-1962) is the story of the world's first oil boom, of a young state in its formative years, of marriages and fortunes made and lost – but most lastingly it is the story of how the Gilcrease collection of art, artifacts, and archival gems came to exist."[50] Henry James would have winced at this language, but the tone is typical of publications produced by institutions bearing their founders' names. Duane King, executive director of the museum, notes that through his mother who was "one-quarter Muscogee Creek", Gilcrease's native heritage "shaped Thomas's identity and his life […] his eighth quantum of Creek blood qualified him for […] enrollment number 1505 and 160 acres of dusty farmland twenty miles south of Tulsa".[51] The obituary published in the *New York Times* is an altogether more sober assessment of Gilcrease, devoting most of its column inches to the collection and museum that bears his name in Tulsa rather than his involvement in the fossil fuel industry.[52] The *Times*'s unsigned obituary emphasizes the scale of Gilcrease's collection, which

Fig. 7 / Charles Marion Russell, *Meat's Not Meat 'Till it's in the Pan, Hunter's Luck*, 1915, oil on canvas, 61 x 91.4 cm, Tulsa, OK, Gilcrease Museum.

Fig. 8 / Thomas Eakins, *Frank Hamilton Cushing*, 1895, oil on canvas, 229.9 x 153.7 cm, Tulsa, OK, Gilcrease Museum.

included 770 paintings and watercolours by Thomas Moran, 220 pictures by George Catlin and seventy-seven by Charles Russell (fig. 7). Gilcrease's manuscript collection, the paper noted, includes a copy of the Declaration of Independence valued at $200,000, as well as the Bernaldez Codex and Cortez's decree of 14 August 1521, declaring his victory in Mexico. In addition to this material relating to Spanish colonization, Gilcrease expanded the category of American art to include pre-Columbian objects. The Gilcrease's website, without mentioning Davidson, spotlights some of the works the collector acquired through Knoedler's, such as Thomas Eakins's full-length portrait of the anthropologist *Frank Hamilton Cushing* (fig. 8).[53] A more complete list, including George Catlin's *Red Jacket* and Albert Bierstadt's *Niagara Falls*, can be made by a quick search on the Getty Provenance Index database.[54] However, these stock book records do not include Davidson's name. Rather, we know from his frequent trips to Tulsa and his files that Davidson was Gilcrease's primary contact at Knoedler's, keeping track of the "oilman's" collection and helping to shape the financial terms of the gift that established the museum.

Indeed, the files largely assembled by Knoedler lifetime employee William Davidson that cover the collections of the United States provide a fuller understanding not only of the gallery's reach westwards but also of the broader context of the collecting of American art across the fifty states. Scholarly studies of Knoedler's activities have mostly centered on the gallery's connections to collectors for whom European masterworks were the primary focus. The image of art collecting during America's "Gilded Age" has been largely narrated as a story of millionaire Americans raiding the treasure houses of Europe and Britain. Tales of record prices for priceless masterworks ferreted out of communist countries fuel this interest. Nevertheless our understanding of American collecting must be balanced by a study of the collecting by Americans not just of colonial and federal period painting and decorative arts, but also of the collecting of paintings from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries categorized as "Western Art".

In the early seventeenth century, Karel van Mander had recognized that "Art follows wealth for its rich rewards."[55] While Van Mander was commenting upon the thriving art market of Bruges during the first half of the fifteenth century, a direct result of the wealth connected to the textile trade, the economic principle identified by the Flemish-born artist-biographer was equally applicable to the art market of the United States, half a millenium after the Van Eycks reaped the benefit of wealthy collectors in the Low Countries. The economic drivers of wealth in the United States were closely monitored by Knoedler's as payments were often connected to the clients' income streams. By following the generation of wealth beyond the East Coast elite, the gallery expanded beyond the taste for historic art of those elites, recognizing the importance of a category of American art rarely discussed in histories of collecting. We are now entering a period of reevaluation not only of the canon of art history, but also a recognition of how arts institutions have contributed to a construction of an exclusive history of America that demands to be rethought. So too must these paintings, sculptures, and watercolours that embody the mythology of manifest destiny, and the dealers who fostered the market, be reexamined.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Jeremy Howard's team at the Colnaghi Foundation for selecting my paper for the conference held in London in November 2022 and providing the prompt for turning my notes from my time with the Knoedler Archives at the invitation of the Getty Research Institute's Project for the Study of Collecting and Provenance, helmed by Gail Feigenbaum. My time in Los Angeles in May 2019 was maximized by the warm welcome and intellectual support of Anne Helmreich and Sandra van Ginhoven and everyone at the GRI's Special Collections. In New York, the staff of The Frick Art Reference Library graciously responded to all my requests and the space provided by the Noma Scholars' Room at the Center for Research in the Humanities, New York Public Library, has been an invaluable base for these past months.
2. For the history of Goupil & Cie., see Agnès Penot, *La maison Goupil: galerie d'art internationale au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Mare & Martin Arts, 2017); and Agnès Penot, "The Perils and Perks of Trading Art Overseas: Goupil's New York Branch," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16:1 (2017), https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/spring17/penot-on-the-perils-and-perks-of-trading-art-overseas-goupils-new-york-branch (last accessed 9 January 2023).
3. The GRI's finding aid gives 1913 as the start date for the documents of Series IX; however, that date is connected to a typo on a letter from Mrs. Alice B. Smith to the Chicago office; she dates the letter in which she offers an eighteenth-century English painting "Oct. 14, 1913". This letter is stamped "Received October 16, 1930" and Thomas Gerrity's typed response is dated that same day (Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute [hereafter GRI]: Knoedler Archives, Series IX. Box 3794, Folder 5).
4. Sanka Knox, "William F. Davidson, 68, Dealer in Western Art, Dead," *New York Times*, 16 January 1973, p. 42.
5. My own transition to the study of collecting in America has been through the study of the importation to America of paintings that were sold from British collections beginning in the 1880s along with the British approach to collecting. See Elizabeth A. Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).
6. Jean Strouse recounts the circumstances surrounding James's play in her introduction to the *New York Review of Books* edition of the novella [Henry James, *The Outcry* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2002)]. In London, the novel was first published by Methuen and in America by Charles Scribner's Sons. As I have noted elsewhere, to make up for Frick's disappointment of the Holbein full-length, Carstairs was able to bring together Van Dyck's pendant portraits of the artist Frans Snyders and his wife. See Elizabeth A. Pergam, "From Manchester to Manhattan: The Transatlantic Art Trade After 1857," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 87 (2005): pp. 77-79.
7. John Walker, the second director of the National Gallery of Art, devotes an extended section in his chapter on Mellon to the Hermitage purchase. John Walker, *Self-Portrait with Donors: Confessions of an Art Collector* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 109-121. Another account of the extended negotiations can be found in Germain Seligman's memoir, *Merchants of Art: 1880-1960. Eighty Years of Professional Collecting* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1961), pp. 169-176.
8. Buying part or entire collections wholesale began much before the Knoedler-Mellon-Hermitage coup. For example, Charles I's purchase of the Gonzaga collection was equally complex and involved subterfuge to allow the priceless paintings to leave Mantua for London. See Christina M. Anderson, *The Flemish Merchant of Venice: Daniel Nijs and the Sale of the Gonzaga Art Collection* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015).
9. Sam Hunter, "The Making of the American Art World: The Knoedler Gallery, 1846-1993" aka "Knoedler History Project" (unpublished manuscript: available at the GRI), p. 122.
10. "C.R. Henschel, 71, Art Dealer Here; Head of Knoedler Galleries Dead – Bought Paintings from Soviet," *New York Times*, 3 October 1956, p. 33.
11. Knox, "William F. Davidson, 68, Dealer in Western Art, Dead," p. 42.
12. Hunter, "The Making of the American Art World: The Knoedler Gallery, 1846-1993," p. 127.
13. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 6, Stock Number 12029, p. 17.
14. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 5, Stock Number 11941, p. 183.
15. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 6, Stock Number 13428, p. 87.
16. "Memorandum for Mr. Messmore: Comparison Table – Mellon and Frick Collections," 16 December 1936. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Series IXA, Box 3793, Folder 15.
17. Thomas Donaldson, "Protection to American Art," *International Review* (February-March 1883): p. 97.
18. Donaldson, "Protection to American Art," p. 97.
19. Kimberly Orcutt, "Buy American? The Debate over the Art Tariff," *American Art* 16:3 (2002): pp. 82-91.
20. A survey of American periodical literature of the last decades of the nineteenth century reveals that articles treating private collections in America show the vast majority focused on contemporary European painting. See, for example, Fuller-Walker, "The Stewart Art Gallery," *The Aldine* 7:19 (1875): pp. 369-371; Cicerone, "Private Galleries: Collection of Ex-Judge Henry Hilton," *The Art Amateur* 2:2 (1880): pp. 31-32; and E. Durand-Gréville, "Private Picture-Galleries of the United States. First Notice," *The Connoisseur* 2:2 (1887): pp. 86-99.
21. For Frick's earlier acquisitions see Ross Finocchio, "'Frick buys a freak,' Dagnan-Bouveret and the Development of the Frick collection," *Burlington Magazine* 155 (2013): pp. 827-831.
22. Charles Henschel, "Foreward," in *A Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings and Prints of Every Description on the Occasion of Knoedler One Hundred Years 1846 1946* (New York: Knoedler & Co., 1946), n.p. The firm used 1846, the year in which its patriarch had opened the Goupil branch, as the date of its establishment and the year from which its centennial should be celebrated. The gallery continued with this origin date when they celebrated their sesquicentennial in 1996, long after any Knoedler family member was involved with the gallery.
23. Henschel, "Foreward," n.p. The Byers' family art collection inventories are now held at the Frick Art Reference Library (FARL).
24. *The Collector as Patron in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Knoedler & Co., 2000) was a two part exhibition; the first part, curated by Irving Sandler, presented examples of works from the collections of Bea and Phil Gersch, Agnes Gund, Marieluise Hessel, Bebe and Crosby Kemper, and Mary and Jim Patton; "Profiles in Patronage: An archival exhibition featuring American collector-patrons from Henry Clay Frick through the mid-century" was assembled by DeCourcy McIntosh, best known as the director of the Frick Art and Historical Center in Pittsburgh.
25. Henschel, "Foreward," n.p.
26. Gilcrease quoted in "Saving a Vanishing Frontier: Part-Creek Oilman Spends Millions on Art of Indian Days," *Life*, 36, 8 March 1954, p. 73. A copy of this article, along with other Gilcrease material, is in Davidson's files (GRI: Knoedler Archives Box 3875 American A-K 2011.M.54).
27. Charles Henschel, "A Personal History of Knoedler," in *The Rise of the Art World in America: Knoedler at 150* (New York: Knoedler & Co., 1996), pp. 9-15. By the time of the gallery's sesquicentennial, the Knoedler family had not been involved in its operations for almost twenty years. In 1971, Armand Hammer, whose fortune came from Occidental Petroleum, bought the gallery for $2.5 million after their expensive move to 19 East 70th Street; five years later the final remaining Knoedler, Roland Balaÿ, retired.
28. Henschel, "Foreward," n.p.
29. For example, Crocker is listed as the purchaser of Charles Baugniet's *L'étude de l'amour*, bought from Goupil on 31 December 1874 and sold to Crocker on 18 November 1875 (GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 2, p. 232).
30. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 1, p. 91. There are also records of Stanford buying works of Bouguereau, *Enfant tenant des fleurs* (Stock Book 2, p. 196) and *Covetousness* (Stock Book 3, p. 201); Carolus-Duran, *Portrait of a Young Man* (Stock Book 1, p. 53), and others.
31. Thomas Donaldson, "Protection to American Art," p. 98.
32. For a recent assessment of the culture of collecting in late nineteenth-century California, see John Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California: Cultural Philanthropy, Industrial Capital, and Social Authority* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).
33. Like Davidson, Messmore had started in a low-level position at the gallery; on Roland Knoedler's retirement in 1928, he went into partnership with Henschel, Carstairs, and Carstairs's son Carroll to form Knoedler's & Co. Both he and Davidson retired in 1971, the year of Hammer's acquisition of the firm.
34. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Series IX, Box 3794, Folder 9. Knoedler had brokered the sales of six paintings to William Butterworth in February 1917. These included historic works such as Pieter de Hooch's *Woman Nursing Child* (Knoedler Stock Book 6, p. 115; Stock Number 13764) and modern, such as Camille Corot's *Nymphs and Fawns* (Knoedler Stock Book 6, p. 134; Stock Number 14004). These and others remained in the collection when Messmore advised Mrs. Butterworth on the establishment of a charitable trust (GRI: Knoedler Archives, Series IX, Box 3794, Folder 9). The result of that trust is the Butterworth Center, Deere-Wiman House, Moline, Illinois.
35. In 1929, Knoedler's held an exhibition of Bessie Lasky paintings at the Ainslie Gallery of Detroit. Although they advertised in the *Chicago Tribune* in late 1929, the first exhibition catalogue I have found with Knoedler's Chicago address is that of Rifka Angel, 29 March-12 April, followed by Seymour de Koven, 2-14 June, André Derain dated 24 November-13 December 1930. In the archives, Series V. D. constitutes four boxes (347-350) containing the receiving and shipping records for the Chicago office from 1929-1932.
36. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Series IX, Box 3794, Folder 6; the memo is not dated but is likely to be 1939 when 21 June fell on a Wednesday. There are other such memos from the same year including a record of his visit to Baltimore, Maryland, in February (GRI: Knoedler Archives, Series IX, Box 3795, File 1).
37. For example, Stock Book 1 records the sale of Bierstadt's *View in Oregon* on 26 February 1873 to Edwin G. Angell of Providence, Rhode Island for $430; in December 1913, Lincoln Ellsworth, the polar explorer, bought Frederic Remington's *A Buffalo Episode* from Knoedler's for $1,500 (GRI: Knoedler Archives, Stock Book 6, p. 80, Stock Number 13364).
38. Included in the archives of the Peter H. Davidson & Co., the gallery founded by his son, are several years of William F. Davidson's expenses. Petty cash and reimbursement slips from the Knoedler show that Davidson was in Great Falls, Montana in August 1951 and Tulsa in May and December of that year and Memphis in December (New York, Frick Art Reference Library: Peter H. Davidson & Co., Inc. Records, Box 23, Folder 1).
39. Hunter, "The Making of the American Art World: The Knoedler Gallery, 1846-1993," p. 291.
40. Henschel, "Foreward," n.p. The American Art-Union to which Henschel refers is the second iteration of an organization that had first been formed in the middle of the nineteenth century. That first Art Union has been examined in the exhibition *Perfectly American: The Art-Union and Its Artists* (Tulsa, OK: Gilcrease Museum, 2011); its original constitution was adopted 20 December 1847 and disseminated in the *Transactions of the American Art-Union* (1849): pp. 17-20. On its establishment in 1884, the second American Art Union explained its genesis in an editorial, "The Old Art Union and the New One," *The Art Union* 1:3 (1884): pp. 62-63. In this editorial the lack of support of American artists is explicitly tied to the presence of dealers promoting "foreign pictures" and thus the *raison d'être* for this new organization.
41. Twenty-two letters from Homer to the firm dating between 1900 and 1904 are held by the Archives of American Art: https://sirismm.si.edu/EADpdfs/AAA.mknoeco.pdf
42. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Box 3794, Folder 5.
43. GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 8, p. 159, Stock Number A1720.
44. Ryan's estate sold the painting as part of a two day, three-part sale at Parke-Bernet, New York, 19 and 20 January 1940. The second session was dedicated to British portraits and sporting pictures and to paintings described as "Gothic and Renaissance". The auction catalogue shows that Ryan acquired all thirty-five of his paintings from M. Knoedler. According to an annotation in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's copy of the auction catalogue, Raeburn's portrait of Francis Horner, Esq., M.P. sold for $5,100 (lot 214, Gothic and Renaissance Paintings and British XVIII Century Portraits. *A Set of Twelve Limoges Painted Enamel Plaques by Nardon Renicaud…The Enture Art Collection of the Late Clendenin J. Ryan, New York*, 19-20 January 1940, Parke-Bernet, New York). Ryan's collection of prints and his library were enumerated in a separate catalogue and sold 17 and 18 January 1940.
45. The catalogues from these exhibitions have been disassembled and each entry mounted on a separate piece of paper which was then filed under the city in which the owner of the work resided. For example, a *Madonna* attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, lent to the 1934 World's Fair (no. 117) by Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Edwards of Cincinnati, Ohio, can be found in Box 3801 (OH-PA). Camille Corot's *Young Woman in a Red Dress Holding a Mandolin* (no. 173), lent by Mr. Carl Weeks, Des Moines, Iowa, can be found in Box 3795 (Iowa-Maine).
46. Charles Henschel was the Chairman of the Exhibition Executive Committee of *Masterpieces of Art* with Perry Rathbone, who would go on to be the Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acting as secretary. M. Knoedler & Co. is listed among other galleries, museums and private individuals who were lenders to the *Century of Progress* exhibition. Held at the Art Institute of Chicago, 1 June-1 November 1933, the exhibition was very much spearheaded by staff of the city's museums as well as key figures associated with that city, such as Potter Palmer.
47. *Exposition de Tableaux par Kathryn W. Leighton: Portraits Indiens Nord de l'Amérique* (Paris: Galeries M. Knoedler & Co., 1930). https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll8/id/9048
48. Hunter, "The Making of the American Art World: The Knoedler Gallery, 1846-1993," p. 291.
49. Hunter, "The Making of the American Art World: The Knoedler Gallery, 1846-1993," p. 292.
50. Front flap of *Thomas Gilcrease* (Tulsa, OK: Gilcrease Museum, 2009).
51. Duane H. King, "The Legacy of a Visionary," in *Thomas Gilcrease* (Tulsa, OK: Gilcrease Museum, 2009), p. 9.
52. Gilcrease's oil stake was closely connected to the circumstances of the creation of the museum: the citizens of Tulsa passed a bond issue that raised $2,250,000 to pay Gilcrease's personal debts that he had not been able to cover because of government curbs on oil production. His stake in oil, however, ended up being a boon for the museum, as Gilcrease had pledged the royalties of his wells to the foundation that owned the art collection. The *Life* magazine article from 1954 preserved in Davidson's files adds the element of rival municipalities to the story of how Tulsa came to possess the collection.
53. https://collections.gilcrease.org/articles/article-building-gilcrease-art-collection (accessed 2 January 2023). The GRI Provenance Index does not have a record for Gilcrease's purchase of the Eakins's portrait.
54. Gilcrease bought the former for $2,500 on 3 April 1949 (GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 9, p. 182, Stock Number A4080) and the latter as part of a group of fifty-one paintings in April 1950 (GRI: Knoedler Archives, Knoedler Stock Book 9, p. 198, Stock Number A4276).
55. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch,1604) p. 276.

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Rethinking Gilded Age collecting
Jeremy Howard

San Marino, CA
Fig. 1 GL Archive / Alamy Stock Photo

Stephen T. Gooden at 57 Pall Mall: "An ambitious dealer" in the 1890s
Barbara Bryant

Berlin
Fig. 1 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie / Jörg P. Anders

London
Fig. 4 Courtesy of Rupert Maas
Fig. 7 © British Library Board (Insurance Plan of London Vol. IX: sheet 208)

Philadelphia
Fig. 9 John G. Johnson Collection, 1917

Misc.
Figs. 2, 3, 5, 6 & 8 Courtesy of the author

On the early Italian pictures of John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913)
Elisa Camporeale

Birmingham
Fig. 4 © Barber Institute of Fine Arts / © The Henry Barber Trust, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham / Bridgeman Images

Boston
Fig. 2 Wikimedia

Cambridge
Fig. 6 The Mistress and Fellows, Girton College, Cambridge
Figs. 9b & 9c © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

London
Fig. 3, 5 © The National Gallery
Fig. 12 Private Collection © 2012 Christie's Images Limited

Misc.
Fig. 1 Heritage Image Partnership Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo
Figs. 7, 9a & 9d Photo Zeri Photo Archive

A Gilded Age collector: James Hazen Hyde (1876-1959) and the European art market
Louise Arizzoli

Misc.
Fig. 1 Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris
Figs. 3, 6, 7 & 9 gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France
Fig. 8 Archives Nationales de France

New York
Figs. 2 & 5 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public domain

Paris
Fig. 4 Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris

A transatlantic hybrid and a *"Fauve de la Curiosité"*: Edouard Jonas (1883-1961), dealer and curator
Barbara Lasic

Tulsa
Fig. 3 Public domain

Los Angeles
Fig. 9 Open access

Paris
Fig. 4 Wikimedia – © Musée Cognacq-Jay / Roger-Viollet
Fig. 6 Wikimedia
Fig. 8 Open access

Rotterdam
Fig. 10 Bruikleen / Loan: Stichting Willem van der Vorm 1972

San Marino
Fig. 7 Peter Horree / Alamy Stock Photo

Washington, DC
Figs. 1 & 2 Public domain
Fig. 5 Samuel H. Kress Collection. Public Domain

An exceptional transatlantic partnership in the Gilded Age: Jacques Seligmann & Company and George and Florence Blumenthal
Rebecca Tilles

Brooklyn
Fig. 2 Brooklyn Museum, Anonymous gift, 41.876

Castres
Fig. 5 ©Ville de Castres – Musée Goya

New York
Figs. 4 & 8 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public domain

Paris
Fig. 6 Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris (PH20872)

Washington, DC
Fig. 1 Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division [-USZ62-98995 Biog File.]
Fig. 3 Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (798)
Fig. 7 Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (799)

From the "barbarian clutter" of bric-à-brac shops to the "temple of amateurs". Nineteenth-century dealers and collectors of pre-Columbian artefacts between Paris and London
Susana Stüssi Garcia

London
Fig. 1 © Sir John Soane's Museum, London. Photograph by AC Cooper.
Fig. 5 © The Trustees of the British Museum

New York
Fig. 8 Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History

Paris
Figs. 2 & 7 photo © RMN-Grand Palais Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Claude Germain
Figs. 3, 4 & 6 gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France

Buenos Aires in the Gilded Age. Decorative Arts collecting in a South American art metropolis
Florencia Rodríguez Giavarini

Buenos Aires
Fig. 1 wikimedia
Figs. 2, 3 & 4 Courtesy of the National Museum of Decorative Art
Figs. 5, 6 ,7 & 8 Courtesy of the author

Collecting the United States: William F. Davidson and the westward expansion of M. Knoedler & Co.
Elizabeth A. Pergam

Los Angeles
Figs. 3 & 4 Courtesy of the author

New York
Fig. 2 Wikimedia
Fig. 5 © Museum of the City of New York

Stanford
Fig. 6 Cantor Arts Center at Stanford University; Stanford Family Collections

Tulsa
Figs. 7 & 8 Gift of the Thomas Gilcrease Foundation, 1955

Washington, DC
Fig. 1 Public domain

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