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City University of New York PH.D. 1982

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THE CREATION OF THE HAVEMEYER

COLLECTION, 1875-1900

by

FRANCES WEITZENHOFFER

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Art History
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1982

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 16, 1982
date

John Brewer
Chairman of Examining Committee

3/16/82
date

Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

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Abstract

THE CREATION OF THE HAVEMEYER
COLLECTION, 1875-1900

by

Frances Weitzenhoffer

Adviser: Professor John Rewald

Although works from the Havemeyer collection enrich numerous departments of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, there has never been a thorough study of its growth and development.

As a young girl Louisine Elder had met Mary Cassatt in Paris and had been introduced by her to the work of the still contested French Impressionists; she became the first American to acquire a few of their pictures. After marriage to the "Sugar King" H. O. Havemeyer in 1883, she enlisted the aid of Mary Cassatt to detach her husband from his beloved old masters and to stimulate his interest in the French moderns. The two women were assisted by the Parisian dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, the driving force behind the introduction of Impressionism to America. The creation of the Havemeyer Collection was primarily the result of an unusual and creative relationship among Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer, Mary Cassatt, and Paul Durand-Ruel.

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To better understand this achievement, the Havemeyers have to be placed within the context of their own time. To that effect, the collecting habits of some of their friends and contemporaries must be discussed as well as the general artistic background of the period.

The incredible wealth of works of art accumulated by the Havemeyers was assembled in a truly astonishing building that was as unique a creation as the collection itself. This makes it necessary to study in detail the Havemeyer mansion, the interiors of which were designed by Samuel Colman and Louis Comfort Tiffany, the latter one of America's most innovative designers.

Unlike certain American businessmen-collectors whose emphasis was on quantity and ostentation, the unusually private Havemeyers were people of exceptional taste for whom collecting meant satisfying an aesthetic need.

Overall, this study is concerned with documenting the actual purchases made by the Havemeyers. It is based on archival material that permits careful scrutiny of many individual acquisitions.

Even though their house no longer stands, and even though their treasures--except for those bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum--have since been dispersed, the Havemeyers made an extremely important contribution to America's culture which warrants careful investigation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My debt of gratitude to Professor John Rewald can never be properly acknowledged. It was he who originally suggested this topic for my dissertation and his interest in the progress of my work has never waned. He has been my guide and inspiration every step of the way. Because of his lifelong cordial relations with such people as Charles Durand-Ruel and Daniel Wildenstein, I was allowed the privilege of using the archives of the Galerie Durand-Ruel and those of the Wildenstein Foundation.

I likewise wish to mention my debt to several others without whose assistance this study would not have been possible. In addition to allowing me to use the invaluable resources of his Paris gallery, Charles Durand-Ruel showed enthusiasm for my project and gave me much encouragement; I was always warmly welcomed and aided by his assistant France Daguet. I am enormously grateful to George C. Frelinghuysen for his extreme kindness and generosity in sharing his wealth of information concerning his grandparents.

I also would like to thank my second, third, and fourth readers, Prof. William Gerdts, Prof. Barbara Weinberg, and Dr. Jean Sutherland Boggs, for their careful study of my manuscript and for their many beneficial suggestions. And last, I profoundly appreciate the patience and support of my husband Max.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

USED FOR OEUVRE CATALOGUES IN TEXT AND NOTES

B.	Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Oils, Pastels, Watercolors, and Drawings (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1970).
D.	François Daulte, Alfred Sisley: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint (Lausanne: Editions Durand-Ruel, 1959).
D.R.	François Daulte, Auguste Renoir: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint: Les Figures, 1860-90 (Lausanne: Editions Durand-Ruel, 1971).
F.	Robert Fernier, La Vie et l'oeuvre de Gustave Courbet, 2 vols. (Lausanne-Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1977).
L.	Paul André Lemoisne, Degas et son oeuvre, 4 vols. (Paris: Paul Brame et C. M. De Hauke, 1946-49).
R.	Alfred Robaut, L'Oeuvre de Corot: Catalogue raisonné et illustré, précédé de l'histoire de Corot et de son oeuvre par Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, 5 vols. (Paris: H. Floury, 1905).
R.D.	Alfred Robaut, L'Oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1885).
R. & W.	Denis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, Edouard Manet, 2 vols. (Lausanne-Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1975).
W.	Daniel Wildenstein, Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné, 3 vols. (Lausanne-Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1974).

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INTRODUCTION

> Museums have histories of their own, but how little is known of the making of private collections. Guidebooks tell you when the Hermitage was begun, what Napoleon did for the Louvre, how the Spanish king allowed Madrazo to gather paintings from palace and monastery as a nucleus for the great Prado. Yet who knows how those Englishmen, inspired by the cultivated Charles with the art-loving tastes, found the masterpieces that adorn their private galleries! how the Dorias, the Demidoffs, the Liechtensteins and the Wallaces made their collections, or how those Dutch burghers bought and loved their little gems!
>
> Louisine Havemeyer, Memoirs of a Collector

When Louisine Waldron Elder, the widow of Henry Osborne Havemeyer, died in New York on January 6, 1929, her will provided that one hundred forty-two works from her by then internationally famous collection should go to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But she also asked her heirs, and especially her son Horace, to let the museum select further works from the tremendous riches accumulated in her New York residence. By the time the museum's various curators had roamed over the entire collection and made their choices, the total bequest included one thousand nine hundred seventy-two objects, from paintings by El Greco to Islamic tiles, from Japanese prints to bronzes by Degas, from Rembrandt drawings to etchings by Mary Cassatt. According to the will, these treasures did not have to be displayed together but were to be distributed throughout

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the museum to complete the holdings of the many departments in whose realms they fell.[1] Thus today's visitors to the Metropolitan Museum hardly ever realize the magnificence of the gift, the greatest the museum had ever received.

The unusual discretion of the donors was the more remarkable as Louisine Havemeyer and her husband had not belonged to the Metropolitan's coterie and had actually been held at arm's length by its first director, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, and by many of its Trustees. Intensely private people, the Havemeyers had been anonymous lenders to exhibitions and had opened their house only to select visitors. The total extent of their collection therefore was never really known and to this day no complete record of it has been attempted. Outside of a privately printed, summary catalogue published in a limited edition--comprising the works bequeathed to the museum as well as those that remained in the possession of the Havemeyer heirs[2]--no in-depth study of the collection, of its growth over a span of fifty years, and of its specific character has been attempted.

The purchase of important old masters by American millionaires was of course nothing exceptional at the turn of the century, when the Altmans, Morgans, Wideners, Fricks, and many others brought together collections such as only European royalty had until then assembled. Although Henry Havemeyer was among the first Americans to buy works by

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Rembrandt, the Havemeyer collection was different from that of their wealthy contemporaries in that it went beyond the great Dutch or Italian masters, the English portraitists, or such contemporaries as John Singer Sargent; nor did it follow the "trends" established by such powerful dealers as Joseph Duveen. From Corot and Courbet on, the Havemeyers acquired an astonishing and to this day unique group of then still contested French painters which did not stop at Manet but extended to Cézanne, all represented by outstanding as well as numerous works. Some of these were even bought directly from the artists.

This modern section of the collection was the result of an extraordinary cooperation between Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer, her lifetime friend Mary Cassatt, and Paul Durand-Ruel, the devoted dealer of the Impressionists. Their concerted effort to secure the most significant works constitutes an extremely important chapter in the history of American collecting. It also illustrates the role an enlightened patron can play when assisted by a knowledgeable, often selfless dealer as well as by a painter with a keen eye for quality and a tireless dedication to the cause of art.

In order to better understand the specific character of the Havemeyer collection both in fields where they followed others and in those in which they pioneered, it is necessary to discuss the collecting habits of some of their

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friends and contemporaries. Indeed, what makes American collecting during the second half of the last century so fascinating is that it reflects a great variety of attitudes and tastes. As immense fortunes were made and occasionally lost, as vast collections were assembled and occasionally dispersed, some individuals began to emerge, whose names were to survive among the leading taste-makers. The Havemeyers, though more discreet than most other famous collectors, were among these and it is through a study of their evolution and through a comparison with others, preferably like-oriented American collectors, that their importance on the cultural scene can best be evaluated.

Whereas Mrs. Havemeyer, before her marriage, was the first American to acquire a few Impressionist works, the introduction of Impressionism to America was to be a relatively slow process, though in many ways, a more rapid one than in the movement's home country. The driving force behind this progress was Paul Durand-Ruel, to the extent that his American activities on behalf of the Impressionist painters forms an important part of the growing American involvement with these artists. A detailed study of his role becomes thus necessary both to provide the general background for the collecting activities of the Havemeyers and their contemporaries and to evaluate his contribution to the Havemeyer collection.

Mary Cassatt was the third important factor in the

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creation of the Havemeyer collection, her untiring participation being that of a wholly dedicated and utterly disinterested enthusiast. As she once wrote to a Boston collector: "It has been one of the chief interests of my life to help fine things across the Atlantic."[3] But her endeavors on behalf of many of her American acquaintances, such as the Potter Palmers, Alfred Pope, Harris Whittemore, as well as her own brother Alexander, and others, though often mentioned, have not been sufficiently documented. Although it is well known how much Mrs. Isabella Stewart Gardner of Boston owed to her mentor, Bernard Berenson, the specific advice dispensed by Mary Cassatt has not yet received proper evaluation; her biographers have failed to insist on this aspect of her life to which she devoted great energy and enthusiasm. One thing is certain, however: her most beneficial activity on behalf of her collector friends concerned the Havemeyers, who rarely made any purchases without consulting her.

While Mary Cassatt's letters to the Havemeyers frequently discuss the merits or demerits of old masters (many of which were handled in those days by Durand-Ruel), her greatest involvement was of course with French nineteenth-century painting. Her numerous letters to Mrs. Havemeyer bear ample witness to this. They are complemented by the bulky correspondence of Paul Durand-Ruel and his two sons with the Havemeyers and with Mary Cassatt; this three-way

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communication constitutes an invaluable record of the steady expansion of the Havemeyer collection. Though the Havemeyers do not seem to have kept the letters exchanged with the French dealer, the archives of the Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris preserve both copies of letters to the Havemeyers and their replies, which have never before been studied. In certain instances these documents permit retracing on an almost weekly basis the tribulations that led to individual purchases. They also reflect some unheeded advice, some bargaining and, occasionally, the frustrating experience of seeing a coveted work escape. In addition, they help date more securely many of Mary Cassatt's letters (both to the Havemeyers and to the Durand-Ruels), which interlock with those of the dealer.[4]

Moreover, the Durand-Ruel archives contain stock books, which in many instances indicate the actual dates of purchases or when works were shipped to the gallery's New York branch, often upon Mr. Havemeyer's request. There are also monthly account books that were kept by both the Paris and New York galleries.[5] These records provide yet another source for dates of acquisitions by the Havemeyers. On the basis of this material--the letters together with the stock and account books--it is possible for the first time to establish an accurate and more complete chronology for the development of the Havemeyer collection.[6]

Until now, we have been forced to rely on Louisine

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Havemeyer's sometimes inaccurate account in her Memoirs of a Collector.[7] By the time she wrote these memoirs (c. 1917), Mrs. Havemeyer was over sixty years old and was trying to recall events which, in some cases, had occurred more than forty years before. She cannot be faulted for the fact that her dates are usually unreliable, the more so as she was well aware of this, stating in her introduction: "My memory with the mischievousness of little Puck put confusion in my eyes and in my thoughts, and played me so many tricks that I felt that I too should have to don the ass's head and have my ears tickled in the moonshine."[8] However, Louisine Havemeyer's recollections do provide much background information on the Havemeyer house and on visitors to the collection, as well as interesting anecdotes about many of the individual pictures. Even more importantly, she creates portraits of herself, her husband, and Mary Cassatt,[9] the personalities involved with the collection which so clearly reflects their independent character and unique taste. She also displays a perceptive appreciation for the paintings amid which she lived; she never took for granted the privilege of possessing great works of art.

While she apparently did not take many people into her confidence, Mrs. Havemeyer doubtless considered herself merely as the custodian of these treasures, knowing obviously that someday many would be turned over to her fellow Americans.[10] The Havemeyers never collected for the purpose

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of approval from others, for social status, or for immortality, yet Louisine did feel that by consistently selecting the finest works, she would eventually be helping young painters develop a national art. Mrs. Havemeyer's exceptional sensibility plus her farsighted generosity did indeed enable her to make a significant contribution to her country's cultural heritage.

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NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. The only conditions in Louisine Havemeyer's will were that the works in her bequest be known as the "H. O. Havemeyer Collection" and that they be on permanent exhibition.

2. H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Catalogue of Paintings, Prints, Sculpture and Objects of Art (Portland, Maine: Privately printed [250 copies] by the Southworth Press, 1931). The value of this catalogue is that in addition to giving the works Mrs. Havemeyer bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum, and those kept by her three children, it also records those auctioned at her estate sale in April 1930 (New York: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries).

3. Mary Cassatt to Frank Gair Macomber, 1909, upon his acquisition of Manet's The Execution of Maximilian, bought at her suggestion; the painting was presented to the Boston Museum in 1930. See Barbara Stern Shapiro, Mary Cassatt at Home (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1978), pp. 9-10, for an excerpt from this letter.

4. The voluminous unpublished correspondence among the Havemeyers, Mary Cassatt, and Durand-Ruel constitutes the major source on which my study of the Havemeyer collection is based. Because this material is so frequently drawn upon within the text, I have decided not to footnote every letter individually, but rather to state here that all these letters are contained in the private Durand-Ruel Archives, Paris. Any letters on deposit at other archives are of course footnoted.

5. The account books for the New York branch of Durand-Ruel are a very recent discovery; they consist of three separate volumes covering the years 1888 through 1894. Additional volumes of these very important books have never been found and it is not certain that they still exist.

6. It appears that all invoices and most other documents pertaining to the purchase of works by the Havemeyers have been either lost or destroyed. As organized and methodical as Mrs. Havemeyer was, she certainly must have kept very careful records but their whereabouts are unknown.

7. Lousine W. Havemeyer, Sixteen to Sixty; Memoirs of a

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Collector (New York: Privately printed for the family of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and the Metropolitan Museum, 1961).

8. Ibid., p. 4.

9. Although Mrs. Havemeyer had written a special chapter on Mary Cassatt, it was not included in her published Memoirs, because her family felt that the material was too personal.

10. Even after the substantial bequest to the Metropolitan Museum, Louisine Havemeyer's vast accumulation allowed her children to inherit many great works of art and to put up for a five-part auction--spread over ten days--those they did not want. Part I, made up primarily of paintings, brought $214,315; see Important Paintings from the Havemeyer Estate . . . , Part I (New York: American Art Association, April 10, 1930), henceforth referred to as: Havemeyer estate auction, 1930.

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CHAPTER I

LOUISINE ELDER AND MARY CASSATT
MEET IN PARIS

Louisine Waldron Elder was not a newcomer to the world of art. In her early teens she traveled often with her family, visiting numerous European galleries, museums, and historical sites. She loved such excursions which appealed to her romantic nature, especially when there were hardships to endure to arrive at particular destinations. Louisine always maintained her enthusiasm for travel; later one of her greatest pleasures was the adventurous quest for art works in foreign countries: the more unorthodox the methods, the more she relished the search.

Louisine Elder was born in New York on July 28, 1855.[1] Her father, George W. Elder, was a "merchant"; in 1868 with two partners he formed George W. Elder & Co. Mr. Elder may also have had some sugar holdings, since his brother Lawrence was the Elder of the firm of Havemeyers and Elder, sugar refiners. George William Elder was married to Mathilda Adelaide Waldron, a descendant of a family who had arrived in New Amsterdam in 1650.[2] The Elders lived on the west side of Manhattan in what was then an attractive residential section.[3] Louisine, the second of four children,

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had two sisters, Annie (the oldest) and Adaline, and a younger brother George Waldron. Misfortune struck the family in March of 1873; George W. Elder died at the age of forty-four.[4] Not long afterwards (probably in the fall of 1873 or early in 1874), Mrs. Elder sent Louisine and her two sisters to Paris, where they were enrolled in Madame Del Sartre's fashionable boarding school.

A good friend of Madame Marie Del Sartre was Mary Cassatt, who at the pensionnat was introduced to the young Louisine Elder, most likely during the second half of 1874. The artist had spent the better part of two years (1872-73) studying in Italy and visiting European museums. Although she had settled in Parma, she managed to travel to Rome, Seville, Madrid, Antwerp, and Haarlem. When she met the young Louisine, the nearly thirty-year-old Mary Cassatt was still under the spell of the works by the great masters she had recently seen. Her talk of Correggio, Parmigianino, Velazquez, Goya, Rubens, and Hals impressed the sensitive Louisine, who had already been exposed to the wonders of art. Mary Cassatt's enthusiasm for painting and her involvement with her own work provoked an immediate response from Louisine, who had found a real-life heroine for her active romantic imagination: "I wondered how she had the courage to go to Spain in the days of the Carlista wars, or to Italy before the bandits were controlled, but she was resourceful, self-reliant, true, and brave and no

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one had a better or a more truly generous heart."[5]

Mary Cassatt must have been flattered by the effect she had on the young girl. Perhaps the fact that the two women were compatriots in a foreign country made them more susceptible to the development of a friendship. Cassatt enjoyed introducing Louisine Elder to the Paris she knew and loved:

> When we first met in Paris, she was very kind to me, showing me the splendid things in the great city, making them still more splendid by opening my eyes to see their beauty through her own knowledge and appreciation. I felt that Miss Cassatt was the most intelligent woman I had ever met and I cherished every word she uttered, and remembered almost every remark she made. It seemed to me, no one could see art more understandingly, feel it more deeply, or express themselves more clearly than she did. She opened her heart to me about art while she showed me the great city of Paris. 6

Louisine was not the sole recipient of Mary Cassatt's cordiality. Another devoted friend and admirer of the artist was the aspiring Bostonian painter, May Alcott (younger sister of Louisa), who was pursuing her studies in Paris and London. In one of her letters to her family, Miss Alcott provided a description of a visit to Cassatt's studio early in November 1876:

> Statues and articles of <u>vertue</u> filled the corners, the whole being lighted by a great antique hanging lamp. We sipped our chocalat [sic] from superior china, served on an India waiter, upon an embroidered cloth of heavy material. Miss Cassatt was charming as usual in two shades of brown satin and rep, being very lively and a woman of real genius, she will be a first-class light as soon as her pictures get a little circulated and known, for they are handled in a masterly way, with a touch of strength one seldom finds coming from a woman's fingers. . . . 7

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Mary Cassatt herself was then in the process of discovering the budding avant-garde movement of Impressionism. It was only natural that she make a convert out of Louisine. Before long the forceful, opinionated, and determined Cassatt convinced her younger friend that she should purchase some works of art.

Many years later, Mary Cassatt wrote to Louisine: "How well I remember nearly forty years ago seeing for the first time Degas' pastels in the window of a picture dealer, in the Boulevard Haussmann, I would go there and flatten my nose against that window, and absorb all I could of his art. It changed my life. I saw art then as I wanted to see it."[8] Mary Cassatt's enthusiasm for Degas's work knew no bounds. Before meeting the artist himself, she became his disciple, and remained so all her life. Her commitment to Degas was the most important and enduring principle of her artistic career. To share her excitement with her young friend, Cassatt took Louisine to a colorshop, where she could see one of Degas's pastels;[9] she urged Louisine to purchase his Répétition de ballet (Fig. 1). Louisine thought that she had developed a rather advanced taste in art under Mary Cassatt's tutelage, but she found this curious pastel with its asymmetrical composition and abruptly chopped-off figures difficult to comprehend. Her reaction to the pastel is best described in her own words: "It was so new and strange to me! I scarcely knew how to appreciate it, or

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whether I liked it or not, for I believed it takes special brain cells to understand Degas. There was nothing the matter with Miss Cassatt's brain cells, however, and she left me in no doubt as to the desirability of the purchase and I bought it upon her advice."[10] Thus in 1875 Louisine Elder became Degas's first American patron; the pastel had cost 500 francs, then worth about $100.

At the age of nineteen, Louisine acquired a taste for collecting, which was to remain a lifelong pursuit. Without suspecting that it would grow to such proportions, Mary Cassatt had planted the seed, though before her marriage, Louisine's purchases were limited by her small budget. In order to be able to buy Degas's pastel, she had to prevail upon her two sisters to lend her their monthly allowances, which, added to her own, provided the necessary sum.[11] Yet during that same year, Louisine managed to obtain one work each by Monet (Fig. 2) and Pissarro.[12] Subsequently she also purchased a small gouache from Mary Cassatt, a self-portrait of 1878 (Fig. 3).[13]

In 1877 Mary Cassatt actually met Degas, who had already noticed her work at the Salon of 1874 and had finally gone to see her. He then invited her to join him and the Impressionists; this she did eagerly, and first exhibited with them in 1879.[14] As of that date, Cassatt was no longer just an admirer of these artists, she was their greatest exponent. With her share of the proceeds

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from the Fourth Impressionist show of 1879,[15] she bought a painting by Monet and one by Degas.

Yet Cassatt's taste was not limited to the unorthodox band of Impressionists; another of her equally strong enthusiasms was for the work of Gustave Courbet. Louisine Elder had heard of Courbet even before she had become aware of Degas, Monet, or Pissarro. According to her Memoirs, at their very first meeting at Madame Del Sartre's pensionnat, Mary Cassatt was unable to stay for tea because she was rushing off to Courbet's studio to see a newly completed canvas.[16] ". . . she spoke of him [Courbet] as a painter of such great ability that I at once conceived a curiosity to see some of his pictures."[17] But Louisine did not see any of the artist's works until she was again in Paris in 1881 when there was a Courbet exhibition in the foyer of the Théâtre de la Gaîté. Louisine's Memoirs provide a record of the occasion:

> As usual, I owe it to Miss Cassatt that I was able to see the Courbets. She took me there, explained Courbet to me, spoke of the great painter in her flowing generous way, called my attention to his marvelous execution, to his color, above all to his realism, to that poignant, palpitating medium of truth through which he sought expression. I listened to her with such attention as we stood before his pictures and I never forgot it. 18

Cassatt also told Louisine that someday she must own one of his half-length nudes. Courbet was one of the artists for whom Mary Cassatt and Louisine Elder shared a lasting passion.

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As Louisine matured, her confidence in her own judgment increased. Once when she was spending "the season" in London with her mother and a friend of the latter, she had the temerity to pay a call on Whistler. Louisine's account of her visit to the artist was written at least thirty-five years after the event, thus it is understandable that she confused some dates and facts. Although she thought she had called on Whistler the year after she bought her Degas and Monet (1875), it is more likely that she was in London several years later.

In her Memoirs, Louisine seems to imply that she saw Whistler's one-man show of 1874 where his Portrait of Miss Alexander was exhibited for the first time. Yet she admitted not remembering any other works by Whistler on view. The reason for this is doubtless that she actually visited a group show in the spring of 1881 at the Grosvenor Gallery where Whistler was represented only by his Miss Alexander.[19] Having admired this painting, Louisine decided that she must have an example of the artist's work. Being a young woman of initiative, it was not long before she went with her mother to Whistler's Tite Street studio.[20] Far from feeling intimidated by the eccentric and unpredictable artist, Miss Elder immediately told him that she had but thirty pounds to spend and inquired what she might buy for that small sum. Louisine was clever enough also to inform Whistler that her friend Mary Cassatt had persuaded her to

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use her pocket money to purchase a Degas, a Pissarro, and a Monet. Whistler thereupon selected five of his Venice pastels on brown paper; he carefully put a title on the back of each and adorned them with his butterfly signature.[21] When Whistler delivered the framed pastels to Louisine's hotel, he stayed for several hours and "touched upon every subject of interest in London at the time, artistic, theatrical, and literary. . . ."[22] Louisine's resourcefulness had enabled her to charm the irascible Whistler and to acquire the best bargain in London (six pounds per pastel was a very low price even then; what she did not know was that the artist--as usual--was hard up).

Louisine was proud of her progressive taste in art and was eager to share her acquisitions with others. She may even have been curious to see what would happen if some of her countrymen were exposed to the wonders she had discovered in Europe. As early as February 1878, Louisine lent her Degas pastel and gouache Répétition de ballet to the Eleventh Annual Exhibition of the American Watercolor Society, held at the National Academy. This work (Cat. No. 233, A Ballet) was listed as belonging to G. W. Elder, the initials of both Louisine's deceased father and her younger brother George, and was shown in the West Room together with Reverie by one Edward Tofano,[23] also lent by G. W. Elder. Degas's ballet scene--the very first work of the French moderns to be exhibited in America--was almost

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totally overlooked by the critics. Although Clarence Cook of the New York Tribune wrote no fewer than three reviews of this show, he never mentioned Degas but did devote several appreciative lines to Tofano's Reverie. However, the reviewer for Scribner's Monthly was amazingly receptive to Degas's dancers: "Among the pictures from abroad, A Ballet, by Degas, gave us an opportunity of seeing the work of one of the strongest members of the French 'Impressionist' school, so called; though light, and in parts vague, in touch this is the assured work of a man who can, if he wishes, draw with the sharpness and firmness of Holbein."[24]

Two years later a work entitled A Study (Cat. No. 628) by Mary Cassatt was lent in the name of Louisine's mother, Mrs. A. S. W. Elder, to the Thirteenth Annual Exhibition of the same American Water-color Society. This was in all likelihood the gouache self-portrait of Mary Cassatt acquired by Louisine. According to her Memoirs, it seems that in the early eighties, Louisine again lent her Degas pastel, this time to the spring exhibition at the National Academy of Design (although the Academy's catalogues for that period do not list any work by the artist). On this occasion the Répétition de ballet (L. No. 365) probably provoked the same reaction that a similar subject by an English painter aroused in London when shown there in 1886; the Daily Chronicle commented on the inappropriateness of such a theme: ". . . there is a large full-length picture

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of a ballet girl in the principal gallery called 'terpsichord' . . . that we are sorry to see there. The art of painting is intended for something better than representations of ballet-girls, and whilst there may be grace in posture in a dance, we decline to think that time and skilled labour are well spent in such designs as the one we are referring to."[25]

It is not surprising, therefore, that the hanging committee at the National Academy did not share Louisine's feelings about her Degas. When she went with her sister to view the exhibition she was horrified by what she saw:

> We finally found our pastel skied upon the wall of a small room and alack! and alas! the delicate gray and green frame had been generously treated to a thick coating of brilliant gold bronze. We entered a protest at once, and learned that "the rules of the Academy exacted that all pictures exhibited should be provided with gold frames"; ergo the jury--there must have been one Dogberry at least among them--would not admit an Edgar Degas to an exhibition unless he submitted to their "golden" rule! Of course we were then only in the nineteenth century. . . . 26

Since her pastel had been framed by Degas himself, Louisine took great pains to have the frame restored to its original condition after the exhibition.

Mary Cassatt's proselytizing on behalf of her fellow Impressionists did not stop with Louisine Elder; her older brother Alexander Cassatt was not able to escape her promptings. But although his financial means were infinitely greater than the young Louisine's (he was at this time the first vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad),

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his capacity for art appreciation was much less developed. The fact was that he really was not very interested in pictures; not even the compelling enthusiasm of his sister was able to inspire him to become a collector in the true sense of the word. Alexander's wife Lois had even less use for art and tried to discourage her husband; yet in spite of their attitude, the determined Mary Cassatt provided Alexander with some very good paintings.

Not only did Mary Cassatt have to cope with Alexander's lackadaisical attitude toward picture buying, but her own mother did not give her much support in this direction either. In the fall of 1877 Mary's parents and sister Lydia had left Philadelphia to settle permanently in Paris; from that time on Mary Cassatt lived with her family. The earliest account of her efforts to secure paintings for her brother is to be found in a letter of December 10, 1880, addressed by Mrs. Cassatt to her son:

> I don't know whether Mary has written to you or not on the subject of pictures. I don't encourage her much as to buying the large one, being afraid that it would be too big for anything but a gallery or a room with a great many pictures in it--but it is unfinished or, rather, as a part of it has been washed out and Degas imagines he cannot retouch it without painting the whole over again--and he cannot make up his mind to do that--I doubt if he ever sells it. . . . Mary is keeping a look-out and whenever she thinks she sees anything of his or anyone else's which she thinks you would like at what she thinks reasonable prices she will buy them. She says she is afraid to order anything from Degas as he might make something so eccentric you might not like it. 27

Mary Cassatt thus met with difficulties on all sides. But

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at least Alexander respected his sister's artistic judgment enough to authorize her to be on the lookout on his behalf. Thus she was able to buy for him a Pissarro and a Monet. Mary's father seemed quite enthusiastic about his daughter's purchases, which appealed to his business sense. In a letter to Alexander of April 18, 1881, he tried to convince his son that he was making a sound investment: "Well you must know that in addition to the Pissarro, of which she wrote you she has bought for you a Marine by Monet for 800 francs--It is a beauty and you will see the day when you will have an offer of 8000 for it. . . ."[28] The same letter mentions the large painting by Degas that Mary wanted to acquire for her brother: "Degas still keeps promising to finish the picture you are to have and although it does not require more than two hours work it is still postponed--However he said today that want of money would compel him to finish it at once. You know he would not sell it to Mame [Mary Cassatt's family nickname], and she buys it from the dealer who lets her have it as a favor and at a less price than he would let it go to anyone but an artist. . . ." It is amazing to see how irrational Degas's behavior was even toward such a close friend. Mr. Cassatt, certainly more than the other members of the family, was aware of the significance of the purchases Mary had made for her brother. He concluded his letter with the statement: "When you get these pictures you will probably be the only person in Philadel-

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phia who owns specimens of either of the masters. Mame's friends the Elders have a Degas and a Pissarro and Mame thinks there are no others in America.[29] If exhibited at any of your Fine art shows they will be sure to attract attention. . . ."

The only other American to enter this area of collecting at the same time as Alexander Cassatt was Erwin Davis, a wealthy entrepreneur, who commissioned Julian Alden Weir to go to Europe in the summer of 1881 to buy for him some pictures. On the insistence of his friend and fellow artist William Merritt Chase, whom he happened to meet in Paris, Weir went to Durand-Ruel's and purchased Manet's L'Enfant à l'épée (R. & W. No. 37) and La Femme au perroquet (R. & W. No. 115).[30] Weir had first gone to France late in 1873 to study in the atelier of Gérôme; unlike Mary Cassatt (whose acquaintance he had made in Paris),[31] he was skeptical and highly critical of the first Impressionist paintings he saw. In 1877 Weir had found their third group exhibition a coloristic nightmare of badly drawn forms. Yet little by little he became attracted to the work of Manet and felt he deserved the support of fellow artists. After purchasing the two canvases for Davis, Weir was seized with the desire to meet the painter himself; he went to call on Manet, who was spending the summer in Versailles. In a letter to his family Weir gave the following account of his visit:

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> He was at home when I called, painting from a very beautiful model in a Watteau costume. He insisted on my coming in and that he was about to stop work. I told him of the two fine canvases I had purchased. . . . He said, "I have a landscape that I think you would be interested in." It was a fight between the Alabama and the Kearsage [sic] off the French coast near Cherbourg; it gave me great pleasure and I asked him if he would be willing to part with it. His price was 2000 francs [$400], which I decided to take. He went into the next room to get another canvas, when this charming model said to me: "Monsieur, you are a fool to pay so much, leave it to me, I could have bought that canvas for 200 francs," which showed the keen appreciation of this charming creature. He invited me to dine with him the next night. 32

Thus Weir actually bought three Manets for Erwin Davis in the summer of 1881--two from Durand-Ruel and the third directly from the artist.[33] Somewhere between 1881 and 1883 Davis also acquired a painting by Degas Danseuses (L. No. 617).[34] It is unlikely that Weir made this purchase for Davis because at that point he was not quite ready to appreciate the work of Degas.[35]

As both J. Alden Weir and Mary Cassatt found out, picture purchasing for others had its satisfactions and rewards but was also a source of concern and anxiety. There were moments when even the indefatigable Mary Cassatt was discouraged and felt burdened by the responsibility of buying for someone else, as expressed in her letter to Alexander of November 18, 1883:

> Did you get the photographs I sent you? I only sent them to give you an idea of Degas style, I don't like to buy anything for you, without your having some idea of what it would be like.
>
> The pictures from which the photographs were taken have

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> all been sold and Degas has but one racing picture finished and that is the large one; I was just thinking of buying you a smaller picture of ladies and children on horseback when a dealer picked it up and I don't see anything else in horse subjects that I can get for you at present. I feel it almost too much of a responsibility am afraid you won't like my selection; Mother does not give me much encouragement as "au fond" I think she believes picture buying to be a great extravagance. 36

Obviously she suffered from this lack of encouragement. Her zeal for buying works by the Impressionists was second only to her commitment to her own painting; the two were closely associated. Her family really did not understand the artistic side of Mary Cassatt, though her mother was grateful that this unmarried daughter had something to keep her busy. Mary Cassatt's involvement with her work was a part of her life that was completely separate from her daily existence. Only to the sympathetic Louisine Elder and even more to her colleague Degas was she able to reveal her true nature.

Mary Cassatt was a strange contradiction. In a professional capacity she was associated with the most avant-garde group of artists in France. Early in her career, she had become dissatisfied with the reactionary Salon painters and had enthusiastically joined the independents, as soon as Degas had invited her. For the rest of her life she shunned "establishment" associations of artists. On the other hand, she lived in Paris in the bosom of her family, exactly in the manner of a Philadelphia lady of good breeding. The Cassatt household was the essence of bourgeois

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respectability.

But it was exactly this dual aspect of Mary Cassatt which had such enormous appeal for the young Miss Elder. Louisine was attracted by the fact that within the sphere of such respectability one could have originality of taste and opinion; this was her ideal and she developed herself exactly along these lines. Mary Cassatt was not simply her art mentor but her model in a personal way as well. Both women were of impeccable background and lived and dressed accordingly. Louisine took pride in the ladylike appearance of her artist-friend: "Miss Cassatt's tall figure which she inherited from her father, had distinction and elegance and there was no trace of artistic negligence or carelessness which some painters affect. Once having seen her, you could never forget her from her remarkable small foot, to the plumed hat with the inevitable tip upon her head and the Brussel lace veil, without which she was never seen."[37] If either had been the least bit of a bohemian, they would have horrified one another.[38] Louisine often visited the Cassatts after their move to Paris. She was greatly impressed with Mary's concern for her home and family, which were the Victorian standard: "Her life ever after the Cassatts' arrival was an example of devotion to duty! She held duty high before her as a pilgrim would his cross. No sacrifice was too great for her to make for her family--or for her friends."[39]

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Although Louisine Elder profoundly admired Mary Cassatt and while they had much in common, Louisine was very different in both appearance and nature. In contrast to the tall, slender artist, she was small and full-bodied and certainly more sensual. She was a woman of great warmth and managed to be self-assured and modest at the same time; her intelligence was reflected in her alert violet eyes. Louisine's voice was usually soft and affectionate but on occasion could be cold with disdain.[40] Her cheerful personality was neither deeply introspective nor analytical in its reactions. She had a mind of her own but was far less stubborn in her viewpoint than her friend. All these characteristics enabled Louisine to get along with the more temperamental, outspoken, and highly opinionated Mary Cassatt. These same traits would help her handle and charm the imposing Henry Osborne Havemeyer.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Louisine Havemeyer's birth date and place of birth were taken from her death certificate on file in the New York City Department of Health, Bureau of Vital Records.

2. Henry O. Havemeyer (son of Theodore Augustus Havemeyer), "Biography of Henry Osborne Havemeyer by His Son Horace," Biographical Record of the Havemeyer Family, 1600-1945 (New York: Privately printed by the Scribner Press, 1944), p. 67.

3. The New York City Directory of 1862 lists George W. Elder's address as 114 West 22nd Street; the 1869 Directory gives 127 West 21st Street, his place of residence at the time of his death.

4. The Evening Post, March 26, 1873, p. 3. Mr. Elder's will (probated April 8, 1873) indicates that he left his family comfortably provided for; in addition to his business interests, he also owned some real estate.

5. Louisine Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, courtesy of Mrs. Electra McDowell, p. 2. This chapter was originally intended for Mrs. Havemeyer's Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector (New York: Privately printed, 1961).

6. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

7. Caroline Ticknor, May Alcott: A Memoir (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1928), pp. 151-52. May Alcott had first gone abroad in 1870 with Louisa, as the two sisters did again in 1873. She went back to Europe by herself in 1876, then returned, got married in 1878, and died in 1879. In the book's preface, Daniel Chester French paid the young artist the following tribute: "Miss Alcott was devoted to her art and gave to it the best of her enthusiastic nature. She had talent and training, and her works, particularly her water colors, have a very distinct charm. Her sketches are still eagerly sought, both for their intrinsic value and for their association with the name of Alcott." May Alcott's letter was brought to my attention by Professor William Gerdts.

8. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 9.

9. The date was most likely 1875 when Lousine was nineteen

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years old; the color shop could have been père Julien Tanguy's on the rue Clauzel. See John Rewald, The History of Impressionism, 4th rev. ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973), p. 301.

10. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, pp. 249-50.

11. This information was taken from the unpublished memoirs of George Griswold Frelinghuysen, grandson of Louisine Havemeyer.

12. Louisine Elder's Monet, Le Pont, Amsterdam, 1874 (W. No. 306), bought for 300 francs, was the first one by several years in America. Her Pissarro fan painting, probably Peasant Girls at Normandy, was purchased from Mary Cassatt.

13. Portrait of the Artist (B. No. 55, Metropolitan Museum of Art as of 1975) is one of two known self-portraits of Mary Cassatt; the other being a watercolor (B. No. 618), now in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C. Mrs. Havemeyer wrote the following about Cassatt's 1878 self-portrait: "The only suggestion of a portrait that I know of her is a small picture that I bought before my marriage. It is in gouache and represents a lady in a bonnet with her gloved hands lying upon her lap. Miss Cassatt told me she was her own model for that picture and did it looking at herself in a mirror. The hands are very characteristic and she wore the same bonnet when she posed for one of Degas' Modistes." Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 8.

14. On this occasion Mary Cassatt showed two paintings of her sister: Lydia in a Loge (B. No. 64) and The Cup of Tea (B. No. 65). She was the only American ever to exhibit with this group of French independents. It does not seem likely that Louisine Elder attended the Impressionists' fourth show in the spring of 1879, since she does not mention the event in her Memoirs.

15. In spite of the fact that only a few works had been sold out of the exhibition, there remained (after expenses) a profit of over 6,000 francs from entrance fees and catalogue sales. The month-long display (April 10-May 11, 1879) had been well attended, though most visitors went out of curiosity or for amusement. Each of the sixteen participants received 439 francs. See Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 424.

16. Cassatt could have been rushing off to see a Courbet

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painting, but not one that he had recently finished in his studio. In 1871 the artist had been imprisoned for his involvement in the destruction of the Vendome Column. After having completed his prison term, Courbet fled to Switzerland where he died in 1877.

17. Mrs. Havemeyer, <u>Memoirs</u>, p. 190.

18. Ibid.

19. See Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, with the assistance of Hamish Miles, <u>The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler</u> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), No. 129, <u>Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander</u>.

20. In her recollections, Louisine wrote that they went to Whistler's White House in Cheyne Walk, but the White House had been sold in September 1879; shortly after Whistler had gone to Venice, where he remained until November of 1880.

21. These Venice pastels were unsold surplus from Whistler's exhibition of fifty-three Venice pastels at the Fine Art Society in January 1881. Since all five of them had been in this show, they could not possibly have been bought before 1881.

22. Mrs. Havemeyer, <u>Memoirs</u>, pp. 210-11.

23. Edward Tofano was not a member of the National Academy of Design and there is no trace of his name in the records for the Academy's annual exhibitions.

24. <u>Scribner's Monthly</u> 15 (April 1878):888-89. I am indebted to Professor William Gerdts for bringing this review to my attention, thus enabling me to firmly establish that Louisine Elder's <u>Répétition de ballet</u> was the first work by the artist to be exhibited on this side of the Atlantic. According to Hans Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," <u>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</u> 29 (April 1946):235, the art section of <u>Scribner's Monthly</u> was under the directorship of Richard Watson Gilder, who was an unusually perceptive and progressive critic.

25. Anonymous article, <u>London Daily Chronicle</u>, December 3, 1886, quoted by A. Ludovici, <u>An Artist's Life in London and Paris, 1870-1925</u> (New York: Minton, Balch, & Co., 1926), p. 172.

26. Mrs. Havemeyer, <u>Memoirs</u>, p. 251.

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27. Mrs. Robert Simpson Cassatt to her son Alexander, December 10, 1880, Collection of letters given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

28. Mr. Robert Simpson Cassatt to his son Alexander, April 18, 1881, same collection of letters as the above. Monet's Marine Mr. Cassatt refers to is probably La Vague verte (W. No. 73). In 1898 Alexander Cassatt returned this painting to Durand-Ruel who sold it to the Havemeyers that same year.

29. It is possible that by April 1881, Erwin Davis had already acquired his Degas painting Danseuses (see p. 24), and even before that date there was definitely another work by Pissarro in America. In 1874 or 1875 Henry C. Angell of Boston had purchased a Pissarro painting, bought for him in Paris by the artist J. Foxcroft Cole. See Alexandra R. Murphy's essay, "French Paintings in Boston, 1800-1900," in the catalogue Corot to Braque: French Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), p. xli.

30. In addition to the Manets, Weir's picture-buying trip yielded some thirty paintings, among which were a Velazquez, Courbet's Violoncellist, and two portraits of little girls: one by Sir Joshua Reynolds, the other by Gainsborough. He also purchased a large group of Rembrandt etchings. (See Dorothy Weir Young, The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir, ed. and an intro. by Lawrence W. Chisolm [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960], p. 145.) Erwin Davis's Manhattan residence, which consisted of two floors of an apartment building at the corner of Madison Avenue and 30th Street, was eventually filled with an extensive collection of predominantly nineteenth-century French masters, as well as an important group of Barye bronzes. (The Erwin Davis Papers are at the New York Historical Society.)

31. Mrs. Bradford Alden, Weir's patroness who considered him her godson, wrote to the aspiring painter on August 18, 1873, before he had left for Paris: "If you ever meet a Miss Mary Cassatt, quite a successful young artist I hear, I wish you would make her acquaintance by mentioning us. Her Father was a cousin of my Mother's, and it seems she has developed this talent, and is improving it abroad." Dorothy Weir [Young], comp., Records of the Paintings of J. Alden Weir, Letters (1869-74), ms. in possession of artist's family. This letter was kindly made available to me by Doreen

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Burke, Assistant Curator, American Paintings and Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

32. Young, The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir, pp. 145-46. Weir was mistaken when he referred to the scene as a fight between the Alabama and the Kearsarge. A precise description of the subject was provided by Art Age at the time of the Erwin Davis auction in March 1889, in an article that speaks among others of a marine by Manet, "a superb sweep of water with a black mass forming the outline of a vessel and the dark bodies of porpoises used as accents in the foreground . . ." (p. 60).

33. Since 1954, this third painting has been in the Philadelphia Museum with the title Marine (R. & W. No. 79, Les Marsouins, Marine, 1864). On Davis's purchase of the picture and its subsequent sale, see Frances Weitzenhoffer, "First Manet Paintings to Enter an American Museum," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 97 (March 1981):125-29.

34. In 1892, after a railway accident that severely injured his backbone and contributed considerably to the decline of his health, Erwin Davis sold his Degas painting Danseuses (L. No. 617) to Cottier & Co. The following year it was acquired by Alfred Atmore Pope (see chap. IX, p. 213); today the picture is in the Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, Conn., the Pope family home, which became a museum upon the death of Theodate Pope Riddle in 1946.

35. It would not be until Durand-Ruel's 1886 New York Exhibition "The Impressionists of Paris" that Weir experienced a change of attitude toward these artists and was favorably impressed by their work. See the chapter on Julian Alden Weir in the catalogue, William H. Gerdts, American Impressionism (Seattle: The Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, 1980), pp. 71-75.

36. Mary Cassatt to her brother Alexander, November 18, 1883, Collection of letters given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

37. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, pp. 7-8.

38. In spite of her enthusiasm for the new school of French painting, Louisine Elder went with her mother in 1877 to have their portraits painted by the fashion-

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able Salon artist Jean-Jacques Henner. Such portraits by then famous artists were considered a "must" among young ladies of Louisine's social milieu.

39. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 5.

40. I am indebted to George Frelinghuysen for having provided me with a description of his grandmother Louisine.

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CHAPTER II

LOUISINE ELDER'S MARRIAGE TO HENRY O. HAVEMEYER

On August 22, 1883, Louisine Waldron Elder, age twenty-eight, married Henry Osborne Havemeyer, age thirty-six (born Manhattan, October 18, 1847). The ceremony was performed by the Reverend B. M. Yarrington in Greenwich, Connecticut.[1] It seems that she had known her husband from early childhood; Henry's mother having died when he was four years old,[2] he was raised by his eldest sister, Mary, who in 1858 had married Lawrence Elder, the brother of Louisine's father. From the time he was fifteen, Louisine's own parents, George and Mathilda Elder, cared for Henry Havemeyer. Thus Louisine and Henry spent several years growing up in the same household, except when Henry was away at boarding school in Stamford, Connecticut. In March of 1873, the twenty-three-year-old Henry Havemeyer had married Mary Louise Elder (Louisine's aunt for whom she had been named); they had no children and were eventually divorced.[3]

The young Henry Havemeyer had a severe drinking problem that precipitated his divorce, after which he went to live with Louisine's sister Adaline and her husband Samuel

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Peters. In 1883 Louisine consented to marry Henry on the condition that he never touch another drop, a promise he lived up to for the rest of his life.[4] Divorce was not a common occurrence at that time and those who had been divorced were no longer considered socially acceptable in fashionable society.[5] For this reason Louisine and Henry had an informal country wedding; the bride wore a pink gingham dress. Although Louisine had been christened Louise, before her marriage she legally changed her name to Louisine Waldron Elder[6] to avoid confusion with her aunt who called herself Louise E. Havemeyer.

At the age of thirty-six, Henry O. Havemeyer, commonly referred to as Harry,[7] "was already moon-faced, with steely, pale, blue eyes, a firm moustached mouth, and a bulky imposing figure that seemed built to fit a dignified frock coat."[8] Harry's father, Frederick Christian Havemeyer, Jr., himself a product of the apprentice system, saw to it that there was no detail of the sugar-refining business that his sons did not learn.[9] Once Harry had received the equivalent of a high school education, his father insisted that he put on overalls and experience every aspect of the family business. Although Harry had been a difficult and uninspired pupil at the Betts School in Stamford, he developed a flair for the sugar industry. After three years of laboring in the refineries, Harry became assistant sales agent; subsequently he took charge of the

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buying and selling department of his father's firm. Frederick C. Havemeyer was fortunate in that his elder son Theodore emerged from his apprenticeship well equipped to handle the manufacturing end of the business, while his youngest son Harry had a natural inclination for the financial interests of the house.

The trade of sugar refining came to Harry Havemeyer and his brothers as a family inheritance. Several branches of the Havemeyer family, who had immigrated from Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were engaged in this business. It was Harry's grandfather (and his brother) who started the first small-scale sugar "bakery" in Greenwich Village, Manhattan, and it was his father (and his cousin) who vastly extended the business by acquiring property in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, where they began constructing a group of buildings which later grew into one of the largest sugar refineries in the world. In 1863, the company had become Havemeyers and Elder, when Harry's father made his son Theodore A. and his son-in-law J. Lawrence Elder partners in the business. In 1869, at the age of twenty-two, Harry Havemeyer in turn was admitted to partnership in the firm of Havemeyers and Elder, the name under which the business continued, even though J. Lawrence Elder had died in 1868.[10] Shortly afterwards, Harry's father retired from an active role in the company but maintained close supervision over its affairs.

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Harry Havemeyer was an unusually hard worker and all his life kept long, regular hours at his office at 98 Wall Street. His quick, sharp mind was capable of split-second decisions; he soon became known as the shrewdest man in the business. His head was always filled with projects, such as special studies of production and distributing markets. His business personality was tough and aggressive, his manner was abrupt and severe. He did not have a moment to spare and was a man of few words. His elder brother Theodore was considerably more agreeable and had the reputation of being the diplomat in the family. But it was the belligerent Harry, on the basis of his aptitude and energy, who became the virtual head of the firm and later earned the title of "Sugar King."

H. O. Havemeyer may have owed some of his forceful characteristics as well as his middle name to his maternal Irish grandmother, Mary Osborne Henderson. The obstinate Mary Osborne was disinherited by her family for marrying Mr. Henderson because he was not a Roman Catholic; eventually she and her husband came to America. Their grandson, Henry Osborne Havemeyer, was himself a bit hotheaded; once he was even expelled from school after a row with the principal. Harry did not have the patience for scholarship but he certainly had the ingelligence and his father exposed him to a certain degree of culture. Harry's father had spent two years at Columbia College and always maintained

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a deep love for literature and for the study of Latin. From 1842 until 1856, Frederick C. Havemeyer, Jr., had semi-retired from the sugar business (leaving the company in the capable hands of his brother and cousins) in order to travel in the United States and Europe and to pursue his personal interests. During the course of his travels Frederick C. Havemeyer, Jr., studied the innovations of the sugar-refining industry in Europe. He was also deeply interested in public systems of education. He inspected Old World institutions and methods with the hope of being able to benefit public education in his own country. It is possible that the very young Harry accompanied his father on some of these trips; certainly the older children did. From early on Harry loved music and even developed into a skillful amateur violinist. Later it became his daily relaxation to play the violin, sometimes for as much as three hours. The often implacable businessman did have a warm and genial side, yet he only showed it to his family and a very narrow circle of friends. With those he loved, his "firmness and determination could relax and swing like a pendulum into a gentleness that was touching."[11]

At some point Harry Havemeyer began to think about art; perhaps it was after his first marriage in 1870 when he was in the process of furnishing his home at 10 West 45th Street.[12] It could have been at the National Academy of Design or at Samuel P. Avery's Fifth Avenue gallery that

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Harry first noticed the work of Samuel Colman. This well-traveled artist painted romantic landscapes inspired by the regions he had visited in Europe and North Africa, as well as large pictures of scenes along the Hudson River and of the expansive American West. Perhaps Harry's cousin William (son of William F. Havemeyer, Jr., former mayor of New York and partner of Harry's father) was the one to bring the work of Samuel Colman to Harry's attention, since William himself was an avid collector of American art. In any case, at some point during the 1870s, Harry Havemeyer met the artist; it is most likely that the date was 1875, after Colman's return from an extensive journey that had taken him to Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Italy, France, and Holland. According to the critic of Appleton's, a considerable number of Colman's sketches and paintings from his foreign travels were on view in December 1875 at Snedecor's Gallery on Fifth Avenue, then one of the foremost art galleries in America.[13] Harry Havemeyer may have been introduced to Samuel Colman at this exhibition, which was probably an artistic "event" of the season. There is no proof that Mr. Havemeyer actually bought any of Samuel Colman's work at that time, but the two men did become friends.[14]

In 1876 Harry Havemeyer and Samuel Colman visited the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition together; the painter Louis C. Tiffany (a former pupil and travel companion of Colman's) may have gone with them.[15] The Centennial Exhi-

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bition provided an impetus for a new interest in decorative arts.[16] Foremost among them were treasures from the Orient; Colman's enthusiasm for these must have been infectious. Harry Havemeyer took his first major step in collecting at the Philadelphia Centennial. Louisine Havemeyer later recorded this occasion, which had taken place before her marriage:

> In 1876, Mr. Samuel Colman with Mr. Havemeyer visited the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. They became interested in the exhibits of China, and especially in those of Japan, with the result that my husband bought many beautiful objects of art and a collection of Japanese textiles, a wonderful lot of brocades of lustrous gold and silver, and rich blues, reds and greens. Never did more splendid fabrics come out of the East. 17

He also bought Japanese lacquer boxes, sword guards, and dozens of carved ivory inros. Mr. Havemeyer's aesthetic response was to the solid form of these three-dimensional objects as well as to their delicate workmanship. Having received the initial stimulation from his friend Colman, he was ready to collect in this field, and he was not one to do things halfheartedly. Harry Havemeyer plunged into the acquisition of Oriental art with great zest and energy and soon developed a discriminating and perceptive eye for quality.

In addition to his growing involvement with Chinese and Japanese decorative wares, Harry Havemeyer began to concern himself with French painting. Initially he felt that he should have works by established Salon artists, as indicated by his 1879 acquisition from M. Knoedler & Co. of Surprises par la pluie by Firmin Girard,[18] a former

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pupil of Gleyre. But in 1881 he returned to Knoedler's and purchased during the course of that year no fewer than five paintings by Barbizon artists: two works by Diaz, and one each by Rousseau, Corot, and Millet, whereas he selected only one by the Salon painter Jean-Jacques Henner.[19] The following year he went even a step further; in September 1882, Harry acquired from the same source Delacroix's Cavalier arabe.[20]

Thus when Louisine Elder married Harry Havemeyer in 1883, each of them had already developed independent artistic interests. They were mature individuals with distinctive tastes and different methods of operating. Mr. Havemeyer's major preoccupation was the purchasing of Chinese porcelains, bronze pots, and rugs, Japanese textiles and tea jars, Cypriote glass, and other such items in large quantities. He knew what he liked and decided quickly; he did not question the price if he believed in the quality of the object. He felt that great works of art could never supply the demand and therefore would increase in price in the future.

Louisine's approach to art was very different from the impulsive, extravagant buying of her husband. Her early exposure to avant-garde French art and European culture had instilled within her a tremendous desire to be an original. She was not afraid of the new and the unfamiliar and had a pioneering spirit. Yet she also had the virtue of patience.

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Although she had been converted by Mary Cassatt into one of the most ardent disciples of the moderns, she did not try to bring her husband around to her way of thinking until she felt he was ready. Unlike the impetuous Mr. Havemeyer, she could wait years until she was able to secure a particular picture, meanwhile relishing its beauty in her memory. For her the most important thing was the experiencing of a work of art; its possession was secondary. Sometimes she was deprived of the pleasure of ownership because of her frugality. In her early days she had been forced to save and budget her small allowance in order to buy a coveted object, but she remained careful about money all her life; she even thoroughly enjoyed bargaining. Fortunately these differences in temperament between Louisine and Harry Havemeyer complemented one another, enabling them to develop into a unique collecting team.

During the early years of their marriage, it was Mr. Havemeyer's voluminous accumulation of Oriental art that kept Louisine busy, in addition to her new responsibilities as a wife and mother. The Havemeyers had moved into a fairly modest brownstone at 34 East 36th Street, where in July of 1884 their first child, Adaline, was born. That same year, Mrs. Havemeyer made her initial acquaintance with Japanese tea jars, which she would come to know very well; eventually her husband acquired as many as 475 of them. In her Memoirs, Mrs. Havemeyer recalls how one

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morning, when leaving for the office, her husband nonchalantly informed her of the fact that a case of tea jars would arrive later in the day. He told her to unpack them, select the ones she preferred, and put the rest in storage. Louisine was completely puzzled as to what a tea jar was, but since Mr. Havemeyer had said that they were beautiful and that she would admire them, she waited anxiously for their arrival. She was not disappointed:

> I opened the case and was surprised to find it contained innumerable small boxes. I opened these small boxes and found they contained each another box inside. Upon opening the second box I found it had a silk bag and upon undoing the silk bag my little "brownie" revealed himself to me. Like a child with a toy I soon had rows of brownies about me, while the little boxes were in a heap upon the floor beside me. What pretty, dainty things they appeared to me! Soft clay bearing the mark of the wheel, with here and there a drip of dark glaze--or a metallic souffle covering the entire jar. There were cool dark browns relieved by a splash of most lovely shaded blue or a glow of yellow, or--or--or--indeed I cannot tell you of all their dainty forms or solemn tones; rows of tiny jars as varied as the smile of as many lips, or varied as the twinkle of as many eyes. Never shall I forget that morning with my tea jars, those little jars which were taken from their many wrappings upon some grand occasion when princes knelt before them, when they crawled into the sequestered room and joined in the solemn tea ceremony. 21

Louisine was entranced with the romantic associations evoked by the tea jars. There were certainly other such discoveries for her during the early years of her marriage and she was eager to learn about the treasures her husband was rapidly accumulating. At this point Harry took the lead in their collecting; she was the more passive partner faced with the ever-increasing problem of finding a place

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for her husband's numerous purchases. As always she approached her task in a cheerful, good-humored way. She felt that she was well rewarded for her labors by the pleasure she received from handling the various objects, and she was at the same time expanding her knowledge and understanding of Oriental art.

It is interesting to observe that Mary Cassatt was also proceeding cautiously with her friend's new husband. The artist, who was not to meet Harry Havemeyer until 1889, decided to be conservative in her selection of a wedding present, about which she wrote to her brother Alexander on November 18, 1883: "I sent home a Diaz to the Elders, for Mrs. Havemeyer, they are polite enough to say they were pleased, I hope they were."[22] Perhaps she wanted the Havemeyers to have a work of art with which Harry would be comfortable or it could be that she desired to make a very substantial gift; in those days a picture by Diaz was worth much more than one by Degas. In the same letter Mary Cassatt urged her brother to call on the Havemeyers, assuring him that he will like them. She probably was very curious about Louisine's husband and wanted to have a firsthand report.

Most accounts about the Havemeyers claim that they started out with then popular anecdotal paintings, but it does seem that Louisine soon attempted to dissuade her husband from buying still more fashionable Paris Salon pic-

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tures. He did, however, continue to acquire Barbizon paintings[23] and probably also some American landscapes suggested by Samuel Colman or William Havemeyer. Although Louisine's "dowry" had consisted of one work each by Degas, Monet, Pissarro, and Cassatt, as well as five Whistler pastels, she was not able to expose her husband to more works by the moderns. At that time it was difficult to find any of their pictures in America and Mr. Havemeyer was too busy to go abroad.

There were only two occasions between 1883 and 1885 when Harry Havemeyer could have seen works by the Impressionists on his side of the Atlantic. The first was the "Foreign Exhibition" which took place in the Mechanics' Building in Boston in 1883. Durand-Ruel (and perhaps others) sent a modest selection of oil paintings and watercolors by the modern French school: two by Manet, three by Monet, six by Pissarro, three by Renoir, and three by Sisley; there were also works by Courbet and Corot.[24] In connection with this show Durand-Ruel made his inaugural trip to America, an event that, within a few years, would have far-reaching consequences for the Impressionists.[25] However, at this time, their pictures, lost among the Salon paintings and various decorative objects surrounding them, were overlooked by the general public. The "Foreign Exhibition" opened on September 3, 1883--the Havemeyers had been married since August 22 of that year--but it appears

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unlikely that Louisine took her new husband to Boston.

Yet the following December, Harry Havemeyer must have accompanied his wife to the "Pedestal Exhibition" at New York's National Academy of Design, held to raise funds for a base for Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty (presented by the French government in the fall of 1883). This exhibition consisted of more than 5,000 works: not only paintings and sculpture, but also armor and arms, old coins and medals, stained glass, illuminated missals, musical instruments, faience and porcelains, tapestries and costumes, plus Oriental and even aboriginal art.[26] There had been no comparable display since the Philadelphia Centennial seven years earlier. A portfolio containing contributions from distinguished writers (including Emma Lazarus's renowned poem) and sketches by artists was offered for sale. Harry Havemeyer's brother Theodore lent nine European Salon pictures to the exhibition, among them one painting each by Constant Troyon and Alfred Stevens.[27]

William Merritt Chase and J. Alden Weir, as members of the "Committee on Painting and Sculpture," made sure that there was a large representation of Barbizon paintings as well as a selection of works by Courbet. But Chase and Weir apparently went a step further; the fact is that the show also included three canvases by Manet, and one by Degas. Two of the Manets, Boy with Sword (Pedestal Cat. No. 153, Fig. 4) and Portrait of a Lady (Pedestal Cat. No.

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182, Fig. 5), were lent by Erwin Davis. The third Manet, Toreador (Pedestal Cat. No. 191), belonged to Weir's dealer, Daniel Cottier, who in 1873 had opened a gallery for fine furniture and pictures in New York.[28] Possibly as a gesture of good will toward Erwin Davis, who lent no fewer than thirty-seven pictures to the "Pedestal Exhibition," the committee also borrowed his Degas, The Ballet (Pedestal Cat. No. 169, Fig. 6). These examples by the moderns were hung in prominent positions, where they were, if not appreciated, at least noticed. Being among the few who liked such revolutionary works, Louisine Havemeyer must have been pleased to see these canvases on display at the Academy, particularly Degas's picture of dancers which was not "skied" upon the wall as hers had been. More typical of the reaction to these paintings was the opinion expressed by the editor of the Art Amateur: "Degas's ugly little ballet girls in pink occupied a place of honor in the large south room facing Manet's Boy with the Sword, and a very homely young person holding up her petticoat [Manet's Portrait of a Lady]--the title of the picture I do not remember."[29]

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NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Book Two, p. 354, Office of the Town Clerk, Bureau of Vital Records, Greenwich, Connecticut.

2. Harry's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Frederic C. Havemeyer, Jr., had ten children; Harry was their eighth child, the youngest surviving son. In 1851 Harry's mother, Sarah Henderson Havemeyer, passed away, leaving his father with children from nineteen to two years of age to look after.

3. Havemeyer, Biographical Record of the Havemeyer Family, p. 67.

4. George Frelinghuysen's unpublished memoirs.

5. The first Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer went to live in Stamford, Connecticut, where she was indeed avoided by certain prominent members of the community. This is confirmed by Book I of the autobiography of William Milliken (former director of the Cleveland Museum), who wrote: "South Street was still the court street of Stamford before the families took to the surrounding hills. . . . Miss Mary Windle lived next door, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, who my mother did not approve of as she was divorced, lived opposite" (The William Milliken Papers, Archives of American Art, New York City). Mrs. Louise E. Havemeyer remained in Stamford until her death in February 1897.

6. According to George Frelinghuysen, Louisine made up her new first name and took her mother's maiden name as her middle one.

7. Upon request of George Frelinghuysen, his grandfather will be called "Harry" Havemeyer throughout this study.

8. Aline B. Saarinen, The Proud Possessors (New York: Random House, 1958), p. 145.

9. Four of Frederick C. Havemeyer's five sons, George, Theodore, Thomas, and Harry, plus his nephew Charles H. Senff, were involved in the sugar business. George was killed in an accident at the refinery in 1861.

10. Harry Havemeyer's cousin Charles H. Senff became a partner of Havemeyers and Elder in 1868, as did his brother Thomas J. Havemeyer in 1869.

11. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 39.

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12. The New York City Directories from 1870 to 1875 give 10 West 45th Street as the address of H. O. Havemeyer.

13. Wayne Craven, "Samuel Colman (1832-1920): Rediscovered Painter of Far-away Places," American Art Journal 7 (May 1976):29.

14. Eventually Mr. Havemeyer acquired two paintings, six watercolors, and two prints by his friend Samuel Colman. See the catalogue H. O. Havemeyer Collection (Portland, Maine: The Southworth Press, 1931), pp. 508-9, 212.

15. Samuel Colman and Louis Tiffany exhibited both paintings and watercolors at the Philadelphia Centennial. (United States Centennial Commission International Exhibition 1876, Official Catalogue: Art Gallery and Annexes: Department IV, 6th ed. [Cambridge, Mass.: John R. Nagle, 1876].) It is not certain that Tiffany had received any formal instruction from Samuel Colman, but the two were close friends and young Tiffany spent much of his time in Colman's studio. For Tiffany's career as a painter, see Gary Reynolds, Louis Comfort Tiffany: The Paintings (New York: Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University, 1979).

16. In 1878 Tiffany organized Louis C. Tiffany and Company, Associated Artists, to promote the decorative arts in the U.S.; Samuel Colman was one of the associates for interior designing.

17. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 16.

18. Painting Stock Book No. 3--1875-83, Archives, The Knoedler Library, New York. I am extremely grateful to Nancy Little, Librarian, whose intimate knowledge of the Knoedler archives made it possible for me to find previously unknown information concerning Harry Havemeyer's early collecting activities.

19. Ibid. The two works by Diaz were Enfants et lézard and Intérieur de forêt; those by Rousseau and Corot were pure landscapes; and Millet's painting was L'Orage (Les Errants, Denver Art Museum).

20. Ibid. Harry Havemeyer paid $7,000 for his work by Delacroix.

21. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 16.

22. Mary Cassatt to her brother Alexander, November 18,

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1883, Collection of letters given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

23. A documented purchase of a Barbizon painting was Daubigny's Evening on the Marne bought by Harry Havemeyer in October 1885 from M. Knoedler & Co. (Painting Stock Book No. 4--1883-99, Archives, The Knoedler Gallery).

24. Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," pp. 229-30. According to Huth there might have been others who sent Impressionist pictures to the "Foreign Exhibition" in Boston, but it is impossible to tell from the catalogue who sent what.

25. It has not been previously known that Paul Durand-Ruel went to Boston in 1883. For this information concerning his grandfather, I am grateful to Charles Durand-Ruel.

26. See the Catalogue of The Pedestal Fund Art Loan Exhibition (New York: National Academy of Design, 1883).

27. In 1863 Theodore Havemeyer had married Emilie de Loosey, daughter of Charles F. de Loosey, Austrian Consul General in New York. Their townhouse on Madison Avenue and 38th Street was filled with fine furniture, Gobelin tapestries, and many European Salon paintings, chosen by Mrs. Theodore Havemeyer upon the advice of a "celebrated" Viennese artist.

28. Of Scottish origin, Daniel Cottier (1838-91) began his career as a decorator and manufacturer of glass; he started a business in London in 1869. In his New York gallery he handled works by Corot, Diaz, Daubigny, Rousseau, Monticelli, and Delacroix, as well as old masters and certain American painters. See "Daniel Cottier's Death," The Collector 2 (April 15, 1891):141; and intro. to the Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Pictures of the Late Daniel Cottier (Paris: Galleries Durand-Ruel, May 27-28, 1892).

29. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 15 (June 1886):2.

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CHAPTER III

PAUL DURAND-RUEL

Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer did not acquire any modern works between 1883 and 1885, but Mary Cassatt saw to it that a few canvases by artists she admired made their way to America during those years. She discovered that a daughter of her mother's first cousin was sympathetic to new art, and that this relative, being married to Thomas Alexander Scott, former President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, could well afford to indulge in paintings. Since Annie Scott and her mother, Mrs. Robert Moore Riddle, had been very kind to Mary Cassatt during her visit to London in the fall of 1883, the artist asked Mrs. Riddle to pose for her portrait when she came to Paris. In the course of these sittings in November 1883 Annie Scott developed an interest in her cousin's work; she went to Durand-Ruel's where she bought Cassatt's painting of two young girls at the theater entitled _In the Box_.[1] Her next purchases, at Cassatt's instigation, were Manet's portrait of a French opera singer, _Emilie Ambre dans le rôle de Carmen_, and two pastels by Manet, which she bought from the artist's widow.[2] Annie Scott thus greatly benefited from her exposure to Cassatt;[3] on the other hand she could not bring

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herself to like her mother's portrait, finding Mrs. Riddle's nose unduly emphasized.[4]

In spite of the obstacles with which Mary Cassatt had to cope, she managed to persist in her purchasing of pictures on her brother Alexander's behalf. In a letter of January 5, 1884, she wrote that, if the prices were sufficiently low, she hoped to obtain for him some works from the forthcoming posthumous sale of the contents of Manet's studio.[5] She sent a representative to the sale, who was able to secure two paintings for Alexander Cassatt, at what must have been low prices. One of these was L'Italienne (R. & W. No. 29), the other was Portrait de Marguerite de Conflans (R. & W. No. 204).

Mary Cassatt had previously managed to acquire a number of Monet paintings for her brother, which had already increased in value.[6] When a friend and business associate of Alexander Cassatt's, Frank G. Thomson, professed an interest in Monet's work, Alexander asked his sister to look for some pictures for him. She was only too glad to oblige and wrote her brother on April 27, 1884: "I will get the Monets for Mr. Thomson if I can at the price."[7] However, in this instance she was not successful. It was not until two years later that Mr. Thomson obtained his first picture by Monet, purchasing it from Durand-Ruel rather than from Mary Cassatt's agent, Arsène Portier, who had offered him some paintings at a special rate. She herself

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frequently dealt with Portier, a former employee of Paul Durand-Ruel who had become a modest, independent dealer. He handled works by such artists as Delacroix, Daumier, Corot, Manet, and several Impressionists. In addition to entrusting her own canvases to him and asking him to serve as her representative at auctions, Cassatt often had him show paintings by her colleagues to prospective American buyers. She was therefore greatly disappointed when Mr. Thomson did not take advantage of Portier's offer, informing her brother on September 2, 1886: "Just got a letter from Mr. Thomson, to tell me that Portier brought him two Monets or three cheap but he preferred buying one from Durand at 3000 frcs. I feel rather snubbed I advised him to buy cheap but I suppose he is the kind to prefer paying dear."[8]

In terms of her own attitude towards money, Mary Cassatt was as hardheaded as the rest of her family. Although she was buying works of fellow artists, this did not stop her from trying to get them at the lowest possible price. But she could be very generous indeed and lent money to Durand-Ruel, whose firm had been on the edge of bankruptcy after the depression of 1882.

Paul Durand-Ruel had suffered repeated reverses during the first half of the 1880s. Having previously earned an enviable reputation, both in France and America, as the dealer of the School of 1830, whose works had finally met

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with success, he had discovered the Impressionists and as a result had lost some of his former clientele. After 1870, when, for the first time, he exhibited paintings by Monet and Pissarro in London, Durand-Ruel was deeply committed to their work; in spite of the many monetary crises he was forced to endure, he never wavered in his support.[9]

A man of great integrity, Durand-Ruel had already expressed his principles of art dealing in the Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité in 1869: "Un véritable marchand de tableaux doit être en même temps un amateur éclairé, prêt à sacrifier au besoin son intérêt apparent du jour à ses convictions artistiques, et préférant lutter contre les spéculateurs que s'associer à leurs agissements."[10] Those lofty ideas of his role as apostle of the true art and his passion for painting created many difficulties for him. Not being able to sell in Paris, he sought other markets and decided to try to launch the Impressionists in England.[11] During the summer of 1882, he rented a gallery in London to exhibit a few of their pictures.[12] Next, he organized a larger exhibition of sixty-five works by Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, Boudin, Mary Cassatt, and Berthe Morisot in the spring of 1883 at the Dowdeswell Galleries on New Bond Street. These two shows did whet the appetite of an influential group of British critics, but there were no collectors courageous enough to buy.[13]

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But Paul Durand-Ruel's pioneering spirit was not dampened by his unsuccessful attempts to create interest in the Impressionists abroad. When the opportunity presented itself to send some of their pictures to Boston for the "Foreign Exhibition," he wrote Pissarro in May of 1883: "Il faut tâcher de révolutionner le nouveau monde en même temps que l'ancien."[14] Pissarro himself, however, was not as convinced as Durand-Ruel that it was a good idea to show their works in America. He expressed his feelings in a letter to Monet of June 12: "Une expédition a été faite de quelques-uns de nos tableaux pour l'exposition de Boston; d'après des avis d'Américains, j'ai su que c'était une exposition médiocre qui n'avait aucune influence. J'en ai parlé à Durand, il m'a répondu que c'était un essai, qu'il profitait de l'occasion pour nous montrer, surtout étant exempté de tout de douane."[15] Durand-Ruel obviously felt that he had nothing to lose since he would be presenting Impressionist works to a new audience.

Unfortunately the outcome of the Boston exhibition was negligible, as far as advancing the cause of Impressionism was concerned. Just as in England, there were few collectors or dealers willing to take a risk with the new French movement. This became evident by the lack of American participation (except for Alexander Cassatt, see p. 52) in the Manet estate auction in Paris, arranged by Durand-Ruel in February of 1884.[16] The sale yielded only modest

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results, and did not help Durand-Ruel's already unstable finances. Some Americans were even openly hostile to his handling of the auction, accusing him of exploiting the late artist. One such critic was Edward Villiers of the Art Amateur, who went out of his way to attack Durand-Ruel in his article on the Manet sale:

> The fact is that certain amateurs and professional dealers hope to see the day come when Manet's work will sell as Millet's work now sells, and therefore they are doing all they can to create fancy prices for his pictures. They imagined, too, because one notable American collector [Erwin Davis] had bought a Manet that the Americans were going to make a rush for them, and the estimable M. Durand-Ruel still entertains that fond hope. This gentleman had in his hands at a time when they sold for nothing all the great pictures of Corot, Delacroix, Millet, and Rousseau; and now he imagines that the future is reserving for the "impressionists" as brilliant an apotheosis as that which Millet and Rousseau are now enjoying, hence his craze for buying the wildest efforts of Manet's brush and of the brushes of Manet's disciples. 17

The situation was going from bad to worse, as Durand-Ruel recalled in his Memoirs:[18] "Cette vente Manet donne un aperçu de l'opinion publique à cette époque et des difficultés sans nombre contre lesquelles j'avais à lutter. Je ne sais pas comment j'aurais pu les surmonter sans une heureuse circonstance qui, à la fin de 1885, me mit en rapport avec l'American Art Association de New York."[19] Actually it was during the early summer of 1885 that James Fountain Sutton, representative of that association,[20] visited Durand-Ruel to mount an exhibition of his artists in New York.

James Sutton, son-in-law of R. H. Macy, proprietor

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of what was then a dry-goods bazaar on 14th Street, had gone into partnership in 1883 with the auctioneer Thomas Ellis Kirby.[21] They conceived an association "for the encouragement and promotion of American art,"[22] which they hoped would create a market for native painting. In order to emphasize their firm's noncommercial aspect, Sutton and Kirby started competitions for American artists; they got some of the wealthiest men in the country to judge the entries and to pay for the prizes. A fund was set up to be divided into four awards of $2,500 and ten gold medals (designed by Tiffany & Co.) of $100 each; among the initial subscribers were William Walters, Charles Dana, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Henry Marquand, John Taylor Johnston, William H. Vanderbilt, and Henry O. Havemeyer, plus several other businessmen from around the country. American artists, whether living at home or abroad, were invited to participate. The first of these "Prize Fund Exhibitions" was held in the spring of 1885 at the American Art Galleries. The award committee selected four works to receive prizes, which were given out before the exhibition opened to the public.[23] At the close of the show in the early fall, the prize-winning entries were presented to museums or art institutions in various cities, represented among the subscribers. For the second "Prize Fund Exhibition" in 1886, Mr. Havemeyer was again a contributor, together with a number of prominent art patrons, including Jay Gould and

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Benjamin Altman, as well as the two members of the firm, James Sutton and Thomas Kirby. In addition to gifts from individuals, the subscription fund also received donations from the Corcoran Gallery in Washington and the Southern Exposition Company of Louisville, Kentucky;[24] this time four principal prizes of $2,000 each were awarded.[25]

By 1888 the interest created by the initial "Prize Fund Exhibitions" had dwindled; at the fourth annual show, only one prize of $2,000 was offered to J. Alden Weir for his painting Idle Hours.[26] Art Age commented on the lack of quality evident that year: "There were not many paintings which could seriously pretend to compete with this canvas [Weir's] for the prize, and none of the pieces of sculpture."[27] The Art Amateur reported: "The latest 'Prize Fund Exhibition' now open in the American Art Galleries, is much inferior in interest to the best of its predecessors."[28] By 1888 Mr. Havemeyer's name was no longer on the list of subscribers.

In spite of the partners' ardent efforts as cultural impresarios, the American Art Association was not overrun with customers. As early as 1885, Kirby, an auctioneer at heart, had decided that the only way to help business was to manage sales for certain elite collections. He was provided with the perfect opportunity by the bankruptcy of a former client, George I. Seney, who suggested to his creditors that they let the American Art Association organize an

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auction of his mainly Barbizon pictures. The three nights of the Seney sale (March 31, April 1 and 2, 1885) yielded $406,910, the largest amount from an auction in America up to that time, and established Kirby's renown as an auctioneer.[29] Yet James Sutton hated to think of his cultural association becoming known only as a firm of public sales. Since people were still somewhat reluctant to buy American paintings, Sutton decided to go to Europe to look for some other kind of art to promote. After seeing a number of Impressionist pictures in Paris, he asked a mutual friend to take him to Durand-Ruel.[30] Sutton felt that these strange new paintings would create a sensation in the Association's lavish galleries on Madison Square. He found Durand-Ruel interested in his proposal. Unbeknownst to Sutton was the fact that the French dealer was desperate at that point and willing to try anything that might help. Durand-Ruel expressed his troubles in a letter to Pissarro of June 9, 1885: "J'ai toujours des affaires plein le dos. Des ennuis, voilà tout ce que l'on y gagne. Je voudrais être libre de m'en aller dans le désert. . . ."[31]

However, several of the Impressionists were less enthusiastic than their dealer about the idea of a New York exhibition. Monet did not want to have his most recent paintings sent to America, as he wrote to Durand-Ruel on July 28, 1885: "J'ai deux toiles auxquelles je travaille depuis un mois, mais j'avoue que certaines de ces toiles

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je les verrais à regret partir au pays des Yankees et j'en voudrais réserver un choix pour Paris, car c'est surtout et là seulement qu'il y a encore un peu de goût."[32] Renoir's attitude was more cooperative, but he too was somewhat skeptical and suggested to Durand-Ruel in October 1885: ". . . qu'il serait peut-être préférable, pour les Américains, d'envoyer des choses un peu plus vieilles . . . telles que les Canotiers, la Loge, et les Pêcheurs de moules. Ça ferait peut-être plus d'effet, car il doit y avoir aussi un Jury, peut-être pas plus intelligent que celui de notre bien heureux pays."[33]

Mary Cassatt was the only one of Paul Durand-Ruel's artists who urged him to strike out in the New World; she assured the apprehensive dealer that such a venture would be just what he needed to get him out of his current plight.[34] But in reality she was not as confident as she pretended to be, as shown by her letter of September 21, 1885, to her brother: "The New York Art Association have offered him their rooms for an exhibition and he is going over to make arrangements. Affairs here he complains are at a standstill and he hopes to have better luck in America. I doubt it however."[35] In the same letter Cassatt provides evidence that Durand-Ruel went to New York in September of 1885 to inspect the premises and study the situation before deciding to send over several hundred paintings: "I have no doubt that you will see Durand-Ruel by the time you get

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this for he wrote to me that he intended going to America and as I was in town a couple of weeks ago I called and gave him your address; he wanted me to give him a letter to you but I thought that quite unnecessary."[36] It is also possible that Durand-Ruel called on the Havemeyers during his visit in the fall of 1885. He must have known Louisine from her days in Paris before her marriage, when she was frequently in the company of Mary Cassatt.

Having seen the luxurious, recently remodeled galleries of the American Art Association, and having found the business arrangements more than suitable, Durand-Ruel was ready to proceed. The Association agreed to cover all costs for the exhibition--shipping, insurance, publicity, catalogue, etc.--Durand-Ruel had only to give them a commission on any work that was sold. The French dealer could never have afforded such a project without the financial aid and sponsorship of the Association. Because of the quasi-institutional character of his organization, Sutton managed to convince the customs officials to let in duty-free the forty-three cases sent from Paris as temporary imports. The high tariff rates on imported works of art were then a major concern as well as a hindrance to American collectors. Durand-Ruel had assembled about 300 pictures which were valued at $81,799. Among these were 23 works by Degas, 17 by Manet, 48 by Monet, 42 by Pissarro, 38 by Renoir, 3 by Seurat, 15 by Sisley, in addition to

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paintings by Boudin, Caillebotte, Forain, Cassatt, Guillaumin, and Morisot.[37] Paul Durand-Ruel and his son Charles left on March 13, 1886, in order to arrive in time to supervise the hanging.

Slowly, very slowly Impressionism had been creeping to America, but on April 10, 1886, the exhibition of "The Impressionists of Paris" burst upon the puzzled visitors to the American Art Galleries. The press reacted immediately; the critics generally found the new movement of interest although there were of course those who dismissed the event as worthless folly.[38] Perhaps in comparison to the avalanche of contempt his artists had received at home, Durand-Ruel found their reception in New York more encouraging and certainly less hostile: "L'exposition eut un immense succès de curiosité et, à l'inverse de ce qui s'était passé à Paris, elle ne provoqua ni tapage ni stupides remarques et ne souleva aucune protestation. . . . Le public et tous les amateurs venaient non pas pour rire, mais pour se rendre compte de ce qu'étaient réellement ces fameux tableaux qui avaient fait tant de bruit à Paris."[39] Durand-Ruel also attributed the relative success of this exhibition to the fact that he was well respected in America as the champion of the Barbizon painters, whose work was in great demand. Now American collectors were curious to examine the art of his latest protégés. But after several weeks, certain conservative dealers became uneasy

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about the stir the exhibition was creating in the New York art world and began a campaign to have the paintings taxed. In order to avoid the prohibitive import duties of thirty percent, Sutton and Durand-Ruel moved the entire show to the National Academy of Design, an institution unquestionably devoted to the "higher ideals" of art, where it opened on May 25.[40] Twenty-one Impressionist paintings were added, thirteen of which were lent by private owners--Alexander Cassatt, Erwin Davis, H. O. Havemeyer, and one anonymous collector. A new catalogue was printed, but neither edition mentioned Durand-Ruel by name except in the introductory section, which contained reprints from London and Paris newspaper reviews of former Impressionist exhibitions.

The collector who lent the most of the newly added works was Alexander Cassatt. His loans consisted of a Manet, Boats on the Meuse, Holland (R. & W. No. 185, Vue de Hollande); a Degas, Repetition of the Dance (possibly L. No. 479, Classe de ballet); and two Monets, Sunset on the Seine (W. No. 328, Coucher de soleil sur la Seine) and Banks of the Meuse (W. No. 174, Les Bords de la Zaan), all of which had been bought for him by his sister between 1880 and 1886.[41] He also lent Mary Cassatt's Family Group (B. No. 77, Mrs. Cassatt Reading to her Grandchildren) and her Portrait of a Lady (B. No. 128, Reading The Figaro).[42] The contribution of Erwin Davis was Manet's The Boy with a Sword (R. & W. No. 37, L'Enfant à l'épée); and Degas's

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Ballet Dancers (L. No. 617, Danseuses); both of these paintings had been in the "Pedestal Exhibition." The Havemeyer loans--Monet's View in Holland (W. No. 306, Le Pont, Amsterdam) and Pissarro's Peasant Girls at Normandy--were the works bought by Mrs. Havemeyer as a young girl in Paris.[43] It was characteristic of Louisine to lend her pictures under the name of H. O. Havemeyer, just as she had lent her Cassatt gouache in 1880 to the Thirteenth Annual Exhibition of the American Watercolor Society in her mother's name. Durand-Ruel had probably requested these loans to encourage prospective clients by showing that some of their fellow countrymen had already committed themselves.

Buyers were not as numerous as lookers who came simply to scoff, but Durand-Ruel managed to sell some $18,000 worth of pictures on which he had to pay $5,500 in duties (a work lost its tax-exempt status as soon as it was sold). In his Memoirs he mentions the names of some of his customers, such as William Fuller, Erwin Davis, Alden Weyman Kingman, Albert Spencer, Cyrus Lawrence, Desmond Fitzgerald, Henry O. Havemeyer, George Seney, and James Sutton himself.[44] Since there are no complete records, it is impossible to document precisely which paintings were sold to whom, but without question the show's biggest seller was Monet: William Fuller bought at least one, Albert Spencer purchased six or even more works by the artist, Erwin Davis obtained four landscapes, and Alden Kingman acquired a

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dozen of his canvases.[45] In his Memoirs Durand-Ruel accounts for the sale of two pictures by Manet, one of which, Le Saumon (R. & W. No. 140), was bought for 15,000 francs by none other than H. O. Havemeyer.[46]

According to Paul Durand-Ruel the results of his first attempt at capturing the American market was encouraging: "Ce n'était pas la fortune pour moi, mais un succès réel qui faisait bien augurer de l'avenir."[47] Now he was even more convinced that it was worthwhile to continue his efforts in America. He wrote to Fantin-Latour from New York: "Ne croyez pas que les Américains soient des sauvages. Ils sont au contraire moins ignorants, moins routiniers que nos amateurs français."[48] Before returning to France, Durand-Ruel made arrangements for a second exhibition at the American Art Association, which was to take place that same fall. He decided to capitalize on the growing fervor for the Barbizon school by including their paintings, as well as other more conservative works.

Durand-Ruel arrived back in Paris on July 18, 1886, and soon gave Pissarro an account of his American venture. Pissarro in turn reported their conversation to his son Lucien:

> J'ai longtemps causé avec Durand-Ruel sur les affaires d'Amérique. Durand m'a dit une chose assez juste: que l'on avait exagéré énormément les choses le concernant dans deux sens contraires: il n'a pas fait fortune comme par une baguette magique et il n'a pas ni filouté ni levé le pied. Il est enchanté d'avoir été en personne à New York et fonde le plus grand espoir sur l'avenir là-bas.--C'est évidemment très vague. . . . 49

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But Durand-Ruel's optimism for their future in America was not enough to meet the monetary demands of the artists, who had been forced to look out for themselves during his absence. Monet, Renoir, and even Pissarro were not satisfied with his handling of their affairs, nor were they appeased by his assurances, which after all did not fill their pockets.

In addition to difficulties with his artists, Durand-Ruel ran into a new stumbling block in New York. Since the next exhibition had been scheduled for October, two of Durand-Ruel's sons, Joseph and Charles, left for America to supervise the arrival of the paintings; their father was to join them in time for the opening. But Paul Durand-Ruel's departure was delayed indefinitely by unexpected problems: the jealous New York dealers now made a more concerted and effective protest against a French exhibition to be held without customs duty. They sent letters to the press and to the Secretary of the Treasury arguing that Sutton's so-called association was in reality an art business not entitled to tax exemptions.[50] After a delay of many months, during which the pictures remained in bond, Durand-Ruel was allowed to exhibit them duty-free but was not permitted to sell any. If a collector wanted to buy a particular work, it would first have to be sent back to Paris and then shipped again to New York, where--upon entry--the habitual import tax had to be paid. This ruling

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was a severe blow to Paul Durand-Ruel.

The tax controversy delayed the exhibition for such an extended period that the galleries of the American Art Association were no longer available; they were needed for the third annual "Prize Fund Exhibition." Once again the show was switched to the National Academy of Design where it finally opened on May 25, 1887. On this occasion the public could admire such artists as Rousseau, Dupré, Daubigny, Courbet, Delacroix, and even Henner, plus works by the Impressionists. The only "first" for this event was ten large paintings by Puvis de Chavannes. The French show was no longer just a <u>succès de scandale</u>; this time it was regarded with greater seriousness by the New York art world. The inclusion of more conservative and also better-known artists provided the event with increased appeal, as indicated by a commentary in the American art journal, <u>The Collector</u>:

> Mr. Durand-Ruel followed his opening exhibition with a really glorious display of great French art at the National Academy of Design. It came, alas for it and for our public! in a season when the town was nearly dead, but still it sowed some seed in fertile ground. It was here that New York first learned of Puvis de Chavannes, and saw the wonderful <u>Sardanapalus</u> of Delacroix. It was here, in those sweltering days of early summer, that we were shown Lefebvre's splended <u>Diana Surprised</u>, the nobly symphonic <u>Eclogue</u> of Henner, a whole series of the subtle gray harmonies of Eugène Boudin, the <u>Death of the Bull</u>, by Falguière, a painting by a sculptor worthy of a monument to itself, masterpieces by Gaillard, Huguet's African scenes, like pictures in a mirror, Manet's <u>Death of Maximilian</u>, powerful and awful for its inspiring sentiment and its very desperate defiance of every tradition of painting, and many more canvases equally worthy of enumeration, were there space to spare. 51

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The author then simply mentioned the fact that among these works were examples of Monet and Sisley, of Pissarro and Renoir, and "other adherents of the Impressionistic school." However, this critic was perceptive enough to appreciate the importance of Durand-Ruel's unique contribution: "To review this exhibition with an unbiased eye, clouded by no prejudices of school and convention, one could not but admit that the man capable of assembling it was a true art lover as well as an art dealer, and a man who had the courage of his convictions and a sound and honest basis of knowledge of art to rest his convictions upon."[52]

Yet this type of publicity and the increased number of visitors were unable to improve Durand-Ruel's pecuniary situation, since all the pictures had to be returned to Paris. The obstacles he had been forced to surmount caused him to look for other solutions. He decided that it would be to his advantage to have his own establishment in New York. In 1888 he rented an apartment at 297 Fifth Avenue, which became the first Durand-Ruel gallery in New York. After numerous trips to America to see various clients and to set up his new firm, Durand-Ruel turned over its management to his three sons, Joseph, Charles, and Georges, while he remained in Paris to try to soothe his disgruntled artists. Having enlarged his base of operations, Paul Durand-Ruel began little by little to recover from his financial difficulties.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. See Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Oils, Pastels, Watercolors, and Drawings (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), No. 62, In the Box, 1879.

2. Annie Scott paid 3,000 francs ($600) for Manet's painting (R. & W. No. 334); the two pastels were Madame Loubens sur son lit (R. & W. P. 40) and Jeune fille en déshabillé (R. & W. P. 88). Mr. Scott supposedly was so displeased with his wife's purchases that he would only accept them after a Corot for 20,000 francs ($4,000) had been thrown in as part of the transaction. See Frederick A. Sweet, Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 105.

3. Annie Scott continued her quest for paintings by the moderns, as we know from two of Mary Cassatt's letters to her brother Alexander. On January 5, 1884, she wrote him that she thought Annie Scott intended to buy something at the forthcoming posthumous Manet sale in February of that year, even though in the end she did not acquire any of his works on that occasion. And on April 27, 1884, Mary Cassatt wrote: "I know of one Monet painting that Annie Scott wanted to buy but thought it a little larger than she could find room for." Both these letters are in the collection given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

4. Mary Cassatt had put her greatest efforts into Mrs. Riddle's portrait and was hurt that Mrs. Scott did not appreciate it. The Lady at the Tea Table (B. No. 139), depicting the very blue and white Japanese tea service Mrs. Riddle and Annie had given to the artist, was put away in a storeroom for years. Mrs. Havemeyer discovered the painting in 1914, at which time she took it to Durand-Ruel's to be put on exhibition. In 1923 Mary Cassatt finally gave the picture to the Metropolitan Museum.

5. Mary Cassatt to her brother Alexander, January 5, 1884, collection of letters given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in Memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

6. In 1883 Georges Petit had bought forty Monets from Durand-Ruel, subsequently reputedly refusing 10,000

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francs for one of them. See Mary Cassatt's letter of October 14, 1883, to Alexander Cassatt, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. By this date, Mary's brother owned at least two paintings by Monet: La Vague verte (W. No. 73), see chap. I, p. 22 and n. 28) and L'Escalier à Vétheuil (W. No. 682).

7. Mary Cassatt to her brother Alexander, April 27, 1884, collection of letters given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

8. Same collection of letters as the above, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Mr. Thomson would remain faithful to Durand-Ruel and continue to purchase his Monets from him, either in New York or Paris. In 1889 Thomson acquired Les Meules à Giverny (W. No. 933), the following year he bought Le Bord de l'eau à Vernon (W. No. 844), and in 1892 he added Coucher de soleil (W. No. 818) to his expanding group of Monet paintings.

9. Paul Durand-Ruel had been introduced to Monet and Pissarro by Daubigny in London, where they all were during the Franco-Prussian War; the dealer was immediately enthusiastic about their work and began to buy it. In December of 1870, Durand-Ruel had opened a gallery on New Bond Street, where for the following five years he held ten so-called Annual Exhibitions of the Society of French Artists (a group of his own invention), which included a wide range of painters with some Impressionists mixed in. At the end of 1875, he had been forced to close his London gallery because of financial problems.

10. Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, ed. Lionello Venturi, 2 vols. (Paris: Durand-Ruel, Editeurs, 1939), 1:17-18.

11. In 1883 Durand-Ruel also mounted exhibitions of Impressionist paintings in Berlin (at the Gurlitt Gallery) and in Rotterdam.

12. This gallery was located at 13 King Street, St. James.

13. For a discussion of the French Impressionists and England, see Douglas Cooper, The Courtauld Collection: A Catalogue and Introduction (London: Athlone Press, 1954), pp. 19-28.

14. Camille Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, ed. John Rewald (Paris: Albin Michel, 1950), p. 47n.

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15. Camille Pissarro to Claude Monet, June 12, 1883, quoted by Gustave Geffroy, Claude Monet: Sa vie, son oeuvre, 2 vols. (Paris: Les Editions G. Cres et Cie., 1924), 2:10-11. From 1790 to 1913 the U.S. Customs taxed imports of foreign art, considered as luxury items, with duties varying between ten and thirty percent (the only exception was the period from 1894 to 1897 when no tax was levied). Since Durand-Ruel's paintings would be considered tax-free for the duration of the "Foreign Exhibition" in Boston, he was willing to participate in it.

16. In 1884 Alexander Cassatt, together with Annie Scott and Erwin Davis, were the only American collectors to own works by Manet.

17. Edward Villiers, "Paris Art Topics," The Art Amateur 10 (March 1884):109.

18. In 1882 Durand-Ruel's rival, Georges Petit, had founded his Exposition Internationale, to which Monet began to contribute in 1884. The following year Monet sent ten works to Petit's Exposition, and the dealer was able to sell a number of his canvases. This additional loss of business compounded Durand-Ruel's difficulties.

19. Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 2:214.

20. See Denys Sutton, Paris-New York: A Continuing Romance (New York: Wildenstein Gallery, 1977), p. 22, for James Sutton's role in the New York art world.

21. The third partner of the American Art Association was R. Austin Robertson, an Oriental trader who had supplied Chinese and Japanese objects for Sutton's previous business, The American Art Gallery. This firm (formed in 1880 by Sutton and his partner the art dealer Rufus E. Moore) had dealt in Oriental porcelain and American painting. After Sutton had bought out Moore in 1883, he started his new "association," together with Kirby and Robertson. (James F. Sutton's obituary appeared in The Sun, November 25, 1915, p. 9.) For a more detailed account of the formation of the American Art Association, see Wesley Towner (completed by Stephen Varble), The Elegant Auctioneers (New York: Hill & Wang, 1970), pp. 29-65.

22. Ibid., p. 43.

23. In 1885 the recipients of the four prizes of $2,500

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each were Alexander Harrison, Henry Mosler, R. Swain Gifford, and Frank Boggs. See George William Sheldon, Recent Ideals of American Art (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888, 1889, 1890), p. 34.

24. Catalogue of the Second Prize Fund Exhibition (New York: American Art Galleries, 1886), p. 8.

25. In 1886 the four winners of the second annual "Prize Fund Exhibition" were: Francis Millet, Charles Ulrich, C. P. Grayson, and Edward Simmons. See Sheldon, Recent Ideals of American Art, p. 35.

26. Ibid. Since eight out of the ten subscribers in 1888 were residents of New York, Weir's painting Idle Hours was presented to the Metropolitan Museum. A letter announcing the gift dated October 15, 1888, from the American Art Association to the museum's Director, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, stated: "Hoping the work will receive deserved recognition and be hung to better advantage than the prize painting previously awarded to your institution" (Archives, American Paintings and Sculpture, The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

27. "The Prize Fund Exhibition," Art Age 8 (July 1888):12.

28. "Fourth Prize Fund Exhibition," The Art Amateur 19 (June 1888):6. In 1889 the prize fund exhibitions were discontinued; see Linda Henefield Skalet, "The Market for American Painting in New York, 1870-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1980), pp. 194-200.

29. The picture that brought the highest price at the Seney sale was Jules Breton's Evening in the Hamlet of Finistère, which was sold for $18,200. The dealer William Schaus paid $12,500 for Theodore Rousseau's Morning on the River Oise. Since the Seney collection consisted primarily of Barbizon paintings, the prices were high. See the New York Times, April 3, 1885, p. 5.

30. James Sutton was particularly impressed by Paul Durand-Ruel's private collection in his apartment on the rue de Rome.

31. Paul Durand-Ruel to Camille Pissarro, June 9, 1885, quoted by François Daulte, "Le Marchand des Impressionnistes," L'Oeil 66 (June 1960):75.

32. Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 1:295.

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33. Ibid., p. 133.

34. This information was given to me by Monsieur Charles Durand-Ruel during a conversation in Paris on February 8, 1979.

35. Mary Cassatt to her brother Alexander, September 21, 1885, collection of letters given by Lois Cassatt Thayer in memory of Ellen Mary Cassatt Hare, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

36. Ibid.

37. Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," pp. 238-40. Durand-Ruel had also included some fifty paintings by "acceptable" artists, who had no relation to the Impressionists. See Rewald, The History of Impressionism, p. 531.

38. For critical reviews of Durand-Ruel's 1886 exhibition in New York, see Huth, "Impressionism Comes to America," pp. 241-44; Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 1:77-78; Rewald, The History of Impressionism, pp. 529-32.

39. Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 2:216.

40. Durand-Ruel was also forced to move his exhibition to make the American Art Galleries available for the second annual "Prize Fund Exhibition" that had been previously scheduled to open in May.

41. There was a third Monet entry for A. J. Cassatt, Esq., entitled Boats on the Meuse, Holland (Cat. Imp. Exh., No. 302). However, this title is identical to that of Alexander Cassatt's Manet (Cat. Imp. Exh., No. 298). It is most likely that the catalogue listed his Manet twice, the second time confusing Monet with Manet.

42. The description in the weekly journal of literature and the arts The Critic makes it possible to identify the paintings by Mary Cassatt lent by her brother to Durand-Ruel's New York show: "Miss Mary Cassatt, the American Impressionist, has two works, one a half-length of a middle-aged lady in white, reading; the other shows the same figure with three children. They rank with all but the best of the French works in the exhibition." "The Fine Arts, Art Notes," The Critic 5 (May 29, 1886):275.

43. The names of the loans are those given in the exhibi-

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tion's second catalogue, Works in Oil and Pastel: The Impressionists of Paris (New York: National Academy of Design, 1886).

44. Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 2:216n.-17. Within a year, the ruined banker George Seney had recovered sufficiently to be able to again purchase pictures, but his taste was too conservative to buy any works by the Impressionists.

45. It is now possible to approximate the Monet purchases because of the recently published catalogue raisonné, Daniel Wildenstein, Monet, 3 vols. (Lausanne-Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1979).

46. Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 2:189. The other Manet painting, Bullfight (R. & W. No. 108, Combat de taureaux), was sold for 5,000 francs to Colonel Henry Thomas Chapman (1834-1912), of Brooklyn, a Civil War hero and successful Wall Street financier, who kept the work for two years and then gave it to Durand-Ruel to put into an auction conducted by the American Art Association in 1888. See chap. IX, n. 43.

47. Ibid., p. 217.

48. Durand-Ruel to Fantin-Latour, quoted by Daulte, "Le Marchand des Impressionnistes," p. 75.

49. Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, p. 105; letter of July 1886.

50. Certain American artists did not have the same attitude toward foreign exhibitions as did the dealers, but felt they were vitally important for their educational value. J. Alden Weir, for example, had written a letter to the editor of The Critic in 1885 in which he stated his disapproval of the heavy tax on imported art as "unprecedented in the annals of any civilized community." Weir felt that the unjust tariff did not keep inferior art from entering the country but, instead, prevented "the collector of moderate means from possessing examples of good contemporaneous art." Young, The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir, p. 167.

51. "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," The Collector 2 (December 15, 1890):44. Although this review was written in 1890, it is representative of the American critical response to Durand-Ruel's second exhibition in 1887.

52. Ibid.

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CHAPTER IV

FIRST HAVEMEYER PURCHASES AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE AND CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR RESIDENCES

In her Memoirs, Mrs. Havemeyer recalls that one morning her husband announced his intention of viewing Durand-Ruel's exhibition at the Academy in the company of Samuel Colman, who he expected would be shocked by the Impressionist pictures.[1] Lousine told him that, to the contrary, she thought they would both be very interested, and asked him to buy her a Manet if he found any for sale. Harry replied that there was no likelihood of his doing any such thing, but after having visited the exhibition, he experienced a change of heart, as he reported to Louisine that afternoon: "I saw the exhibition this morning. There were two Manets in it, one a boy with a sword and the other a still life [Le Saumon, Fig. 7]. The still life was very fine and I bought it for you, but I must confess the Boy with the Sword was too much for me."[2] Although delighted with his purchases, Louisine could not resist asking her husband the price of the Boy with the Sword; when she was told $3,500 she was immediately sorry that he had not bought both pictures, but she diplomatically did not say a

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word. Manet's Boy with the Sword (L'Enfant à l'épée) was listed in the exhibition's catalogue as belonging to Erwin Davis, who must have told Durand-Ruel that he was willing to sell the work if there were any offers. Many years later Louisine loyally defended her husband's failure to buy Davis's picture by saying that "it was at first a little difficult to understand Manet's method of modeling in light. . . ."[3] Subsequently Mr. Havemeyer also came to regret the fact that he had passed up the picture at such a reasonable price.

It does seem strange that Harry Havemeyer and Samuel Colman went to Durand-Ruel's show before Louisine herself saw the "Impressionists of Paris." Probably the reason that kept her from being among the very first visitors was that her second child, Horace, had been born on March 19, 1886, only three weeks prior to the exhibition's opening. It appears likely that Mr. Havemeyer would have bought both Manets had he gone to the show with his wife.

A short time before purchasing Manet's still life, Harry Havemeyer had made another acquisition: Decamps's The Walk to Emmaus, bought at the sale of the estate of Mary Jane Morgan in March 1886. At this auction, Mr. Havemeyer found himself in the company of such well-known collectors as his intimate friend William Rockefeller, Charles Dana, Collis P. Huntington, and Charles Crocker; the New York Times referred to the event as "the greatest sale ever

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held in this country."[4] The entire affair was managed by none other than Thomas Kirby of the American Art Association, who here found the opportunity to carry out his concept of the elite auction. Kirby's deluxe catalogue for the Mary J. Morgan collection was an innovation in itself; it contained twenty-nine etchings and twenty-four photographs plus a description of 2,628 lots, and was printed on heavy rag paper at a cost of $40,000. All eleven galleries of the Art Association were needed to display Mrs. Morgan's paintings and decorative objects, which the shy, unpretentious widow of Charles Morgan, a steamship magnate, had assembled during her daily shopping excursions to various New York dealers (i.e., Knoedler, Avery, Schaus, Cottier) and decorators' salons. As reported by the New York Sun: "The exhibition of Mrs. Morgan's pictures elicited a greater degree of interest and was attended with more polite excitement than any event of like nature in New York. The spacious galleries could not accommodate the throng of people which flocked thither in all weather, paying double the price of admission commonly charged upon such occasions."[5]

During the three evenings of the sale, held at Chickering Hall on Fifth Avenue at 18th Street, there was feverishly animated competition among prospective buyers from all parts of the country and even some from Europe. Collis P. Huntington paid $25,500 for Vibert's The Missionary's

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Story, the Corcoran Gallery of Washington bought Corot's large *Wood Gatherers* for $15,000, and Harry Havemeyer bid $3,100, more than twice what Mrs. Morgan had paid, for Decamps's *The Walk to Emmaus*.[6] But the star of the sale was far and away Jules Breton's *Communicants*, bought for $45,000 by Sir Donald Smith of Montreal, a Director of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The total for the 240 paintings of the collection was $885,300;[7] businessmen-art collectors were reassured that solid, "acceptable" pictures were an uncommonly good investment.

But when Paul Durand-Ruel held an auction only a year later in May of 1887, the results were very different. After his exhibition in the spring of 1886, he needed to raise money for the customs collector and thus decided to sell 127 works in New York rather than pay for shipping them back to Paris. The public sale of Durand-Ruel's paintings was held on May 5 and 6 at Moore's Art Galleries at 290 Fifth Avenue; William P. Moore was the auctioneer. Durand-Ruel probably chose another auction house so that the American Art Association would not be accused of crass commercialism. In contrast to the crowd and the heated rivalry at the Mary J. Morgan sale, at the Durand-Ruel auction "there were few buyers present, and the bidding was at times rather sluggish, the prices obtained for the most part rather low."[8] Had Mr. Havemeyer gone to Durand-Ruel's sale, he could have purchased two Monets, two Degas pastels,

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and a Renoir for exactly the sum he paid for Decamps's picture. The first night of the auction only nineteen pictures brought over $200 each; the second evening, prices were a little better: sixty-one pictures yielded $28,847.50.[9] American *amateurs* did not take advantage of the opportunity Paul Durand-Ruel had provided to buy the works of the new French artists before their prices rose to the heights of their predecessors of the School of 1830.[10]

At the time of Durand-Ruel's sale, Harry Havemeyer was too busy to be concerned with art matters. He was then organizing the Sugar Trust, the second of its kind in America. Next to the Rockefellers, Mr. Havemeyer was a pioneer in the creation of trusts.[11] After a fire had completely destroyed their Williamsburg plant in 1882, Havemeyers & Elder had rebuilt the largest, most modern sugar refinery in the world. The firm was making a sound profit, but in the early 1880s many of the independent sugar refiners were losing money and some even went into bankruptcy. Harry Havemeyer had the idea that a union of all owners would diminish waste and preserve gains. It took almost two years of urging on the part of the Havemeyers to convince the seventeen original interests to join the cooperative; most of them doubted the success of the undertaking. After endless discussions by members of the industry, the Sugar Refineries Company was formed--in the fall of 1887--by the merger of seventeen plants in Boston, New York, Philadel-

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phia, and New Orleans. Although Harry Havemeyer had been the driving force behind the movement, Theodore Havemeyer became the first President of the Sugar Refineries Company. As Franklin Clarkin wrote in Century Magazine: "This was a trust in the real sense, in which the stockholders of the different corporations assigned their stock in trust to a board of trustees--to a board that held the voting power of the stocks of the various companies."[12] After combining the refineries, it became possible for the five most efficient plants to turn out as much sugar as all the seventeen had done previously, since quite a few were rather obsolete. Thus twelve unnecessary plants were simply shut down and dismantled; the workers were dismissed. Havemeyers & Elder of Brooklyn remained the nucleus of the Sugar Refineries Company. The new economics of operation made large earnings possible and, according to the Havemeyers, the consuming public could buy sugar for less than it cost before the merger.

With the formation of the Sugar Trust, Harry Havemeyer came to be regarded in business circles as one of the most brilliant men of his generation. During the first two years and a half, the trust earned profits of $25,000,000. As Mrs. Havemeyer later recalled: "In or about the eighties a new form of industrial development attracted the eye of the business world and caused more excitement, I may truthfully say, than any long-tailed comet that ever appeared in

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the darkened skies. The so-called trusts!"[13] The Sugar Refineries Company was organized during the administration of President Cleveland, one of whose close friends happened to be Mr. Havemeyer. By ingenious ability and great force, he had achieved remarkable results and, like numerous other magnates, he now turned to the fine arts as a measure of his success. His handsome profits gave him the impetus to consider old master paintings, concrete proof of the solidity of his financial empire.

Harry Havemeyer started his collection of old masters with two of the largest Rembrandt canvases to have arrived in America: portraits of Christian Paul van Beresteijn, Burgomaster of Delft (Fig. 8), and his wife Volkera (Fig. 9), perfect symbols of seventeenth-century Dutch materialism.[14] Mr. Havemeyer had seen these two Rembrandts at Cottier and Co. of 144 Fifth Avenue where they were on exhibition in the fall of 1888. Previously the paintings had remained in the Van Beresteijn family; they had been bid in by their owners at a sale in 1887 for $32,000.[15] Many New York _amateurs_ were eagerly competing for these portraits, but Harry Havemeyer triumphed by offering the staggering price of $60,000.[16] At the same time he bought Delacroix's _Flight from the Garden of Eden_ (or _The Expulsion_) for about $10,000.[17] With these purchases, in December 1888, Mr. Havemeyer began collecting paintings on a grand scale.

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Harry Havemeyer was also developing a civic conscience; he felt he should share his new treasures with the citizens of New York. In a newspaper interview immediately following the acquisition of the two Rembrandts, Mr. Havemeyer said that he would offer the paintings as loans to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. If the committee accepted them and New Yorkers reacted favorably, he would consider presenting the portraits along with the Delacroix, as gifts to the museum.[18] Mr. Havemeyer had already made a present to that museum in May 1888: a Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington. This portrait had been secured through Samuel Putnam Avery, who was then one of the trustees of the Metropolitan and had probably asked Harry Havemeyer to make the gift.[19] Mr. Havemeyer was on his way to becoming a respectable collector and patron of the arts.

The expansion of the Havemeyer family, their fortune, and collection made it time to begin thinking about a more suitable dwelling to house them all. With the arrival of their third child, Electra, on August 16, 1888, and the continual accumulation of vast quantities of works of art, their brownstone on East 36th Street became too confining. The Havemeyers found it necessary to look for a larger home where they would be able to display and really appreciate the many objects they had acquired during the five years of their marriage. Unlike certain financial barons who had amassed vast fortunes and then built extravagant imitations

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of European residences as a symbol of their social status, the Havemeyers had the taste and the courage to seek something different. They had no desire to construct an ostentatious schloss, château, or palazzo, embellished with Old World ornaments, but they did want a spacious home farther uptown that would meet the requirements of their way of living. Fortunately, Mr. Havemeyer's long-time acquaintances Louis Tiffany and Samuel Colman were perfectly equipped to provide him with an original type of house.

Just as Mr. Havemeyer had created the Sugar Trust, Louis C. Tiffany was a pioneer in the field of American interior design. He was to become the first to establish a firm able to take care of every aspect of decorating and furnishing a residence. Tiffany's own tastes had been expanded abroad, when during the 1870s he had made a number of trips to Europe and North Africa. In Paris he had become acquainted with the recently discovered arts of the Orient; in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt the exoticism of the Moslem world had fired his romantic imagination. In all likelihood Tiffany knew of Whistler's famous Peacock Room, completed in 1877, and had even seen his Primrose Room, displayed at the 1878 Paris International Exposition. At that same event he also must have admired Samuel Bing's group of Japanese ceramics and subsequently have visited Bing's shops, where he found a large selection of treasures imported from the Orient.[20] These various experiences

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filled his mind with the possibilities of an art for the future. Before 1880 Tiffany had formed a unique collection of Japanese sword guards and armor, and his friend Samuel Colman was actively acquiring Oriental porcelain and textiles.

Although a painter by profession (a pursuit he continued for the rest of his life), Tiffany gradually began to see the decorative arts as another domain in which he could exercise his creativity while expressing his love for color and exotic elements. He was tired of watching his compatriots follow the sacred rules of Western European tradition and he wished to invent a different style that would be suitable for the American mode of living in the "modern" industrial age. He felt that the time was right to take advantage of his country's booming society by infusing new vitality into the habitually stuffy, High Victorian interiors of the homes of the wealthy.

Tiffany launched his first business venture--Louis C. Tiffany and Co., Associated Artists--in the fall of 1878. In addition to Tiffany himself the group included two other painters: his mentor Samuel Colman, specialist in color decoration and textiles, and Lockwood de Forest, expert in East Indian carvings and fabrics. A fourth member was Candace Wheeler, who supervised the execution of embroideries, needlewoven tapestries, and loom weaving. Each of these associates was very skillful; they were determined

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to inaugurate a new era in decoration.[21] The Associated Artists received various commissions during the early 1880s, ranging from rooms at the Seventh Regiment Armory to the Union League Club House, the refurbishing of Samuel Clemens' home in Hartford, Connecticut, embroidered tapestries for Mrs. Potter Palmer's Lake Shore mansion, and even a fireplace of glass work for James Gordon Bennett's boat, then the largest privately owned steam yacht in existence.[22] By the winter of 1882-83, Tiffany's firm had gained enough of a reputation to be commissioned to redecorate several rooms in the White House.[23]

Louis C. Tiffany and his colleagues became famous for the creation of a flamboyant scheme of decoration, based predominantly on blending exotic motifs and objects with their own unique productions, such as glass tiles, mosaic wall panels, hand-blocked wallpapers, special lighting fixtures, painted friezes, rugs and furniture made to order, and stenciled decorations for walls and ceilings. They came to be considered the most artistic of the New York decorating concerns, but there were those--both architects and patrons--who preferred more fashionable decorators to the independent, often unorthodox Associated Artists. Yet the very fact that every member of this group was an individualist and nonconformist made it difficult to sustain their collective efforts; by 1883 each was going his own way.[24]

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Samuel Colman withdrew from the association in order to devote his time to painting in his recently completed home (designed by McKim, Mead, and White) in Newport, Rhode Island. Its decor was a product of Colman's best efforts to date: carefully stained woods, Japanese leather-paper on the walls, Jacobean oak paneling, and unusual color schemes and furnishings for every room. But the focal point was the library where the "Moorish design of the ceiling, with its background of Japanese silks, whose varied and deeply lustrous surface, simple and embroidered, are a perpetual feast."[25] The outside of the house was dignified and without affectation; the interior reflected the owner's taste and displayed his distinctive collection to its best advantage.[26] The Havemeyers were fascinated by Colman's Newport residence and kept its concept in the back of their minds.

However, it was Tiffany who furnished the actual prototype for their urban home. The Tiffany family apartment-mansion had been erected before the end of 1885 at the corner of Madison Avenue and 72nd Street (Fig. 10). Tiffany had decided upon a Richardsonian-Romanesque style and selected Stanford White (who had trained under Richardson) to build it except for the entire top section, which he undertook himself. The result was a structure that was Romanesque only in its accentuated massiveness and in the rough masonry of the two lower stories. There was nothing specifically Romanesque in its composition or detail other

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than its large arched entrance gateway. But the strong, imposing character of the exterior provided a great contrast with the sumptuous interior that Tiffany had produced in his living quarters and studio on the top floors. Inside, Tiffany had given vent to his exuberant romanticism; he had used new and unconventional forms and techniques within traditional spatial concepts. The results were dazzling to the eye and unlike any other New York interior; they reminded one foreign visitor of the Arabian Nights. Mrs. Havemeyer was enchanted. She had become fed up with the unimaginative homes she had been seeing for the past several years: "I recall saying to Mr. Havemeyer one afternoon after paying a number of visits: 'I felt dizzy and confused as I was ushered into one room after another, for they were all alike. The popular decorator of the day has done them all with impartial similarity.'"[27]

Tiffany's bold and daring effects, such as his pierced Oriental screen-walls, his special lighting fixtures suspended asymmetrically by elaborate chains, his organic free-standing chimney with its four-sided fireplace, delighted Mrs. Havemeyer. Here was a fellow American with the ideas and capability to create a totally new environment of bright colors and rich textures and at the same time incorporate treasures from the Old World. She felt that she could not bury the French paintings she already owned and those she hoped to acquire in a dim interior with

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maroon wallpaper and oversized walnut furniture upholstered in red velvet so characteristic of New York brownstones. From the moment Mrs. Havemeyer had seen Tiffany's apartment she knew that she would take a chance and be original when her opportunity came. She expressed her attitude in her Memoirs:

> How often I have wished that those who are building new homes or decorating old ones would try and get away from the old moth-eaten Tudor embroidery or the heavy ornate gold of the French "red brocade period" and try to create something for themselves, or if that is not possible, have faith in someone who has the artistic ability and give him a chance to add another paragraph to art's long and intricate history. Every great advance in art must be supported and will be, if it is worth being supported. . . . 28

The Havemeyers had taken it for granted that their interiors would be done by Tiffany and Colman, but at the end of 1888, when they decided that the time was at hand to begin the actual construction of their new residence, they were at a loss for an architect. It seems that Charles Haight was first suggested to them by Tiffany, whose new firm was then catering primarily to architects. Haight was among those who employed the services of the Tiffany Glass Company (incorporated in 1885) for its stained glass windows, which had already earned a reputation for being of the finest quality. In 1884 Tiffany and Haight had even collaborated on the renovation of the former Leonard Jerome house (at Madison Avenue and 26th Street, when it was converted for use by the Manhattan Club.[29] The Havemeyers were determined to build a house

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similar to the Tiffany mansion in the style of the Richardsonian-Romanesque revival. Mr. Havemeyer liked the concept of a solid, sound construction with an austere, somber exterior that would give no clue as to what was going on inside. After all, he was a very private person who cared little for general society; he believed "that a man had a right to the quiet enjoyment of his own home."[30] It was no easy task to find an architect willing to satisfy Mr. Havemeyer's strict requirements, as well as able to work successfully with Tiffany and Colman. Besides, a number of the more "fashionable" architects of the day were very busy filling the demand for buildings in eclectic, derivative idioms that would not at all do for the Havemeyers. In Tiffany's opinion Charles Haight was a person of good taste who "built like a gentleman"[31] and whose structures had the very quality of unpretentiousness the Havemeyers were seeking.

Actually the bulk of Charles Haight's previous work had been Victorian Gothic, of which the best examples were his buildings for Columbia College.[32] Haight had no particular affinity to the Romanesque concepts that had been rejuvenated and transformed by Henry Hobson Richardson to meet the demands of "modern" living. Unlike Richardson, whose plain severity of style had created a new formula that revived the art of building in America, Haight did not feel the need for pioneering, but was content with the

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adaptation of historical features. He was a conservative; his theory was "to shine with new gracefulness through old forms."[33] However, the predominance of the neo-Romanesque during the 1880s made it inevitable that Haight would be induced to participate in this style. Besides, clients like the Havemeyers did not come along every day, and it was a great challenge to design a residence that would have its interiors done by Tiffany and Colman. Charles Haight accepted the commission for No. 1 East 66th Street.

Being a selector rather than an inventor, Haight had the ability to select what was appropriate for a particular work and patron. He understood the Havemeyers well enough to design a house that had great distinction in its refreshing simplicity and avoidance of pretension (Fig. 11). The vigor and massiveness of the ample front gave it an overall Romanesque character (in spite of round towers with projecting bays that belonged more to the French Renaissance), as did the rough-faced stone of its rugged walls. The emphasis on the lateral expanse of the building contributed to a general impression of solidity and permanence. Other than the cornices, the only decorative features were the engaged columns of the second and third stories and the graduated succession of superimposed arches over the windows and door of the ground-story. The house took on the appearance of a medieval fortress intended to protect the inhabitants from all intruders. The arched doorway was

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placed discreetly on the 66th Street side; to gain entry it was necessary to mount a flight of shallow steps that spanned a balustraded dry moat.

The construction of the Havemeyers' residence would not be finished until the spring of 1890, but preparations for the interior decor were begun well in advance. Although Tiffany was devoting the greater part of his time to his rapidly expanding glass business and Colman was pursuing his painting in Newport, the two were willing to work for their friends, who, they knew, would be the most cooperative of clients. Both would now have an opportunity to carry out on a grand scale their concepts of interior design, down to the last detail. They were also very familiar and at ease with the Havemeyers' taste and posessions, so similar to their own, since at that point the largest part of the collection was composed of Oriental decorative wares and artifacts, which Mr. Havemeyer had continued to buy in vast quantities. Tiffany and Colman had invented ingenious arrangements for the display of their own collections and the Havemeyers were confident that they would do the same for them.

When Samuel Colman had encouraged Mr. Havemeyer to purchase sumptuous Japanese textiles at the Philadelphia Centennial, he had told him: "Some day I will make you a ceiling out of those beautiful silks."[34] According to Mrs. Havemeyer, he was true to his words: ". . . in 1889, thir-

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teen years later, Mr. Colman had all those remarkable stuffs sent to his home in Newport, where in his studio, with the help of many nimble fingers, he had them made into the design he wanted for the various panels of our library ceiling."[35] Colman had had a "dry run" when he fashioned the Moorish design of his own library ceiling out of Japanese silks, but the Havemeyer ceiling was to be even more spectacular. He would use the remainder of these fabrics as backgrounds in glass cabinets containing Oriental potteries and porcelains. Nothing of beauty was ever wasted, and no expense was to be spared. The cost of the interior alone of No. 1 East 66th Street would end up exceeding $250,000.[36] The magnitude of the project was such that the house would not be ready until the spring of 1892, but in the meantime the Havemeyers were far from idle, and neither was Samuel Colman, who, from 1889 well into 1892, sorely neglected his painting because of his commitment to the Havemeyers. Not only did he have their town house to contend with, but he was also in charge of the interior decor for their new rural residence that was begun in May 1889 and was ready for occupancy in June 1890.

Again, the Havemeyers knew exactly what they wanted and got it: a country house that was modeled after Colman's Newport home, but on a much larger scale. In this case it was probably Colman who recommended the architectural firm of Peabody & Sterns, the designers of the villas in Newport

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for such people as Frederick Vanderbilt and Catherine Wolfe. The Havemeyer villa was constructed on a "plot" of ninety acres, only a little over a mile from the Sound, between Stamford and Greenwich, Connecticut.[37] Their three-story house had the low, spreading proportions of an old English country residence; the building consisted of numerous facades, high gables, and six large chimneys which dominated the structure (Fig. 12). The stables were designed as an architectural complement to the house (Fig. 13). The interior gave an impression of spaciousness, simplicity, and elegance due to its large well-lit rooms, numerous tile and brick fireplaces, walls covered with Japanese papers of subdued tones, and delicately constructed furnishings designed by Colman. The dining room, modeled after a seventeenth-century Dutch painting (then Mr. Havemeyer's favorite period), had dark paneling, a massive fireplace, and a floor of patterned tiles. As in Colman's house, the library was the principal room, with rows of bookshelves, paintings, and musical instruments.[38] The Havemeyers were delighted with their villa on the Sound and spent much time there while waiting for their town house to be completed.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Mrs. Havemeyer mistakenly gives the date of Durand-Ruel's first exhibition at the National Academy of Design as 1889 instead of 1886. See Mrs. Havemeyer, _Memoirs_, p. 220.

2. Ibid., p. 221.

3. Ibid.

4. _New York Times_, March 6, 1886, p. 5.

5. _The Sun_, March 7, 1886, p. 9.

6. At the Morgan sale Mr. Havemeyer also bought a Rembrandt etching, _Landscape with Trees, Farm Buildings, and a Tower_, and an etching by Meryon entitled _La Pompe Notre-Dame_, both now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Decamps's _The Walk to Emmaus_ was disposed of in the Havemeyer estate auction, 1930, Cat. No. 66; its present whereabouts unknown.

7. _New York Times_, March 6, 1886, p. 5.

8. _New York Times_, May 6, 1887, p. 8.

9. _New York Times_, May 7, 1887, p. 5.

10. Before the end of that year, Durand-Ruel again placed some works in a sale at Moore's Art Galleries (held on the afternoons of November 30, December 1 and 2), notably a Manet watercolor, three paintings and four watercolors by Pissarro, one Renoir painting and two by Sisley.

11. The first trust was that of Standard Oil, formed by the Rockefellers in 1870.

12. Franklin Clarkin, "The So-called Sugar Trust," _Century Magazine_ 43 (January 1903):471.

13. Mrs. Havemeyer, _Memoirs_, p. 26.

14. The two Rembrandt portraits are now in the Metropolitan Museum with the titles _Portrait of a Man_ and _Portrait of a Woman_.

15. _New York Times_, December 9, 1888, p. 4.

16. The original bill from Cottier & Co. to Mr. Havemeyer

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is in the Archives, European Painting Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

17. New York Times, December 9, 1888, p. 4.

18. The Rembrandt paintings and the Delacroix were exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum in 1889, but the Rembrandts were not given to the museum during Mr. Havemeyer's lifetime. They were part of Mrs. Havemeyer's bequest in 1929. Delacroix's The Expulsion (R.D. No. 854) was sold at the Havemeyer estate auction in 1930, Cat. No. 81; its present whereabouts are unknown.

19. There is a letter dated May 17, 1888, from Mr. Havemeyer announcing his presentation of the Gilbert Stuart portrait to John Taylor Johnston, the President of the Metropolitan Museum, in the museum's Archives.

20. Of German origin, Samuel Bing went to Paris before 1871 and acquired French citizenship. After his trip to Japan in 1875, he opened two shops in Paris, where he became a well-known dealer and importer of Oriental art.

21. The four members of the Associated Artists knew one another from their involvement with the New York Society of Decorative Art, established by Candace Wheeler in 1877 to promote decorative art by women. As a result of Colman's urging, Tiffany taught a class in unbaked pottery together with Lockwood de Forest. See Candace Wheeler, Yesterdays in a Busy Life (New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1918), pp. 279-81.

22. Ibid., pp. 282-85.

23. See George William Sheldon, Artistic Houses . . . Interior View of a number of the Most Beautiful and Celebrated Homes in the United States, with a Description of the Art Treasures contained therein (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1883-84; reprint ed., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), pp. 97-99.

24. Wheeler, Yesterdays in a Busy Life, pp. 256, 287-88.

25. Sheldon, Artistic Houses . . . , p. 73.

26. Colman's collection consisted of Japanese and Chinese ceramics, Persian objects, ivory carvings, Japanese bronzes, Oriental swords and armor, and paintings by

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Rembrandt, Corot, Delacroix, and Roybet which were displayed throughout the house, alongside examples of his own work.

27. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 12.

28. Ibid.

29. See Robert Koch, Louis C. Tiffany, Rebel in Glass (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1964), p. 72.

30. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 12.

31. Montgomery Schuyler, A Review of the Work of Charles C. Haight (New York: The Architectural Record Co., 1899), p. 83.

32. In 1874 Haight did two buildings for the School of Mines, in 1880 he constructed Hamilton Hall, and in 1885 designed the Library for Old Columbia College, all of which were distinctly Victorian Gothic.

33. Charles Haight quoted in Schuyler, A Review of the Work of Charles C. Haight, p. 48.

34. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 16.

35. Ibid.

36. New York Times, November 8, 1891, p. 16.

37. The Havemeyers had previously been spending their summers on Long Island (where their daughter Electra was born), while Mr. Havemeyer had been trying for the past seven years to acquire this land in Connecticut from the two families who owned it. He had formerly lived in Greenwich and was evidently very fond of the Connecticut countryside.

38. This description of the Havemeyers' Connecticut country house is based on an account given in the New York Tribune, October 19, 1890, p. 19.

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CHAPTER V

HENRY HAVEMEYER MEETS MARY CASSATT--
THE SECRÉTAN SALE

Once Mr. Havemeyer had commissioned his new town house and country villa, he was even more eager to buy works of art, for he would soon have almost unlimited wall space. The purchase that so far had pleased him the most was that of the two Rembrandt portraits which he had acquired in December 1888. They never failed to move him deeply when he contemplated their individual expressions as well as their rich, resonant colors. After living with them for several months, he concluded that no paintings nourished his soul to the same degree as these; he must have others. Not accustomed to doing things halfway, Mr. Havemeyer decided to look again at what was then considered to be one of the finest Rembrandts in America, the likeness of Herman Doomer, an Amsterdam ebony worker and gilder, who had probably made frames for the artist.

The Gilder or Le Doreur, as it was called, had been purchased in Paris by a prominent New York art dealer, William Schaus.[1] In 1883 Schaus had been struck by the picture at an exhibition of "Cent chefs-d'oeuvre des collections parisiennes" at the Galerie Georges Petit. The por-

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trait had been loaned by the second Duc de Morny, who agreed to sell it to him for 210,000 francs ($42,000).[2] On the afternoon of December 27, 1884, Mr. Schaus invited the members of the New York press to a private viewing of his latest acquisition; The Gilder received an enthusiastic welcome. The well-known critic Clarence Cook, writing in The Studio, praised William Schaus's courage for having brought such a significant work to America: "We honor the man Schaus, and are grateful to him who has the boldness and the liberality to assume the purchase of such a royal work, and bring it to a country not only so poor in masterpieces of art as ours, but where he might well doubt if his treasure would be valued at its worth."[3] The New York Times also expressed appreciation for Mr. Schaus's efforts: "Chances to study pictures of this kind are rare enough, and the art world ought to feel grateful to the man who has risked so large a sum as must be hazarded in the purchase of a picture so costly."[4]

Mr. Schaus had indeed spent a lot of money to acquire The Gilder, because in addition to the purchase price, he had been forced to pay $12,500 in duty to the U.S. Customs. Certain people felt that the heavy tax on old master paintings was totally unjustified and harbored a grudge on this particular issue for many years, as evidenced in The Collector of 1892:

> Instead of being grateful to Mr. Schaus for bringing

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> The Gilder across the Atlantic, what does our Government do but demand a tax of twelve thousand five hundred dollars on a canvas painted prior to A.D. 1700, the era which our Dogberries have fixed upon as the dividing line between free trade and high tariff! Not sure of his rights, or firmly believing that our Government would speedily repay what obviously was wrongly demanded, Mr. Schaus paid this money under protest some years ago. He still knocks vainly at the door of the United States Treasury. . . . 5

Since in 1884 the tariff was thirty percent on works of art, Mr. Schaus paid close to $55,000 to secure The Gilder. By necessity he had to put a high price on the painting (reputedly between $70,000 and $100,000), which no doubt accounted for the fact that it was still in his possession in 1889. In March of that year Mr. Havemeyer was finally ready to buy the celebrated Gilder (Fig. 14), his most important single acquisition to date. Immediately after the purchase, he decided to place The Gilder on exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum where his other two Rembrandt portraits had been on display for several months. Since his new residence was far from being finished, he was willing to let the museum borrow them. On March 7, 1889, William Schaus wrote the following to Mr. Havemeyer:

> It is very generous on your part to loan this Treasure to our Museum. Please notice the words underlined. They express my intense feeling and opinion of this painting. You may well be proud in possessing "Le Doreur." As soon as possible I will get the desired document from the Duke de Morny. I am delighted that you are the possessor of the "Doreur" because you can appreciate it. Thousands will have an opportunity to see this Rembrandt when hundreds only would get a glimpse of it in my house.
>
> My parlor looks dismal without that Rembrandt. Its absence will cause me many a sigh. . . . 6

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Rembrandt was always to remain the painter whose work aroused the greatest artistic sensations in Harry Havemeyer.

During the same month that he acquired The Gilder, Mr. Havemeyer attended the Erwin Davis auction. By 1889 Davis had managed to assemble over four hundred works which filled to capacity both his Manhattan apartment and his country home; he decided to sell a portion of his collection (145 "modern" pictures) at the Fifth Avenue Galleries of Messrs. Ortgies & Co. on the evenings of March 19 and 20. The Davis sale provided Harry Havemeyer with a wide range of fine-quality nineteenth-century French paintings to choose from--extending all the way from works by well-known Barbizon artists to a few examples by Courbet, Manet, and even Degas--but he did not take advantage of the opportunity. His only purchase was a painting by the contemporary Hungarian realist Munkácsy; he paid $2,000 (a price considered low at the time) for The Haymakers (present whereabouts unknown), a dark-toned genre scene, typical of the artist's early style.[7]

Although himself then a devotee of the old masters, Mr. Havemeyer realized that his wife's taste continued to be for the moderns. Knowing how fond Louisine was of the Venice pastels she had acquired directly from Whistler eight years before, one day in March 1889 Mr. Havemeyer decided to stop by the gallery of H. Wunderlich & Co., on Broadway near Union Square, to see an exhibition of Whis-

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tler's "Notes, Nocturnes, and Harmonies." According to a contemporary newspaper account, a visitor to this show had the following experience:

> You go through Mr. Wunderlich's shop, you lift a portiere, and you find yourself in a little square, peachblow-colored room, over the walls of which are scattered, in little flat gold frames, all alike, a quantity of little Notes and Harmonies. There is a little peachblow vase in one corner and a little light stand with catalogues in another, and that is all. 8 The whole effect is extravagantly simple, and the diffused light and the strange color give one the impression that one is enclosed in the heart of some great pink lotos flower in the bottom of a lake: 9

Mr. Havemeyer responded favorably to this unified environment where Whistler's Notes entered into the general scheme of their surroundings. He found that the room in the Wunderlich gallery had a kinship to certain interiors by Tiffany and Colman, whose own style of decoration had its genesis in Whistler's concept of a harmonious ensemble. After looking carefully at the sixty-two works on exhibit, he selected three watercolors and one pastel (Fig. 15).[10] Louisine was of course delighted with his purchase and could not help but think how well these Whistlers would look in their new home. It was not long before Harry Havemeyer again stopped off at Wunderlich's on his way back from the office; this time, for a few hundred dollars, he bought Whistler's First Venice Set (Havemeyer Family Collection), consisting of the twelve etchings that had been published by the London Fine Art Society in 1880. Mr. Havemeyer was beginning to develop a personal taste for

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Whistler's watercolors and etchings.

Perhaps Harry Havemeyer's interest in graphic arts was what prompted him to join the Grolier Club in 1889. This organization, founded five years earlier, had been named after Jean Grolier de Servier, who during the sixteenth century had been one of the earliest of the great bibliophiles in France. The Club was composed largely of book collectors who viewed books as works of art. Although, according to its constitution, the Club's principal purpose was "the literary study and promotion of the arts pertaining to the production of books,"[11] the Grolier Club had numerous special shows or prints, drawings, posters, pastels, and etchings. Within several months after Mr. Havemeyer had been elected a member, the Club exhibited a selection of Whistler's drawings, watercolors, and pastels.[12] Among the lenders were Messrs. Samuel Avery, Charles Freer, Howard Mansfield, and Harry Havemeyer, who probably contributed his newly acquired First Venice Set.

Their continual acquisition of works of high quality, plus the prospect of moving to new quarters, made the Havemeyers consider giving away some of the art they had "inherited." One such painting (probably a gift from Mr. Havemeyer's father) was a portrait of the world-renowned German naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, commissioned by a Havemeyer relative in Berlin in 1859. The picture had been painted shortly before Humboldt's death by Julius

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Schrader of the Berlin Academy. Louisine was very pleased when, in April 1889, her husband decided to present this portrait to the Metropolitan Museum.[13] It is quite possible that they also gave away, traded, or even sold other works which were no longer meaningful to them. For their future homes, Louisine wanted to have only things that she or her husband really loved and responded to. She felt that the best way to acquire some appropriate new works for their collection would be to go to Europe.

Mrs. Havemeyer was longing to see Paris again; after all, she had not been there since before her marriage. The birth of her three children (Adaline in 1884, Horace in 1886, and Electra in 1888), the formation of the Sugar Trust, and other such involvements had kept her close to home for the past six years. She particularly missed Mary Cassatt, to whom she was eager to introduce her husband and children.[14] Mr. Havemeyer was equally in favor of a trip to Paris in the summer of 1889 because he wanted to see the World's Fair which had opened on May 16 and, by the end of that month, had already received over two million visitors. He had read about some of the wonders of this Universal Exhibition: the largest building ever constructed under a single roof--La Galerie des Machines--providing displays of Western scientific progress, the collection of native villages showing the ways of life as well as the flora and fauna of five different continents, and the art section

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featuring a special picture exhibition to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution. But most of all he was curious about the 984-foot-high Eiffel Tower, which had taken over two years to build. The iron structure's unusual architectural form had created a great controversy and had given rise to a petition (signed by forty-seven eminent artists, writers, and architects), stating that it would disgrace and disfigure Paris.[15] Now that it was completed, however, there were some who said that, in spite of its gigantic size, the Eiffel Tower had a light and graceful appearance and was rather imposing. Mr. Havemeyer wanted to judge for himself if the tower were worthy of Paris. In addition to all these enticements, the city's boulevards were for the first time illuminated by the flow of electric lights.[16]

Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer and family sailed for France in June 1889. They arrived to find all Paris excited about the Exposition, which was an unprecedented sensation and drew people from the world over. Like hundreds of thousands of others, the Havemeyers visited the Fair again and again but nothing attracted them as much as the "Exposition Centennale des Beaux-Arts" in the Palais of the Champ de Mars. This splended exhibition had been received with enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic, as evidenced by the commentary in the New York Times: "It is a grand and wondrous manifestation, placing France far in advance of

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all other nations and reviewing for long years her prestige and glory. The collection is the result of the untiring energy and activity of M. Antonin Proust and it has been no idle or easy task."[17]

Monsieur Proust, the Minister of Fine Arts, had borrowed works from French museums and collectors, managing to assemble an impressive group of masterpieces among which David's _Portrait de Mme Récamier_, Ingres's _Jupiter et Thétis_, Delacroix's _Mort de Sardanapale_, Couture's _Les Romains de la décadence_, and Millet's _Les Glaneuses_. Corot had the largest representation with a total of forty-five paintings. But the exhibition also contained (thanks to the intervention of the vanguard critic Roger Marx) a few works by still controversial artists. Such pictures as Courbet's _Les Casseurs de pierres_, Manet's _Olympià_, Pissarro's _La Route_, and Monet's _Les Tuileries_ hung alongside the paintings by established masters.[18] Although in most cases response to these as yet unproven works was tentative, there was no hesitancy in Mrs. Havemeyer's reaction; she was terribly pleased to find canvases by the painters she had come to love and admire as a young girl included in such an important display. Overwhelmed by some of these pictures, she stood before them intently, fixing every detail in her memory so she would be able to recall them in her mind's eye whenever she wished. Eventually three of the paintings she saw here for the first time would end

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up in her possession.[19]

Yet as often as Mrs. Havemeyer returned to the Exposition Centennale, it is unlikely that she ever visited the Café Volpini right next door where she could have seen a "Groupe impressionniste et synthétiste" of almost one hundred pictures, drawings, and watercolors by Gauguin and his friends. Even later she never became interested in the work of the younger generation of painters who had been forced to devise their own scheme in order to appear at the World's Fair.

Although Mr. Havemeyer was greatly impressed by the splendors of the exhibition, he had his mind fixed on something else: the paintings he intended to buy at the forthcoming Secrétan sale. He found that the international capital of art offered other delights for the _amateur_ in addition to the Fair itself. Actually, the auction of the renowned Secrétan collection had been carefully planned to take advantage of the fact that many people had come to Paris for the Exposition; prices were certain to be higher with the presence of American millionaires and foreign dealers bidding against one another. Monsieur Secrétan, a copper magnate in the throes of severe financial problems, was being forced by his creditors to disperse his works of art. It was to be a _vente judiciaire_, which meant that the owner was not allowed to protect his objects either by buying them in or withdrawing them at the last moment; his

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creditors were demanding payment in cash. The Secrétan collection, composed of nineteenth-century French works and Dutch and Flemish old masters, was greatly respected for its fine quality and received many tributes in the Paris press. A deluxe catalogue in French and English, with a preface by the influential critic Albert Wolff had been printed for the auction, which was to take place on July 1 and following days; excitement was running high among prospective buyers. A born competitor himself, Harry Havemeyer sensed that there would be intense rivalry among the bidders, but he was determined to capture certain prizes.

It seems that the Havemeyers--as soon as they arrived in Paris--went to see the display of the Secrétan pictures at the Galerie Sédelmeyer, for it was there that Mr. Havemeyer saw his first painting by Courbet: La Remise de chevreuils (Fig. 16). Louisine pointed out this work to her husband, as she later reported in her Memoirs:

> He did not appear to be favorably impressed by it; I understand why not now. He was excited over the other pictures in the exhibition, many of which he intended to buy, and could not give the attention to the Courbet which it deserved. I recall that I expressed a desire for this splendid Landscape with Deer, and Mr. Havemayer said to me: "Surely you don't want that great big picture." "But I do," I answered, whereupon he said: "Come over here and look at the DeHooch [Fig. 17]. That's the sort of thing to buy." You see, Mr. Havemeyer's expressions show that he had not yet reached Courbet. . . . 20

Harry Havemeyer was attracted only by his favorite Dutch masters and a few choice works by already well established nineteenth-century French artists. He asked Durand-Ruel

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to bid on his behalf and gave strict orders to the dealer to go after what he wanted, regardless of price. Then he left on a business trip before the sale began, while Louisine remained in Paris and may have witnessed the event in the company of Durand-Ruel.

The pictures sold the first night of the Secrétan auction (July 1, 1889) were the "modern" French ones; the attendance was very large and the bidding spirited. The competition for Millet's L'Angélus was the most heated, as there had been a patriotic movement to persuade the French government to keep such a national treasure out of foreign hands. Among the American contenders were Samuel Avery, as well as a director of the Corcoran Museum, and I. Montaignac, agent of James Sutton; but the painting was finally knocked down to the French Ministry of Fine Arts for the extravagant sum of $111,000 (the government, however, could not raise the money and had to let the picture go to the American Art Association).[21]

Unlike many more conventional collectors, Harry Havemeyer was not interested in the twenty highly coveted Meissonier paintings which brought substantial prices.[22] Durand-Ruel managed to obtain the following works for Mr. Havemeyer: Decamps's Les Singes experts, oil on canvas ($14,000, Fig. 17); Delacroix's Othello et Desdémone, panel ($3,000); Millet's Paysan faisant boire deux vaches, pastel ($5,200, Fig. 18); Ziem's Canal en Hollande, oil on canvas

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($4,100); and a gouache by Decamps entitled Jésu parmi les docteurs ($5,700).[23] The next morning Mrs. Havemeyer received a telegram from her husband saying "Buy the Courbet"; he had obviously reconsidered but it was too late. The night before, La Remise de chevreuils had been acquired by the Louvre for $15,200.

At the second auction Durand-Ruel captured the old masters Mr. Havemeyer wanted: de Hooch's Intérieur hollandais, oil on canvas ($55,200); Codde's Famille hollandaise, panel ($2,200); Cuyp's L'Artiste dessinant d'après nature, panel ($8,200); and two works on panel by Hals: portraits of Scriverius and his wife for $9,000 each.[24] The total for the two nights was $1,124,213,[25] which was considered a success, even though Monsieur Secrétan supposedly had spent twice that amount on his collection. Upon his return to Paris, Mr. Havemeyer was very pleased with his purchases, but when he saw the Courbet he had missed hanging in the Louvre, he realized his mistake. He immediately told Durand-Ruel to find him another of equal quality; the task was not easy and the dealer could locate only one Courbet that was for sale. As Mrs. Havemeyer later admitted: "Our first purchase of a Courbet therefore was some cows in a meadow [F. No. 245, Fig. 19], a fine but not a remarkable Courbet, except that it led to many another picture by the great painter."[26] The experience had taught her husband a very important lesson which he never forgot.

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In spite of these excitements, the highlight of Louisine's visit to Paris was her reunion with Mary Cassatt. She was somewhat apprehensive about bringing her best friend together with her husband, since both had unusually strong and dominant personalities. But her fears were soon alleviated: "Although the year 1889, when I made my first trip to Europe after my marriage, was an important one for our collection, the most interesting event in it was Mr. Havemeyer's first meeting with Miss Cassatt. It resulted in a friendship which lasted through life. . . ."[27] From the very beginning these two independent people were able to respect and admire one another and thus lay the foundation for a relationship that was to be mutually beneficial. The encounter took place at 10 rue Marignan, off the Champs Elysées, the apartment where Mary Cassatt had moved with her family in March 1887 and which she maintained as her Paris residence for the rest of her life. For some reason the Havemeyers had been in Paris for quite a while before they went to call on Miss Cassatt. Perhaps the delay was caused by a recent riding accident from which the artist was suffering. Mrs. Havemeyer vividly recalled every detail of their meeting: ". . . I found her in bed with a broken leg. Her horse had slipped upon the pavement of the Champs Elysées and she sustained a bad fracture of the leg. The poor creature was forced to give up work and lie still for several weeks. She was very dear and cordial. . . ."[28]

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Mrs. Havemeyer considered the meeting of her husband with Mary Cassatt significant not only in a personal capacity but also for the future of their collection: "It is difficult to express all that our companionship meant. It was at once friendly, intellectual, and artistic, and from the time we first met Miss Cassatt she was our counsellor and our guide."[29] With great pride Louisine informed her friend that they had just bought a Courbet landscape. Cassatt immediately came to her aid by contributing to Mr. Havemeyer's indoctrination in Courbet:

> "What a man he was!" she exclaimed. "Just to think he wanted to pull down the Column Vendôme and actually saw it fall. The Parisians are prejudiced against him on account of that and he is not yet fully appreciated, but he is a great man in spite of his politics and they will have to acknowledge it later. . . . Do you remember the Exhibition we went to see years ago in the foyer of the Gaîté Theater? Wasn't it fine! those nudes and half lengths! I will look out for some for you! I would like you to have one or two good Courbets!" 30

Louisine had now recruited the one person who was to be her most valuable ally in increasing the scope of her husband's appreciation for modern art. But at this point none of them, not even Cassatt herself, realized what her interest in the Havemeyers' collection would mean ultimately. As of the summer of 1889, Mary Cassatt was just beginning her "lookouts."

It is most likely that during the course of their conversation Cassatt mentioned the large exhibition of paintings by Monet and sculpture by Rodin then being held

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at the Galerie Georges Petit. Undoubtedly she urged her friend to go see this retrospective of Monet's work, consisting of 145 pictures dating from 1864 to 1889. In addition to the Monet canvases, lent mostly by various amateurs, there were thirty-six pieces by Rodin, a combination of plasters, bronzes, and marble.[31] Perhaps Louisine did pay a visit to this important exhibition, but she wisely realized that her husband certainly was not ready for Monet and she herself was not particularly attracted to Rodin's highly expressive work.[32]

Before they left Paris, the Havemeyers asked both Cassatt and Durand-Ruel to keep their eyes open on their behalf. It was not long before the dealer suggested that they purchase an enormous canvas by Corot entitled L'Incendie de Sodome (Fig. 20), a painting the artist had executed for the Salon of 1844. In his Memoirs Durand-Ruel tells how he had first sold this work in 1873 to Count Abraham Camondo for 20,000 francs but bought it back after his death from his son for 100,000 francs in 1889. A short while later Mr. Havemeyer paid 125,000 francs for this dramatic, historical landscape measuring 36-3/8 by 71-3/8 inches.[33] The size of a work did not seem to concern him; another of his purchases from the French dealer at this time was Puvis de Chavannes's The Allegory of the Sorbonne (Fig. 21), with dimensions of 32-5/8 by 180-1/4 inches. This painting, formerly called The Sacred Grove, was a

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reduced version of the mural decoration in the large amphitheater at the Sorbonne, which the artist had finished that very year. At the end of October 1889 Durand-Ruel sold the Havemeyers for 1,500 francs a Renoir pastel--Jeune fille lisant (Fig. 22), also of 1889--which he had just bought from the artist for 500 francs.[34] Furthermore, Mr. Havemeyer acquired during the same period and from the same source a painting by Decamps, The Good Samaritan (Fig. 23), as well as a Millet pastel, The Temptation of Saint Hilarion (present whereabouts unknown). The year 1889 was indeed an important one for the Havemeyers. Their purchases during that period perfectly illustrate the catholic character of their taste, ranging from established old masters such as Rembrandt, de Hooch, and Hals to recent works by such contemporaries as Renoir, Puvis, and Whistler, without neglecting the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, represented by Corot, Courbet, Delacroix, Millet, and others.

This same year also saw major exhibitions on the other side of the Atlantic. After their return from Paris, the Havemeyers were exposed to yet another large display of French art. The occasion was a loan exhibition--held from November 15, 1889, through January 15, 1890, at the American Art Galleries--organized to raise funds for a monument to Antoine-Louis Barye to be erected in Paris. In addition to a collection of over five hundred bronzes, plasters, waxes, oils, watercolors, drawings, and etchings by Barye

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himself, the exhibit included over one hundred paintings and thirteen drawings by his friends and contemporaries: Géricault, Delacroix, Decamps, Corot, Millet, Rousseau, Dupré, Troyon, Diaz, and Daubigny. The show was managed by the American Art Association, which, besides providing their premises, supplied their recently acquired Millet painting, L'Angélus, which they had obtained after the French government had been unable to pay for its purchase;[35] the rest of the works were lent by American collectors, museums, and dealers. The New York press was unanimous in its praise; the journalists were particularly pleased with the selection of Romantics and Barbizon masters, as indicated by an article in The Sun of November 19:

> Never before has a collection of similar quality been shown in this country, and never before in any country has there been so good a chance to study this special group of artists. The famous "Collection of One Hundred Masterpieces" shown in Paris in 1883 did indeed represent them well, and by examples of which several are present here today. But other painters were there included, the collection embracing, for example, 30 old masters, so that no one of these 10 great men was there explained as we now see him. Even the vast retrospective exhibition in Paris afforded a less excellent opportunity to estimate the school of Fontainebleau. . . . Moreover, at Paris one saw these masters scattered about among many others on vast and crowded walls amid a medley of impressions utterly bewildering to eye and mind, while here the comparative smallness and the entire harmony of the collection offer an ideal opportunity for thorough study. . . .

Actually the somewhat chauvinistic attitude of this critic appears justified, since, from the very beginning, Americans had given a cordial reception to the works of the Barbizon painters.

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The four largest contributors to the "Barye Monument Exhibition" were William T. Walters, Cyrus W. Lawrence, James Sutton, and the Corcoran Art Gallery; the lenders' list also contained such notables as Samuel P. Avery, John G. Johnson, George Seney, Alfred C. Clark, Potter Palmer, William Schaus, Cottier and Co., and Charles Dana.[36] The name of Henry O. Havemeyer was conspicuous for its absence. Perhaps he had been asked to participate but refused, or, more likely, the loan committee was not aware of what Mr. Havemeyer then owned, since several of his purchases had been so recent.[37] He certainly could have supplied a number of Decamps, at least one painting each by Troyon, Rousseau, and Diaz, a couple of works by Delacroix, or even his newly acquired Millet pastels. He may have already had Corot's L'Incendie de Sodome in his possession, but for whatever reason, none of these pictures was included in the exhibition.[38]

Although Mr. Havemeyer owned several Barye watercolors, the show stimulated him to buy from Durand-Ruel some bronzes for the mantel-shelf in the dining room of his city residence as well as a pair of andirons in the form of a lion and lioness (Fig. 24). Eventually the Havemeyers did own a sizable group of the artist's paintings, watercolors, and bronzes,[39] which were considered a "must" among American collectors of the period. The tremendous success of the "Barye Monument Exhibition" once again reinforced Harry

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Havemeyer's opinion that the best possible investment in nineteenth-century French art was without a doubt the works of the ten great masters included in this important display. As far as he was concerned, he was on the right track, but his wife and Mary Cassatt had other ideas.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Of German origin, William Schaus had arrived in 1847 from Paris to establish himself in New York as the representative of Goupil and Co. In time he began his own gallery where he first sold prints but later imported works of such masters as Van Dyck, Goya, Géricault, Delacroix, Corot, Rousseau, Diaz, Dupré, etc. Schaus's gallery at 204 Fifth Avenue developed a very fine reputation and acquired a loyal clientele who found him to be an honest businessman as well as a genuine expert. See notices of Schaus's death both in The Collector 4 (January 1, 1893):69 and in The Art Amateur 28 (March 1893):96 and an obituary for his nephew Hermann Schaus in American Art News, February 11, 1911, p. 4.

2. A receipt (dated November 19, 1884) from the Duc de Morny is in the Archives, European Painting Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art. All documents relating to Schaus's purchase and subsequent sale of The Gilder were given by the dealer's daughter to the museum.

3. Clarence Cook, "Rembrandt's Le Doreur," The Studio, 1885 (reprinted in an undated pamphlet, Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art).

4. New York Times, February 19, 1885, p. 4.

5. Kate Field quoted in The Collector 3 (April 1892):163. Field was vigorously engaged in a crusade against the duty on foreign works of art; her goal was to get Congress to repeal the statute.

6. Unpublished letter from William Schaus to H. O. Havemeyer, Archives, European Painting Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

7. For the Erwin Davis sale, see Frances Weitzenhoffer, "First Manet Paintings to Enter an American Museum," pp. 126-27.

8. Ever since the 1886 auction of Mary Jane Morgan's Chinese porcelains, when an eight-inch Peachblow vase of "crushed strawberry" color brought a record price of $18,000, glass wares in this lustrous rosy shade were highly coveted.

9. Unidentified newspaper clipping enclosed in a copy of

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the catalogue of Whistler's exhibition Notes--Harmonies --Nocturnes (New York: H. Wunderlich & Co., 1889) at the Frick Reference Library.

10. Mr. Havemeyer acquired the following three watercolors: Grey and Silver--the Beach Holland (Cat. No. 8); Grey and Green--Cornwall (Cat. No. 24); Grey and Green--Dortrecht (Cat. No. 36), all of which have remained in the Havemeyer Family Collection.

11. Brander Matthews, Bookbindings Old and New: Notes of a Book-Lover, with an account of the Grolier Club of New York (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895), p. 294.

12. Also included in this exhibition of April 1890 were an early self-portrait by the artist and a portrait by Fantin-Latour, both lent by Samuel Avery.

13. See the Metropolitan Museum's Catalogue of Loan and Museum Collections, 1890-96, Handbook No. 1, Cat. No. 151.

14. Certainly there must have been a great many letters exchanged between Louisine Havemeyer and Mary Cassatt during the years 1883-89, but unfortunately not a single one of them has been preserved.

15. For more information on the protest letter against the Eiffel Tower, see Patricia Mainardi, "The Eiffel Tower and the English Lighthouse," Arts Magazine 54 (March 1980):142-43.

16. See Charles Simond, Paris de 1800 à 1900, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1901), 3:376.

17. New York Times, June 24, 1889, p. 2.

18. See the Catalogue Général Officiel Beaux-Arts, Exposition Centennale de l'Art Français (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889).

19. These three were: a version of Daumier's Le Wagon de troisième classe lent by Count Doria; Courbet's La Femme au perroquet lent by Jules Bordet; and Manet's En bateau lent by V. Desfossés. There were also several still privately owned paintings in the show that she would later greatly covet but not be able to obtain, such as Manet's Olympia and Corot's La Femme à la perle, both of which she eventually lost to the Louvre, and Courbet's Les Casseurs de pierres which went to the museum in Dresden.

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20. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 191.

21. Sutton was so disappointed over the loss of L'Angélus that he immediately offered to donate $10,000 to the poor of Paris if the French Minister would resell the work at cost, but his offer was rejected. However, when the French government refused to appropriate the money for the purchase, James Sutton ended up with the picture after all. Thereupon, as the property of the American Art Association, L'Angélus was exhibited in New York and in other American cities. Sutton and Kirby earned a fortune in entrance fees and from the sale of engravings of the work. When, in the fall of 1890, they received a $150,000 bid from the department store owner Alfred Chauchard in Paris, they decided it was time to return L'Angélus to the French. Upon his death, Chauchard willed the picture to the Louvre.

22. Meissonier's Les Cuirassiers (Secrétan Cat. No. 39) went for $38,000, his Le Vin du curé (Cat. No. 41) brought $18,020, and his Jeune homme écrivant une lettre (Cat. No. 43) sold for $15,200 as compared to an Ingres painting Oedipe et le Sphinx (Cat. No. 37) which only reached a price of $1,400. (See the New York Times, July 2, 1889, p. 1.) Yet as high as the Meissonier prices were, in certain cases they showed a loss. The artist's Les Cuirassiers had been bought by Secrétan for $70,000, whereas it sold for exactly half that sum.

23. Delacroix's Othello et Desdémone (R.D. No. 698) and Decamps's Jésu parmi les docteurs were both disposed of in the Havemeyer estate auction, 1930, Cat. Nos. 67 and 65. Ziem's Canal en Hollande has remained in the Havemeyer Family Collection.

24. De Hooch's Intérieur hollandais and the two portraits by Hals are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Codde's Famille hollandaise was included in the Havemeyer estate auction, 1930, Cat. No. 94; Cuyp's L'Artiste dessinant d'aprés nature has remained in the Havemeyer Family Collection.

25. New York Times, July 3, 1889, p. 1.

26. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 191.

27. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 1.

28. Ibid., p. 14. The summer of 1888 is the date usually

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given for Cassatt's riding accident. That date is based solely on a letter from Degas to Henri Rouart, in which Degas describes the incident; however, this document is undated and "summer of 1888" is a tentative date, provided by Marcel Guérin, editor of Degas's letters. (See Lettres de Degas, ed. Marcel Guérin [Paris: Editions Bernard Grasset, 1945], p. 128.) In this particular instance, Mrs. Havemeyer's date (Summer 1889) is the more reliable one, as it is certain that she and her husband made their first trip together to Paris at that time. Mrs. Havemeyer could not possibly have gone to France the previous summer, as the birth of her daughter Electra occurred in August 1888. Since the introduction of Mary Cassatt to her husband was one of the most important events of her life, it is unlikely that she would have confused the details. As she herself wrote: "My first meeting with Miss Cassatt in Paris after my marriage is indelibly graven on my mind" (unpublished chapter, p. 14).

29. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 1.

30. Ibid., p. 15.

31. See the exhibition catalogue Gustave Geffroy, Octave Mirbeau, Claude Monet, A. Rodin (Paris: Galerie Georges Petit, 1889).

32. Among Monet's paintings in the exhibition at Georges Petit's was one of three versions of La Grenouillère, 1869, lent by Charles Ephrussi (W. No. 135); in 1897 the Havemeyers acquired another version (W. No. 134). The Metropolitan Museum's catalogue erroneously suggests that the Havemeyer and Ephrussi pictures are one and the same.

33. Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, 2:185. It is possible that in 1889 Mr. Havemeyer also purchased a second Corot painting from Durand-Ruel, Jeunes filles de Sparte (now in the Brooklyn Museum). This work had been bought by the dealer at the Paul Michel-Lévy sale on October 16, 1889 (Lot No. 2), and could have been sold to Mr. Havemeyer shortly thereafter.

34. The provenance of Renoir's Jeune fille lisant (now in a private collection, U.S.A.) was given by François Daulte in a letter to John Rewald dated December 13, 1977. This pastel was eventually returned to Durand-

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Ruel by Louisine Havemeyer, who never really cared for the artist's work.

35. On the evening of November 17, 1889, Millet's painting L'Angélus was even the topic of a lecture by one Reverend Dr. Wesley Reid Davis at the Reformed Church in Brooklyn Heights. According to the Brooklyn Daily Eagle of November 18: "Dr. Davis's able, scholarly, and artistic treatment of the subject made an impression" (p. 1).

36. See the exhibition catalogue Works of Barye and 100 Masterpieces of His Contemporaries (New York: American Art Galleries, November 15, 1889-January 15, 1890).

37. The fact that Durand-Ruel had bought on behalf of Mr. Havemeyer at the Secrétan sale was reported in the New York Times of July 3, 1889, p. 1; however, many people were away at that season and the article did not say which works he had purchased.

38. Montague Marks, editor and publisher of the monthly journal The Art Amateur, wrote that the reason Mr. Havemeyer did not lend to the "Barye Monument Exhibition" was that he was still abroad when the committee made their selections. See The Art Amateur 22 (December 1889):4.

39. There are a number of entries in the diary of George A. Lucas for April and May 1886 indicating that he bought a Barye bronze and a painting for one Havemeyer and then arranged to have them sent to him aboard his ship at Southampton. In transcribing this diary, Lilian M. C. Randall assumed that the purchase was made on behalf of H. O. Havemeyer. However, it is unlikely that the latter was in Europe at that particular time, which was shortly after the birth of his son. It would seem instead, that the Havemeyer referred to was Theodore (Harry's brother), who was also an art patron (see chap. II, p. 46 and n. 27). See The Diary of George A. Lucas, transcribed and with an introduction by Lilian M. C. Randall, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 2:627-28, 632.

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CHAPTER VI

HENRY HAVEMEYER AS PURCHASER AND PATRON (1890-92)

From 1890 through 1892 Harry Havemeyer reached his peak as a collector of old masters. His passion for Rembrandt and the then fashionable Dutch and Flemish schools was unabated. Unlike certain American "connoisseurs" who were taken in by third- or fourth-rate works or even by outright forgeries, Mr. Havemeyer assembled a group of the finest quality. His selections were not accidental; he was willing to pay very high prices and he dealt only with reputable galleries. In many instances his source was Durand-Ruel. Although this dealer's name has been associated most intimately with the Barbizon painters and the Impressionists, during the last decade of the nineteenth century Durand-Ruel availed himself of the American market for Dutch masters and actively traded works by Rembrandt, Jacob van Ruisdael, Adriaen van Ostade, Pieter de Hooch, Gerald Terburg, David Teniers the Younger, and others. The New York Times of February 9, 1891, commented: "In the Durand-Ruel galleries there are just now enough old masters of the first rank to make a Salon Carré." Durand-Ruel was very adept at hunting up masterpieces that still belonged

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to European nobility and Harry Havemeyer was equally adept at buying them. But Mr. Havemeyer was by no means the only collector to benefit from the active European quest for the constantly ascending American dollar. This phenomenon elicited the following observation from the novelist Henry James: "One takes . . . satisfaction in seeing America stretch out her long arm and rake in, across the green cloth of the wide Atlantic, the highest prizes of the game of civilization."[1]

American acquisitiveness eventually was to lead to bitter resentments on the other side of the "green cloth." European scholars became alarmed by the increasing number of national treasures that were being drained from their countries (there were not as yet any laws restricting such exports) and museum directors were frustrated at being constantly outbid by dollar-happy Americans. The European press and scholarly journals started to voice concern; the universally renowned Wilhelm Bode, director of the Berlin Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, wrote in Kunst und Künstler about the "American Competition in the Art Market and Its Dangers for Europe." Speaking of these new buyers: ". . . people who now represent the dread of European museums and collectors and who fill the columns of newspapers both here and over there with their deeds," Bode lamented that they tried to dominate the art trade, purchasing:

> . . . entire collections through agents, middlemen, and negotiators of a special kind. As they assemble their

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> trusts, they also endeavor to assemble their collections. . . . They need art as advertisement, for their surroundings, and as a distraction. They lack the time, the knowledge, and the leisure to collect themselves; they only have the money with which to obtain anything--so why not also the creation of precious galleries and museums . . . ? Those gentlemen from the iron trust stepped indeed with iron feet into the art market, stamping out the old order and creating a peculiar new one.

Bode's special wrath was directed at J. Pierpont Morgan: ". . . the most feared man and the one most besieged by sellers and intermediaries of today's art trade, at the same time the most splendid and until now the most successful speculator in the field of trusts, who had transplanted these also to Europe and, so to speak, has formed a trust of trusts. . . ."

In contrast to such threatening figures, Bode mentioned some of the respected, "old-fashioned" American collectors, who regularly traveled to Europe, learned to discriminate, and personally made their careful selections. Among these he named Henry Marquand and Henry Havemeyer. He wrote:

> The special conditions which, in the eighties and at the beginning of the nineties brought numerous art objects of all kinds, such as old master paintings, onto the market or to auctions in Paris and London were happily taken advantage of by some Americans, insofar as they were willing to pay somewhat higher prices as were then current in Europe. In this way Henry Havemeyer has assembled within a few years the paintings that adorn his very original house designed by Louis C. Tiffany which features a room with nine portraits from Rembrandt's hand. 2

Bode thus seemed to imply that there was a basic difference between Mr. Havemeyer's dedicated collecting and

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the arrogant, brash, and indiscreet way in which Mr. Morgan, the man of the trusts, was accumulating his hoard of treasures. Little did Bode know that--as far as trusts were concerned--Harry Havemeyer was in the same league with the dreaded banker. Mr. Havemeyer actually had preceded J. P. Morgan in the creation of trusts; the latter did not become prominent in trust organizing until after 1898, whereas Harry Havemeyer's Sugar Trust had been established in 1887. Gustavus Myers's description of the magnates of the trust movement in his History of the Great American Fortunes was highly applicable to both J. Pierpont Morgan and H. O. Havemeyer: "Strong, ruthless men, bold in cunning and cunning in their boldness, were required for the work of crushing out the old cut-throat, haphazard, individualistic competitive system . . . , forceful, dominating, arbitrary men, not scrupling at any means to attain their ends, contemptuous enough of law when it stood in their way, and powerful enough to defy it."[3] Yet it is true that upon entering the realm of art, Harry Havemeyer became a gentleman, while J. P. Morgan continued to use the same imperious methods of wheeling and dealing which he employed in the world of high finance.

Because Harry Havemeyer was occasionally willing to pay considerable prices for what he wanted, the Durand-Ruels, during the early nineties, managed to constantly tempt him. In November 1890, they brought three superb

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Rembrandts to New York--two portraits of single figures plus the artist's well-known picture David Playing before Saul--whose arrival was heralded by the American press. Mr. Havemeyer purchased one of these Rembrandts--Portrait of a Man: The Treasurer--before the end of the month. Also on view at the Durand-Ruel gallery at that time were Terburg's The Glass of Lemonade and de Hooch's A Family Concert, which Mr. Havemeyer had bought earlier in the year.[4] Eager to give their recent imports maximum exposure, the Durand-Ruels willingly lent their two remaining Rembrandt paintings and the picture by Terburg to an exhibition at the Union League Club in January 1891.[5] The following month, Harry Havemeyer acquired another of the Rembrandts, Portrait of an Old Woman (Fig. 25), for $50,000.[6] In spite of the fact that the third painting by Rembrandt was widely acclaimed as a matchless example of the artist's work, Mr. Havemeyer passed it by just as he did the Terburg, a picture he had heard about long before its arrival in America.

As was often the case, the Durand-Ruels would try to point out the merits of certain works to Mr. Havemeyer; Joseph Durand-Ruel had done so in a letter of July 18, 1890:

> We have now bought the Terborg [sic] The Glass of lemonade and hold it now; it was going to be bought by another amateur. Although you own some magnificent pictures of P. de Hooghe etc. you must not close up your house to some other masters, especially when it is an artist like Terborg who is considered by everybody as one of the very greatest and put in every collection on the same level as Rembrandt and half a dozen others.

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But in this instance the Durand-Ruels did not succeed in persuading Harry Havemeyer. He was as adamant about his likes as about his dislikes, but the quality of his selections was undisputed. In the March 7, 1891, issue of L'Art dans les Deux Mondes--a weekly published by the Galerie Durand-Ruel from November 1890 to May 1891, whose major purpose was to help establish the Impressionists--the American correspondent used Harry Havemeyer as a standard for private collectors: "Même dans les collections particulières, une règle semblable devait présider aux achats, et les amateurs feraient bien de suivre l'exemple qui leur est donné d'une manière si frappante par M. H. O. Havemeyer dont la galerie peu nombreuse n'est composée que de chefs-d'oeuvre."[7]

Mr. Havemeyer's preference was for single-figure portraits and landscapes or seascapes, with an occasional genre scene by one of his beloved Dutch artists. In The Collector of February 1892, a brief article on the Havemeyer old masters again emphasized their quality and their splendid condition, but by then their quantity had increased as well. Among Mr. Havemeyer's possessions at that time were no fewer than five Rembrandt portraits, four paintings by de Hooch, three works each by Hals and Teniers, in addition to a good number of examples by Albert Cuyp, Willem Kalf, Pieter Codde, Jacob van Ruisdael, Jan van Goyen, Adriaen van Ostade, and Aert van der Neer, one

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picture each by van Dyck, Gainsborough, Rubens, and Watteau,[8] plus a child's portrait by Greuze and a Piazza San Marco scene by Guardi.[9] Yet during this period Harry Havemeyer had not limited his purchasing to old master paintings. Besides continuing to acquire Oriental porcelains and pottery, he began to collect Greek works: bronzes, terracotta figurines, glass, and coins. In the March 1891 issue of The Art Courier, an occasional supplement to The Art Amateur, the following was written about his Oriental and Greek objects: "When Mr. Havemeyer enters his new Fifth Avenue residence, art lovers will be astonished to see how beautiful are his Chinese and Japanese glazes, and how liberal and discriminating his purchases of Greek art objects has been. His cabinets will show, in particular, some fine terracotta groups of figures that are not even generally known to be in this country."[10]

At this point Harry Havemeyer was no longer buying at random; he always had his new home in mind when he made his selections. It was no mere coincidence that he had acquired five single-figure Rembrandt portraits. Samuel Colman had designed a special library where the Rembrandts were to hang. Mr. Havemeyer came to the conclusion that a few more works by his favorite master were needed to complete what was to become "the Rembrandt room," and once again Durand-Ruel came to his aid. It must have been on Mr. Havemeyer's behalf that the dealer approached the

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eccentric Princesse de Sagan, with whom he could deal only on a strictly cash basis. The Princess owned a fine pair of Rembrandt portraits of a Dutch admiral and his wife (Figs. 26, 27) for which she was asking a hundred thousand dollars. In June 1892, she was vacationing in Trouville where Charles Durand-Ruel went, his pockets lined with bank notes. An agreement was reached and soon after Mr. Havemeyer was informed of his latest accessions. Mary Cassatt was very pleased with these portraits; immediately upon her return from a trip to Italy, she wrote Louisine:

> Poor dear Italy! I thought it sad and much changed! I saw nothing there more beautiful than the Rembrandts Mr. Havemeyer has just bought--what a marvel the woman's portrait is! Duret saw it with me and said he had never seen a finer picture. I wonder who the originals were! Certainly Rembrandt painted that woman before! . . . tell him [Mr. Havemeyer] that such a critic as Duret says that he has two of Rembrandt's finest portraits painted in his very best period. . . .[11]

Either on the same occasion or shortly afterwards, Mr. Havemeyer also purchased a third Rembrandt from the Princesse de Sagan: Portrait of a Young Man in a Broad-brimmed Hat (Havemeyer Family Collection). Now he felt that his library deserved to be called "the Rembrandt room," since its walls would be hung with eight splendid portraits (not nine as stated by Bode), the only room of its kind in America. He never again would buy another Rembrandt painting.[12]

Although Mr. Havemeyer's primary focus was on old master paintings, he did not totally neglect the art of

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nineteenth-century France. Once again, it was the Durand-Ruels who kept him well supplied; their letters were filled with information concerning "modern" paintings they felt he should consider. But Mr. Havemeyer had made his preferences very clear and the French dealer and his sons respectfully restricted their suggestions to his specific taste. From 1890 to 1892, they were particularly on the lookout for fine specimens of Decamps, Troyon, and Dupré.[13] In February 1891, Mr. Havemeyer acquired three works by Decamps: Kiosque oriental, Bisque oriental, and Le Chêne et le roseau, as well as Troyon's Paysage au coucher du soleil,[14] which Charles Durand-Ruel had purchased for him at the recent George Seney auction for $2,900.[15] In April of that same year, he bought two paintings by Dupré: Le Bûcheron and La Forêt.[16]

The Durand-Ruels never limited Harry Havemeyer to their own gallery stock; to the contrary, they encouraged him to buy at auction if, in their opinion, the quality of a work were high. They also spent much time and energy tracking down pictures in private collections which they thought might interest their client, as evidenced in a letter to Mr. Havemeyer from Joseph Durand-Ruel, dated June 23, 1891: "My father, who was in London these last days, wishes me to write you that he is afraid that Mr. Mieville, the old gentleman, who owns the fine Troyons in London, may be inclined one of these days to sell his pictures. He has

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already received several offers and we would not like to have those pictures go, without having a chance to buy them for you, should you still desire to purchase them."[17] At the Barbedienne sale on June 3, 1892 (held at the Durand-Ruel galleries in Paris), the dealer bought a large Decamps pastel, La Prise de Jéricho, for 72,000 francs and two Barye paintings: Lion au repos (9,400 francs) and Tigre couché (7,100 francs);[18] two weeks later, he sold these three works to Mr. Havemeyer.[19]

Evidently Harry Havemeyer was very pleased with Durand-Ruel's endeavors on his behalf; in January 1892, the dealer acknowledged his client's praise: "J'ai reçu votre bonne lettre et je vous remercie de la confiance que vous voulez bien me témoigner. Je ferai tous mes efforts pour la mériter toujours." The association was obviously a satisfactory one for all concerned.

While Harry Havemeyer was waiting for the interiors of his new residence to be completed--a project which took almost two years, until the spring of 1892--he had a very liberal policy about lending his pictures to certain institutions, particularly the Metropolitan Museum. (This attitude towards loans would change drastically later on.) From November 1890 to April 1891, there were fifteen Havemeyer pictures enhancing the walls of the Metropolitan. In the "Loan Collection of Paintings," hanging in what was then called the old eastern gallery, were the following:

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three Rembrandts, The Gilder and the portraits of Van Beeresteyn and his wife; two portraits by Hals of Scriverius and his wife; de Hooch's Dutch Interior; a still life by Kalf; Cuyp's Sketching from Nature; as well as several examples of the nineteenth-century French school: Corot's The Destruction of Sodom, Delacroix's The Expulsion, two landscapes by Decamps, a work by Ziem, and one by Troyon.[20] In another part of the museum--the corridor which connected the new and old galleries--hung Puvis de Chavannes's large The Allegory of the Sorbonne.[21] From May to November 1891, there were twelve Havemeyer pictures on display at the Metropolitan, but this time only the two Decamps represented nineteenth-century art.[22] The rest of the selection was the same as before, with the addition of Mr. Havemeyer's two newest Rembrandts: Portrait of an Old Lady and Portrait of a Man: The Treasurer.[23]

Harry Havemeyer was a benefactor to this institution in more ways than just as a participant in loan exhibitions. In the spring of 1891 there was a petition by 30,000 citizens demanding that the museum be open on Sunday for the working classes.[24] The trustees objected violently not only because of religious principles, but also on account of financial considerations; they were afraid of losing the support of numerous churchgoing patrons precisely at a time when there would be heavy extra expenses caused by the Sunday openings. However, public pressure mounted, since the

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majority of the city's newspapers as well as several politicians advocated that the measure be adopted. The trustees were forced to give in: May 31, 1891, became the first open Sunday. In terms of attendance the practice was a huge success. The Art Amateur of March 1892 reported the following figures: "Nearly 500,000 persons visited the Museum on Sunday afternoons during the seven months it was open on that day, and the total day and evening visitors for the year numbered 901,203."[25] But the first seven months of the Sunday openings resulted in a deficit. Money was solicited from a few of the museum's more sympathetic patrons, among whom was Harry Havemeyer; in 1892 he donated $10,000 specifically designated to help pay for Sunday openings. Aid for this same purpose also came to the Metropolitan when the city's Board of Estimate increased its annual appropriation, and the following year (1893) there was a rise in certain categories of membership fees. Mr. Havemeyer's generosity was one of the contributing factors in establishing Sunday as a permanent visiting day.

It seems strange that in spite of his continual benefactions, plus his obvious qualifications, Harry Havemeyer was not elected to the museum's board of trustees. When the question of his joining the board arose, Henry Marquand, president of that body, wrote on June 23, 1891, to Louis P. di Cesnola, the museum's director: "Havemeyer is a hard man to get along with!--though very knowing--I fear

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he won't do."[26] The truth of the matter was that Marquand already had enough difficult men to cope with, none more so than the relentless, obstinate Cesnola himself, who not only ran the museum with an iron hand, but also sat on the board as its secretary. Another powerful voice among the trustees belonged to John Pierpont Morgan, elected in 1888. His presence alone was enough to keep Mr. Havemeyer off the board; there was no love lost between these two tycoons, who were too much alike to be able to tolerate one another. The origin of Harry Havemeyer's particular dislike for Morgan can be traced to an unpleasant business association subsequent to the fire which, in 1882, had completely destroyed the Havemeyers & Elder refinery. In order to rebuild it immediately, "H. O. Havemeyer negotiated a pledge from J. P. Morgan & Company of a loan of $1,000,000 upon payment of a fee of $60,000. The money was never needed but no part of the fee was ever returned by Morgan."[27] Harry Havemeyer never forgave J. P. Morgan for his unbecoming conduct.

The Metropolitan Museum was not the sole beneficiary of Mr. Havemeyer's generosity during the early part of that decade. In 1889 the American Fine Arts Society had been incorporated; it had been formed by a coalition of the following five art associations: The Society of American Artists, The Architectural League, The Art Students League, The Society of Painters in Pastel, and The New York Art

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Guild. The driving force behind the establishment of such a Society was a small group of artists who had studied in Europe and were not members of the National Academy of Design; they felt that a permanent exhibition space for the city's younger, more progressive organizations was a dire necessity.[28] The painter Howard Russell Butler, who had returned to America in 1887 after two years in Paris, was elected president of this new Society.[29] Its first concern was to raise sufficient funds to erect a proper building for exhibitions, schools, and offices.

Butler began his campaign with an appeal for subscriptions, mailed to everyone thought to have an interest in art, no matter how slight. The length of the list of subscribers was quite impressive, but their actual contributions were insufficient. Thus a new plan was worked out to get things moving at a faster rate. The category of "Founder" was established for those who would pledge $5,000. With the aid of fellow artists Carroll Beckwith and Eastman Johnson, Butler began "an onslaught on the millionaires of New York,"[30] but only eight were willing to give so large a sum. Among them were two Havemeyers: Henry O. and his cousin William F.; the others were George W. and Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, Collis P. Huntington, Charles L. Tiffany, and Darius O. Mills. However, Butler and his little band persisted; they set up various gift funds and categories such as "Patron" (at least $1,000), "Associate"

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(at least $500), and "Life Fellow" ($100). They also managed to assemble a very impressive group of trustees, among whom were Henry Marquand, Cyrus Lawrence, George Vanderbilt, and James Garland.

By January 1891 the New York Times reported that the American Fine Arts Society had purchased a sizable tract of land on West 57th Street between Seventh Avenue and Broadway with a northward extension to 58th Street, and that the foundations for the building had already been laid.[31] But the constantly rising costs of construction forced Howard Butler to invent some additional financial schemes to keep the operation afloat.[32] In January 1892, when work on the building was in full progress, a meeting of artists and collectors was held to discuss the possibility of having a loan exhibition to raise the $50,000 still needed by the Society. On this committee were no fewer than three Havemeyers: Harry, his brother Theodore, and his cousin William. Some of the other members were Samuel Avery, Andrew Carnegie, William M. Chase, Samuel Colman, Clarence Cook, Charles Dana, Childe Hassam, Louis C. Tiffany, George and Cornelius Vanderbilt, and none other than J. P. Morgan.[33] The committee's initial idea was to hold a huge show in Madison Square Garden for which loans would be requested from prominent collectors in New York and various other cities. However, after this proposal had been studied for several months, it was considered to be

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too expensive an undertaking; instead, the committee decided to wait until the completion of the Society's own quarters.[34]

The American Fine Art Society's building was officially opened on December 3, 1892; its inaugural exhibition was a retrospective of native painting.[35] The special loan show took place from February 13 to March 13, 1893; the committee had little difficulty in organizing a superb selection simply by borrowing works from trustees and others associated with the society. A large portion of the display consisted of Oriental vases, tiles and platters from Moorish Spain, Roman bronzes, Greek and Etruscan vases, Tanagra figurines, old silverwork, enamels, and medieval swords and tapestries lent by Messrs. Marquand, Altman, Morosini, and others, as well as a full set of Barye bronzes supplied by Cyrus Lawrence.[36] There was also a broad range of both European and American pictures representing a variety of schools and countries, extending all the way from seventeenth-century Dutch painters, English old masters, and French Barbizon landscapists, to the Impressionists. But according to the New York Times of February 12, 1893, the Dutch paintings were the highlight of the picture collection:

> The array of old Dutch masters is such as New York has never seen before, since Messrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Henry Marquand, and Morris K. Jessup of New York, Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia, and the art firms of Durand-Ruel, Cottier and Co., Schaus, Blakeslee, and others have lent

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> their choicest. The famous Gilder by Rembrandt and a companion picture of an old woman are promised and doubtless hang this morning on the walls. . . .

Mr. Havemeyer also contributed one of his four paintings by de Hooch.[37] In the early years of the nineties he was called upon repeatedly to lend his Dutch masters, which were then at the height of their popularity in America. It was particularly gracious of him to part with some of his favorite works, since by this time the interiors of his new home had been completed.

During this period Mr. Havemeyer was indeed a busy man; he was actively engaged on all fronts. In the fall of 1888 the Attorney-General of New York had objected to the Sugar Trust's attempted absorption of the North River Refining Company. This action was simply a pretext for a much larger issue: that the Sugar Refineries Company (the trust formed by Henry Havemeyer in 1887) was a conspiracy and combination to arbitrarily control the price of sugar against the interests of the people. In November 1890, a suit was brought by the People of the State of New York versus the North River Refining Company; the result was that the Sugar Trust was declared illegal under a technical provision of the law stating that "no corporation, through its stockholders or otherwise, had power to give over its rights, powers, and duties to a board of directors."[38] This decision was considered a significant triumph for New York State against monopoly and corporate concentration.

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Earlier in 1890 the United States Congress had passed the Sherman Antitrust Act, which declared that any trusts or combinations that prevented competition or restrained trade or increased the producer's profits at the cost of the consumer were unlawful. But the case of the Sugar Refineries Company was one of the rare instances where the principles of the Sherman Act were successfully enforced. Since this law carried only a slight penalty, was too vague, and was subject to broad interpretation, it proved to be fairly ineffective. The magnates succeeded in brushing aside most antitrust legislation; the decade of the nineties saw the formation of hundreds of industrial trusts.

It did not take Harry Havemeyer long to plot a new course of action. Within less than a year after the passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act, the Havemeyers and their associates reorganized their trust in New Jersey as the American Sugar Refining Company.[39] This new combination, consisting of 121 plants, was incorporated on January 10, 1891; Harry Havemeyer was named its President and Chief Executive Officer. By simply obtaining a charter across the river, the Sugar Trust was better off than before; now it even escaped the heavier taxes imposed by New York State; moreover, New Jersey did not tax the property of the company held in other states. There were several hearings by a Senate Committee investigating the affairs of the

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American Sugar Refining Company, but according to the New York Tribune of March 25, 1891: "Nobody has seemed to know anything whatever about the trust's business, although the witnesses have included those most largely interested." Other than some unfavorable publicity, the Sugar Trust had not suffered any adverse effects; its profits were greater than ever, and by the end of the century it would control 98 percent of all sugar refined in the United States.

Yet, Harry Havemeyer may have personally paid a price for his business machinations. One of the factors responsible for keeping him off a board of trustees such as that of the Metropolitan Museum may have been the considerable amount of newspaper coverage the Sugar Trust received from 1888 to 1891. It was not considered proper protocol for an art patron's professional activities to make front-page news. As business pressures increased, Harry Havemeyer's public manner became noticeably more severe, while his involvement with art and music became the focal point of his highly private social life. He was at his most genial when he received his friends in his new home where the combination of the sumptuous interiors by Tiffany and Colman and the display of the Havemeyer treasures provided a dazzling effect of which he was very proud.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Henry James, quoted by Hilton Kramer, "Going Beyond the 'Edifice Complex,'" New York Times Magazine, May 7, 1978, p. 61.

2. Wilhelm Bode, "Die amerikanische Konkurrenz im Kunsthandel und ihre Gefahr für Europa," Kunst und Künstler, 1902-3; reprinted in Kunst und Künstler: Aus 32 Jahrgangen einer deutschen Kunstzeitschrift (Mainz: Florian Kupferberg Verlag, 1971), pp. 17-25.

3. Gustavus Myers, History of the Great American Fortunes (New York: Modern Library, 1907), p. 584.

4. In addition to de Hooch's A Family Concert, Mr. Havemeyer purchased two other paintings by the artist from Durand-Ruel during 1890.

5. See Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 24 (January 1891):30.

6. The price paid by Mr. Havemeyer was quoted in "Notes for Collectors," The Art Courier 24 (March 1891):2.

7. "Courrier d'Amérique," L'Art dans les Deux Mondes, March 7, 1891, p. 187.

8. According to the Galerie Durand-Ruel's records, Watteau's La Comédie italienne, upon the recommendation of Mary Cassatt, was purchased by Mr. Havemeyer in November 1890. Eventually the attribution of this painting was changed to "style of Watteau." See the privately printed catalogue H. O. Havemeyer Collection, p. 506.

9. See "The World of Collectorship," The Collector 3 (February 1, 1892):97-98. Some of these pictures seem to have been disposed of at a later date.

10. "Notes for Collectors," The Art Courier 24 (March 1891): 2.

11. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, "Extracts from Miss Cassatt's Letters," p. 22. Mrs. Havemeyer dated this letter 1890, but the correct date is the beginning of July 1892, at which time Mary Cassatt went with Duret to see the Rembrandts at Durand-Ruel's before they were packed for shipment to America.

12. In June 1891, Durand-Ruel had bought for Mr. Havemeyer

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a group of eight Rembrandt drawings, formerly in the collection of Whistler's brother-in-law, Seymour Haden. Another so-called Rembrandt--Portrait of the Artist, panel, 25 x 20 inches--did find its way into the Havemeyer collection, but its authenticity was doubted even during Mr. Havemeyer's lifetime.

13. It must have been Louisine Havemeyer who convinced her husband to buy from Durand-Ruel (in 1890) their one and only Boudin painting and a Daumier wash drawing, Corot Sketching at Ville d'Avray (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art), which had been exhibited at the Union League Club in the spring of 1890. See The Art Amateur 22 (June 1890):5.

14. Decamps's Kiosque oriental (Cat. No. 49) and Bisque oriental (Cat. No. 38), as well as Troyon's Paysage au coucher du soleil (Cat. No. 63) were all disposed of at the Havemeyer estate auction, 1930. Decamps's Le Chêne et le roseau was either sold, traded, or given away during Mrs. Havemeyer's lifetime.

15. Since his first auction in March 1885 (see chap. III, p. 58 and p. 72, n. 29), George Seney of Brooklyn had sufficiently reconstituted his fortune to be able to both make and sell two more collections. His third sale was held February 11-13, 1891, in the assembly room at Madison Square Garden. This collection of 307 works was especially strong in Barbizon painters; there were no fewer than nineteen examples by Troyon, ranging from a mere sketch to some of his finest works. Mr. Seney was widely accused of having assembled this group of pictures purely for speculative purposes: "It is not obvious that this was not 'the best collection of paintings it was in Mr. Seney's power to secure'; but, on the contrary, that it was a collection brought together to sell--with the good pictures artfully scattered among the poor ones, in the regular fashion of picture trade auctions." ("My Note Book," The Art Amateur 24 [March 1891]:88.) The result of the three nights of the Seney sale was $663,045. (New York Times, February 14, 1891, p. 5.)

16. Both Dupré paintings were either sold, traded, or given away by Mrs. Havemeyer; their present whereabouts are unknown.

17. In a letter to Mr. Havemeyer dated July 10, 1891, Joseph Durand-Ruel again mentioned the Troyons in the Mieville collection: ". . . he [Durand-Ruel senior] says that if you would allow us to offer 400.000 frs.

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for the three Troyons of Mr. Mieville, you would make a profitable affair. He says also that he does not believe we would get them for this amount because the two large ones alone are worth at least 200.000 frs. each or 400.000 for the pair." It seems that Harry Havemeyer did not succeed in securing any of Mr. Mieville's paintings by Troyon.

18. The pastel by Decamps as well as the two Barye paintings were either sold, traded, or given away by Mrs. Havemeyer; their present whereabouts are unknown.

19. Another "modern" work to enter the Havemeyer collection during these years was Corot's Portrait of a Child. This picture was formerly considered to be a likeness of Rosa Bonheur, dressed in a costume of a young boy. (See the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Catalogue of French Paintings, 2:47-48.) Corot's Portrait of a Child was mentioned in an article on "Corot as a Figure Painter" in The Collector of February 1, 1891 (p. 77), as already belonging to the Havemeyers. The source of acquisition for this painting is unknown.

20. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook No. 6, November 1890-April 1891, Nos. 1-14.

21. See "Puvis de Chavannes," The Art Amateur 24 (December 1890):2. The Havemeyers' large painting then on loan to the Metropolitan Museum was included in a list of the artist's works owned by American collectors.

22. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook No. 6, May-November 1891, Nos. 1-12.

23. Mr. Havemeyer allowed Rembrandt's Gilder to remain on loan to the Metropolitan Museum from the time of its purchase from William Schaus in March 1889 through November 1891. The portraits of Van Beeresteyn and his wife had previously been on exhibition for several months in 1889.

24. The issue of Sunday openings had been a heated one since 1881 when ten thousand people had signed a petition advocating that both the Metropolitan and the Natural History Museums be open on Sundays. In 1885 the city's Board of Estimate had even resorted to threats of cutting off their funds unless these museums acquiesced to the public demand. For a more detailed account of the controversy surrounding the practice of Sunday openings see Calvin Tomkins, Merchants and Masterpieces (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1973), pp. 75-79.

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25. "News and Notes," The Art Amateur 26 (March 1892):111.

26. Letter from Henry Marquand to Louis P. di Cesnola, Metropolitan Museum's Archives. In 1879 Cesnola became the museum's first paid director, and in 1889 Marquand was elected president of its board of trustees.

27. Havemeyer, Biographical Record of the Havemeyer Family, pp. 67-68. The various biographies of J. Pierpont Morgan make no mention of this occurrence.

28. The primary source on the formation of the American Fine Arts Society is the Howard Russell Butler Collection, Archives of American Art. There are periodic notices in The Art Amateur from 1890 to 1893, as well as in the New York Times from 1889 to 1893, describing the growth and development of this society.

29. See Elisabeth Stevens, "Howard Russell Butler: An American in Paris, 1885-1887," Archives of American Art Journal 17, no. 4 (1977):3.

30. Howard Russell Butler Collection, Archives of American Art (unless otherwise cited, all material is to be found in this collection).

31. New York Times, January 10, 1891, p. 4.

32. At one point Howard Butler was so desperate that he asked George Vanderbilt to come to the Society's rescue by buying their plot of land on the 57th Street side. Not only did Mr. Vanderbilt take this piece of property off their hands, but he also donated the money to build a picture gallery. Later (December 1892) this large exhibition space--known as the Vanderbilt Gallery--and the land on which it stood were officially presented to the American Fine Arts Society by George Washington Vanderbilt.

33. "News and Notes," The Art Amateur 26 (March 1892):111.

34. "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 27 (June 1892):2.

35. New York Times, December 4, 1892, p. 4.

36. New York Times, February 12, 1893, p. 4, and "Loan Exhibition at the American Fine Arts Society," The Art Amateur 28 (March 1893):97.

37. Although the entry for No. 16 of the Loan Exhibition

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Catalogue (New York: American Fine Arts Society, 1893) indicates that Mr. Havemeyer lent a painting by de Hooch, no title for the picture is provided, thus making it impossible to identify the work.

38. Myers, History of the Great American Fortunes, p. 582.

39. To help set up his new Sugar Trust, Mr. Havemeyer called upon the services of corporate lawyer John Randolph Dos Possos (father of the writer), whose fee was reputedly the largest of its kind. Obviously pleased with Dos Passos's work, Mr. Havemeyer appointed him as counsel for the American Sugar Refining Company. See Townsend Ludington, John Dos Passos: A Twentieth Century Odyssy (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980), p. 9.

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CHAPTER VII

THE HAVEMEYERS MOVE TO 1 EAST 66TH STREET

Henry Havemeyer was pleased with the interiors of 1 East 66th Street, but Louisine was thrilled. Tiffany and Colman had even surpassed her expectations. The family had occupied part of their house in November 1891; the remainder was not finished until the spring of 1892. An amazing amalgam of Japanese, Chinese, Moorish, Byzantine, Scandinavian, Celtic, and Viking elements were skillfully blended into a gleaming yet harmonious atmosphere for the Havemeyers' collection. As Louisine put it: "The whole house is a background for the objects it contains."[1] But what a background! Not one square inch had been neglected; Tiffany and Colman attended to every detail and left no surface untouched. Walls, windows, woodwork, moldings, floors, ceilings, and lighting fixtures had been inventively designed. Their special decorations as well as the custom-carved furniture corresponded with the soft tones of each room. The time and effort that Louisine had devoted to working with the two experts resulted in a dramatic interior that reflected a highly individual and advanced taste. There were none of the European furnishings, hangings, and diverse trappings ordinarily imitated or imported for the

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majority of American magnates. The Havemeyers' sophisticated interior was very different from the flamboyant showpieces of such notables as the Goulds, Vanderbilts, or Astors, who were too unsure of themselves to forsake the guarantee of old-world accoutrements, and who, unlike the Havemeyers, devoted the greater part of their private lives to the endless struggle to shine in society.

After passing through double doors inset with squares of translucent glass (Figs. 28, 29), the Havemeyers' guests were ushered into a spacious, square hall faced with mosaics (Figs. 30, 31), whose source of inspiration had been the Byzantine chapels of Ravenna; the mosaic flooring was reputed to have at least a million and a half stones, and the elaborate marble staircase (which climbed the north wall), was copied from the one in the Venetian Doges' Palace. Another feature of this dazzling entrance hall was a fountain that "was allowed to splash but a few drops at a time,"[2] into an octagonal basin filled with ferns and orchids from the Havemeyers' Connecticut greenhouses.[3]

Yet the most extraordinary aspect of the mansion's interior was the upstairs picture gallery's perforated metal "flying" staircase, which hung from the ceiling by entwined open-work chains (Figs. 32, 33). Aline Saarinen has provided a particularly vivid description:

> A narrow balcony with an alcove ran around the second story of the picture gallery. The spectacular staircase was suspended, like a necklace, from one side of

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> the balcony to the other. A curved piece of cast iron formed the spine to which, without intermediate supports, the stair treads were attached. The sides of this astonishing construction as well as the balcony railing, were a spider web of gold filigree dotted with small crystal balls. The concept of a construction in space was revolutionary indeed for 1890 and its daring was dramatized by a crystal fringe on the center landing which tinkled from the slight motion when the staircase was used. 4

The two-story gallery itself was filled with works from the Havemeyers' painting collection plus specially designed cases for the display of colorful Chinese porcelains and Cypriote glass (Figs. 34, 35). Between these glass cabinets were doors that opened into storerooms containing additional porcelains, Japanese decorative wares and artifacts, and certain paintings.[5] A section of the gallery's top floor (the third story of the house) was devoted exclusively to watercolors (Fig. 36).

Another of the house's most resplendent attractions was Colman's decorative scheme for the library, also known as "the Rembrandt room" (Fig. 37). Mrs. Havemeyer's own words best illustrate the enormous amount of work that went into the creation of her husband's favorite room:

> Mr. Colman made this library of ours a labor of love. He mixed the stains for the walls, he guided the Italians in their wood carving, he modeled the furniture to be reproduced first in wax, and taught the painters how to apply coat after coat of varnish, rubbing each one to a lovely amber transparency which gave it the value of a Chinese porcelain. Mr. Colman selected a piece of bronze he had long admired and a panel by the celebrated Japanese lacquer-worker, Ritsuo, as his inspiration. The softly rounded vase gave him suggestions for the woodwork and moldings, over which you could pass your hand without feeling an edge or outline.

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> The Ritsuo panel, rich in color and of olive tones, he kept always before him, for he colored the oak himself, using the acid stains which he invented, obtaining astonishing results both in beauty and transparency. 6

The decorative designs for the carved furniture and woodwork were based on Viking and Celtic motifs. Colman placed certain of the Havemeyers' finest Chinese bronzes on imaginative tripods heavily incrusted in blue and green; other specimens stood upon the low bookshelves and above the broad fireplace. Since Colman had conceived the library as the apartment where Mr. Havemeyer's cherished Rembrandts would hang, all eight portraits graced the walls, together with additional Dutch paintings, such as Hals's portrait of Scriverius and his wife and de Hooch's Interior of a Dutch Dwelling.[7] A Byzantine-style pebble-and-glass chandelier (Fig. 38) suspended over the library table and a fanciful desk lamp contributed to the room's resonant luminescence. It was here, surrounded by his treasures, that Harry Havemeyer played the violin every morning before leaving for the office. As his wife later remarked: "Mr. Havemeyer's library was indeed his castle."[8]

But in spite of these splendors, the library's focal point was by far its ceiling, composed of Colman's arrangement of the lustrous Japanese textiles. His prodigious undertaking had been well worthwhile; Mrs. Havemeyer was enraptured with the result:

> How shall I describe the ceiling? It glowed like the rich mosaic of the East, like Saint Sophia and the

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> splendid tombs of Constantinople, like the Palatine Chapel of Palermo, the pride of Roger of Sicily. Like them our ceiling recalled the art of the East both in color and in design. The interwoven pattern of Byzantine prevailed, and when all was completed and fitted into the several panels, the design was outlined by a heavy braid and it held the colors which were so beautifully distributed throughout. Many and many a time have I been questioned about this ceiling which was so full of beauty and brilliancy, so rich and yet so subdued. 9

The ceiling was separated from the walls by an elaborate frieze inspired by Scandinavian designs.

This same care and attention to detail were evident throughout the house from the dining room's (Fig. 39) hammered silver flatware embellished with flowers, insects, and crawfish, adapted from Japanese patterns, to the intricate filigree of an ornamental screen (Figs. 40, 41), to the numerous sets of highly inventive andirons and fire implements (Fig. 42). Each room was an imaginative composition of seemingly incongruous elements that when placed together managed to spin a shimmering web. Colman and Tiffany had made an ultimate effort on their friends' behalf; besides, they found that Louisine Havemeyer's sense for immaculate quality inspired good design. In addition to being a source of inspiration, Louisine also took a great interest in certain technical procedures and even went as far as to try some for herself. She was so fascinated with Colman's special method of acid staining that for several years she continued to try it on various woodworks to see what different effects she could obtain. At another time

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she became intrigued by the practice of stenciling. She took a pattern from a Chinese rug and busily stenciled it on the floor, on some draperies, and even on a set of closet doors. Louisine had considerable expertise in displaying works of art; she loved the challenge of deciding what pictures should hang together and which porcelains, bronzes, potteries, and glasswares would enhance one another. She was in many ways part of the Tiffany-Colman team rather than just their patron.

But her real hobby was backgrounds, a subject about which she felt very strongly, as did her two designers. They believed that a background had to be harmonious with the paintings rather than a strident element competing with the works themselves. Louisine was tired of "the murky red velvet which was in vogue with our dealers, and many amateurs also, who could not get away from the enticing 'red satin brocade.'"[10] She would point with pride to her library's pale olive walls, which provided a sympathetic background for the Rembrandts. Backgrounds were always to remain one of her major concerns, and later she was often requested to speak about them. Her attitude of showing superb works to their greatest advantage was in time to win her the admiration of such collectors as Henry Clay Frick, who once told her that his own pictures were not hung as advantageously as hers. Many years later, when he was about to begin the construction of his own Fifth Avenue

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residence, Louisine good-naturedly offered to give him a few suggestions about backgrounds. She was really somewhat of a decorator herself; every aspect of her home displayed the originality of her taste. To get away from the traditional black, Mrs. Havemeyer even designed chocolate-colored uniforms for her maids and created a special pattern of gold-and-black checkerboard for her coachman's buttons.

Louisine and Harry Havemeyer had an almost obsessive desire to "avoid notoriety and lead a quiet life";[11] they had no patience with the external glitter of the New York social world. Nevertheless, the consistency in quality and the effective blending of the exquisite works of art with their elegant surroundings made an invitation to 1 East 66th Street highly sought after. The Havemeyers' idea of entertaining had nothing to do with the lavish extravaganzas which took place in some of the other luxurious mansions lining Fifth Avenue. Shortly after their home was completed, they began what was to become their favorite form of socializing, their Sunday afternoon musicales. These events took place in their music room, which featured a group of Mr. Havemeyer's Stradivarius and Guarnerius violins, violas, and cellos, used during the Sunday concerts. This room (Fig. 43) had been designed around a collection of Japanese lacquer and some Chinese embroideries; a subdued gold was the predominant tone. This time Tiffany's glass chandelier was an enormous bunch of Queen Ann's lace

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with intertwining stems that disappeared into the ceiling, and Colman's carved furniture had been inspired by an old ivory inro, housed in a large glass cabinet in front of which the musicians sat.

The concerts, beginning at precisely 3:35, usually consisted of two quartets and a couple of solos by a well-known chamber-music ensemble. Sometimes Mr. Havemeyer himself joined his guest musicians, and it was he who selected the performing artists and organized the program. One of his favorite groups seems to have been the Kneisel Quartet of Boston, whom he frequently engaged in the nineties. During the hour-and-a-half concert the visitors divided themselves between the music room and the library, which were interconnected through sliding doors. According to Mrs. Havemeyer: "As I looked around I would find the painters grouped about the Rembrandts, while the music lovers came early and made themselves cosy and comfortable in the warm sunlight of the western windows [of the music room]."[12] When the program was over, tea was served immediately in the dining room and the guests were encouraged to wander through the house to enjoy its treasures. Homer Saint-Gaudens recalled these occasions with great nostalgic pleasure:

> When I was a small boy, I remember going with my father and mother to hear chamber music by the Kneisel Quartet at the Havemeyers in their Rembrandt Room on Sunday afternoons. There was a mingling of artists and men of both means and understanding of the aesthetics that

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> I have failed to come across these days. There were painters like Thomas Dewing, architects like Stanford White, sculptors like Frederick Macmonnies, editors like Richard Watson Gilder. 13

Louisine was a warm and enthusiastic hostess who immensely enjoyed answering her friends' questions, telling them stories about various works of art and pointing out special feaures designed by Tiffany or Colman, such as the large rectangular peacock mosaic (Figs. 44, 45) hanging over the fireplace mantel on the west wall of the entrance hall.[14] Mr. Havemeyer was not the most social of men; as soon as he had fulfilled his obligations, he would retire to his wife's upstairs sitting room to wait for her. But both of them took great pride in the reputation their Sunday concerts acquired, and strove to maintain their high musical standard. Sometimes they were more ambitious and gave musicales on a larger scale in the upper gallery. They also opened their home to their friends and to properly recommended visitors on Tuesdays during the winter months. The Havemeyers' collection and their extraordinary interiors were hardly a disappointment on days when there was no music.

One of their guests, just at the time when their interiors were completed, was the Parisian dealer in Oriental art Samuel Bing. He had been sent over by the French government to make a survey of American art and architecture.[15] In 1888 Bing's firm had opened a New York showroom where auction sales of Oriental articles were conducted by

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his American representatives. It is most likely that Harry Havemeyer was among his clients, as were Tiffany and Colman. Since Bing and Tiffany were also colleagues who found one another's ideas mutually stimulating, it was only natural that Tiffany would take his European associate to see the Havemeyers' interiors. Colman and Tiffany's succesful blend of Oriental and Western forms was exactly what Bing himself was advocating; thus he greatly appreciated their achievement: "Et, malgré tout cet amalgame, le visiteur se trouve saisi, dès son entrée, par une douce atmosphère de calme et de repos."[16]

Another foreign visitor, in the early autumn of 1893, was Wilhelm Bode, who was preparing a catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's work. In addition to New York City, his month-long trip to America included Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Princeton, and Boston, where he saw both public and private collections. Before returning to Germany, Bode made the following statement during an interview for the New York Times: "I am quite sure that no other person owns eight examples of the works of Rembrandt as beautiful as the eight Rembrandts which are in one room of Mr. H. O. Havemeyer's house in the Fifth Avenue."[17] Bing and Bode were not the only Europeans to admire the Havemeyer residence, which in time was visited by many foreign amateurs, museum directors, ambassadors, and cabinet ministers, among others. As Mrs. Havemeyer was later to write: "For our

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collection as well as our house had a far greater reputation abroad than here, and strangers were deeply impressed by the work of Mr. Colman and Mr. Tiffany."[18]

While Louisine Havemeyer was totally immersed in the decoration of her new home, on the other side of the Atlantic, Mary Cassatt was arduously at work. Like Tiffany, Colman, and Bing, Cassatt had become captivated by Oriental art, but in her case it was specifically by Japanese prints. In April and May 1890, there was a comprehensive Japanese exhibition at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts; one of the show's organizers, who also wrote an introduction in the catalogue, was Samuel Bing. Although Cassatt had been aware of Japanese prints for some time, she was overwhelmed by this enormous display of polychrome woodblock prints and illustrated books, and she purchased a sizable number of figure compositions and landscapes. So profoundly was she influenced by this art form that she soon began a series of ten colored aquatints, which turned out to be her most original graphic work and her greatest contribution to the medium. Cassatt's colored plates, which incorporated many Japanese elements, were executed by a unique, complex technique that won the admiration of her colleague Pissarro. It was this set of ten colored aquatints that formed the nucleus of her first one-woman show at Durand-Ruel's, in April 1891, when she and Pissarro decided to exhibit in two separate rooms at the same time

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as the exhibition of works by the members of the Société des Peintres-Gravures Français, from which they had been excluded on the basis of their foreign origins.[19]

In July 1891, the Durand-Ruels sent several sets of Cassatt's "engravings in colours" to New York, without organizing a special show of them.[20] However, in October of that same year, the New York gallery of Messrs. Frederick Keppel & Co. included her colored prints in their exhibition devoted to that medium.[21] The New York Times was not altogether unfavorable in its reviews: "Among the advanced Impressionists of France the young American painter Mary Cassatt holds a high place; her work is always looked for with the expectation that it will prove fair measure above the commonplace, even if it lacks something in beauty, as beauty goes nowadays. The Keppel Gallery has a dozen pictures from plates etched and printed in colors, which show her craftsmanship to be one that is more virile than feminine. . . ."[22] And the following month a number of her polychrome graphics were displayed in an extensive show of English and French colored prints at the Wunderlich gallery.[23] But in spite of its varied exposure, this work was not enthusiastically received in her native land.

In the winter of 1892, Cassatt, who was at Cap d'Antibes, wrote to Durand-Ruel to ask him what he thought of the idea of selling singles of her prints, since she had

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been requested to do so: "As my etchings have not been sold in America, perhaps it would be well to sell them here separately. I have answered these gentlemen that your house has the disposal of them, such being the arrangement with M. Charles. I am greatly disappointed that there have been no amateurs in New York. . . ." On February 16, Joseph Durand-Ruel tried to comfort her about the lack of American sales and also gave her a definite answer to her question:

> Vous n'avez pas lieu en effet de vous décourager au sujet de cette série d'épreuves, dont la vente a été, relativement à leurs prix élevés, satisfaisante, et dont le succès est d'ailleurs loin d'être épuisé. Nous en avons vendu un assez grand nombre à Paris, et si les séries envoyées en Amérique ne sont pas achetées là bas, nous les ferons revenir et les vondrons très aisement ici. Le vente séparée de vos épreuves aurait de grands inconvénients. Tout le monde voudrait la même planche et vos collections se trouveraient rapidement dépareillées, dès lors invendables. Nous avons jusqu'ici refusé absolument de le faire, et nos clients pourraient se montrer surpris de nous voir ainsi changer brusquement d'avis.

In her reply of February 18, Cassatt backed down about breaking up her sets of prints but again lamented the lack of interest on the other side of the ocean: "I only thought that the etchings not having sold in America they were left on your hands. I am very glad you have any sale for them in Paris. Of course it is more flattering from an Art point of view than if they sold in America, but I am still very much disappointed that my compatriots have so little liking for my work."[24]

Mary Cassatt was to experience the same attitude towards her paintings. Whereas in France her art was

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highly respected and well received, it commanded little attention in her own country. This reaction was paradoxical, since in general Americans had been more advanced than the French in accepting and purchasing the work of the Impressionists, as evidenced by Durand-Ruel's increasing success in New York. Her countrymen's lack of appreciation remained a source of considerable pain and resentment to Cassatt, the more so as she always considered herself primarily an American artist.

Under these circumstances Cassatt, though initially reluctant, may have been more responsive to an invitation she received in the spring of 1891 from Mrs. Potter Palmer, Chicago's most prominent society figure, recently appointed President of the Board of Lady Managers for the Women's Building at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. On behalf of this board Mrs. Palmer commissioned Cassatt to paint a mural for the south tympanum of that building.[25] At the same time Mrs. Palmer awarded the decoration of the north tympanum to another expatriate artist, Mary Fairchild Macmonnies, wife of the well-known sculptor Frederick Macmonnies, who was already at work on his grandiose fountain of the Ship of State for the Fair's Administrative Building. The choice of Mrs. Macmonnies helped to reassure the board about the selection of Mary Cassatt, even though the latter was unknown to its members. Cassatt herself had felt hesitant about such an undertaking, as she later confided to

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Louisine in the spring of 1892: "I am going to do a decoration for the Chicago Exhibition. When the Committee asked me to do it, at first I was horrified, but gradually I began to think it would be great fun to do something I had never done before. And as the mere idea of such a thing put Degas in a rage and he did not spare every criticism he could think of, I got my spirit up and said I would not give up the idea for anything. Now one only has to mention Chicago to set him off. . . ."[26]

The determined artist spent many months of toilsome labor on her almost fifty-foot-wide composition whose subject was Modern Woman.[27] During this same period she also had to supervise the renovation of her newly acquired Château de Beaufresne, a seventeenth-century manor house surrounded by forty-five acres of grounds, which became her permanent summer residence after 1893. And shortly after she had sent her completed mural off to Chicago, Cassatt began to prepare for her second one-woman show, scheduled to take place at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in November-December 1893; this time she would be represented by no fewer than ninety-eight works, including paintings, pastels, and prints.

With both Louisine Havemeyer and Mary Cassatt highly involved in such demanding and time-consuming activities, it is no wonder that the acquisition of avant-garde art for the Havemeyers' collection did not receive top priority.

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During the early years of the nineties Harry Havemeyer was unquestionably the family's leading art patron, but his wife did manage to slip in a few works by the "moderns." Since Mr. Havemeyer's indoctrination to Courbet had already begun in the summer of 1889, Louisine thought that the purchase of additional works by this artist was least likely to meet with resistance. However, this was not to be the case when she wanted to buy her first Courbet half-length nude, exactly what Mary Cassatt had said she should have, but a far cry from the sedate Dutch portraits her husband was then acquiring.

When Louisine walked into Durand-Ruel's New York gallery and saw the very painting that Miss Cassatt had lavishly praised over a decade before at the Courbet exhibition in the foyer of the Thêâtre Gaîté, she could not believe her eyes.[28] Here again was that lovely, sensuous young girl with her raised arms holding a branch of blossoming cherries, but this time Louisine actually had the opportunity to own this work. She had Courbet's La Branche de cerisier (F. No. 336, Fig. 46) sent home so Mr. Havemeyer could see it; his immediate disapproval was evident, particularly because she was breaking their agreement not to purchase any nudes: "'Surely you are not going to buy that,' he said. 'I should like to,' I answered. 'I shouldn't do it, if I were you,' he remarked shortly and left me."[29]

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Since Louisine was feeling "firmly defiant," she kept the picture for a couple of days before returning it. When her husband noticed that the painting had disappeared and inquired as to its whereabouts, he was told that it had been sent back. Then he smugly remarked: "'I knew you wouldn't want it.'" His complacent attitude was too much for Louisine to bear and she lashed out at him: "'But I do want it. . . . I want it very much! It is one of the lovliest pictures I have ever seen, and if I had it I would keep it right there in my closet and not hang it in the gallery at all, but just go there and look at it alone by myself.'"[30] The following day the coveted Courbet nude arrived at the Havemeyer residence with word from the Durand-Ruel gallery that Mr. Havemeyer had requested it sent home to Mrs. Havemeyer.[31] Louisine's victory was a total one, for the painting was even hung in the gallery rather than in a closet, and before long her husband came to appreciate its qualities to the point where, at a Sunday musicale, he took a friend over to the painting and said: "'Next to the Rembrandts--my favorite!'"[32]

The acquisition of Courbet's landscapes was a much easier proposition for Louisine, since her husband had never forgotten his mistake in passing up the artist's La Remise de chevreuils at the Secrêtan sale. The Durand-Ruels were as eager for the Havemeyers to purchase some great works by Courbet as was Mary Cassatt. After a visit

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to their Paris gallery from Louisine's sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Peters,[33] Joseph Durand-Ruel wrote to Harry Havemeyer on July 15, 1892:

> I want just now to speak to you about three pictures which we have recently bought; I was going to write you about them anyhow, but Mrs. Peters insisted that I should tell you how much she likes those pictures herself. Mrs. Peters thinks that the Courbet is the finest work of this artist she ever saw. She told me she did not like very much as a rule of Courbet's works, but that this one was unusually fine; indeed we placed that picture in the middle of the Rembrandts and it kept its place entirely. 34

The picture to which he was referring was a hunting scene, Chiens de chasse (F. No. 620, Fig. 44), a subject Mr. Havemeyer found more to his liking. Just from looking at a photograph, the Havemeyers concluded that they wished to purchase it, and Mr. Havemeyer immediately sent a cable to Durand-Ruel. His practice of cabling as soon as he had made a decision was a method of doing business that he always employed; once his mind had been made up he did not want to risk losing a work he desired; Harry Havemeyer was never a good loser. By August 19, 1892, Durand-Ruel wrote that Courbet's Chiens de chasse would be included in his next shipment of paintings to New York.

The two other pictures offered to the Havemeyers at the same time were Daumier's Le Wagon de troisième classe and Delacroix's Ophelia,[35] both of which were of the highest quality. The Havemeyers had seen a more finished version of Daumier's painting at the 1889 Exposition Centennale, lent by Count Doria.[36] But in the summer of 1892,

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they were not able to decide about either of these two works from the photographs Durand-Ruel had submitted. Not buying Daumier's Le Wagon de troisième classe[37] was a mistake that Louisine regretted for many years, because in 1913 she finally acquired it at the Borden sale in New York for the record-breaking price of $40,000.

Another "modern" artist whose work found its way into their collection in the early nineties was Degas. It appears that the Havemeyers had made an additional trip to Europe in the spring of 1891. Although there is no mention of it in Louisine's recollections, an entry in the Durand-Ruel Paris register mentions a Havemeyer purchase in April of that year.[38] It must have been during this otherwise unrecorded trip that the Havemeyers paid a visit to Degas's studio in the company of Mary Cassatt. On this occasion Louisine apparently selected, for the price of $1,000, a small oil painting, L'Amateur (L. No. 138, Fig. 48), a choice that seems to have taken into consideration Mr. Havemeyer's taste for portraits of men. Degas asked to keep the work for a while, because he wished to "add a few touches." Yet a year later, when Mary Cassatt wrote to Louisine, she mentioned this painting: "By the way, Degas thinks most seriously of finishing your picture for you. However, when we see his drawings and his fine pastels, we forgive him everything."[39] Cassatt had been through this routine before when she had tried to get certain works away

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from him for her brother Alexander; but this time Degas was particularly tenacious, as reported by Louisine: "It was of no use! Degas was quite stubborn about it, and the idea was so fixed in his mind that he was entitled to the increase in value that at last Mr. Havemeyer yielded. We felt that we were perhaps very fortunate to get the picture back unspoiled, for Degas had a dangerous habit of retouching which sometimes spoiled a picture."[40] No wonder the artist acquired a reputation for peculiar behavior and that even his admirers found it difficult to do business with him.

Undeterred by unexpected difficulties, Louisine did manage to purchase a few good examples of the new school while her home was being decorated. Soon she would be aided by the fact that these artists began to receive more critical notice and encouragement in her own country; indeed a small nucleus of collectors started buying their works, particularly those of Monet. The comprehensive loan exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 was to bring "modern" art and Impressionism to the attention of a large body of Americans. It would not take too much longer before Louisine Havemeyer was able to pick up the speed with which she could acquire the paintings she so earnestly coveted.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 19.

2. Ibid., p. 13.

3. George Frelinghuysen's unpublished memoirs.

4. Saarinen, The Proud Possessors, p. 157.

5. George Frelinghuysen's unpublished memoirs.

6. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 17.

7. Originally the library was hung with only Dutch paintings but in time several of these were replaced by the following works: Bronzino's Portrait of a Young Man, Holbein's Portrait of Jean de Carondelet, Cranach's Portrait of a Man with a Rosary, and a man's portrait by Antonello da Messina. The room was really Mr. Havemeyer's "portrait gallery," since there were no fewer than fourteen likenesses hanging there, all but four of which were men's portraits. The only non-portrait painting that remained was de Hooch's Interior of a Dutch Dwelling.

8. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 24.

9. Ibid., p. 16.

10. Ibid., p. 19.

11. Ibid., p. 24.

12. Ibid., p. 11. The western windows of both the library and the music room looked out on Fifth Avenue and beyond to Central Park.

13. Sweet, Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania, p. 154.

14. According to George Frelinghuysen's unpublished memoirs, this fireplace was on the entrance hall's west wall between two doorways: the one at left leading to the music room, the one at right to the library.

15. The completion of Bing's book, La Culture artistique en Amérique, was not until 1895, but it is most probable that he was in the United States in 1892. See Samuel Bing, Artistic America, Tiffany Glass, and Art

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Nouveau, intr. by Robert Koch, trans. Benita Eisler (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970), p. 2.

16. Samuel Bing, La Culture artistique en Amérique (Paris: Privately printed, 1896), p. 82, n.

17. New York Times, October 11, 1893, p. 1.

18. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 51.

19. In addition to her set of ten color plates, Cassatt's rather modest first one-woman show consisted of only five paintings and a set of twelve drypoints, but it was praised by Degas and noticed by several of the critics.

20. The Havemeyers bought a complete set of Cassatt's colored aquatints as soon as these prints arrived in New York (August 1891).

21. Mary Cassatt's graphic work was first seen in her own country when some examples were included in an exhibition of the Women Etchers of America, held in the Boston Museum in 1887, and at the Union League Club the following year. In February 1891, a group of Cassatt's etchings were displayed in a show of mixed media sponsored by the Woman's Art Club, and in April of that same year, the Durand-Ruel gallery showed a selection of her drypoints during their exhibition of recent acquisitions.

22. New York Times, October 3, 1891, p. 4. Another "mixed" review of Cassatt's colored prints appeared in "Art Gossip," Art Interchange 27 (November 1891):142.

23. See "Various Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 25 (November 1891):131.

24. These letters between Mary Cassatt and the Durand-Ruels point out the inaccuracy of the following statement by Frederick Sweet: "American taste quickly took to the woodcuts of Japan and was equally appreciative of Mary Cassatt's color prints when they reached these shores in the early 1890's." (Sweet, Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania, p. 118.)

25. Mrs. Potter Palmer had known Mary Cassatt for several years; see also chap. VIII, p. 180.

26. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, "Extracts from Miss Cassatt's Letters," p. 23. See

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Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, letter of October 2, 1892, pp. 294-95, in which Pissarro reported his conversation with Degas about Cassatt's mural, as well as their mutually negative attitude toward painting executed specifically as decoration.

27. For more information on Cassatt's mural, see John D. Kysela, S.J., "Mary Cassatt's Mystery Mural and the World's Fair of 1893," The Art Quarterly 29 (1966): 129-45.

28. Mrs. Havemeyer thought that she again met up with Courbet's painting, La Branche de cerisier, in New York in 1890 (Memoirs, p. 192), but the year was actually 1892. In the summer of 1891 this work had been sold (by Durand-Ruel) to one Monsieur Lerolle, who kept this rather provocative canvas for only a short period before returning it to the dealer.

29. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 192.

30. Ibid.

31. According to Durand-Ruel's records, the purchase date of Courbet's La Branche de cerisier by the Havemeyers was October 19, 1892.

32. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 193.

33. Samuel T. Peters, husband of Louisine's younger sister Adaline, was a distinguished collector of jades and Chinese porcelains, as well as metallic lustre vases and old iron and copper rust pieces. Since the Havemeyers themselves had decided not to go to Europe during 1892 (stated by Joseph Durand-Ruel in this same letter of July 15), the Peterses were bringing back for them their two small Barye paintings, which had been purchased by the Durand-Ruels at the Barbedienne sale on June 3, 1892 (see chap. VI, p. 131).

34. The Rembrandts mentioned by Joseph Durand-Ruel were the portraits that had been recently acquired from the Princesse de Sagan on Mr. Havemeyer's behalf (see chap. VI, pp. 128-29).

35. There are three versions of Delacroix's Ophelia, the largest of which is in the Louvre. The one the Havemeyers were offered was La Mort d'Ophelia, 1859, No. 1386 in Alfred Robaut's L'Oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1885).

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36. The Doria version of Le Wagon de troisième classe appeared in 1899 at the Comte Armand Doria sale where it was bought by Gallimard. See K. E. Maison, Honoré Daumier Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Watercolors, and Drawings, 2 vols. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), No. I-166.

37. Ibid., Maison, No. I-165.

38. This record book (1889-92) relates exclusively to purchases made by American collectors while they were in Paris.

39. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, "Extracts from Miss Cassatt's Letters," p. 23. This is the same letter in which Cassatt speaks of her mural for the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition (see pp. 159-60 and n. 26).

40. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 153. It seems that Degas held on to his picture for even longer than Mrs. Havemeyer remembered; on October 20, 1894, Mary Cassatt wrote the following to either Joseph or Georges Durand-Ruel: "J'ai vue [sic] M. Degas, comme me l'avez [sic] demandé M. Durand-Ruel [senior] avant son départ, et j'ai fait tout ce que j'ai pu pour lui persuader [sic] de donner le tableau pour les Havemeyer. Je le croyais bien décidé, mais il paraît que cela n'est pas encore fait." Finally, on December 13, 1894, the Durand-Ruels were able to send the Havemeyers their long-awaited Degas painting L'Amateur.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PROGRESS OF IMPRESSIONISM IN AMERICA (1891-93)

In spite of his wife's early interest in the Impressionists and despite Mary Cassatt's personal involvement with the French group, Mr. Havemeyer's conservative nature prevented him from taking a place among the first Americans who supported Durand-Ruel's protégés. He had no desire or ambition to be a pioneer in the field of art appreciation and preferred to spend his money on works whose value was generally recognized. He thus gladly left the field to those collectors who had the courage and convictions to buy works of the new French school.

Perhaps it was because Americans were less encumbered by artistic traditions that they received the Impressionists with greater sympathy than these artists had obtained in their native land. Since Durand-Ruel's exhibition of "Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris," in 1886, a small coterie of American artists and patrons had become converts to this revolutionary movement and saw Monet as its leader. Some of these painters, such as Theodore Robinson (in 1887)[1] and Lilla Cabot Perry (in 1889),[2] had actually gone to Giverny to seek out the master himself;

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they in turn would help bring Monet and Impressionism to the attention of their fellow countrymen. Meanwhile a few enlightened collectors had begun to feel that there must be something to this new art form and had started to purchase Monet's canvases. Erwin Davis, Albert Spencer, William Fuller, and Alden Weyman Kingman were among the first to take the initiative; in 1886, they had boldly acquired a sizable number of his works out of Durand-Ruel's show.[3] Within a few short years, Monet had made great strides in popularity on this side of the Atlantic and was by far the most heavily represented of the Impressionists in American avant-garde collections.

By February 1891, one of Monet's most ardent supporters, William H. Fuller,[4] was able to organize the first one-man show of the artist's work in America at the Union League Club. It was this club's policy to arrange a loan exhibition every month, to which the public was admitted on the second Thursday. The weekly journal L'Art dans les Deux Mondes had the following observation to make about the importance of the club's artistic activities:

> Ce cercle, tous les mois, ouvre ses galeries à une exposition différente: tantôt c'est l'oeuvre d'un seul maître moderne, tantôt la réunion d'une école ou bien encore des objets d'art, des bronzes, des tapisseries. . . .
>
> Cette propagande en faveur du beau finit par former le goût de la masse, et c'est en partie grâce à ces sources de réunions artistiques qu'on voit l'argent américain mieux guidé, plus sainement inspiré, s'adresser rationnellement aux grandes productions de l'art. 5

In those days private associations, such as the Union

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League, the Century, the Lotos, and the Grolier Clubs in New York and the St. Botolph Club in Boston, played a vital role in their city's cultural life, particularly since they had a more adventurous exhibition policy than did the conservative museums, controlled by staid trustees.[6] The New York Union League Club had even displayed two works by artists of the new French school in 1886, the very year of Durand-Ruel's initial presentation. The occasion had been a reception in honor of the delegates of the French government, who had come to New York for the inauguration of the Statue of Liberty. On October 27, 1886, the club had opened an exhibition of mostly French pictures which contained one work each by Manet (The Bull Fight, R.& W. No. 108) and by Monet (Mail Post at Etretat, unidentifiable); both had been lent by Durand-Ruel and had been included among the "Works in Oil and Pastel of the Impressionists of Paris," of the previous spring.[7]

In 1891 the Union League's Monet show was held concurrently with a selection of paintings by old masters, plus works by more modern European and American artists, but the thirty-four canvases by Monet were hung in the large assembly room, the club's choicest exhibition space. The list of lenders was composed of many of the country's earliest and most enthusiastic collectors of the artist's work: Catholina Lambert, Albert Spencer (who lent anonymously), Alden Weyman Kingman, James Sutton, Cyrus Lawrence,

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Erwin Davis, William Andrews, Alfred Pope (of Cleveland), and William Fuller himself. In addition there were loans from the Durand-Ruel gallery and from Boussod, Valadon, & Co.[8] William Fuller's pamphlet on Monet, written as a guide for visitors to the show, focused upon the extreme "truthfulness" in his paintings, which established him as the undisputed leader of the new "school of Naturalistic Art."[9] Fuller's appreciation was not shared by the majority of American critics, who frequently objected to the lack of finish and organization in the artist's pictures, which they attributed to his "ocular affliction."[10]

But Monet's small band of disciples was very devoted and continued their efforts to make the American public aware of his work. In March 1891, Durand-Ruel mounted a Monet-Sisley-Pissarro exhibition at the J. Eastman Chase Gallery in Boston;[11] the catalogue section on Monet was written by the Bostonian Desmond Fitzgerald, another of the artist's staunch patrons.[12] During 1891 and 1892 Durand-Ruel continued to send Impressionist canvases to his New York branch, where they were displayed together with works by more established artists. For example, in February 1892, a visitor to the Durand-Ruel gallery, then located at 315 Fifth Avenue, corner of Thirty-second Street, would have seen two paintings of haystacks in a snow-covered field and a landscape of the valley of La Creuse by Monet, hanging in the same room with a selection of easel pictures by

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Puvis de Chavannes. Only one block down the avenue at Boussod, Valadon, & Co. it was also possible to see works by Monet exhibited from time to time. This firm of French dealers had opened their New York annex in the fall of 1888, the same year that Durand-Ruel had set up his establishment there; thus from then on American collectors and artists could study Impressionist works in more than one place.

In September 1892, Theodore Robinson's article on Monet appeared in The Century Magazine. Robinson was able to authoritatively describe Monet's technique, since he had often painted close to him while at Giverny. In order to dispel the widely held perception of the artist's canvases being merely hasty sketches of vulgar subjects, Robinson insisted:

> To my mind no one has yet painted out of doors quite so truly. He is a realist, believing that nature and our own day give us abundant and beautiful material for pictures; that, rightly seen and rendered, there is as much charm in a nineteenth-century girl in her tennis- or yachting-suit, and in a landscape of sunlight meadows or river-bank, as in the Lefebvre nymph with her appropriate but rather dreary setting of "classical landscape." 13

By the end of 1892 the art of Monet and his colleagues had established a firm foothold in America and had become a vital--if still highly controversial--issue among certain critics, buyers, and artists. But 1893 was a crucial year for Impressionism; there was an avalanche of interest in the new movement brought about by an increased

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number of important exhibitions. The year began with Impressionist pictures on view at both Boussod, Valadon, & Co. and at Durand-Ruel's. In a room at the former gallery there was one wall with works by Dutch artists and another with a selection of canvases by Monet, Renoir, Raffaëlli, Sisley, and Pissarro. As the editor of The Collector remarked, there was "something for everybody."[14] Simultaneously, Durand-Ruel displayed a large number of Barye bronzes, together with works by Renoir, Degas, and Monet, as well as a few old masters and Barbizon paintings. Both dealers must have felt that "acceptable" artists gave an aura of respectability to their groups of Impressionists, yet most critics remained lukewarm in their reaction to these canvases. The reviewer for the New York Times was openly hostile to the works by Renoir at Durand-Ruel's: "Renoir's figure pieces are somewhat hard to digest; his idea of the form feminine is dumpy and commonplace and the faces of the models are triumphs of dull vulgarity."[15] And Alfred Trumble in his article on the show at Boussod, Valadon, & Co. suggested that Pissarro would benefit from a trip back to his native Buenos Aires, mistakenly thinking this to be the artist's place of origin.[16] Only Monet and Raffaëlli were recipients of more favorable comments.

Another opportunity for the New York public to see works by the Impressionists during the winter of 1893 was the loan exhibition in the galleries of the American Fine

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Arts Society. In addition to the dazzling array of old and modern masters, ancient bronzes, Oriental wares, and numerous decorative arts, lent by such collectors as Messrs. Marquand, Altman, Havemeyer, Johnson, and many others (see chap. VI, pp. 126-27), the entire end wall of the new Vanderbilt Gallery was devoted exclusively to Impressionist canvases, seven of which were by Monet. The New York Times was critical of the fact that these artists had been given such a large representation: "Far too much wall space, for instance, has been accorded the modern French Impressionists, the open-air enthusiasts, who, because purples and pinks have been neglected in the paintings of the immediate past, we see almost nothing else by way of colors, and ask to see nothing else."[17] But the pictures themselves benefited from their exposure under the best exhibition conditions they had so far received in New York; the recently constructed and spacious Vanderbilt Gallery,[18] with its high ceiling and good lighting, showed off these Impressionist works to their greatest advantage.

Perhaps the still skeptical attitude on the part of some critics was one of the reasons why, at public auctions, Impressionist paintings continued to bring relatively low prices in comparison with those obtained by other modern French pictures. This became evident when the collection of Henry M. Johnston of Brooklyn was sold on February 28, 1893; it consisted of seventy-four paintings by Barbizon

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and various nineteenth-century European artists and only two by Impressionists. Jongkind's Moonlight in Holland went for $1,175, An October Day in France by Cazin, who was a contemporary of the Impressionists, brought $2,500,[19] whereas Monet's Road by the Hillside was sold to Boussod, Valadon & Co. for $550, and Pissarro's Springtime went to another dealer, L. Crist Delmonico, for $350.[20] Theodore Robinson went to see the Johnston pictures prior to the sale, as he noted in his diary: "At Ortgies a collection to be sold--a good Monet, on the road near Falaise. sun-light striking on side of hill. . . . A fine Pizarro [sic], naively and soberly painted. --a garden, two little fig-ures, beyond, two houses and low-lying hills. There is a curious charm, sometimes almost inexplicable, in Pizarro. . . ."[21]

That a work by Cazin should have commanded a price four times higher than the amount paid for one by Monet is not surprising in view of the fact that American art patrons were being exposed to comparisons between the two artists such as those expressed by The Collector:

> My contempt for such a man as Monet is the greater, because I believe he really can see and feel Nature honestly, and that he distorts her for sensational effect. His followers are a rabble, too ridiculous to be even contemptible. With Cazin it is a different matter. He is a painter of technical force, of a tem-perate and sensitive spirit, and of fine artistic fibre. The objection that has been raised to his work--that it lacks variety--is just; but its foundation is sound and its expression honest and unaffected. Between Cazin and Monet the difference is that of a man who

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> paints Nature for love of her, and a man who paints her for love of the effect he may create. One of our painters, himself a man of conceded artistic eminence, summed the case of Monet up very simply and effectively. "If," he said, "he sees Nature as he paints her, either his vision must be diseased or that of every other great landscape painter that ever lived; if he does not, he is humbugging the public." 22

Yet there were some collectors who had the foresight to disregard the constantly vacillating comments of the critics, and took advantage of the low prices for which Impressionist canvases could be purchased. One of the most adventurous of these early buyers was Albert Spencer; in February 1888 he had auctioned off his collection of sixty-eight Barbizon paintings for a total of $284,025[23] in order to concentrate on the Impressionists. Montague Marks of The Art Amateur felt it necessary to reassure his readers that Mr. Spencer had not undergone a total change of taste: "Why Mr. Spencer sold his pictures remains unexplained. It is not true that he has become a devotee of the 'impressionist' cult. Mr. Spencer had a few examples of Monet and Pissarro before the sale and he has them yet. That is all."[24] But Albert Spencer had indeed become an avid devotee of Impressionism. In his diary entry of February 3, 1893, Theodore Robinson tells of his visit to the collector's home made in the company of two fellow artists:

> P.M. to Spencer's with Weir and Twachtman. Some fine pictures by Monet, Renoir, & Degas, a drawing by Millet, and a little Boudin. The Monet I liked particularly was this--a hill by the river--luminous yellow sky--two or three little islands--foreground reeds--the whole full of color and charming an uncommon fine example.

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> A good Degas jockeys "pricking o'er the plain" with an uncommon small bit of landscape behind, hill-slopes with white chalk--pits or quarries. A Renoir--a lady on a garden seat--flowers in profusion--the face very sweet . . . --a fine nude (Renoir) at Spencer's. 25

Another collector who would come in contact with Theodore Robinson in 1893 was Potter Palmer of Chicago. Even though it is generally believed that his wife was exclusively responsible for the advanced taste and undisputed excellence of their collection, Mr. Palmer deserves equal credit for his deep personal involvement. In 1890 Alfred Trumble had lavishly praised this art patron from the Midwest:

> The collection of pictures which Mr. Potter Palmer is forming in Chicago is commencing to attract the curiosity of the general public. Even before the fire [1871], Mr. Palmer was known as a purchaser of works of art, but it is of late years that his acquisitions have assumed their regal character. Native and foreign art combine in his gallery, and it is distinguished by high quality and a discriminating selectiveness that are more desirable than usual in extensive collections. 26

Mr. Palmer bought primarily works by the French Romantics and Barbizon painters, both in Europe and America. It was not at all unusual for him to bid at important New York auctions, as was the case at the Albert Spencer sale, when he acquired one painting each by Millet, Diaz, and Rousseau.[27] At the Erwin Davis auction in March 1889, Mr. Palmer bought a work by George Inness and a still life by Vollon.[28]

Potter Palmer may even have been ahead of his wife in taking notice of the Impressionists through his association

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with Sara Tyson Hallowell. The latter had been involved in the cultural life of Chicago since 1873, when she was appointed secretary of the Interstate Industrial Exposition's art committee, of which Mr. Palmer was president.[29] Due to Miss Hallowell's efforts, the shows sponsored by this organization had been of a consistently high quality; she herself divided her time between America and France, being well aware of all that was taking place in the Parisian art world. Originally from Philadelphia, Sara Hallowell knew Mary Cassatt, who had probably introduced her to Durand-Ruel, and Hallowell in turn seems to have presented the artist to the Potter Palmers. It is therefore understandable that the two friends encouraged the Palmers to acquire works by the Impressionists. The Palmers' first purchases--a Degas pastel, Danseuses en scène (L. No. 601, Fig. 49), and a painting by Renoir, Madame Renoir dans le jardin (D. No. 464)--were made in 1889 from Durand-Ruel while the Palmers were in Paris.

Not long afterwards, the enterprising Miss Hallowell decided that the time was ripe to expose the people of Chicago to Impressionism. For the Industrial Exposition's art show of 1890, she borrowed from Durand-Ruel six paintings by Monet, four by Pissarro, and a pastel by Degas, which hung among the other five hundred works she had assembled.[30] The following year Sara Hallowell was commissioned secretary to Halsey C. Ives, director of fine arts of the 1893

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Chicago World's Fair. Through this position she would become officially involved in all art matters, from assembling works for various foreign exhibits to helping Mrs. Palmer organize the Woman's Building (see chap. VII, pp. 159-60); she actually was put in charge of collecting paintings for the Fair's special loan exhibition of "Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States."[31]

When the Palmers returned to France in the spring of 1891, Sara Hallowell met them there. Bertha Palmer had come to Europe to promote the forthcoming World's Fair and to solicit exhibits and special appropriations for the Woman's Building, which was to bring together the artistic production of women of many nations. But while in Paris, whenever Mrs. Palmer had free time, she and her husband were expertly guided around by Miss Hallowell; they visited artists' studios, galleries, and private dealers. Soon Sara Hallowell, with the assistance of Mary Cassatt and Durand-Ruel, persuaded the Palmers to become patrons of the moderns. During 1891 they bought eleven pictures by Monet[32] and three works by Boudin from Durand-Ruel, as well as a painting by Degas, Groupe de trois danseuses (L. No. 512), from Boussod, Valadon.[33]

Once convinced that these were artists of genuine merit, the Palmers went wholeheartedly into investing in their work. With Sara Hallowell serving as their Parisian agent, in 1892 they bought approximately fifteen works by

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Monet, eleven by Renoir, seven by Pissarro, two each by Sisley and by Raffaëlli, and one each by Degas, Cassatt, and Zandomeneghi from Durand-Ruel.[34] During that same year they acquired three Monet paintings and one by Pissarro from Boussod, Valadon.[35] But what is even more amazing is that the Palmers went beyond the Impressionists to the art of the still more radical younger generation. In 1892 they also purchased one pastel by Louis Anquetin and one painting each by Maurice Denis and Paul Sérusier.[36] The boldness of their acquisition policy made them the most progressive American collectors of the day. Bertha Palmer found it exciting to purchase avant-garde French art, which she knew would cause a sensation when displayed in her Chicago mansion, to which a new wing had just been added to serve as a combination banquet hall and picture gallery for the rapidly growing collection.[37]

Sara Hallowell's efforts on behalf of the Palmers were not limited to France. Her work often made it necessary to visit various cities in her own country, where she was always on the lookout for pictures worthy of the Palmers' attention. While she was in New York in the spring of 1892, the American Art Association was preparing an auction to settle the estate of their recently deceased partner, R. Austin Robertson. Miss Hallowell was particularly interested in two pictures by Delacroix, one of her favorite artists. On her advice, Mr. Palmer not only purchased

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these two--Arab Cavalier Attacked by a Lion (Fig. 50) for $6,350 and The Lion Hunt (Fig. 51) for $13,000--but he also acquired three watercolors by Barye and one work each by Charles Emile Jacque and Emile Van Marcke. In addition he bought Millet's painting In Auvergne (Fig. 52) for $12,000.[38]

During a trip to New York in December 1892, Miss Hallowell called upon Erwin Davis, who, being in poor health, was selling off various works. Not long ago he had parted with a Degas painting that she had been unable to secure for the Palmers;[39] Sara Hallowell now wanted to make sure that they did not miss anything else. She also took a look at some of Davis's Chinese embroideries that she thought Bertha Palmer had professed an interest in. But on January 5, 1893, Mrs. Palmer wrote to her in New York:

> The Chinese hangings of which you speak are unfortunately not the ones of which I spoke to you. The piece that I remember with so much pleasure was a piece of Spanish embroidery, or Italian, on a violet ground or quite dark heliotrope, with a great deal of yellow in the design. I do not remember the embroidery now, clearly, but only that I considered it one of the most beautiful pieces that I had seen. The large Chinese piece I remember rather distinctly, and they are also most interesting, but there are and have been a number of them in New York. Mr. Havemeyer has a whole room furnished in them, and Vantine had a number which he sold at a very much more reasonable price than Mr. Davis asks. 40

On another occasion Miss Hallowell visited Albert Spencer and was struck by a Monet painting that she fervently desired for the Palmers, but it was not for sale.

The Palmers also shared Miss Hallowell's appreciation of certain American artists; they owned works by George

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Inness, Whistler, F. Hopkinson Smith, Eastman Johnson, George Hitchcock, and George Fuller, among others. Theodore Robinson was one of these Americans whose work interested Sara Hallowell, as evidenced in his diary entry for January 23, 1893:

> Potter Palmer called, said he came on Miss Hallowell's say--he was agreeably simple in his ways and words. Said he disposed of a few of his Monets he liked the least--he wanted "to buy pictures he wouldn't lose on" as the Monets and would have something of mine later, would come with Mrs. Palmer in Feb. or March--put my card in his hat, and bid me good-day. . . .
>
> He asked which Miss Hallowell liked particularly--the "Seine Valley" and considered it the most serious canvas. He liked the "Little Mill" and the "Girl at Little Bridge"--said it was "brilliant."
>
> I liked the way he spoke of Monet--whose personality and artistic conscientiousness seem to have impressed him.

Another event recorded by Theodore Robinson in that same year was the exhibition of paintings and pastels by Monet, Besnard, Twachtman, and Weir, which opened at James Sutton's American Art Galleries on May 3. The show was composed of loans and of works that were for sale. It was the first time that Besnard's paintings were displayed in New York; since the critics preferred his anecdotal subject matter, he was given more favorable press coverage than the other three. Yet, Robinson confided to his diary:

> May 5, 1893. Exhibition at Sutton's--Twachtman's winter things look well--some of his best work. Weir figures are interesting. Some of the Monets delightful. a marine and a canvas of two crooked willows on a river bank. An interesting early view of Rouen rather like a Jongkind. Curiously neutral in color in comparison

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> with his later work. especially a glorious "Antibes." A number of Besnards seemed poor and "fake-up." unpleasant in quality and color.

The heretofore sluggish tempo of the Impressionists' progress in America was accelerated by their representation in the Loan Collection of "Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States," organized by Sara Hallowell for the Chicago World's Fair. As soon as she had realized that the official French exhibit at the Columbian Exposition would consist primarily of prize winners at former Salons, Miss Hallowell decided to pursue an independent course of action: she would show off the advanced taste and knowledge of some American connoisseurs by displaying a selection of their modern French pictures. Only a person with Sara Hallowell's special skills could have managed such an ambitious undertaking: she had to have a discriminating eye for deciding which pictures should be requested, and she needed the greatest tact and diplomacy to induce their owners to part with these treasures. Thriving on the challenge she had set for herself, she started gathering pictures in the fall of 1891, to allow plenty of time. Her travels took her all the way from Boston to St. Louis, with intermediate stops in such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, and Cleveland.

Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition officially opened on May 1, 1893, with an address given by President Grover Cleveland before a crowd of nearly half a million.

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There were approximately 150 buildings on 550 acres, facing the lake in Jackson Park. This Exposition, commemorating the quadricentennial of Columbus's discovery of America, had taken two and a half years of planning and construction. The result--gigantic and elaborate glistening white pavilions of Beaux-Arts style, designed by ninety-seven architects--thrilled and amazed the millions of visitors. Because of the extensive development of the railroad system, Americans had become more mobile; consequently there was a greater number of tourists at the "White City" than at any other previous important exposition. For the first time the general public was able to witness current international trends; this led to a new cultural awareness.[41]

The Palace of Fine Arts was based on a Prix de Rome design; this colossal structure, with over 140 rooms, held sculpture and paintings from twenty nations; three of its galleries were devoted to Sara Hallowell's show, "Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States." Three-quarters of its 126 works were French, with particular focus on the Romantic, Barbizon, and Impressionist schools; they had been borrowed from private collectors as well as from a few museums.[42] In spite of the enormous quantity of art on display, the Loan Collection attracted from the very beginning the greatest attention and was considered the jewel among all the exhibits.

Miss Hallowell benefited from the fact that she had

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friendly relations with many of the owners of important French pictures in America; she was very well connected and drew upon these contacts to help her get what she wanted. If she was not personally acquainted with a particular collector, she knew at least the right person to intercede on her behalf, as she did with the Havemeyers. Although she may actually have met them, she recruited Mary Cassatt's help to get what she was after. On January 6, 1893, the artist informed Durand-Ruel: "Monsieur Havemeyer [sic] a prêté sur la demande de Melle Hallowell que je lui avait [sic] addressée [sic], son grand Corot et le Courbet que vous lui avait [sic] vendu l'été dernier."

Sara Hallowell was not alone in thinking that Harry Havemeyer would be reluctant to part with any of his paintings. Montague Marks, in the December 1892 issue of The Art Amateur, had not been optimistic: "It is feared that . . . Mr. H. O. Havemeyer and . . . Mrs. W. H. Vanderbilt cannot be counted on. In the case of the former it would almost be too much to expect that this gentleman's splendid new mansion, certain rooms of which have been especially constructed to receive certain paintings, should for nearly a year be despoiled of an integral part of its decoration."[43] But Harry Havemeyer could not say no, once his wife's closest friend had stepped in. Certainly this was not the only occasion that Sara Hallowell solicited Cassatt's aid; the artist must have also put in a good word

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with her brother Alexander, as well as his friend and colleague Frank Thomson, both generous contributors to the Loan Exhibition.[44]

The Havemeyer loans consisted of their large Corot, L'Incendie de Sodom (Cat. No. 2886) and Courbet's Chiens de chasse (Cat. No. 2898), this artist's only representation, whereas there were a dozen examples of Corot. At this point the Havemeyer collection was composed primarily of works by old masters, Barbizon painters, and some nineteenth-century French artists of acknowledged merit such as Delacroix, Descamps, Barye, Millet, and Puvis de Chavannes; there was only a sprinkling of French progressive art that in most instances Louisine had managed to slip in.[45] In 1893, compared to a few other American patrons, the Havemeyers were relatively retardataire; Harry Havemeyer was no means a devotee of Impressionism.

At the time of the Fair, Sara Hallowell proudly and justifiably felt that it was the Potter Palmers who had the most distinguished collection in the country; from it she borrowed fifteen paintings, mostly Barbizon and a few Impressionist works.[46] But she purposely limited the number of her more modern selections so that she would not be accused of having gone overboard in that direction. Thus she assembled only fourteen Impressionist pictures: four by Monet, three each by Manet and Pissarro, two by Degas, and one each by Renoir and Sisley. In addition to the

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Palmers, she borrowed these works from Alexander Cassatt and Frank Thomson of Philadelphia, and the dealer James Inglis and Albert Spencer of New York. She was also careful to include paintings by such well-established artists as Carolus-Duran, Cazin, Couture, Fromentin, and Fortuny in order to provide a historical perspective and to convince the public that the Impressionists belonged in such "illustrious" company. She even borrowed some works by renowned artists that the French had left out of their official exhibition of 550 paintings, such as Gérome, Messonier, and Dagnan-Bouveret.[47]

The reviews were mixed, but no matter what the critical reaction, Sara Hallowell's Loan Exhibition established the fact that Impressionism was here to stay.[48] Her effective blending of fine works covering the entire gamut of French nineteenth-century art from Classical through Impressionist schools constituted a convincing presentation of the concept that the latest movement had been a natural outgrowth of its predecessors. Another aspect confirmed by her show was the pervasive influence of Impressionism on artists from various countries. The movement could no longer be dismissed as simply the whim of a small band of Frenchmen, whose work was being passed off by a handful of dealers; the Impressionists appeared as unquestionable international leaders for a revolutionary approach to painting. The critic and novelist Hamlin Garland was among

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those who realized their far-reaching significance:

> Every competent observer who passed through the art palace at the Exposition was probably made aware of the immense growth of impressionistic or open-air painting. If the Exposition had been held five years ago, scarcely a trace of the blue-shadow idea would have been seen outside the work of Claude Monet, Pissarro, and a few others of the French and Spanish groups.
>
> Today, as seen in this wonderful collection, impressionism as a principle has affected the younger men of Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and America as well as the plein-air school of Giverny. Its presence is put in evidence to the ordinary observer in the prevalence of blue or purple shadows, and by the abundance of dazzling sun-light effects. 49

But for every step forward there seemed to be another taken in reverse, and no one ever knew where the next blow would come from. Surprisingly, it was delivered by Montague Marks, who, even though he was Sara Hallowell's friend and former champion, could not bring himself to accept Impressionism. In September 1893, the editor of The Art Amateur, heretofore one of the most progressive among the art journals of the early 1890s, regressed to the worn-out argument employed ad nauseam by every foe of Impressionism:

> It would be very interesting if we could have a report from some oculist of repute as to the actual condition of the eyesight of Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, and others of the "impressionist" school. The measure of its departure from the normal might account for much of the mystery--if mystery there really is on this much-debated subject. For my own part, I grow less and less inclined to believe that there is anything distinctive in the so called "impressionism" of to-day. . . .
>
> Bye and bye, pictures may be painted and sold to fit the special sight of prospective owners. Indeed, the time may come when every picture at an exhibition will bear a tablet instructing the visitor at what distance he is expected to view the painting; and in the case of the work of acutely myopic "impressionists," the visitor may be invited to "drop a penny in the slot"

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> of the frame to secure the use of a binocular glass which will spring out, ready focused, to suit the picture before him. 50

However, such negative reactions were not powerful enough to block the impact of modern art and Impressionism, once they had been brought to the attention of a large segment of the American press and public. More people were now conscious of this movement, which in the not-too-distant future would come into its own among the art-oriented citizens of America. Yet one of those who still needed a push in this direction was Harry Havemeyer, who--like Montague Marks--still had reservations about the soundness of the new art.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. According to The Art Amateur of October 1887, Theodore Robinson was not the only American artist to have gone to Giverny:

   "Quite an American colony has gathered . . . at Giverny, seventy miles from Paris, on the Seine, the home of Claude Monet, including our Louis Ritter, W. L. Metcalf, Theodore Wendell, John Breck, and Theodore Robinson. A few pictures just received from these young men show that they have all got the blue-green color of Monet's impressionism and 'got it bad.'"

   "Greta," "Boston Art and Artists," The Art Amateur 17 (October 1887):93. See the chapter on Theodore Robinson in Gerdts, American Impressionism, pp. 51-55, for documentation of Robinson's visits to Giverny. Professor Gerdts points out that Robinson had been preceded there by such painters as Willard Metcalf, John Leslie Breck, and Theodore Wendel.

2. For Lilla Cabot Perry's relationship with Monet and her role as proselytizer of his work in her native Boston, see Gerdts, "Boston and Pennsylvania Impressionists," American Impressionism, p. 97; Denys Sutton, "A Long Affair," Fads and Fancies (New York: Wittenborn & Co., 1979), pp. 167-79; Stuart Feld, Lilla Cabot Perry (New York: Hirschl and Adler Galleries, 1969), intro.

3. Erwin Davis had purchased a Monet painting even before Durand-Ruel's pioneering New York exhibition; around 1884 he obtained the artist's Vallée de la Scie, Pourville (W. No. 765) from Durand-Ruel in Paris. The February 28, 1891, issue of L'Art dans les Deux Mondes ("L'Exposition de Monet à Union League Club New York," p. 173), states that Albert Spencer bought twelve works by Monet and two by Renoir from Durand-Ruel out of his 1886 show, but Wildenstein's Monet catalogue accounts for only six of these paintings. According to this catalogue, in 1886 it was Kingman who acquired a dozen Monet canvases, all of which he would return to Durand-Ruel between 1892 and 1896.

4. William Fuller, a director of the National Wall Paper Company, had assembled a sizable collection of English and Barbizon paintings (which he later sold at auction in 1898), before he developed an interest in Monet's

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work. At the time of his death in 1902, Fuller owned at least eleven of the artist's canvases, some of which had been purchased directly from Monet. See his obituary in the New York Times, November 27, 1902, p. 5, and The Sun, March 14, 1903, p. 2, for the results of the posthumous sale of Fuller's Monets.

5. "Causerie," L'Art dans les Deux Mondes, March 28, 1891, p. 222.

6. The second Monet one-man show in America took place at the St. Botolph Club of Boston in March 1892. The exhibition was composed of twenty-one pictures that had been borrowed from Boston collectors. For the reception of Monet's work in Boston, see Murphy's essay in the catalogue, Corot to Braque: French Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, pp. xvii-xlvi.

7. See the Union League Club Exhibition of Oil Paintings (New York: Gilliss Bros. and Turnure, 1886), Nos. 4, 5, and "The Fine Arts: Art Notes," The Critic 6 (November 1886):223-24.

8. Although Messrs. Boussod & Valadon (successors to Goupil in Paris, one of the most internationally renowned galleries specializing in popular academic art) were themselves loyal supporters of the celebrated Salon painters, they had hired Theo van Gogh to run their auxiliary, more modest gallery, located on the Boulevard Monmartre. There the ardent young Dutchman was allowed to exhibit the art he really believed in; he worked diligently to win a wider acceptance for Monet and the other Impressionists. In the summer of 1888, he even signed a contract with Monet, which gave him the right of first refusal on all pictures. Since Durand-Ruel did not have any formal contracts with his painters, they were free to sell to whomever they wished. Monet, being displeased with his long-time dealer, justified his behavior by saying that it would be better for all the Impressionists if their works were represented by more than one gallery. Even after Theo van Gogh's death (January 1891), the steadily rising demand for Monet's paintings made it worthwhile for the firm of Boussod & Valadon to continue dealing in them in France, as well as to keep shipping his canvases, and eventually those by other Impressionists, to their New York branch, which had been established in 1888. See John Rewald, "Theo Van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists," Gazette des Beaux-Arts (Paris), vol. 81 (January-February 1973).

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9. William H. Fuller, Claude Monet (New York: Gilliss Bros., 1891), p. 7.

10. Alfred Trumble, "Claude Monet," The Collector 2 (February 15, 1891):91.

11. It has always been assumed that in 1891 Durand-Ruel first opened his Monet-Sisley-Pissarro exhibition in New York and subsequently sent it to the J. Eastman Chase Gallery at 7 Hamilton Place, Boston. However, according to Charles Durand-Ruel, who carefully checked his gallery's archives, this show was not in New York, but only in Boston from March 17 to 28, 1891.

12. Desmond Fitzgerald, Catalogue of Paintings by the Impressionists of Paris: Claude Monet, Camille Pissarro, Alfred Sisley (Boston: J. Eastman Chase Gallery, 1891), pp. 3-8. Desmond Fitzgerald (1846-1926), a Bostonian by adoption, a hydraulic engineer and writer by profession, while in Paris in the summer of 1889 made numerous visits to the large Monet-Rodin exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit. It seems likely that it was then he acquired his first painting by Monet. He initially bought Impressionist pictures from Durand-Ruel's 1886 New York exhibition; at a posthumous sale of his collection, there were nine works by Monet, two by Sisley, and one each by Renoir, Degas, and Pissarro, in addition to seven by Boudin. See "Paintings by the Impressionists," Collection of the Late Desmond Fitzgerald (New York: The American Art Association, April 21, 22, 1927), and Sutton, Fads and Fancies, p. 169. The recently discovered Desmond Fitzgerald Diaries are in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

13. Theodore Robinson, "Claude Monet," The Century Magazine 44 (September 1892):698.

14. Alfred Trumble, "Something for Everybody," The Collector 4 (February 1, 1893):102.

15. New York Times, January 23, 1893, p. 4.

16. Alfred Trumble, "Something for Everybody," p. 102.

17. See the New York Times, March 10, 1893, p. 4.

18. According to the Galerie Durand-Ruel's records, George Vanderbilt himself had succumbed to the work of the Impressionists; in February 1892, he had purchased two Monet landscapes and three paintings by Renoir.

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19. In November 1893, there was an exhibition of Cazin's work at the American Art Galleries, for which the artist came to New York. See "Personalia," The Collector 5 (November 15, 1893):29.

20. For prices and buyers at this sale, see the annotated catalogue, The Henry M. Johnston Collection (New York: Ortgies & Co., February 28, 1893), at the Frick Art Reference Library.

21. Entry dated February 24, 1893, Theodore Robinson, Diary MS, 1892-96, Frick Art Reference Library, New York. All future quotations from Robinson's diary refer to this source. On March 1, 1893, Robinson made the following observation: "At a sale last night a rather pretty Cazin, two stacks just before sunset sold for $2500 and a fine Monet for $500."

22. "The Rise of the Curtain," The Collector 2 (October 1, 1891):225.

23. Sheldon, Recent Ideals of American Art, p. 122.

24. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 18 (April 1888):105.

25. Albert Spencer's Monet described in Theodore Robinson's diary was Paysage à Port-Villez (W. No. 836), and his Degas was Chevaux de course (L. No. 767); his Renoir of a lady on a garden seat was Dans les roses: Portrait de Madame Léon Clapisson (D. No. 428). Mr. Spencer lent his Renoir painting to Sara Hallowell's Loan Collection at the Chicago World's Fair (Cat. No. 2970, In the Garden), where it was the only work by the artist.

26. Alfred Trumble, "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," The Collector 2 (November 15, 1890):23.

27. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 18 (April 1888):105.

28. New York Times, March 20, 1889, p. 5.

29. For more detailed information about the activities of Chicago's Interstate Industrial Expositions see John D. Kysela's article "Sara Hallowell Brings 'Modern Art' to the Midwest," The Art Quarterly 27 (1964):153-54.

30. Ibid., p. 155, gives the critical reaction to Chicago's first contact with Impressionist art. One of the

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paintings displayed at the Interstate Industrial Exposition of 1890--Côte de Notre-Dame-de-la-Mer, Bord de la Seine (W. No. 839)--was purchased by Potter Palmer in 1892.

31. Although in November 1890 Sara Hallowell had been offered the directorship of the department of fine arts for the World's Columbian Exposition, she eventually declined the honor. Apparently the reason for her decision was that she felt a woman in a position of such authority would have been resented. The outspoken Montague Marks let it be known that Sara Hallowell was his top candidate:

> "Then, gentlemen, why not give up the idea of an artist and of a man for the post? Try a woman. Your own Sara Hallowell was the first choice of the Art Amateur, and she is so still. Certainly she has done more for the art education of Chicago, and the West generally, than all your millionaires who have been buying costly old masters and exhibiting them at the Art Institute. She is a good judge of modern pictures, has remarkable executive ability, and is on the most friendly relations with artists at home and abroad. . . ."

"My Note Book," The Art Amateur 24 (April 1891):114.

32. Wildenstein's Monet catalogue accounts for only six paintings by the artist purchased from Durand-Ruel by the Palmers in 1891, but according to the Galerie Durand-Ruel's records, there were eleven. On the other hand the Monet catalogue (vol. 3) gives two paintings acquired by the Palmers in 1891 from Knoedler, which would bring the total of their Monet paintings bought that year to thirteen. However, it was Mr. Palmer's practice to return a good number of his purchases.

33. According to the Boussod, Valadon, & Co. records, Degas's Groupe de trois danseuses was acquired by Mr. Palmer in September 1891 for $969. See Rewald, "Theo Van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists," the ledgers.

34. In 1892 the Palmers also acquired Corot's Orphée for $23,000 from the estate sale of Daniel Cottier (May 27, 28 at Galleries Durand-Ruel, Paris) and several examples by Barye from the Barbedienne sale held in Paris on June 3. In addition they purchased from Durand-Ruel three other Corot paintings and one by Jacque, plus works by Salon painters such as Montenard, Gef-

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froy, Jeanniot, Hirschfield, Caseiaro, and Tassaert. On occasion, they bought from other galleries, i.e., Petit, Knoedler, as well as Boussod, Valadon.

35. See Rewald, "Theo Van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists," the ledgers.

36. This totally new information was recently discovered in a previously unlocated record-book at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris.

37. Although the bulk of their Impressionist collection was bought from Durand-Ruel in 1892, the Palmers continued to purchase works by these artists, usually from the same source. In 1893 they bought nine Monets (four from the artist directly), one Renoir, and one Cassatt, and the following year they acquired four paintings by Monet, one by Renoir, and three by Pissarro, all from Durand-Ruel.

38. These prices are given in an annotated sale catalogue, The Collections of the American Art Association (New York: The American Art Association, April 7, 8, 1892), at the Frick Art Reference Library.

39. See chap. I, p. 24 and n. 34, p. 32. This Degas painting was most likely Danseuses (L. No. 617), which ended up in Mr. Alfred Pope's collection.

40. Unpublished letter from Mrs. Potter Palmer to Miss Sara Hallowell, Archives, Chicago Historical Society.

41. Much of the information on the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition came from the commentary accompanying an exhibition (at Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, April 1978) of rare platinum-print photographs taken by the Fair's official photographer Charles Dudley Arnold. These photographs belong to the collection of Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, New York; they were installed by Jane Sabersky with the assistance of Alice Mackin.

42. The three participating institutions were the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the museums of Boston and St. Louis.

43. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 28 (December 1892):2.

44. Mr. Thomson had continued to pursue his early interest in the work of Monet and his colleagues. Between 1890

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and 1892 he had purchased three paintings by Pissarro, two by Sisley, and one by Renoir from Durand-Ruel. His loans to Sara Hallowell's show consisted of Manet's Marine (R. & W. No. 79), Monet's Harbor of Havre (W. No. 297), and Pissarro's Summer. Early in 1893 he had acquired from Durand-Ruel yet another painting by Monet, L'Entrée du Petit Bras à Vétheuil (W. No. 601), which had been included in the Loan Exhibition at the American Fine Arts Society.

45. At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, the Havemeyers owned scarcely more than a dozen examples of the more modern French school: one work each by Degas, Monet, and Pissarro, bought by Louisine before her marriage, and two pictures by Manet, a Renoir pastel, a Boudin painting, a Daumier wash drawing, four (or perhaps five) Courbet paintings, plus one oil by Degas, which they had selected but did not yet have in their possession.

46. The Potter Palmers lent three canvases by Raffaëlli and one by Besnard. These fashionable and successful painters, whose subject matter was often literary and anecdotal, were then considered by certain American critics to be among the leaders of the Impressionists. The Palmers also contributed one landscape each by Pissarro and Sisley (D. No. 660).

47. See the "Loan Collection: Foreign Masterpieces Owned in the United States," The Official Catalogue of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago: Gonkey Company, 1893).

48. For reviews of the Impressionist selection in the Loan Exhibition at the Fair, see Kysela, "Sara Hallowell Brings 'Modern Art' to the Midwest," pp. 162-65.

49. Hamlin Garland, "Impressionism," Crumbling Idols (Chicago: Stone and Kimball, 1894), p. 121.

50. Montague Marks: "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 29 (September 1893):80.

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CHAPTER IX

FURTHER PROGRESS AND NEW COLLECTORS

While Sara Hallowell was actively gathering paintings for the Chicago World's Fair, Harry Havemeyer calmly and confidently bought expensive works by Barbizon and Romantic masters from the Galerie Durand-Ruel. In January 1893, he purchased two bronzes and a watercolor by Barye; in February he acquired Troyon's Retour du marché, valued at $45,000 by The Art Amateur,[1] and a landscape (Le Pacage) by Dupré for approximately $20,000.[2] Always a prudent businessman, he wanted to put his money into blue-chip works of art rather than take high risks with those of the untested avant-garde. His acquisitions from the Durand-Ruels for that year reflect such an attitude. He bought another Decamps painting, Vue de la rade de Smyrne; a pastel, La Gardeuse d'oies (Fig. 53), as well as a charcoal drawing, La Bergère (Fig. 54), by Millet; and a Corot painting, Les Pêcheurs d'anguilles (R. No. 1532 bis.).[3] The only work by a more "modern" artist purchased in 1893 was Courbet's La Vague (F. No. 699, Fig. 55).

The United States was then once more in the grip of a severe depression. A letter from Camille Pissarro to his son Lucien, dated October 3, 1893, provides some informa-

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tion on the rather bleak American art scene:

> Je suis allé voir Chêne au débarqué, nous avons parlé de tout. Chêne me dit que l'Amérique est fichue pour la peinture, banqueroute partout. Une maison vient de sauter à New York; Chêne y perd quelque chose; tu vois d'ici le découragement qu'il doit éprouver. Donc rien à faire de ce côté. Il m'a assuré que Durand partait à New-York et qu'il doit s'en ressentir. --Très inquiet, je me rendis chez ce dernier. Rien dans les apparences. Très calme, Durand m'a reçu très amicalement et m'a annoncé qu'il partait à New-York dans une huitaine. 4

Paul Durand-Ruel's trip to America in the fall of 1893 would be his first after an absence of four years.[5] During that interval his New York branch had been competently managed by this three sons, who, from the beginning, had established a very fine reputation for themselves, as indicated by a tribute in The Collector:

> One sees but little of Mr. Durand-Ruel himself here these days, but he is ably represented by his sons, to whom has been communicated much of those qualities which in their father make him a conspicuous figure in the world of art. They, like him, regard art with a personal as well as a commercial eye. It is not enough to sell a picture with them, but also to know and love the picture that they sell. The vast and varied information of their father has also a reflection in themselves. Curiously enough, with all the keen refinement of their Gallic education, that education which renders it possible for men to be the shrewdest of businessmen without ceasing to be gentlemen, they combine a thoroughly American energy, rapidity of ideas and execution, which do not occur commonly under the slower business conditions of Europe. 6

Unfortunately, Charles Durand-Ruel, the middle son of the French dealer, had died suddenly in September 1892. He had been at the head of the New York annex and his presence was deeply missed.

The combination of the loss of his son and the pre-

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carious financial conditions made it necessary for Durand-Ruel senior to personally examine the situation on the other side of the Atlantic. Upon his arrival, he seems to have felt that it would be wise to reassure his American clientele by exhibiting works of internationally acclaimed and admired artists that represented "safe" investments. During November 1893, his Fifth Avenue gallery displayed pictures by Puvis de Chavannes, Breton, Dupré, Corot, and Decamps.[7] The only Impressionist canvases on view were some by Claude Monet.

Harry Havemeyer was apparently in no mood to speculate on the Impressionists. When the French dealer visited his recently completed mansion at 1 East 66th Street, Mr. Havemeyer must have shown off his collection of celebrated masterpieces, which--in most instances--Durand-Ruel had helped him acquire. As far as Harry Havemeyer was concerned, he was on the right track, and he had no intention of getting involved with "experimental" art. Durand-Ruel could look around the house with a strong sense of satisfaction, since he had always urged his client to take advantage of every occasion that presented itself; at the same time he was astute enough to see that this was not the moment to encourage this strong-willed American to extend the range of his art purchases.

While Mr. Havemeyer often had followed his dealer's advice, sometimes he let opportunities slip by, as with the

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Spitzer collection, which resulted in a loss not only for him, but also for the United States in general. Of Viennese origin, Frédéric Spitzer had spent many years as a dealer in antiquities and bric-à-brac in Germany, Italy, and England before settling in Paris in 1852, where he increased his fortune and developed into the greatest collector of medieval and Renaissance works of modern times. He built a spacious palace at the corner of the rue Villejust and the avenue Victor Hugo, which he filled with his extraordinary collection of approximately four thousand objects consisting of ivories, enamels, reliquaries, statuettes, faïences, bronzes, arms and armor, tapestries, illuminated manuscripts, and rare potteries. There, every Tuesday, he received visitors from all over the world. The Art Amateur described Mr. Spitzer as "a stout little man, round-faced and sharp-eyed, wearing a red wig, talking little, and sincerely devoted to the arts of the Middle Ages."[8] After his death in May 1890 at the age of seventy-five, his collection was estimated to be worth about $3,000,000. Though his widow had to dispose of it, Mr. Spitzer's will expressed the wish that the collection be kept intact for three years before being auctioned. Mrs. Spitzer let it be known that she would willingly advance the date of the sale as well as consent to a reduction in price if she were certain that the ensemble would not be dispersed.[9]

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In a letter dated July 18, 1890, Paul Durand-Ruel had alerted Mr. Havemeyer to the possibility of securing the Spitzer treasures for America:

> I note what you say of the Spitzer collection but I know from Mrs. Spitzer herself that a sale at auction cannot be held before three years according to a clause of Mr. Spitzer's will--but it can be sold before at private sale "en bloc" only--and I know they have already some serious propositions from Russia.
>
> Mr. Manheim [sic], the expert, tells us that it cost Spitzer over twelve millions of francs and he says that those objects from being together have a plus-value of as much and that not for sixty millions of francs could it be made again, if it is once diffused. Spitzer has left almost no fortune besides his collection and of course they want to sell it. A museum of America ought to have raised the money to buy a collection like that for the education of the people, and a museum will never again find the opportunity. Why do they not try at the Art Institute [of Chicago] to get up a subscription?

In the fall of that same year the New York Times felt that it was the civic responsibility of American art patrons to at least make an attempt at acquiring these treasures before it was too late: "The enormous price demanded for it by the Spitzer heirs ought not to frighten American buyers; the collection is worth it. Who will get together a number of capitalists and buy the Spitzer collection outright? It might be shown from city to city and then placed in some museum of New York, Washington, Boston, or Chicago."[10]

By 1891 the future of the Spitzer collection had become a heated topic in the United States. A number of articles in newspapers and art journals bitterly attacked the country's wealthy citizens for their selfishness and

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lack of public spirit. The New York Times initiated the assault on January 10, 1891:

> . . . there is no reason to suppose that New York or Chicago lacks men who could, if they would, combine and purchase the Spitzer collection. But if they did so combine, what would be the result? The Spitzer collection would be bought by a syndicate united on the basis of a gift of the collection eventually to some American museum--let us say the Metropolitan Museum of Art. But there's the rub. The men who might be interested in such a scheme are for the most part themselves collectors and regard with longing the marvels of mediaeval and Renaissance art which Spitzer, by the craft of one who knows opposed to the ignorance of the many, caused to gravitate toward his collection. These men are not anxious to see the Spitzer articles bottled up in a museum. They want them brought to the hammer so that they can have a chance to fill their own shelves at a sale the like of which would never occur again in our generation. 11

In September The Collector expressed overt hostility toward New York's millionaires. Although a syndicate of some sort had been organized, its halfhearted attempts toward purchasing the Spitzer collection had yielded no tangible results:

> After all, what better could have been expected of New York? She might have had the Spitzer collection had she wished it. It was offered to her. A few subscriptions--or promises of subscriptions--were made and there the matter ended. A few rich men subscribed themselves for very large sums, conditionally upon other men doing the same until a certain total was reached. This disbarred men of less ample means, who would willingly have borne a hand in the work, from subscribing, and gave another lot of men, bloated with their own conceit, and unwilling to pay cash for it, an excuse for refusing to subscribe at all. Any excuse of this kind is welcome to men of a certain class of mind and morality. It permits them to make an easy exit out of a dilemma, and to save their cash for future use. 12

It seems that at this time a plan was devised by a

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number of Chicago art patrons to raise the amount necessary to pay for the transportation and insurance of the Spitzer collection and bring it to the World's Columbia Exposition. The idea was that once these splendid works were on display in Chicago, it would be much easier to solicit contributions from the local citizens to keep these objects there on a permanent basis. The Collector expressed concern that New York would lose out to the Midwest on an issue of major cultural importance, but at the last moment negotiations fell through and the ambitious Chicago project came to naught.[13]

The relentless pressure of the press finally stirred the previously lethargic New York syndicate into action. One of the group's leaders was Harry Havemeyer, who, in January 1892, sent a telegram to Paul Durand-Ruel offering to buy the Spitzer collection in its entirety for ten million francs less 15 percent. However, this offer of eight and a half million francs (approximately $1,700,000) was low, the Spitzer heirs having already refused ten million francs. In his reply of January 24, 1892, acknowledging Mr. Havemeyer's cable, Durand-Ruel wrote:

> On ne veut même pas, malgré mon insistance, me fixer le prix minimum que l'on aurait pu accepter. La demande est toujours au-dessus de 10 millions. Je n'ai jamais cru que l'on puisse espérer obtenir la collection à moins de 12 millions et maintenant même après toutes les dépenses faites pour la vente, les catalogues lancés et de nombreux ordres arrivés déjà, je ne sais pas s'il se décideraient à vendre à l'amiable. Ils mécontenteraient trop d'amateurs. Cependent si

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> vous me donnez des ordres, je ferai tous mes efforts pour réussir. Il faudrait pour avoir l'espérance d'acquérir la collection, m'autoriser à offrir 10, puis 11, puis 12 millions, mais il faudrait se hâter.
> Je regrette beaucoup que vous ne m'ayez pas autorisé plus tôt à faire des démarches pour l'achat de cette collection unique au monde et que l'Amérique regrettera amèrement un jour. Manheim [sic] me disait ce matin que pour refaire une collection semblable il faudrait maintenant 100 ans et 100 millions.

Since there are no other letters from Paul Durand-Ruel to Mr. Havemeyer referring to negotiations between the syndicate and the Spitzer heirs, it is unlikely that the offer was increased.

By the summer of 1892, Durand-Ruel was resigned to the fact that the Spitzer collection would be sold at public auction. Now the dealer and his sons were concerned that their American clients, such as Harry Havemeyer, should act quickly in order to buy choice items before they were listed in the sale catalogue. Mr. Havemeyer had actually seen the Spitzer collection, probably in 1891, and had professed a great interest in a series of small fifteenth-century tapestries from Brussels, about which Joseph Durand-Ruel wrote him on July 15, 1892:

> . . . if you desire to buy anything . . . I think you would have advantage to do it now as long as you do not think of coming over this year. The sale by auction will begin next April and if you wait until they have made the catalogue for the sale and all the arrangements, they will certainly be harder to deal with. My brother has in New York the price which they would take for the different series and you may consider whether you would make an offer either for one series or for the whole. Of course we must both keep very secret this whole matter and I believe we could get them to make us very reasonable prices.

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In a letter written a little over a month later, Durand-Ruel senior expressed his disappointment that Mr. Havemeyer had not yet made any offers on the tapestries, which he felt could still be bought at an advantageous price. But Harry Havemeyer waited too long; by the time he finally made up his mind, Durand-Ruel was forced to inform him in February 1893: "J'ai eu la certitude qu'il est absolument impossible d'acheter avant la vente la série des vieilles tapisseries de la collection Spitzer. Diverses offres ont été faites pour plusieurs séries et la famille ne veut vendre à aucun prix. Il faut donc attendre la vente. Veuillez me donner vos instructions à ce moment et je ferai tous mes efforts pour exécuter vos ordres à votre satisfaction." Now Mr. Havemeyer would have to wait for the public auction, like everybody else.

April 17 through June 16, 1893, were the dates of the Spitzer sale; a special gallery had been constructed in the family's mansion. The entire collection was to be placed on the block, except for the arms and armor, estimated at 3 million francs ($600,000), which were to be sold later as a group.[14] On May 2, during the course of the sale, Durand-Ruel wrote a progress report to Mr. Havemeyer:

> La vente Spitzer a commencé le mois dernier et on a vendu les émaux, les ivoires, quelque beaux meubles, quelques belles tapisseries et l'orfèverie religieuse. J'ai acheté quelques objets de grande valeur, entre autres trois superbes tapisseries pour un de nos clients. La vente a produit déjà 3 millions 700 000 francs et, si quelques objets se sont vendus très cher,

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> la moyenne a atteint des prix fort raisonnables. Presque tous les acheteurs sont des marchands et beaucoup d'objets ont été déjà revendus par eux avec de forts bénéfices. . . . Je regrette que vous ne m'ayez pas donné d'ordres pour quelques belles choses parmi les émaux, les tapisseries, les meubles et je viens vous demander si pour les vacations futures, vous ne songez pas à m'en donner.
>
> Lundi 15 mai commence la vente les faïences de Palisay, de St. Perchaire, Italiennes et Hispano-Mauresque. Vous vous rappelez qu'il y a des pièces admirables et dignes de votre collection. Vous regretteriez, je crois, un jour d'avoir laissé échapper cette occasion unique d'acheter ces pièces si rares aujourd'hui et je ne saurais trop vous engager à me donner des ordres importants.

The Spitzer sale was finally concluded on June 16, 1893; the result was $1,821,586, not counting armor and weapons.[15] Had the New York syndicate increased its offer as Durand-Ruel had suggested, it might have purchased the entire collection, armor and all, for considerably less. In addition to the dealers mentioned by Durand-Ruel, the major buyers included agents for the Louvre, the Cluny museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and for the museums of Berlin, Vienna, London, Munich, Budapest, Prague, and Brussels.[16] A number of items did find their way to America, as Durand-Ruel bought on behalf of Messrs. Charles Hutchinson and Martin Ryerson of Chicago;[17] the latter acquired approximately fifty objects. As for New York, The Art Amateur printed the following note: "Among important recent purchases by American art collectors, I hear of some of the finest objects in rock crystal from the Spitzer sale going to Mr. Benjamin Altman, whose art acquisitions, by the way, are becoming very remarkable; and some delightful

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terra-cotta 'Asia Minor groups,' also out of the Spitzer collection going to Mr. H. O. Havemeyer and to Mr. Thomas B. Clarke. . . ."[18]

It was unfortunate that Harry Havemeyer did not get any of the furnishings, the glass, or even the tapestries that he had been so interested in. There must have been a definite reason that made him refrain from going after what he wanted in his usual determined manner. Perhaps he was annoyed by the unsatisfactory negotiations he had conducted on behalf of the syndicate. In any case, it was not the fault of Durand-Ruel that the great Spitzer collection was dispersed throughout the world with only a token representation in the United States. In vain had the French dealer shown extreme patience and ceaseless concern in his unremitting attempts to get Mr. Havemeyer and other American collectors to take advantage of a unique opportunity.

Yet, during that same year of 1893, Durand-Ruel had better luck with another American client, although in a totally different realm. As often before, part of the credit for these sales went to Mary Cassatt. The fact that her friend Louisine Havemeyer was then in no position to acquire works by the Impressionists did not dampen the artists's drive to encourage other wealthy countrymen to become their patrons. If anything, her appetite was whetted; she alerted her brother whenever a work of fine quality became available at a reasonable price;[19] she had

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recently helped the Potter Palmers, and now she turned to a new acquaintance, Harris Whittemore, whom she met in France during the spring of 1893. Mr. Whittemore, of Naugatuck, Connecticut, was introduced to Mary Cassatt by the husband of his first cousin, Clinton Peters, an artist who had come to Paris to study in the studios of Gérôme and Lefebvre.[20] Even before meeting Cassatt, Mr. Whittemore had taken an interest in the work of Monet. In 1890 he had bought L'Eglise de Vernon (W. No. 842) from Durand-Ruel, and in 1891 he had acquired from the same source two more landscapes by the artist.[21] The following year he had purchased Monet's Meules, neige from Boussod, Valadon for the unusually high price of $1,250,[22] and another Monet painting from Durand-Ruel.[23]

When in 1893 Mr. Whittemore responded enthusiastically to Cassatt's own work, she sent him to Durand-Ruel, where he selected one of her canvases of a mother and child. During this same European trip, Whittemore bought from Durand-Ruel two works by Degas, two by Manet, and one by Monet.[24] He also acquired three additional Monet paintings from Boussod, Valadon.[25] Toward the end of that year, Mr. Whittemore made several more purchases: one work each by Pissarro, John Lewis Brown, and Monet; all three came from Durand-Ruel.[26]

In January 1894, Mr. Whittemore wrote to Mary Cassatt to inform her that he had just bought another of her paint-

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ings.[27] On February 15, she responded:

> Your very kind letter of January 25th gave me great pleasure. I am delighted that you like the picture. . . . It is delightful to me that you should want another of my pictures--in the future, if I do anything I think particularly successful I will let you know. If you are in New York would you mind calling at Durand-Ruel's to see a picture of three figures [La Famille, B. No. 145] which has just been sent there, I should like to know what you think of it. 28

But Cassatt was not the kind of person to recommend only her own work; she sincerely wanted her new acquaintance to buy more paintings by her fellow artists. Her letter continued:

> I have an interesting piece of artistic news for you. There was in Paris an amateur by name de Bellio, who had a large collection of Monets, Renoirs, one or two Manets, Degas, one I believe; the Renoirs and Monets very fine. This man has died lately and it is most probable that his collection will be sold at the Hotel Drouot. I remember your wanting to buy some good Renoirs, this will be a chance; in the collection was a picture by Monet, which he called "An Impressionism" [purchased by de Bellio in 1878]. It was taken up by the papers, and was the origin of the name "Impressionist." My brother offered M. de Bellio 5,000 francs for it eleven years ago, that was a high price then, only he was refused. As soon as I hear any more particulars I will send them to you. 29

Immediately upon receipt of this letter, Harris Whittemore must have gone to Durand-Ruel's to see Cassatt's painting of three figures, as she had requested. Yet he did not buy it; instead he alerted his friend Alfred Pope,[30] who obtained the canvas on February 28, 1894. Mr. Pope kept Cassatt's La Famille for only three months; on May 24 he returned it to Durand-Ruel. In a very short time (June of the same year), the Havemeyers purchased the picture.

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Alfred Pope, founder of the Cleveland Malleable Iron Company, had actually bought, as early as 1889, three paintings by Monet from Boussod, Valadon.[31] His next acquisitions of Monet paintings, one from Durand-Ruel and one from Boussod, Valadon, were made during 1891.[32] Mr. Pope lent two of his recently acquired Monets to the Union League Club exhibition of February 1891.[33] In 1892, after purchasing yet two more landscapes by Monet,[34] Mr. Pope decided to acquire works by other Impressionists as well, such as a Degas pastel, Jockeys (L. No. 596, Fig. 56),[35] and a landscape by Sisley, La Serpentine; all four came from Durand-Ruel. The following year he went back to Boussod, Valadon, where he obtained Pissarro's Sente de la justice â Pontoise for the relatively small amount of $350.[36] His other known expenditure during 1893 was for a painting by Degas, Danseuses (L. No. 617), the very work that, since the early eighties, had belonged to Erwin Davis, who had recently sold it to Cottier & Company.[37]

During the second half of 1894, Alfred Pope went to Paris, but there is no evidence that he made the acquaintance of Mary Cassatt. Although he could easily have approached her with an introductory letter from Harris Whittemore, he may have been embarrassed about having recently returned her painting and therefore decided to postpone a meeting with her. In a letter to his son Lucien of October 21, 1894, Camille Pissarro provides an account

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of Mr. Pope's activities: "J'ai rencontré à Paris Vollard;[38] il m'a raconté l'histoire de cet Américain arrivé à Paris pour chercher un beau Manet à tout prix, pourvu qu'il lui plût. Tous les marchands étaient sur les dents, cherchant partour la perle. Enfin, ce nabab a fini par trouver chez Durand-Ruel la Femme à la guitare [R. & W. No. 122, Fig. 57], toile de 20, pour 75,000 francs [$15,000]. Épatement des populations! . . ."[39] Alfred Pope also bought other works from Durand-Ruel in September 1894: a Monet marine,[40] a Manet drawing, and an etching by Cassatt.

Mr. Pope seemed quite willing to lend his pictures whenever asked, as he did again in January 1894 to the "Cleveland Art Loan Exhibition." In the painting section, consisting primarily of works by old masters, French Academicians, and Barbizon artists, were Alfred Pope's loans: two pictures by Monet, Belle Isle (Cat. No. 43) and Hoar Frost (Cat. No. 44), and one by Degas, Ballet Girls (Cat. No. 46).[41] This show having been very successful, the Cleveland Art Association was formed for the purpose of henceforth sponsoring annual exhibitions. Its first presentation, which took place from January 22 to February 22, 1895, was composed of 550 paintings and forty sculptures. Mr. Pope once more was among the lenders.[42]

Meanwhile in New York, the year 1894 had witnessed an increasing interest in the Impressionists; an indication of their growing popularity was the fact that more dealers

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entered the field. The exclusivity enjoyed by Durand-Ruel and Boussod, Valadon slowly came to an end. One of the "newcomers" was L. Crist Delmonico, who for several years had been buying Impressionist pictures for low prices at auctions.[43] In January 1894 the Delmonico Gallery at 166 Fifth Avenue, between 21st and 22nd Streets, presented an Impressionist exhibition which consisted of at least three works each by Monet and Sisley, and two canvases each by Pissarro and Renoir.[44] Even the more conservative gallery M. Knoedler & Co. started actively purchasing Impressionist pictures. Another dealer, who began to see the potential of this school, was James Inglis, a partner and--after the death of Daniel Cottier in 1891--president of Cottier & Company.[45] But the most rapacious patron of the Impressionists, and particularly of the works of Monet, was James Sutton of the American Art Association. Ever since the partition sale and reorganization of his firm in the spring of 1892,[46] Sutton had devoted himself increasingly to buying and selling Impressionist pictures. Not only were the walls of his home covered with landscapes by Monet; he also had an enormous inventory of the artist's work at the galleries on Madison Square. In September 1893, Pissarro informed his son: "Sutton, le grand marchand américain qui a cent vingt Monet, est devenu le concurrent de Durand, ils luttent sur notre dos. . . ."[47] By 1895, Sutton would withdraw from active participation in the American Art

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Association (while retaining a financial interest) in order to deal full-time in Impressionist art.[48]

Faced with growing competition on all sides, the Durand-Ruels decided to expand their facilities. For the third time since they had opened their New York branch, they moved a little farther uptown. Their address became 389 Fifth Avenue, at the corner of Thirty-sixth Street; their new landlord was H. O. Havemeyer, owner of the old Lorillard mansion, which was remodeled to accommodate the Durand-Ruels. The firm's inaugural exhibition, in November 1894, for which Durand-Ruel senior was present, consisted of works by old masters and paintings by Boudin, Corot, Courbet, and Daumier, in addition to some recent Impressionist canvases. On November 3, the New York Times printed its most favorable review to date:

> . . . Pissarro powerfully ornamental, characteristic, and special; Degas who paints dancers and spectators in motion; Renoir, inimitable designer of little slight women in all the gracefulness of the "mièvrerie" that the eighteenth century liked, but with an enthusiasm as a colorist that only Delacroix had before him expressed; Sisley and Miss Cassatt have struggled valiantly with nature. They have tried to paint trills, ambient air, the transparency of foliage, complicated plays of light, and the human element in nature as it is, uncertain, awkward, forming a mass wherein disappears the conventional importance of the face. Their works form, with Monet's and those of two or three others in the Durand-Ruel galleries, a Salon of individualists of undeniable merit. 49

By the end of 1894 these artists of "undeniable merit" thus made a significant breakthrough, both critically and financially. The year 1895 was to see them earn

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still wider appreciation among dealers, critics, and collectors. This must have been of tremendous comfort to Harry Havemeyer, who, only in 1894, had begun to abandon many of his Barbizon and Romantic favorites and at long last had started to become involved with the Impressionists.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. See "Minor Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 28 (May 1893):154.

2. Troyon's Retour du marché and Dupré's Le Pacage were both sold, traded, or given away by Mrs. Havemeyer, who apparently disliked the work of the latter, since she managed to dispose of all his paintings following the death of her husband in 1907.

3. In November 1908, Mrs. Havemeyer offered to sell Decamps's Vue de la rade de Smyrne back to the Galerie Durand-Ruel, but the transaction was never carried out. The painting remained in her possession; after her death it was disposed of at the Havemeyer estate auction, 1930 (Cat. No. 69). Corot's Les Pêcheurs d'anguilles is still in the Havemeyer Family Collection.

4. Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, pp. 312-13. Chêne was a dealer located on the rue de la Paix.

5. See the New York Times, November 24, 1893, p. 8. While in America, Durand-Ruel went to Chicago to see the World's Columbian Exposition, as evidenced by a letter to Mary Cassatt of February 9, 1894: "Comme vous voyez, me voici de retour de New York. Mon voyage s'est très bien passé et l'exposition de Chicago m'a fort intéressé comme ensemble."

6. Alfred Trumble, "Picture Sellers and Picture Buyers," The Collector 2 (December 15, 1890):44.

7. See the New York Times, November 24, 1893, p. 8.

8. "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 23 (July 1980):22.

9. Supposedly, even before the death of Mr. Spitzer, Gambetta, the prominent politician and former deputy of Paris, had wanted to buy and preserve the collection and the house, but nothing came of this.

10. New York Times, November 28, 1890, p. 4.

11. New York Times, January 10, 1891, p. 4.

12. "Ways of the Hour," The Collector 2 (September 1891):209.

13. According to The Art Amateur, the reason behind this

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plan's failure, was that the Spitzer heirs did not want to take the risk of sending the collection to Chicago. See Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 28 (April 1893):125.

14. Ibid.

15. "Echoes of the Spitzer Sale," The Art Amateur 29 (August 1893):74.

16. See the New York Times, June 13, 1893, p. 5.

17. While in Paris, Bertha Palmer, at the request of Mr. Charles Hutchinson, examined the Spitzer articles that particularly interested her fellow collector. She then wrote him their estimated prices as well as her opinion as to their merit. See Ishbel Ross, Silhouette in Diamonds: The Life of Mrs. Potter Palmer (New York: Harper & Bros.,1960), p. 159.

18. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 29 (September 1893):80.

19. In November 1892, Alexander Cassatt purchased from Durand-Ruel two Monet paintings, one of which Train dans la neige à Argenteuil (W. No. 360), he lent to Sara Hallowell's show at the World's Columbian Exposition (Cat. No. 2957).

20. Sweet, Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania, pp. 151-52.

21. These were Monet's Coup de vent (W. No. 688) and Meule, soleil dans le brume (W. No. 1286).

22. See Rewald, "Theo Van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists," the ledgers. Monet's Meules, neige cannot be identified among the twelve paintings by that title or similar ones recorded by Daniel Wildenstein for the years 1890-91.

23. Mr. Whittemore's purchase of Monet's La Creuse, soleil couchant was recorded in Durand-Ruel's ledger on February 28, 1892, but it is not possible to identify the work in Wildenstein's Monet catalogue.

24. The works by Degas were listed in the Durand-Ruel ledger as Femme assise and Danseuses, but they cannot be identified in Lemoisne's catalogue. The two Manet paintings were Port de Calais (R. & W. No. 174) and Les Courses au Bois de Boulogne (R. & W. No. 184); the

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picture by Monet was Les Rochers de Belle-Île (W. No. 1111).

25. According to the Wildenstein Monet catalogue, these were: Rue sous la neige, Argenteuil (W. No. 352); Bateaux à Argenteuil (W. No. 372); and Pommiers près de Vêtheuil (W. No. 488).

26. On November 20, 1894, the Galerie Durand-Ruel records show that the following paintings were sold to Harris Whittemore: Pissarro's Vue de Pontoise; Brown's Amazone; and Monet's Vue de la Creuse (W. No. 1224), formerly a Potter Palmer picture.

27. At this same time (January 1894), Durand-Ruel's ledger indicates that Mr. Whittemore also purchased a drawing (probably B. No. 817) and an etching by Mary Cassatt.

28. Mary Cassatt to Harris Whittemore, February 15, 1894, Archives of American Art. Cassatt's painting was shipped to Durand-Ruel's New York gallery in early February 1894.

29. Second part of February 15, 1894, letter from Mary Cassatt to Harris Whittemore. The Rumanian-born Georges de Bellio died suddenly on January 26, 1894. The Impressionist artists severely felt the loss of their friend and early patron, who had often selected works which seemed the most unsalable. Contrary to what Mary Cassatt predicted, there was no public auction of de Bellio's collection. Instead, some of his pictures were sold privately and many were later bequeathed by his daughter to the Musée Marmottan in Paris (including Monet's An Impressionism). On de Bellio, see R. Niculescu, "Georges de Bellio, l'ami des impressionnistes," Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art, vol. 1, 1964.

30. The Whittemores were not related to the Popes but Harris Whittemore's father, John Howard Whittemore, and Alfred Atmore Pope were close business associates for many years and the two families were very friendly. This information was written to Frederick Sweet on January 25, 1955, by Harris Whittemore, Jr.; the letter is among the Frederick Sweet Papers, Archives of American Art.

31. Mr. Pope paid the record price of $3,240 for two of these Monets: Pointes de rochers à Belle-Île (W. No. 1102) and Les Meules effet de gelée blanche (W. No. 1215). See Rewald, "Theo Van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists," p. 43 and the ledgers.

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32. From Durand-Ruel, Mr. Pope bought Monet's Champs d'avoine et coquelicots (W. No. 1257); from Boussod, Valadon, he acquired the artist's Meules, grand soleil (W. No. 1267).

33. Alfred Pope's two loans were listed in the catalogue of the club's Monet show as the following: Cat. No. 57, The Oatfield (W. No. 1257), and Cat. No. 58, Hoar-Frost--Morning Sun (W. No. 1215); the latter is still part of the Pope collection at the Hill-Stead Museum in Farmington.

34. These two Monet paintings were Bateaux échoués à Fécamp (W. No. 645) and Meules, effet de neige (W. No. 1274). The former was returned to Durand-Ruel in 1893, perhaps in exchange for a more recent work by the artist (Route de Monte-Carlo, W. No. 850). The latter was sold back to the dealer on January 28, 1895; before the end of the month Meules, effet de neige would be purchased by the Havemeyers.

35. Mr. Pope also bought an oil painting of Jockeys by Degas (L. No. 896 bis), but the date of purchase is not known.

36. Rewald, "Theo Van Gogh, Goupil, and the Impressionists," the ledgers.

37. See chap. I, p. 24, and n. 34, p. 32; and chap. VIII, p. 183, and n. 39, p. 197.

38. In 1893 the dealer Ambroise Vollard (who also dealt with Boussod, Valadon, beginning that year) opened his own small shop on the rue Laffitte, where, in 1895, he would hold the first one-man show of Cézanne.

39. Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, p. 353. Obviously Pissarro had no idea that the previous year this same American had purchased one of his works from Boussod, Valadon, who had not informed the long-suffering artist of the sale, as Theo van Gogh no doubt would have done had he been alive. On the other hand, the gallery was under no obligation to keep Pissarro up to date on their transactions, once the painter had been paid in full for any pictures purchased from him for their inventory.

40. Monet's marine (Bateaux de pêche en mer, W. No. 126) is today in the Hill-Stead Museum in Farmington, Conn.

41. Catalogue of the Cleveland Art Loan Exhibition (Cleve-

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land, 1894). Mr. Pope also lent a fourth painting to this show, Monticelli's Ball of Fire (Cat. No. 42).

42. See the catalogue of The First Exhibition of the Cleveland Art Association (Cleveland: Cleveland Printing & Publishing Co., 1895).

43. On occasion L. Crist Delmonico was a client of Durand-Ruel's, as was the case in August 1891, when he purchased two paintings by Renoir.

44. See "Things of the Time," The Collector 5 (January 15, 1894):85-86.

45. See chap. II, p. 47. and n. 28, p. 50. In 1888 Inglis had purchased among others Manet's Combat de taureaux (R. & W. No. 108) for $435 at auction, the very painting that Henry Thomas Chapman had bought from the first Impressionist exhibition organized by Durand-Ruel in New York. At the same auction of 1888, In the Woods by Pissarro went for $15 (Cat. No. 11) and a picture by Monet for $250 (Cat. No. 21, The Seine at Vernon). Durand-Ruel was the consignor of these works. See the annotated sale catalogue, Modern Paintings: Worthy Examples of Foreign and Native Art comprising Two Private Collectors and Contributions from Two Well-Known Dealers (New York: The American Art Association, February 21-23, 1888), at the Frick Art Reference Library. In 1892 Inglis obtained Degas's Danseuses from Erwin Davis; early in 1893 he acquired from Durand-Ruel another Manet, Le Torero mort (R. & W. No. 72), which he subsequently sent to the Loan Collection at the Chicago World's Fair.

46. The auction to settle the estate of his late partner, R. Austin Robertson, also included paintings and sculptures from James Sutton's private holdings. Sutton apparently took advantage of the occasion to unload works that no longer interested him, such as Barye bronzes and watercolors, as well as paintings by Rousseau, Diaz, Dupré, Corot, Decamps, Millet, and Delacroix.

47. Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, p. 309; letter of September 15, 1894. The figure of 120 paintings by Monet seems somewhat exaggerated.

48. After Sutton's withdrawal, the American Art Association became exclusively an auction house managed by Thomas E. Kirby.

49. New York Times, November 3, 1894, p. 4.

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CHAPTER X

A CRISIS FOLLOWED BY NUMEROUS ACQUISITIONS (1894-95)

During 1894 Harry Havemeyer was again deeply embroiled in business entanglements. He had been accused of trying to influence Congressional legislation through substantial campaign contributions to gain benefits for his American Sugar Refining Company. On June 12, Mr. Havemeyer went to Washington, where he was examined by a Committee of senators, appointed as special investigators of the Sugar Trust. Although he admitted to having frequently lobbied on behalf of his interests, he insisted that the methods he employed were well within his rights. He frankly told the committee members that it was the custom of American trusts, corporations, and wealthy individuals to periodically contribute large amounts for the "politics of business," and that in state campaigns the common practice was to give to the dominant party.[1] Nevertheless, one of the senators requested additional data on all money, national and local, that had been donated by the American Sugar Refining Company in every state during 1892 and 1893. Mr. Havemeyer asked to consult his counsel before furnishing this information, but when he next appeared before the

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committee he declined to submit his company's books for examination and to answer any further questions. As a result, the case was sent to the Grand Jury of the Criminal Court of the District of Columbia, which, in October, issued an indictment against Henry O. Havemeyer, President, and John E. Searles, Secretary, of the Sugar Trust.[2] In addition to the accusation of donating large sums of money with strings attached to election campaign committees, the indictments clearly stated what the Grand Jury contended was the motivation behind such gifts:

> The Grand Jury . . . finds that, on February 1, 1894, and for three years prior thereto, the refining company had been extensively engaged in the business of refining sugars, and, by reason of the act of 1890, had been able to fix a price of sugar for the higher grades; that its stock became of a value largely in excess of its par value, and so continued to be until certain legislation was proposed in the House of Representatives, which, if enacted into law, would destroy the ability of the corporation to control the product and greatly reduce the value of its stock. The indictments tell of the passage of the bill in the House, its transmission to the Senate and reference to the Finance Committee, and declares that, as the bill passed the House, it would be greatly to the disadvantage of the corporation and lessen its profits and that its stock was greatly impaired in value for the time being. . . .[3]

Mr. Havemeyer certainly had his hands full, yet his public attitude toward the charges was that the entire procedure did not warrant his personal involvement. According to the New York Times:

> Messrs. Havemeyer and Searles showed little concern yesterday when informed of the indictment. At the office of the Sugar Trust the affair was regarded as a matter for levity not unmixed with contempt. The indicted persons and all associated with them have

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> looked upon proceedings in the Washington courts as not worth serious attention. They rely upon the attorneys of the trust to take care of the trials, and the cost attached will be counted in as one of the unavoidable incidents of business prominence. Mr. Searles said he saw no occasion for speaking at all of the affair, and did not expect to be led into a discussion of it at any time. 4

Yet behind the scenes Harry Havemeyer must have been slightly more uneasy than he publicly admitted; the charges against him were hardly of a trifling nature. Fortunately for him, those were the days when big business was omnipotent, as it would remain until the "muckraking" policies of President Theodore Roosevelt. During the nineties, government officials were usually thwarted in any efforts to regulate corporate abuses; they lacked the power to control or supervise the corrupt activities of the magnates who continuously succeeded in obtaining immunity from serious prosecution.

Although Mr. Havemeyer's indictment had been sensational enough to be published on the front page of the New York Times, the President of the Sugar Trust would not be brought to court until May 1897. In the meantime his counsel was able to keep postponing the trial by pleading a variety of excuses, among them illness and other engagements. The strategy behind postponement was that public indignation would subside with the passage of time.

As though these legal problems were not enough, there were other complications. In February 1894, Louisine Havemeyer suffered a severe scalp wound as a result of a colli-

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sion between two sleighs. The New York Tribune reported the accident:

> Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer were driving along upper Seventh Ave., near One-hundred-and-twenty-sixth-st., about 5 o'clock, when a horse and sleigh without a driver whirled wildly round the corner into the avenue. Before Mr. Havemeyer could pull out of the way the horse crashed into his sleigh. Mrs. Havemeyer was thrown into the roadway on a heap of frozen snow. Blood trickled down her face. Mr. Havemeyer, holding on to the reins, was dragged half a block before he could get control of his frightened horses. . . . Dr. Robert Weir and Dr. Polk were called in to attend Mrs. Havemeyer, who, in addition to the scalp wound, had sustained a severe shock to her nervous system. Mr. Havemeyer had escaped without a scratch. 5

Before his troubles erupted, Mr. Havemeyer had started the year with a step that was truly bold in comparison to his former relatively conservative acquisition policy. On January 16, 1894, he purchased from Durand-Ruel three paintings by Claude Monet: Marée montante à Pourville (W. No. 740, Fig. 58), Matin sur la Seine à Giverny (W. No. 1365, Fig. 59), and Meules, effet d'hiver (W. No. 1279, formerly in the Potter Palmer collection, Fig. 60).[6] These were the first pictures by the artist acquired jointly by Mr. and Mrs. Havemeyer, since the only Monet painting they owned until then had been bought by Louisine before her marriage. On the same day and from the same source, they also obtained: Sisley's Bords de la Seine, près de l'Île de Saint-Denis (D. No. 48); Manet's Le Bal de l'Opéra (R. & W. No. 216, Fig. 61); three works by Degas (two landscape pastels and one drawing of dancers); and a colored print by Mary Cassatt, The Banjo Lesson.[7] These were most likely

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Louisine's selections, reflecting her taste, whereas her husband, not yet totally comfortable with her more radical choices, picked Delacroix's Christ on the Lake of Gennesaret (Fig. 62) and Corot's L'Italienne (R. No. 2147, Fig. 63).[8]

Mrs. Havemeyer was then, and would remain, particularly fascinated by Manet's large painting of a masked ball, even though her opinion was not widely shared, as she later recalled: "I hung Le Bal de l'Opéra in my gallery for a time, but I found that there were many of Puck's foolish mortals still posing as art amateurs in America. I took it down and hung it in my own apartment, where I have studied and enjoyed it, hour after hour, year after year, until I have learned to consider it one of Manet's best if not his greatest work."[9] Both Havemeyers liked their landscape pastels by Degas well enough to acquire three more the following month. The only other painting by an Impressionist purchased by the Havemeyers during 1894 was Cassatt's La Famille (Fig. 64), which had been returned to Durand-Ruel by Alfred Pope.[10] Doubtless influenced by the rising reputation of the Impressionists, Mr. Havemeyer was just beginning to get seriously interested, when he was interrupted by his legal concerns.

But the next year Harry Havemeyer was able to devote more time to his collection. By then French Impressionism had gained a more solid position in the American art world.

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Within the first four months of 1895, New York witnessed a series of important one-man exhibitions, all of which received a generally favorable response. A contributing factor to the sudden outbreak of international shows was the abolition of the 15 percent duty on imported works of art. The National Free Art League, composed of more than one thousand artists as well as hundreds of others interested in the arts, had done much effective campaigning to drum up public support for the free-art clause in the current tariff bill. In a letter to the press of January 1, 1894, the League members had forcefully stated: "American artists think it of importance to the Nation that, as in other civilized countries, works of art should be invited to, and not repelled from, our shores, on account of their educational value for our people in general and especially for our artists and artisans. . . . The era of the World's Columbian Exposition should be marked in America by the complete abolition of our obstructive and unenlightened tax upon the importation of works of art. . . ."[11] By the spring of 1894 (though only till 1897), Congress finally placed foreign paintings, sculptures, and watercolors on the free lists, while the then most popular art forms--photographs, prints, and engravings--remained subject to import taxes.[12]

It was no mere coincidence that the Impressionist movement was to win both public recognition and H. O. Have-

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meyer's personal sanction at precisely the same time. Previously he could not have been counted among the small but avid band of American patrons who were the earliest collectors of French avant-garde art. By inclination Mr. Havemeyer was drawn to old masters, Dutch genre scenes, Barbizon landscapes, and certain Romantic painters rather than to the more delicate, evanescent canvases of the Impressionists. He probably would have remained within the limits of that conservative taste had it not been for the persistent endeavors of his wife. But even Louisine was not able to get him involved in the new French movement before he was thoroughly convinced that he would not be throwing his money away. Until events in America and abroad indicated that these artists had carved out a relatively respectable place for themselves, Mr. Havemeyer remained aloof. An occurrence that helped bring about his change of attitude may have been the news--widely reported in the American press--that with the Caillebotte bequest a number of Impressionist works were entering the hallowed halls of the Luxembourg Museum in Paris.[13] In any case, during the first half of 1895 Harry Havemeyer was relentlessly bombarded with Impressionist propaganda, both at home and on the New York scene. At long last, he was ready to succumb!

January 1895 was the month of Monet. The Durand-Ruel galleries featured a retrospective of forty of his landscapes. The New York Times marveled at the vast scope of

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Monet's influence:

> Scoffed, jeered, and laughed at in his earlier days, he has lived to witness a genuine triumph, to see his methods approved, his work imitated, and his pictures sold at substantial figures. There is scarce an exhibition in the last few years but shows in a dozen or more pictures his directing agency; from the greatest of his contemporaries to the humblest student in the schools, few there are who have hesitated to take from him some hint or suggestion. 14

But the Times's critic still felt that Monet's choice of subject was often "unfortunate," and this opinion was shared by the reviewer of The Art Amateur, who found some of Monet's landscapes quite monotonous.[15] Yet the critical consensus was that the show was of "uncommon interest"[16] and furnished material for much reflection.

In this instance the Havemeyers were not only viewers, but buyers as well. On January 12, the opening day of the exhibition, they purchased Les Quatres Arbres (W. No. 1308, Fig. 65); Meules, effet de neige (W. No. 1274, Fig. 66) was acquired before the end of that same month. This particular scene of haystacks in the snow had initially belonged to Potter Palmer, who had returned it to Durand-Ruel early in 1892. During the first half of that year the dealer had sold it to Alfred Pope,[17] who had probably lent the work to Durand-Ruel's January 1895 exhibition with the intention of selling it. The practice of buying and returning paintings was common among American collectors, though from the very beginning, once a work had entered the Havemeyer collection, it rarely was exchanged or sold.[18]

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From late February through March 16, there was an exhibition of some 150 oils, pastels, lithographs, etchings, and drawing by Jean François Raffaëlli at the American Art Galleries on Madison Square.[19] The often anecdotal subject matter of this artist was greatly appealing to the New York public, who much preferred his diluted form of Impressionism. Whereas Monet had been criticized for his sterile subjects, Raffaëlli was highly praised: "He is a painter of actual life, and in particular of action and character, the two elements by which principally art may suggest a story. The outer life of Paris, its streets, suburbs, cafés, and theatres, has been his especial study, and no one has succeeded so well in rendering the atmosphere of the great city, its hurry and bustle, and the varied types of humanity that constitute its population. . . ."[20]

Before the exhibition opened, Raffaëlli himself arrived in New York to give lectures and interviews, and thus became the art world's reigning hero for that season. He was cordially received by some American painters; Theodore Robinson mentioned in his diary that he went to dinner at J. Alden Weir's in order to meet the Frenchman. Raffaëlli also visited certain collectors, among whom were the Havemeyers; he was particularly impressed by their Tiffany/Colman-designed interiors. The artist expressed his admiration in an interview he gave to an American newspaper correspondent upon his return to Paris:

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> What are these attempts [at the decoration of his own house and studio] by the side of what has been accomplished in Mr. Havemeyer's palace in New York? There the furniture also has been considered and has its individual form. Taken altogether it forms an abode in the most perfect taste, doing honor to the owner and to the artist who created those things. It will certainly be imitated and perhaps will be the starting point for a decorative style in which our own individuality will have a part, instead of manifesting itself, as is the case with us here, by the owners going so far as to prefer the Louis XVI style to the Louis XIV for his bedroom, or the Louis XIII, to the Henry II for his dining room. 21

Raffaëlli's presence in conjunction with his vast exhibition received infinitely more publicity and had a greater impact on the American art scene than did either the Monet or Manet shows mounted by Durand-Ruel during that same period. But for a select few, such as the Havemeyers, the much smaller Manet exhibition held from the second week in March until the end of the month was by far more interesting and important. Durand-Ruel had assembled twenty-eight canvases, some borrowed from French collectors, which ranged in date from 1862 to shortly before the artist's death.[22] Almost a decade earlier, just prior to the opening of Durand-Ruel's 1886 New York exhibition, the critic Theodore Child (Paris correspondent for The Art Amateur) had referred to Manet as the leader of the "modern French school of art" in an article called "The King of the Impressionists."[23] But with the advent of Durand-Ruel's revolutionary show, Monet totally eclipsed Manet in the eyes of the American art-conscious public, for whom Monet almost came to represent the entire Impressionist movement.[24]

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Child's 1886 article had been sympathetic not only to the art of Manet, but also to that of his Impressionist colleagues, yet nine years later, at the time of Manet's first one-man exhibition in America, the critics were somewhat puzzled. Generally they did not like the work, yet felt compelled to acknowledge its far-reaching significance:

> The pictures possess few charms of color, and neither in composition nor in choice of subject do they particularly appeal. They mark, however, an important departure, and one that has had a wonderful influence on the work of modern men, traces of which may be seen in all the exhibitions for the last thirty years or more. The many pictures gathered together here form a curiously interesting study of the work of an unusual man, a man who, chafing under the restraints of academic traditions, had the courage to break away completely, and with few to understand him, to strike out in new directions. 25

It seems that Manet was admired more for his fortitude than for his artistic prowess:

> The weakness of Manet, as I view it, was that he did not, like Velasquez, build upon his impression, but was content to allow it to remain in its first stage. Yet this weakness was also his strength, for painting what he did and as he did, whatever there was strong in him came out in the full flush of power while his spirit was fresh and its hold hot upon him, and he did not weaken it by attempts at future polish. He was no compromiser. He believed in himself and in his idea of art, and under an avalanche of derision and abuse he carried out his theories. . . . 26

But there were also critics who, while recognizing some of Manet's qualities, found it hard to forgive him for the fact that his work was uneven and that certain of his paintings were, as they put it, "almost childish in their naiveté, dirty in color, and unattractive to the verge of being almost repulsive."[27]

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Fortunately, Mrs. Havemeyer did not have to depend on such comments to convince her husband of the artist's merits. Mr. Havemeyer had grown very fond of the still life by Manet purchased in 1886 at his wife's behest; he had even agreed to show this picture,[28] as well as their newest Manet, Le Bal de l'Opéra (both lent anonymously), at Durand-Ruel's exhibition.[29] On this occasion the Havemeyers acquired another work by the artist: Le Grand Canal à Venise (R. & W. No. 231, Fig. 67). It was this very canvas that would one day inspire Louisine to respond with her bon mot to a guest, who asked if she would not rather have a string of pearls instead of a picture: "'No,' I said hastily, 'I prefer to have something made by a man than to have something made by an oyster.' If it was a good rejoinder, I take no credit for it; it was my Blue Venice that fairly put the words into my mouth."[30]

Manet's Le Grand Canal à Venise was very much a crowd-pleaser and had been singled out by several of the reviewers as being one of the most attractive pictures in the exhibition. Theodore Robinson mentioned in his diary entry for March 14: "The Manets at Durand-Ruel are interesting--some of the landscapes--gardens are surprisingly true--and a Venetian thing, poles, blue and white, reflected in the water. . . ." Among the painter's admirers was Mary Cassatt, who, according to Louisine, "congratulated us when we bought this picture saying she considered it one of

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Manet's most brilliant works; it was so full of light and atmosphere and expressed the very soul and spirit of Venice."[31] There were three other paintings in the show which would eventually end up in the Havemeyers' possession: Le Chemin de fer (R. & W. No. 207), Torero saluant (R. & W. No. 111), and Le Christ aux anges (R. & W. No. 74), particularly praised for its "grave and reverent feeling."[32]

The last in the series of exhibitions held in New York early in 1895 was devoted to Mary Cassatt. Since 1873, when she had sent three of her pictures to the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition,[33] examples of her work had only been seen sporadically by her countrymen, whenever they were included in group manifestations in New York, Philadelphia, or Boston.[34] In 1893 the display of her mural in the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair had not enhanced her American reputation, her large-scale decoration being generally thought of as "ill-considered."[35] Thus she was especially anxious for the opportunity to have a substantial showing of her work in New York. From April 16 to April 30, 1895, the Durand-Ruels presented an assortment of sixty-four of her paintings, pastels, and drypoints dating from 1878 to her latest efforts.[36]

Among the most sympathetic reviews was the notice in The Art Amateur, which credited Mary Cassatt with being one of the best known living women painters, who, although "deeply influenced by Manet and Degas has developed a

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highly personal manner of her own."[37] The critic went on to praise both her early and recent production and singled out for special commendation her series of drypoints, which, "next to Whistler's paintings are the most distinguished work visibly affected by Japanese art."[38] Other reviewers were harsher with the artist than they had been with some of her French colleagues. In the New York Times her latest pictures bore the brunt of the attack:

> The work here shown is quite uneven, though rarely, if ever, uninteresting, and it is confined principally to portrait studies out of doors of women and children. The mother and child seem to have had peculiar fascination for this artist, and have afforded her the theme for many canvases. In her earlier studies there seems to be a greater harmony of color and a softer envelopment of atmosphere, which is lacking in the more recent work. These last are frequently hard, crude, and have a tendency toward the brutal. Inharmonious masses of uncomplimentary color are brought side by side and shock the eye. A rude strength, at times out of keeping with the subject, is noticeable, and takes away in a measure from the charm of femininity. 39

It seems that some commentators resented the fact that Mary Cassatt painted with the forcefulness and power of a man. They were not used to such a high level of proficiency and originality from a woman and expected her studies of mothers and children to be sentimental, an approach that Cassatt managed to avoid. Alfred Trumble of The Collector was one of those who found the absence of "feminine delicacy" in her paintings regrettable: ". . . that I do not agree with Miss Cassatt in viewing the antithesis of merely pretty art as the only cogent protest against artificiality and conventionalism, is because I

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believe that while beauty and grace of line are not to be found in nature, they are to be preferred to coarser and less lovely themes."[40] Yet Trumble did manage to see some merit to her art, in spite of himself:

> But I like to look at Miss Cassatt's works, all the same, for those individual qualities which no defects or weaknesses of the motives to which they are applied can hide. To praise her as lavishly and unreservedly as her admirers do, is not in me, but to deride her, as others have done, is equally impossible. She exercises her right to express herself in her own way. That her way is not the best way I firmly believe, and I believe also that this will be the verdict of posterity. 41

Surprisingly, even Theodore Robinson was not overly receptive to Cassatt's pictures, as shown in his diary entry of April 17: "At Durand-Ruels--exhibition of Miss Mary Cassatt--some studies of babies--a bit hard but amusing--souvenirs of Botticelli in the treatment of heads and decorative gowns but one misses a little the note juste, the saving integrity seen in a good Monet or Degas."

Mary Cassatt was bitterly disappointed by the lack of appreciation for her work from her compatriots.[42] Her second one-woman show at Durand-Ruel's Paris gallery, in 1893, had received infinitely more critical attention and praise, as well as having earned for her the increased esteem of fellow artists, such as Degas and Pissarro. In France she was now considered one of America's most distinguished painters; in her own country she was relatively neglected, except by a tiny group of loyal supporters, none of whom was more enthusiastic than Louisine Havemeyer. The Have-

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meyers acquired two works by Cassatt in 1895: Mother and Child (B. No. 151, Fig. 68) and a pastel, Baby's First Caress (B. No. 189, Fig. 69), both of which may have been included in Cassatt's April exhibition, since they had been bought by Durand-Ruel's New York branch on March 13, 1895.

During the same month of April, the Havemeyers added two more Monet paintings to their rapidly expanding collection, but in this case their source was not Durand-Ruel. On April 25 and following days, the American Art Association held yet another liquidation sale; this time their joint property, acquired since the fall of 1892, was being sold on account of James Sutton's withdrawal as an active partner. In addition to many Impressionist canvases, there were examples from the Flemish, English, Barbizon, and American schools, plus a large assortment of rugs, brass, furniture, silver, etc.[43] The Association's auction was considered the most notable one to take place in New York that spring, and succeeded in attracting buyers from many other cities. Montague Marks gave an account of some of the results:

> The modern pictures, with few exceptions, sold at low prices. Mr. H. O. Havemeyer got the two finest Monets--the exquisite Vue de Rouen [W. No. 217, Fig. 70] for $2600 and Melting Ice [W. No. 568, Fig. 71] for $4250. Nearly all the other "impressionist" pictures were knocked down to Mr. Durand-Ruel at prices so absurdly low that it would seem as if an understanding existed between him and some of the other dealers. Mr. Montaignac, who used to be the Paris agent of the American Art Association, made several purchases, but I understand that they were for himself, he having severed his former relations with the New York art firm. 44

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It is interesting to note that, while the prices for the Impressionists were still thought to be low, the value of important Monet paintings had risen substantially.

Although the Havemeyers had been able to secure more than half a dozen important works by Manet and the Impressionists in New York during the first four months of 1895, Harry Havemeyer's collecting instincts were further aroused by a trip to Europe. On June 6 Louisine and Harry sailed for London on the Teutonic; they were accompanied by their three children and Mr. and Mrs. Peters (Louisine's younger sister and her husband). Almost immediately upon their arrival, there was a sale at Christie's of an important group of English paintings from the estate of James Price. Nearly all the pictures had been bought originally from the well-known dealers Messrs. Agnew & Son. It was with Mr. Agnew that Harry Havemeyer left his bid for Lot No. 70--Lady Mulgrave, a celebrated portrait by Gainsborough--giving him a limit of £10,000. Mr. Havemeyer was furious when he learned that he had lost the painting to a Mr. Campbell, supposedly the agent for Cornelius Vanderbilt, at £10,500.[45] He blamed Mr. Agnew for having let this splendid portrait get away. Once Harry Havemeyer had decided he wanted to possess a certain picture, he sorely resented anyone coming between him and the coveted work. He never forgave Mr. Agnew for this particular mishap and avoided any further business dealings with his firm.

Fortunately for all concerned, the Durand-Ruels were better able to handle their volatile client. In July, the

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Havemeyers stopped in Paris for only a couple of days before proceeding to Switzerland. While in Paris, Mr. Havemeyer saw some objects which interested him, but left the negotiations in the hands of Paul Durand-Ruel, who wrote to him in Basel on July 18:

> J'ai vu ce matin M. Gavet; il m'a donné ses derniers prix pour les différentes choses que vous avez remarquées chez lui et m'affirme qu'il ne peut pas les laisser à moins. Voici les prix:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | La grande tapisserie | 190,000 |
> | Le marbre de Mino de Fiesole | 120,000 |
> | La vitrine des faïences italiennes | 160,000 |
> | La vitrine des plaquettes | 22,000 |
> | Le meuble en ébène italien | 16,000 |
> | Le portrait de François ler | 25,000 |
>
> Il me dit que si vous preniez 4 ou 5 objects, il consentirait une légère dimunition sur l'ensemble, mais que si vous ne prenez qu'un objet, il ne peut rien rabattre. Je lui ai dit que je lui conseillais fortement de vous tenter par une très forte réduction sur le marbre et que je croyais qu'à 100,000f. vous le prendriez de suite que cet achat, vous engerait sans doute à lui prendre autre chose. Je n'ai pas fait d'offre ferme.
>
> Veuillez me faire savoir si je puis aller un peu plus loin. Il est certain que le marbre est superbe et que des offres sérieuses lui ont été faites pour des musées. 46

The experienced dealer made it a policy to always check with Mr. Havemeyer before making any commitments on his behalf, as well as to carefully execute his orders, as evidenced in this same letter: "J'ai pu obtenir une réduction de 1000f. sur l'aquarelle de Millet 'La faneuse' dont le prix ressort par conséquent à 7,000f; je l'ai donc acheté, suivant en cela vos instructions."[47] It is not surprising, therefore, that the Durand-Ruels managed to satisfy Harry Havemeyer and to keep him as one of their

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very best clients (if not the best) until the end of his days. In late August 1895, after traveling the continent, the Havemeyers returned for a longer stay in Paris. On August 27, they purchased Manet's Dante et Virgile aux enfers (R. & W. No. 3, Fig. 72) from Paul Durand-Ruel, who himself had just acquired the painting from the recently established Amboise Vollard.

While her husband was occupied with business matters, Louisine must have reserved some of her time for Mary Cassatt. No doubt she took her children to visit the artist at the Château de Beaufresne; Cassatt used the occasion to do a pastel portrait of Louisine and little Electra, who had just celebrated her seventh birthday (B. No. 248).[48] It was most likely during this same period that Cassatt also executed her pastel Portrait of Adaline Havemeyer (B. No. 256, Fig. 73), since the work has the date 1895 in its upper right corner beneath the signature.[49]

Louisine did not find her friend in the best of form. Mary's mother, long bed-ridden, had been critically ill during the past few months, which meant that the artist had to devote herself exclusively to nursing the invalid, often for weeks at a time. Illness and worry had taken their toll on both, as Mary Cassatt had expressed in a letter dated April 26, 1895, to her painter-friend from Boston, Miss Rose Lamb:[50] ". . . she [Mrs. Cassatt] says to tell you that the woman you knew as my Mother is no more

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that only a poor creature is left! Which proves that her head is not quite so affected as she thinks, But there is no doubt that her head _is_ affected & the depression is at times very great. In fact life seems very dark to me just now. . . ."[51] Cassatt had also been depressed by her shattered hopes for the success of her first one-woman exhibition in New York. The mere presence of Louisine with her calm and cheerful disposition, together with her three lively children, must have provided a welcome relief to the hushed, often gloomy silence Mary Cassatt had been forced to endure.

Meanwhile Mr. Havemeyer and the Durand-Ruels had been busy lining up paintings that were to be submitted to Louisine. On September 19, the Havemeyers made no fewer than eleven acquisitions; these consisted of six works by Degas and one each by Corot, Daumier, Millet, Courbet, and Manet. Mr. Havemeyer's patronage was justly rewarded by the dealer, as recalled by Louisine many years later in her _Memoirs_:

> During a visit to Europe, Durand-Ruel allowed Mr. Havemeyer to select a number of pictures from his private collection. It was this privilege which placed several of Degas's finest works in our collection. One is called _L'Attente_ [L. No. 698, Fig. 74). A ballet girl, waiting to be called, is seated upon a bench and is leaning down to tie her sandal; by her side is another figure, probably her mother. The latter is poorly dressed and is also leaning forward, upon an umbrella, which she holds in her hand in a difficult position. It is rather somber in tone and subject, but is the perfection of art in every detail.
>
> There were two others, also pastels, rather high and narrow, perhaps suggested by the Japanese pillar

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> prints which had reached Paris in those days. One represents a ballet girl in a very difficult pose: resting lightly on one foot she extends the other as she throws her body forward and her gossamer green draperies float around her, describing circles that might suggest an Egyptian bas-relief, and yet fleecy and light, expressive of the movement that lightly threw them up [L. No. 591, Fig. 75]; the wonderful envelopment of air gives them such buoyancy that one stands entranced at the marvelous skill that could produce such an effect and at the wonderful eye that could thrill you with such a piece of color. The pendant is a ballet girl in yellow [L. No. 483, Fig. 76]. I do not think it so fine nor so interesting as the other. 52

In addition there were three more works by Degas: a charcoal and pastel drawing, Le Bain (L. No. 1406), which had been bought by the Durand-Ruels at an auction on May 30 of that same year; and two pastels, one of dancers, and yet another landscape. As for the rest of their purchases, made that very day, there was the watercolor by Millet (La Faneuse, present whereabouts unknown) that Durand-Ruel had written to Mr. Havemeyer about on July 18, and Daumier's wash drawing L'Amateur (Fig. 77). In addition they bought three important paintings: Manet's En bateau (R. & W. No. 223, Fig. 78), Courbet's Cerf et biche (F. No. 489, Fig. 79), and Corot's Portrait de Mlle. Dobigny (R. No. 1995, Fig. 80).[53]

Harry Havemeyer had definitely been a slow starter, but now he was making up for lost time. In the next few years, he and his wife, aided by Mary Cassatt and Durand-Ruel, would become the most active collectors of modern French art in America. Having for so long taken a second seat to such of his fellow countrymen as Potter Palmer,

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Albert Spencer, Harris Whittemore, Alfred Pope, and others, Mr. Havemeyer seemed to have suddenly developed an interest in some of the very painters that until recently he had felt were only a passing fad. Louisine, of course, was delighted by this turn of events. She had always been confident that in due time her husband would appreciate the artists in whom she herself had faithfully believed for many years; now she was being more than compensated for her patience.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER X

1. See the New York Tribune, June 13, 1894, p. 4.

2. See the New York Tribune, October 1, 1894, p. 1.

3. New York Times, October 3, 1894, p. 4.

4. New York Times, October 2, 1894, p. 1.

5. New York Tribune, February 18, 1894, p. 7.

6. Potter Palmer had returned this picture to Durand-Ruel in January 1893. See Theodore Robinson's diary entry for January 23, 1893, where he mentions that Mr. Palmer has just "disposed of a few of his Monets he liked the least," quoted in chap. VIII, p. 184.

7. See Adelyn Breeskin, The Graphic Work of Mary Cassatt (New York: H. Bittner & Co., 1948), No. 156.

8. Since on January 16, 1894, the Havemeyers also returned a still life by Courbet (F. No. 768), they must have applied this credit toward their new acquisitions.

9. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 220. According to Mrs. Havemeyer, their purchase of Manet's Le Bal de l'Opéra caused somewhat of a touchy incident with Count Isaac de Camondo, who also desired the picture. There is certainly a possibility that Camondo was at one time interested in this work; however, it does not seem likely that the Durand-Ruels would have shipped the painting to New York had an important French collector still been considering it. For more on Count Camondo, see chap. XII, n. 41, p. 316.

10. See chap. IX, pp. 211-12.

11. New York Times, January 1, 1894, p. 9.

12. See the New York Times, May 13, 1894, p. 4.

13. In 1893 the painter Gustave Caillebotte had died and left his collection of sixty-five paintings by his Impressionist colleagues to the French government. Although Caillebotte's will had specifically stated that his collection as a whole had to enter the Luxembourg Museum, after an avalanche of protest from all sides, including academic painters, critics, and poli-

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ticians, the State did not dare to accept the entire bequest, but finally compromised by taking only a representative portion. However, in America, the very fact that there would be a substantial increase in the number of Impressionist works in the Luxembourg, whereas previously there had been only three, was interpreted as a "boom" for the international market in Impressionist pictures. In general the American art world was more open-minded concerning the Caillebotte bequest, as evidenced by The Collector:

> "Those French artists who have formally protested against the reception by the State of the legacy of the painter Caillebotte . . . have . . . been guilty not only of a very undignified act, but of an act of bad policy for themselves. Because they do not find impressionistic art savory is no reason for their denying it the right to existence. Art, afterall, is the expression of personal feeling, and we have got beyond the time when we can arbitrarily restrict free speech, whether by pen, brush or word of mouth. There can be no question but that impressionism or open-air-ism, or whatever one may choose to call it else, is an actual artistic development of the time, and it cannot be excluded from the records without creating a serious break in their sequence. The merits of the case will be settled in due time, and settled all the sooner by contrast and comparison of the contested art and that which claims to be the only legitimate."

"Things That Were and Are," The Collector 5 (June 1, 1894):229.

14. New York Times, January 14, 1894, p. 4.

15. See "The Monet Exhibition," The Art Amateur 32 (February 1895):77.

16. See Alfred Trumble, "Footnotes of a Fortnight," The Collector 6 (January 15, 1895):90.

17. See chap. IX, n. 34, p. 220.

18. There were of course exceptions, such as the still life by Courbet (see n. 8); Manet's Le Déjeuner dans l'atelier (see n. 28); and Renoir's pastel, Jeune fille lisant, which would be returned to Durand-Ruel by Louisine Havemeyer in 1908 (see chap. V, p. 113, and n. 30, pp. 120-21).

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19. See the New York Times, March 4, 1895, p. 4.

20. "Exhibition of the Work of Raffaëlli," The Art Amateur 32 (April 1895):135.

21. "Raffaëlli on American Art," The Collector 6 (September 1, 1895):294-95. Raffaëlli's comments appeared originally in The Sun, August 21, 1895.

22. See the New York Times, March 12, 1895, p. 5.

23. Theodore Child, "The King of the Impressionists," The Art Amateur 14 (April 1886):101-2.

24. In a letter of July 3, 1896, Pissarro reported to his son Lucien his conversation with Raffaëlli concerning Monet's popularity in America:

    "Rencontré hier Raffaëlli qui m'a narré son voyage en Amérique, enthousiasmé! Peuple immense, grandiose, plein d'avenir. A propos du succès de l'ami Monet, il m'a dit qu'il n'y avait que lui de reconnu en Amérique. L'enthousiasme est tel qu'une dame a dit tout haut en sa présence: 'Monet est tellement grand que tous les peintres devraient faire du Monet' [sic]. Je croyais à une boutarde, il m'a assuré que c'était l'exacte vérité."

    Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien, pp. 411-12.

25. New York Times, March 17, 1895, p. 13.

26. "The Ides of March," The Collector 6 (March 15, 1895): 159-60.

27. New York Times, March 12, 1895, p. 4. In May 1895, Durand-Ruel sent close to half the Manet paintings from his New York exhibition to Chicago, where they were on view during the month of June. It is interesting to note that in December of that same year, an article appeared in the Chicago publication The Arts by H. G. Maratta, who displayed a better comprehension of Manet's work than any of his New York counterparts. See H. G. Maratta, "Impressionism as Interpreted through the Works of Manet," The Arts 4 (December 1895):169-71.

28. This is confirmed by "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 36 (February 1897):32.

29. It seems that another Havemeyer Manet, Le Déjeuner

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dans l'atelier (R. & W. No. 135), was included in Durand-Ruel's New York exhibition. Although the gallery's records do not give the exact date when this work was sold to the Havemeyers, they do show that in the fall of 1895, Durand-Ruel took it back for a credit of 35,000 francs. Apparently it was Harry Havemeyer who did not care for this picture; Louisine later confessed that she never learned his motivation for giving up Le Déjeuner dans l'atelier: "For many years [1891-95] it hung upon the walls of our gallery until one day--for some reason I never understood--Mr. Havemeyer asked me if I objected to his returning it to the Durand-Ruels. I never questioned my husband's decisions, and I acquiesced, of course. Manet's still life in the picture, and the boy with the black jacket and straw hat were lost to us forever . . ." (Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 225).

30. Ibid., p. 228.

31. Ibid., p. 226. According to Mrs. Havemeyer's recollections, Manet's Le Grand Canal à Venise was purchased for her by her husband from Durand-Ruel's private collection on the rue de Rome. She probably saw the work there between 1890 (the year Durand-Ruel bought it) and the time when it was sent to the New York gallery.

32. "The Edward [sic] Manet Exhibition," The Art Amateur 32 (April 1895):133.

33. Mary Cassatt was represented by the following three paintings in the 1873 Cincinnati Industrial Exposition: A Seville Belle (Cat. No. 160, B. No. 21); The Flirtation: A Balcony in Seville (Cat. No. 184, B. No. 18); Il Torrero (Cat. No. 250, B. No. 22). The exposition's catalogue listed her as follows: "Cassatt, Mary S. Philadelphia, now at Antwerp. Pupil of Couture and Gérôme." I am indebted for this information to Professor William Gerdts, who discovered these entries in the Catalogue of the Art Collection, Cincinnati Industrial Exposition, 1873.

34. On occasion, Mary Cassatt's paintings had received favorable notices by American critics. This was the case in 1879 when she had sent two of her canvases to the second annual exhibition of the Society of American Artists. In The Art Journal a reviewer of that show made the following comments:

> "Among the technically best pictures in the entire collection was Miss Cassatt's portrait [B. No. 128],

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> a capitally drawn figure of an agreeable-looking, middle-aged lady, with a clear skin over her well-formed features, and with soft, brown, wavy hair. It is pleasant to see how well an ordinary person dressed in an ordinary way can be made to look; and we think nobody seeing this lady reading a newspaper through her shell 'nippers' and seated so composedly in her white morning-dress, could have failed to like this well-drawn, well-lighted, well-anatomised, and well-composed painting. There was no pretence to a subtle combination of colour in it, of which in her other pictures Miss Cassatt often makes very interesting studies, and one of them is shown in The Mandolin-Player [B. No. 17] but we think there are few people, whether artists or tyros in Art, but would be glad to be so agreeably immortalised."

See S. N. Carter, "Exhibition of the Society of American Artists," The Art Journal (New York) 5 (1879):157. This review was brought to my attention by Professor William Gerdts.

35. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 32 (February 1895):76.

36. See Exposition of Paintings, Pastels, and Etchings by Miss Mary Cassatt (New York: Durand-Ruel Galleries, 1895). According to The Collector, there was a simultaneous exhibition of Mary Cassatt's work at Knoedler & Co. See The Collector 6 (April 15, 1895):202.

37. "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 32 (May 1895):158.

38. Ibid.

39. New York Times, April 18, 1895, p. 4.

40. Alfred Trumble, "May-Day Facts and Fancies," The Collector 6 (May 1, 1895):208.

41. Ibid. Trumble also stated that "the recent death of Mme. Berthe Morizot [sic] leaves Miss Mary Cassatt, as far as her sex is concerned, practically in undisputed possession of the field both have cultivated so long."

42. There was a very positive review of Mary Cassatt's first one-woman show at Durand-Ruel's New York gallery, but it did not appear until March 1896. In Scribner's Magazine, William Walton devoted eight

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pages to her works in the exhibition; he appreciated not only Cassatt's early production, but also her most recent pastels and paintings. Walton ended his article with this glowing appraisal: "An art so learned, so well-inspired as hers, which so well combines the letter and the spirit, and knows how to present the prettiest and most popular of themes in a large and comprehensive way, preserving all the tenderness and avoiding all of the little and commonplace, is sufficiently rare even in this age of over-production, and any knowledge of it is to be accounted as gain." See William Walton, "Miss Mary Cassatt," Scribner's Magazine 19 (March 1896):353-61.

43. See Dissolution Sale Catalogue: The Artistic Property Belonging to the American Art Association (New York: The American Art Association, April 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 1895).

44. Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 33 (June 1895):2. At this same sale Monet's No. 125, The Nets (W. No. 769), was bought by Durand-Ruel for $900 and shortly thereafter sold to Harris Whittemore.

45. However, as reported by The Art Amateur:

> "It may be stated, on the authority of Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt himself, that the Lady Mulgrave by Gainsborough, which was sold last summer in London at Christie's for $52,000 was not bought for him; nor does he own it. The ostensible purchaser, it may be remembered, was a Mr. Campbell, a wine merchant, who said to be acting for an American principal, who according to some of the leading art dealers in London was Mr. Vanderbilt. But is is tolerably certain that the painting is not in this country."

See Montague Marks, "My Note Book," The Art Amateur 34 (April 1896):104.

46. Mr. Havemeyer did buy the marble by Mino de Fiesole, which was shipped to New York at the end of November 1895.

47. Second half of July 18, 1895, letter from Paul Durand-Ruel to H. O. Havemeyer, addressed to the Hôtel des Trois Rois, Bale. The dealer also brought two Millet pastels to his client's attention--Berger sonnant de la trompe and a landscape--but apparently Mr. Havemeyer was not interested.

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48. The Portrait of Mrs. Havemeyer and Her Daughter Electra (B. No. 248) is signed in the upper right: Mary Cassatt/Vichy '95. Perhaps Mrs. Havemeyer and her children accompanied Mary Cassatt to the famous spa so that the latter could have an interval of much needed rest.

49. Breeskin assigns the date of 1896 to the Portrait of Adaline Havemeyer (B. No. 256) in spite of the fact that the pastel is actually dated 1895.

50. A former pupil of William Morris Hunt's, Rose Lamb painted portraits and landscapes in Boston, chiefly during the 1870s and 1880s. In the early nineties, she had visited Cassatt in France.

51. Cassatt's letter to Rose Lamb is in the Archives, Department of Prints and Drawings, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Mrs. Robert Simpson Cassatt died on October 21, 1895, at Château de Beaufresne. Since her father had passed away in 1891, Mary Cassatt was at long last free to dedicate herself to her work.

52. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, pp. 258-59.

53. It is possible that another purchase was made by the Havemeyers during their 1895 visit to Paris: a work on paper by Raffaëlli, Winter Landscape with Figure--Jean Valjean, acquired from Day et Cie.

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CHAPTER XI

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HAVEMEYER COLLECTION (1896-97)--LEGAL ENTANGLEMENTS

The steadfast persistence of Paul Durand-Ruel was yielding results; by 1896 his continuous exhibitions had acquainted a slowly expanding group of Americans with the work of the Impressionists. As Alfred Trumble of The Collector put it:

> Mr. Durand-Ruel is a standing example of the virtue of that sort of resolution known as hanging on. Once you fix your mind upon an object, never let it go. Your time may be slow in coming, but it will come. When he first came to New York [in 1886], as a visitor, with a collection of pictures, chiefly impressionistic, of the school founded by Edouard Manet, people laughed at him. Almost the only collector who had the courage to touch them was Mr. Albert Spencer--but Mr. Spencer is a man with nerve steeled in the school of chance. Now you find them everywhere--no collection is complete without its Monet, Renoir, Degas, Besnard, Pissarro. . . . [1]

It would seem that the editor of this journal had a slightly exaggerated view of the widespread popularity of the Impressionists. Although by 1896 the movement had its enthusiastic supporters, there was still a considerable amount of reactionary feeling in the air; Trumble himself harbored reservations. Paul Durand-Ruel was more realistic in his appraisal of the American art scene. When a reporter for the Paris edition of the New York Herald asked

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him in the spring of that same year whose works were currently most in demand, the dealer replied:

> That is not very easy to answer. Puvis de Chavannes always finds a ready sale. Nearly everything of his that is not painted to order passes through my hands. But, then, he is not a great producer. Degas, Claude Monet, and Renoir always command a market, too. Among those who are gone, Manet, who, like Whistler, was refused at the Salon of 1863, is readily bought. The fact is that the number of genuine amateurs is very limited, but really first-class work will always sell. I am rather particular as to what I buy, and if I were less rigorous in my choice, I should certainly have a much larger clientele than is the case at present. 2

Paul Durand-Ruel had come to realize that the very men who were willing to speculate wildly and take high risks in the world of business and finance often became conservative in the realm of art. They felt secure in purchasing examples by seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish masters, by English portraitists of the eighteenth century, or by the now well-established Barbizon landscapists. Being an astute businessman himself, Paul Durand-Ruel concluded that the best way to win their confidence in the French moderns was to display their works together with those by older masters. It was reassuring to an American client to see paintings by de Hooch, Puvis de Chavannes, and Monet hang in close proximity; it was comforting to think that the very dealer who had pushed such artists as Corot, Daubigny, Millet, and Rousseau was now urging the consideration of canvases by Degas, Pissarro, Renoir, and Cassatt.

Over the years the Durand-Ruel galleries had often

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mounted shows that represented the entire gamut of American taste, but none received more fulsome praise than the exhibition in the late fall of 1896. Alfred Trumble was carried away in his enthusiasm:

> If there has ever been, in any art dealer's establishment in New York, by which, I mean, in effect, the United States, such an aggregation and display of pictures of the first fire as the Durand-Ruel galleries now hold and make, I certainly have neither seen nor read of it in the records. The main room is in itself an exhibition; it has the aspect of a gallery in a great public museum. The center of one wall is occupied by the magnificent Vandyck, the full-length portrait of the Marquis-Marshal d'Alagri, which I have already written of. On another wall is centered the glorious "Vallée de la Tocques," of Troyon; and on another wall the Courbet masterpice "La Femme au Perroquet." That these three pictures should not belong to our Metropolitan Museum is more than a pity. Each is a representative work of its kind. I have seen very few finer Vandycks abroad. I know of no Troyon to equal this one, and the Courbet is far and away ahead of any of his pictures of the figure, not excepting those which belong to the French Government. . . . 3

After admiring his favorite paintings by the men of 1830 and those by the English school--notably Reynolds, Romney, and Hogarth--Trumble proceeded to the work of the Impressionists:

> Of examples of the most modern school of France there is never any lack in these galleries. The apostles of the gospel of light have as good a friend in M. Durand-Ruel to-day as those of the gospel of romance had years ago. It is scarcely necessary for me to say at this period of The Collector's existence, that I do not bolt their gospel whole. As far as I am concerned they ask me to swallow too much. But in spite of the extremes to which they run, there are times when their note is resonant and true. 4

Trumble's opinion was indicative of the prevailing American attitude: the Impressionists should be approached with cau-

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tion. It was too soon to know whether the work of these artists would eventually prove to be of value in the marketplace.

Most wealthy American patrons continued to invest heavily in the art of the fashionable schools and included--if at all--only a token representation of the Impressionists. Georges Sedelmeyer, another French dealer who was interviewed in 1896 by the same reporter for the Paris edition of the Herald, was asked--as Durand-Ruel had been--which pictures in his experience were most sought after by American buyers; he first mentioned the early English school and next the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century. His interview concluded as follows: "'And the impressionists, M. Sedelmeyer?' But M. Sedelmeyer was reserved, though he vaguely hinted something about impressionism being an incomplete expression."[5] Indeed, Georges Sedelmeyer was too busy selling expensive pictures to rich clients to care whether or not Impressionism was gaining ground in America. Emile Zola had provided a description of Sedelmeyer in the notes for his novel L'Oeuvre, published in 1886; this dealer's manner of operating had not changed at all during the past decade:

> Sedelmeyer.--Le dernier chic. A un hôtel, fait dans l'élégance, l'extrême chic. N'opère souvent que sur un tableau à la fois. . . . --Puis il y a le coup des Américains. Vanderbilt vient le voir. --Vous n'avez rien de nouveau?--Non, monsieur, vous voyez tout ce que j'ai, quelques tableaux (très peu, très chic, dans des appartements luxueux, en place). Puis il ajoute

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> confidentiellement: J'en ai bien un que personne n'a vu, mais il est trop cher. --Vanderbilt, vexé: "Comment, trop cher! Faites voir". Et on lui montre un tableau d'un Italien ou d'un Espagnol, nom inconnu, où grouillent des centaines de petites figures, très faites, très jolies, papillotantes. --Quelque chose pour lui, qui le ravit. --Combien?--Deux cent cinquante mille francs. --Grimace de l'Américain. --Je vous le disais bien! --Mais le soir Vanderbilt écrit pour qu'on lui envoie le tableau. L'orgeuil d'un Américain est de pouvoir dire qu'il a acheté, dans l'année, le tableau le plus cher. Le musée qu'un Américain a fait bâtir là-bas. Treize millions. Maintenant on l'emplit de chefs-d'oeuvre à coup d'argent. Tous les beaux tableaux sont menacés de passer en Amérique. 6

In contrast to the voracious American millionaires whose mania for breaking records by outspending each other in their purchases of old masters began to be ridiculed in Europe, the Havemeyers were not only extremely discreet in their acquisitions, but also had the courage to pursue a different path. Their collection developed a particular and unique point of view; Louisine and Harry had come to regard works by certain of the moderns as extensions of their old master paintings. From early on this concept had been nurtured and encouraged by their mentor Mary Cassatt: "To make a great collection it is necessary to have the modern note in it, and to be a great painter, you must be classic as well as modern."[7] Courbet, Manet, and Degas--unquestionably the favorites of Miss Cassatt and Louisine--were seen as descendants of the principal artists of the realist tradition. Mary Cassatt repeatedly emphasized the link between Courbet and Rembrandt: "The man who comes nearest to Rembrandt in modern times is Courbet. . . . He

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had that large noble touch which is so characteristic of Rembrandt. Not that I think he was so great but they seem to me to arouse the same artistic sensations, though perhaps not to the same degree."[8] Degas's draftsmanship was often compared to that of his great classic predecessors; Louisine also saw similarities between Manet and Paul Veronese, "the father of impressionism in renaissance Venice."[9] For her the conclusive test of the worth of a contemporary work was to hang it alongside an old master painting to see if it held its own in such exalted company. But at the same time she did appreciate the bold innovative endeavors of subject, composition, and technique in the canvases of these moderns and was proud of the fact that they were the revolutionaries of their day.

Under the constant tutelage of his wife and Mary Cassatt, Harry Havemeyer underwent an evolution of perception; his taste developed to the degree that he began to relegate the purchase of works by older masters to second place. The date 1895 was the turning point of the collection of the Havemeyers; from then on Louisine became the guiding spirit behind their selections. But it was with characteristic modesty that she later wrote in her Memoirs: "Miss Cassatt was ever ready to recommend, Mr. Havemeyer to buy, and I to find a place for the pictures in our gallery."[10] The following two years saw substantial acquisitions of paintings by Manet, Degas, and Courbet. These works--

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bought both in New York and Paris--ranged in subject from still life to ballet dancers, from portraits to wooded landscapes. On occasion Louisine would encourage her husband to choose what he himself liked, even though he was rather hesitant. She recalled the time when Mr. Havemeyer, while still "feeling his way"[11] with Manet, picked two small canvases by that artist: Intérieur à Arcachon (R. & W. No. 170, Fig. 81) and Roses dans un vase de verre (R. & W. No. 429, Fig. 82). About the latter, she loyally expressed the following opinion: "The color is cool and transparent and the delicate petals tremble and quiver; one has fallen off and lies beside the vase. It is a little bit of art such as an amateur prizes as a precious thing and would not part with ever."[12]

During the second half of the nineties, the Havemeyers made it a habit to take an annual trip abroad, usually in the summer. As far as Louisine was concerned, the highlights of such visits were picture-buying expeditions made in the company of Mary Cassatt. In her Memoirs she described in great detail one such occurrence, which resulted in the acquisition of an important Manet portrait:

> I recall that one beautiful autumn morning when Mr. Havemeyer and I were enjoying the few remaining days of a visit in Paris [in 1896], Miss Cassatt entered the salon and said to me: "How would you like to have a portrait of Clemenceau by Manet?"
>
> "Let us see it," I answered, "can we?"
>
> "Certainly," she said, "I saw Clemenceau yesterday and he wants to sell his portrait. He says he does not like it, but I think he is hard up and wants some money.

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> He really asks very little for it, only ten thousand francs. The picture is completely finished, as you may imagine, with the combination of two such men as Clemenceau and Manet. Manet did not finish the still life in the picture, but he had forty sittings for Clemenceau's portrait and I think it is a very fine and interesting picture."
>
> "Very well," I said, and looked at my husband who acquiesced. We were soon at Clemenceau's home, a pretty villa out of the whirl of Paris, with an attractive garden, where we found the fearless statesman on whose broad shoulders had fallen the burden of premiership and who carried it as intrepidly as anyone since the days of Gambetta. . . .
>
> He told me he did not like the portrait. "I sat for Manet many, many times," he said, "but he could never make it like me," and he took hold of the frameless portrait and swung it around to show it to us.
>
> "I don't care for it, and would be glad to be rid of it," he continued. I thought it would be as well for the portrait to be rid of him, for he switched it about so indifferently it was a wonder he had not put a hole in it, or ruined it entirely. "Manet never finished it," said Clemenceau to Mr. Havemeyer, "and yet I gave him forty sittings! just think of it, forty sittings for one portrait!" He said it contemptuously as if he could decide the fate of nations in far less time, and turning the frameless canvas with its face to the wall he said: "I shall never hang it anyway." 13

After a heated political discussion between Mary Cassatt and Clemenceau, the Havemeyers bought the portrait (R. & W. No. 330, Fig. 83) for $2,000, the price they had been told the Premier would accept. As soon as Louisine had the painting in her possession, she altered its appearance: "Acting upon Miss Cassatt's advice I took another stretcher and folded back that part of the canvas on which Manet had indicated the table and the still life. This was very easy to do as the picture was oblong. No one will ever know, perhaps, unless they read these lines or someone else writes a record of the fact, that almost half of the original of

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the Clemenceau portrait is neatly folded behind the stretcher. . . ."[14]

Another successful quest for a work of art was also recalled with nostalgic pleasure by Louisine in her Memoirs. In this case the artist was Degas and the instigator was Arsène Portier, a modest dealer who could better be described as an agent and middleman (see chap. III, pp. 52-53). Louisine had much sympathy for Portier and liked his manner of operating. She greatly preferred to negotiate for a picture while it was still in the hands of the owner than to buy it from a well-known gallery, since this not only considerably reduced the excitement but also raised the price. Louisine truly enjoyed the pursuit of a particular work:

> I recall an interesting afternoon when Portier came to our hotel and proposed that we should go see a Degas, one that the owner "might possibly part with for a price. . . ."
>
> "What is it?" asked Miss Cassatt keenly.
>
> "A portrait," answered Portier.
>
> "The Taigny portrait" [L. No. 319, Fig. 84], replied Miss Cassatt quickly.
>
> "Précisément," rejoined Portier.
>
> "Of course we will go see it," said Miss Cassatt energetically. "It is one of the best things Degas ever did, one of the greatest portraits Degas ever painted. His cousin sat for it and it is like a primitive."
>
> One could speak his mind before Portier, and we were soon driving to a distant part of Paris where we found one of the most exquisite portraits I have ever seen. It was as if the hand had been eliminated from the production and the mind of the painter had transferred it directly to the canvas. It was, as Miss Cassatt had said, a modern primitive, pure in line, delicate in color and entrancing in its harmonious perfection. Probably suggested by Degas's admiration of La

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> Tour, it is just the head and neck done upon gray paper, and then, as if it pleased his fancy, he traced another outline of the same face in an upper corner of the picture, in a way that does not appear strange to anyone familiar with the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci. We lost no time in letting Portier know we approved of it, a fact which immediately delighted the good man who had true artistic instincts and perceptions himself, and delighted to please Miss Cassatt and Mr. Havemeyer, and he told us the price--"Dix mille francs!" he said--two thousand dollars! said Portier timidly. Miss Cassatt, who was accustomed to the old prices, uttered an exclamation. "All right we'll take it," said Mr. Havemeyer promptly, and the affair was concluded. Ah! how many a picture was bought in the same decided way and how many a dollar was saved by doing so. 15

It may also have been Portier who took Louisine and Harry to the home of the Parisian dentist and collector George Viau, from whom they purchased a pastel of two ballet girls by Degas (L. No. 559, Fig. 85).[16]

The Havemeyers had been consistently acquiring Degas's works. According to Louisine's recollections: ". . . almost all were bought about the time Degas painted them; many were purchased through Durand-Ruel, and others recommended by Miss Cassatt who watched their execution in the studio or saw them in the various exhibitions."[17] The Havemeyers also paid many calls on Degas, usually in the company of Mary Cassatt. Sometimes their visits resulted in acquisitions; on rare occasions Degas even selected a work or two that he felt they should have, as he did on the day when they left his studio with three superb drawings of dancers.

Louisine provided a description of Degas: "I thought him a dignified-looking man of medium height, a compact

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figure, well dressed, rather dark and with fine eyes. There was nothing of the artistic négligé about him, on the contrary he rather impressed me as a man of the world."[18] Degas seems to have been the only French Impressionist whom the Havemeyers knew well. Apparently they felt no desire to meet any of Mary Cassatt's other painter-friends, who may have been too bohemian for their taste. Or perhaps the Havemeyers did not like to put themselves into the role of omnipotent American collectors whose very presence would be a source of intense excitement or even anxiety. The more aristocratic Degas, on the other hand, was never awed by Louisine and Harry nor made them feel obligated to make a purchase.

As far as Mr. Havemeyer was concerned it was fine for his wife to have her fun bargain-hunting, but when it came to substantial purchases, he preferred to deal with the Durand-Ruels, who had always treated him with the greatest consideration and fairness. Besides, they usually had been able to satisfy his special requests, as they had done over the years with his standing order for fine Courbet landscapes. Not so long ago they had managed to secure for him Courbet's splendid grotto picture La Source de la Loue (F. No. 387, Fig. 86), and in the fall of 1897--while the Havemeyers were in Europe--the Durand-Ruels were trying to obtain a lush forest scene, Le Ruisseau du puits noir, vallée de la Loue (F. No. 714, Fig. 87). Mr. Havemeyer had a

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competitor for this painting; another American collector, Charles Tyson Yerkes, the flamboyant transportation magnate,[19] also had his eye on it, as evidenced by a note dated September 22, 1897, from Mr. Havemeyer to Durand-Ruel: "If you do not buy the Courbet for Mr. Yerkes you may buy it for me up to 50,000 francs." Durand-Ruel did purchase the landscape on October 15, 1897, and within four days sold it to Harry Havemeyer rather than to Charles Yerkes, even though the price of 66,950 francs ($13,390) was higher than Mr. Havemeyer had anticipated.[20]

While Harry Havemeyer liked Courbet's landscapes, the more adventurous Louisine was attracted to the artist's nudes. Ever since Mary Cassatt had told the young Miss Elder that Courbet's females represented the ultimate technique in flesh painting, she had coveted them.[21] In order to obtain La Branche de cérisier, her first Courbet nude, Louisine had been forced to wage a major campaign against her husband (see chap. VII, pp. 161-62), but the second time it was easier, since he had by then succumbed to the charms of the fleshy girl holding on to a blossoming cherry branch. At the beginning of 1893, the Durand-Ruels had sent Courbet's La Femme à la vague (F. No. 628, Fig. 88) to their New York gallery. Louisine became fascinated by this painting of a sensuous young woman in the waves with her arms raised and crossed above her head, "a strange combination of sea and nude."[22] After several years of subtle

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strategy, she managed to convince her husband that since they already owned one Courbet nude, they might as well have two. Refined Victorian lady that she was, Louisine could transcend strict moral values when it came to defending her right to possess a slightly lascivious painting by an artist she admired. She really did not care what the "anti-nudists" thought; her own opinion was that Courbet's nudes were "realistic and frank, but never vulgar."[23] She had no patience with those who failed to see aesthetic merit in such works as La Femme à la vague: "How often have I heard pseudo-artists inquire with the tone of their voices pointing interrogation points as a musician would handle his staccato: 'Isn't that arm slightly out of drawing?' 'Surely,' someone once answered such a question. 'But you see, it is unusual to find an elbow in a marine.'"[24]

Husband and wife shared a deep admiration for Courbet's portraits. One such work, which they had recently acquired, was the likeness of Monsieur Suisse (Fernier No. 295, Fig. 89), himself a former model who had established an artist's studio (known as the Académie Suisse) where he employed live models and charged modest fees. Harry Havemeyer must have been riveted to that gentleman's intelligent, penetrating eyes, which gazed directly out from behind his spectacles, revealing the strength of his character and personality. Louisine's romantic nature was also nourished by this picture: "Ah, the good Suisse could have

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told . . . of the agonies of producing, of the hardships of an artist's life, and often have I cast glances of appreciation at the good man, whose protégé tried to express his gratitude to his friend by making him one of his finest portraits."[25]

It would seem that Harry Havemeyer now developed an even stronger preference for portrait painting than he had had previously, and this in every school and no matter what period.[26] Consequently the collection would come to contain more studies of single figures than of any other subject matter. Apparently it was Mr. Havemeyer's practice to remain for a long time in front of a favorite portrait, carefully contemplating every detail. After scrutinizing its execution, he would proceed to what gave him the greatest pleasure: the work's sense of vivid realism. According to Harry Havemeyer's aesthetic code, realism was equated with truth and truth with beauty. He delighted in the fact that the person depicted had actually lived and breathed, and he tried to imagine the kind of existence he or she had led. When a portrait was an exceptional one, Mr. Havemeyer experienced a communication with the very spirit of the likeness he was studying so intently; in some instances he even identified with the sitter. His wife also had a certain predilection for figure pieces; she felt that they reflected the mores of the society which had produced the artist himself. Perhaps it was her early indoctrination

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by Mary Cassatt which instilled this attitude in Louisine; as far as Cassatt was concerned, figures were all-important and landscapes were to be used only as a background.

It was no doubt their love for portraiture which initially led the Havemeyers to the work of Goya, the master of psychological and sociological studies of character. Durand-Ruel was responsible for bringing Goya's portraits of Don Bartolomé Sureda and his wife (Figs. 90, 91) to the Havemeyers' attention while they were in Paris in the early fall of 1897. Louisine and Henry, dazzled by these two paintings, acquired the pair for slightly less than $8,500 on September 28, obviously with Mary Cassatt's enthusiastic approval. This purchase was to mark the beginning of the Havemeyers' continuously increasing interest in Spanish painting which would ultimately lead to their buying other remarkable works by Goya (mostly portraits), as well as several by El Greco. Later Louisine took great pride in the fact that they had been pioneer collectors in the realm of Spanish art: "As we were, so to speak, to open the market for Grecos and Goyas, at least in the United States. . . ."[27]

Actually, it was with Spanish painting that the Havemeyers stretched their taste the farthest. After the turn of the century, they would acquire El Greco's visionary <u>View of Toledo</u>, which transcends the subject itself. This work is one of the rare instances when the Havemeyers went

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beyond the strictures of their strong preference for the realist tradition. Ordinarily they avoided landscapes of the mind with arbitrary color schemes; they did not respond at all to the dreams and fantasies of the Symbolists. Their collection of modern French painting would eventually extend from Corot to Cézanne, but works by such artists as Redon, Van Gogh, and Gauguin were never even considered, nor were those by Seurat or Signac. Louisine's range of appreciation was almost parallel to Mary Cassatt's, whose own capacities to absorb innovations stopped abruptly with Cézanne.[28] The Havemeyers and Cassatt were firmly rooted in French art of the nineteenth century; they were not able to expand their outlook to the exponents of the avant-garde movements of the next century.

A consistent exception to the Havemeyers' partiality to figure pieces were the landscapes of Monet, the only pure _plein-airist_ to whom they were really committed. Louisine and Harry were steadily acquiring works by Monet, usually from Durand-Ruel, who was constantly on the alert for paintings worthy of their attention. On January 18, 1897, Durand-Ruel wrote to Mr. Havemeyer: "We have not been able yet to conclude with Monet about his picture _Glaçons sur la Seine_. Of course we did not make him any offer that he could use to negotiate with other people and we hope, as you suggest in your letter, to make him name shortly the price that his friend will give for the picture." By Feb-

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ruary 3 the Havemeyers were able to obtain Monet's Glaçons sur la Seine (W. No. 1335, Fig. 92). Obviously pleased with this acquisition, later that year they purchased from the same source yet another Monet painting of ice floes on a river--Les Glaçons, Bennecourt (W. No. 1336, Fig. 93)--as well as a version of La Grenouillère (W. No. 134, Fig. 94, see chap. V, n. 28, p. 120).[29] Monet's depiction of this pleasure-spot for boating and bathing on the Seine at Bougival was among the most lighthearted and carefree pictures to enter the collection.[30] Aside from a few paintings by Manet and Monet, the Havemeyers on the whole did not care for scenes of the cheerful, unproblematical world of vacationists, of simple rural settings, or of the pleasant everyday life on Parisian boulevards as rendered by Renoir, Pissarro, and Sisley. In fact Mrs. Havemeyer developed a particular dislike for the work of Renoir and remained relatively lukewarm to the other two, even though Pissarro was a close associate of Mary Cassatt's.[31]

Unlike some wealthy picture-buyers who had purchasing agents assemble entire collections on their behalf, the Havemeyers carefully considered every single work of art before a decision was reached. Louisine and Harry could never be pushed into making an acquisition that did not appear meaningful to them or the price of which was too steep. This independence was both a strength and a weakness. On the one hand each of them had a superb eye for

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quality and deserves credit for the consistently high level of taste evident throughout their vast collection; but on the other they would sometimes pass up great works that Durand-Ruel fervently urged them to buy. On various occasions they would come to regret deeply having let certain masterpieces slip away. In later years, Louisine would even go after paintings that she once had had the opportunity of purchasing for a fraction of their current price. Like all great collectors, the Havemeyers had their share of triumphs and regrets.

It was the Havemeyers' policy to be benefactors as well as avid art patrons. Even though Mr. Havemeyer had never been asked to become a member of the board of trustees of the Metropolitan Museum (see chap. VI, pp. 133-34), he continued during the nineties to make donations of works of art to that institution. In March 1893, in the company of Henry Marquand, President of the museum,[32] Mr. Havemeyer had attended a sale of Samuel Colman's paintings and watercolors at the Fifth Avenue Galleries, where he purchased for $700 the artist's large oil Spanish Peaks, Southern Colorado (Fig. 95) in order to present it to the Metropolitan Museum.[33] Sometime in 1896 Mrs. Havemeyer gave the museum a choice selection of 159 fragments of old Chinese and Japanese silks and brocades. On December 8 of that same year, Harry Havemeyer wrote to Mr. Marquand: "Since the Tiffany Glass Co. have been making favrile glass Mr.

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Louis Tiffany has set aside the finest pieces of their production, which I have acquired for what I consider to be their artistic value. Their number now is such that I am disposed to offer the collection, which is one of rare beauty, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art."[34] Mr. Havemeyer's generous gift, consisting of fifty-six objects dating from 1893 to 1896, was delivered to the museum one month later. Shortly thereafter Tiffany himself made the arrangements for a special exhibition of his iridescent glass specimens.

As always, Harry Havemeyer was pursuing his business activities simultaneously to his art interests, but when business pressures reached crisis proportions, art buying slacked off. This was the case during certain periods of 1897, just as it had been in the spring of 1894. It seems that his Sugar Trust was repeatedly under attack and, as its President, Mr. Havemeyer had to come to its defense. A strong fighter who loved a good battle, he was well equipped for the task. Both in February and May 1897, Harry Havemeyer was called to the witness stand. On the first occasion he was summoned by a special legislative committee, chaired by a Senator Lexow from Nyack. The committee began its work by investigating the affairs of the American Sugar Refining Company, "which stood second to Standard Oil as a successful consolidation of corporations engaged in the same industry."[35]

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Under questioning, Mr. Havemeyer took his habitual stance: that his trust was not a monopoly whose object was to destroy competition, that it had lowered the price of sugar for the consumer, and that its initial organization had caused very few men to lose their jobs. He also sharply denied that his company had been incorporated in New Jersey in 1891 for the sole purpose of dodging taxes. Harry Havemeyer called the investigation a form of persecution; he was a particularly combative witness, as reported by the New York Herald: "At times he displayed some warmth, raising his voice until it could be heard in the hallway. His bearing and manner indicated that he was not at all afraid of what the committee might do."[36] The opening session drew a crowd, which filled the Common Council Chamber of the City Hall, and the proceedings were given considerable coverage by various newspapers. William Glackens did two drawings for the New York Herald, illustrating Senator Lexow, various clerks and lawyers, and the chief witnesses, H. O. Havemeyer and his brother Theodore.[37]

As a result of Harry Havemeyer's belligerent claims that only a small number of men had been thrown out of work at the time of the formation of his American Sugar Refining Company, legal action was taken against him, as reported by the New York Tribune:

> John Bergen, of No. 62 South Tenth Street, has brought suit for $10,000 damages for slander and libel against Henry O. Havemeyer, President of the Sugar Trust.

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> Bergen was formerly a foreman on the wharves of the sugar company. Notice has been served, and an answer put in by John A. Parsons, counsel for Mr. Havemeyer. The complaint is based upon an alleged utterance of Havemeyer in the recent Senate investigation. Bergen, when placed on the stand, stated that there were thrown out of employment from the closing of sugar houses in 1886 between five thousand and six thousand men. President Havemeyer was reported as saying in the courtroom, "what a liar that man is," and later, "that man is a bigger liar than he looks. . . ." 38

But that was not all. In May 1897, more than two and a half years after having been indicted, Mr. Havemeyer was brought to trial for contempt of court because he had refused to answer questions from a Senate investigating committee as to the exact amounts his company had donated to local and state political campaigns in 1892 and 1893 (see chap. X, pp. 222-23). Another aspect of these charges was whether or not his firm's campaign contributions had been intended to "buy" some Senators for the purpose of securing their votes for legislation favorable to the interests of the American Sugar Refining Company. This trial took place in the Criminal Court of the City Hall, Washington, D.C. The District Attorney conducted the case on behalf of the United States; the defendant (Harry Havemeyer) hired the services of a team of well-known lawyers, among whom was John Graver Johnson of Philadelphia.

The contest was a heated one. The District Attorney described the Sugar Trust as "a conscienceless octopus reaching from coast to coast, using the leverage of its power in politics, by the admittance of its President as a

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Republican in Republican States and as a Democrat in Democrat States."[39] The strategy of the defense was to show that Mr. Havemeyer had answered all relevant inquiries and had only refused to furnish specific data concerning contributions to political campaigns, a matter that was beyond the committee's jurisdiction. Mr. Johnson made an exhaustive argument on behalf of his client; he insisted that the questions put to Mr. Havemeyer were as "impertinent as if he had been asked how many children or how much money he was possessed of."[40] With the skill of an accomplished actor, Mr. Johnson "spoke contemptuously of the indictment as being fuller of innuendo than the most libellous newspaper and denounced the framer of the question Mr. Havemeyer declined to answer. 'No man,' he said, 'had a right to frame a question for the purpose of experimenting with the witness and forcing him into recusancy.'"[41]

The trial lasted for three days; there was breathless suspense as to its outcome. The reporters delighted in details such as: "The room buzzed with speculation as to what the decision would be. Just before the judge entered, a little girl ran over to Mr. Havemeyer and said she wanted to shake his hand. The sugar magnate took her in his arms and kissed her. He then put her down and she ran back to her mother. 'I don't know who the child is,' said Mr. Havemeyer to his attorney, Mr. Parsons, 'but I think it is a good omen.'"[42] On May 27, Harry Havemeyer was found not

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guilty; the indictment was dismissed on the grounds that the questions of the Senate committee had been properly answered. The consummate skill of the defense's legal team, particularly that of chief counsel John Johnson, was responsible for the favorable verdict. Mr. Havemeyer and his attorneys were elated over their victory. "Certainly it is satisfactory to me, and to every decent man in this and every other community,"[43] was Mr. Havemeyer's only comment to the press on how he felt about the court's decision.

This was not the first time that Mr. Havemeyer had engaged the services of John G. Johnson, the country's leading corporation lawyer and a fellow patron of the arts. Earlier in the nineties, when the issue of whether or not the Sugar Trust was a monopoly had to be argued in front of the Supreme Court, John G. Johnson had made a most effective presentation. As a result, the Supreme Court's ruling had been that the American Sugar Refining Company did not restrict others from going into the sugar business and therefore was not a monopoly. Harry Havemeyer, of course delighted with the favorable outcome, had expected to pay his chief counsel a handsome fee, but when it came to charging for his services, Mr. Johnson was totally unpredictable; his bills were always either very high or very low, based on how long it took him to master a particular case.[44]

John G. Johnson could well afford to be indifferent

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to accepted standards of the legal profession, since he himself had a monopoly. For close to twenty years no important case was presented to the United States Supreme Court in which he did not play the major role. His clients consisted of the richest concerns in America, including Standard Oil, J. P. Morgan & Co., the United States Steel Corporation, the Amalgamated Copper Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and many other great corporations as well as numerous banks. For his brilliant defense of the Sugar Trust, Mr. Johnson's fee could have been any amount he chose to make it. But according to a story told in legal circles, he asked the "Sugar King" for the meager sum of $3,000 in addition to a picture from the Havemeyer collection. Rather than give up a painting, Mr. Havemeyer insisted on paying his attorney $100,000; John G. Johnson was exceedingly displeased.[45]

Between Mr. Havemeyer's two courtroom appearances in February and May 1897, he suffered the loss of his older brother Theodore, who died unexpectedly on April 26 at the age of fifty-eight.[46] Theodore Augustus Havemeyer, Vice-President and supervisor of the production end of the American Sugar Refining Company, had always offered his quiet support to his more audacious brother. Theodore was by nature less aggressive and abrupt than Harry; he was widely admired for his cultivated manners.[47] His public image was of a tall, athletic man with snowy white whiskers and a

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smiling countenance, whereas Harry's imposing bulk was matched by his rather grim and determined expression. During the numerous wrangles of the Sugar Trust with various legislative committees, Theodore was able to be both frank and agreeable to the investigators without antagonizing them as the insolent Harry often managed to do. Certainly Harry Havemeyer must have deeply missed the daily presence of his brother Theodore, his closest business associate and confidant.

As involved as he was with art purchases and the Sugar Trust, Mr. Havemeyer also had an extensive interest in real estate, both as a commercial venture and as a hobby. Actually a considerable portion of his fortune was invested in real estate. Among his substantial urban holdings were the St. Paul Building at Broadway and Ann Street, the Havemeyer Building at Cortland and Church Streets, and property of great value on Broad Street.[48] His most recent expenditure was for one hundred acres of land consisting of a sandy stretch of beach known as Bayberry Point, located on the shore of Great South Bay, just south of Islip, Long Island. Harry Havemeyer's grandiose plan was to create a "modern Venice" by dividing the property into twelve villa sites connected by two large canals, giving each villa a direct water route to the bay. The project's first step--digging and dredging out the canals--was estimated to cost close to $300,000. For the site of his own

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house, Mr. Havemeyer had chosen the extreme southwest corner overlooking Great South Bay, rather than one of the plots along the central canal. The plan for the construction of the villas was described in a Sunday supplement of the New York Times in May 1897:

> All of them will be of Venetian design, similar to that of Mr. Havemeyer's house, but they will also conform to the general features of the landscape, in that they will be broad and low, not over two stories in height, and wholly without the clusters of pinnacles, turrets, and cupolas which are so often a feature of summer homes by the sea. Broad porticoes will replace the conventional veranda or piazza. The villas will be covered with staff, the material used for the World's Fair buildings, with the natural wood of the timbers showing in places. A feature of the structures will be their small cost. Mr. Havemeyer's house will be erected for $11,000, an insignificant sum in view of the amounts frequently expended on such places by wealthy men. . . . 49

Harry Havemeyer took great pride in his concept of a "modern Venice" and hoped to have the grounds laid out and a few villas ready for occupancy by the season of 1898.[50] He felt that it was absurd to spend a fortune on a palatial summer residence at famous resorts such as Newport, and wanted to provide an attractive alternative for a fraction of the price.

The year 1897 thus had been even busier than usual for H. O. Havemeyer, crammed with events and activities ranging from numerous art purchases, heated sessions on the witness stand, and real estate ventures, to the experience of a deep personal loss. At the beginning of November of that same year, Mr. Havemeyer underwent surgery for an

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appendicitis. Before the diagnosis had been made and the operation performed, he was so seriously ill that his life was in danger. The very fact that Mr. Havemeyer was sick caused the common stock of the American Sugar Refining Company to drop.[51] However, his operation was successful; after having spent a recuperative period of several weeks at his home in Connecticut, he returned to his desk at No. 117 Wall Street.[52] Harry Havemeyer descended from strong stock; the next two years would see him back in full swing, once again extending himself on all fronts, particularly in the realm of art where he would continue to broaden his horizons and develop the scope of his taste.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. "News and Views," The Collector 8 (April 1897):165.

2. "Talks with Paris Art Dealers," The Collector 7 (June 1, 1896):236.

3. "News and Views," The Collector 8 (December 15, 1896): 49. Courbet's The Woman with a Parrot (F. No. 526) was later acquired by the Havemeyers and did end up in the Metropolitan Museum by 1909, if not earlier. In her Memoirs, Mrs. Havemeyer described how she persuaded her husband to buy The Woman with a Parrot:

> ". . . which was about to be returned to France by the Durand-Ruels in those enlightened days when a heavy duty was hanging about art like a millstone and crushing progress and civilization alike. I begged Mr. Havemeyer to buy the picture, not to hang it in our gallery lest the anti-nudists should declare a revolution and revise our Constitution, but just to keep it in America, just that such a work should not be lost to the future generations nor to the students who might with its help, and that of other pictures, some day give a national art to their own country. Mr. Havemeyer at once consented, and for many a year 'La Femme au Perroquet' has hung in the Metropolitan Museum."

Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 196.

4. "News and Views," The Collector 8 (December 15, 1896): 49.

5. "Talks with Paris Art Dealers," The Collector 7 (June 1, 1896):236.

6. Emile Zola, L'Oeuvre, Notes et Commentaires de Maurice LeBlond (Paris: Bernouard, 1928), pp. 421-22 (Notes diverses du Manuscript de L'Oeuvre). Zola was doubtless referring to William Henry Vanderbilt, who, between 1874 and 1885 (the year of his death), had spent $1,500,000 on his collection of over one hundred paintings--mostly French academic-realist--which hung one on top of the other in the large picture gallery of his mansion at 640 Fifth Avenue. See Jerry E. Patterson, "Paintings from William Vanderbilt's Collection," Art at Auction (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications Ltd., 1979), pp. 77-79.

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7. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 13.

8. Ibid., p. 31.

9. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 227.

10. Ibid., p. 195.

11. Ibid., p. 222.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., pp. 229-30.

14. Ibid., p. 231. Mrs. Havemeyer presented Manet's portrait of Clemenceau to the Louvre in 1927.

15. Ibid., pp. 260-61. In Mrs. Havemeyer's Memoirs, the name of the dealer Arsène Portier was transcribed incorrectly as Pottier, who was a trans-Atlantic shipper for works of art, employed both by the Havemeyers and Mary Cassatt.

16. A decade later--in March 1907, at the Galleries Durand-Ruel--George Viau would have a sale of his collection out of which Durand-Ruel strongly recommended five works for the Havemeyers to consider.

17. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 257.

18. Ibid., p. 251.

19. Charles Tyson Yerkes bought pictures on a grand scale, particularly when he traveled in Europe. Among his vast holdings of Dutch, Flemish, and French old masters, portraits of the English school, nineteenth-century academic-realist paintings, as well as Barbizon landscapes, was one work each by Boudin, Pissarro, Sisley (D. No. 383), and Monet, purchased in 1891 from Durand-Ruel, Paris. For a more detailed account of Yerkes's collecting and business interests, see Towner, The Elegant Auctioneers, pp. 188-242; Catalogue from Collection of Charles T. Yerkes (Chicago: Privately printed, 1893).

20. It seems that the Havemeyers and Charles Yerkes more than once evinced interest in the same Courbet painting. On August 29, 1900, Mr. Yerkes would purchase Courbet's Bords de la Loue avec rochers à gauche (F. No. 369, The Brooklyn Museum) from Durand-Ruel; on

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April 5, 1910, at the posthumous sale of Yerkes's collection, Durand-Ruel bought it back for $3,100 and subsequently sold it to Louisine Havemeyer, whose husband had died in the meantime.

21. Since Mary Cassatt also greatly admired the nudes of Degas, she not only presented Louisine with a fine monotype, Girl Putting on Her Stocking (Metropolitan Museum of Art) in 1889, but saw to it that Mrs. Havemeyer acquired various exceptional nudes by her friend and mentor. See the exhibition catalogue Ronald Pickvance, Degas 1879 (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1979), p. 74 (Cat. No. 91); Eugenia Parry Janis, Degas Monotypes (Boston: Fogg Museum, Harvard University, 1968), No. 169.

22. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 196.

23. Ibid., p. 198.

24. Ibid., p. 197.

25. Ibid., p. 199.

26. Benjamin Altman, the New York department store merchant who began collecting pictures around the turn of the century, would share Harry Havemeyer's preference for portraits, which he felt displayed character. Altman was particularly susceptible to works by Dutch artists of the seventeenth century and would acquire more Rembrandt paintings than any other American collector, including Harry Havemeyer. See Edward Fowles, Memories of Duveen Brothers (England: Time Books, 1976), pp. 77-79.

27. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 135. Harry Havemeyer's cousin, Charles Senff, a director of the American Sugar Refining Company, had purchased a portrait by Velasquez from Durand-Ruel in 1892. Since (according to Charles Durand-Ruel) the Havemeyers and the Senffs were very good friends, Louisine and Harry must have often seen Velazquez's Portrait d'homme.

28. After 1900 Louisine Havemeyer would prove to be a stronger supporter of Cézanne's work than Mary Cassatt, who liked only the artist's still life and did not care for his early romantic subjects or for his landscapes and figure studies.

29. Both Monet's Les Glaçons, Bennecourt and La Grenouillère were bought by the Havemeyers in September 1897

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at the same time they acquired the Goya portraits. The former Monet painting was owned jointly by Durand-Ruel and Montaignac, who had previously served as the American Art Association's Paris representative. See chap. X, p. 237.

30. The Havemeyers' only other recreation picture was Manet's En bateau, which they had acquired in 1895 (see chap. X, p. 242).

31. Mrs. Havemeyer would buy one painting only by Renoir from Durand-Ruel in 1899--Femme assise au bord de la mer (D. R. No. 488)--but regretted its purchase all her life. In 1927, when young Charles Durand-Ruel paid his first visit to Mrs. Havemeyer's home, she greeted him with these words:

> "J'ai connu votre grand-père, votre père et vos oncles ainsi que votre frère Pierre. Vous êtes donc la 3e génération et le 6e Durand-Ruel que je rencontre. Soyez le bienvenu. Mais n'essayez jamais de me vendre un Renoir! Je ne l'aime pas et j'en veux encore à votre oncle Georges qui m'a forcée à en acheter un. Je le regrette encore."

(Charles Durand-Ruel's unpublished memoirs.) Louisine Havemeyer's attitude toward Pissarro is more difficult to assess, particularly since she had bought one of his pictures from Mary Cassatt in 1875. Perhaps she was unable to convince her husband to purchase works by that artist, who remained the most difficult of the Impressionists for Durand-Ruel to promote. In all likelihood Harry Havemeyer considered Pissarro's paintings a poor investment; after her husband's death, however, Louisine did acquire a number of the artist's canvases. As for Sisley, there would be only two of his works in the Havemeyer collection: Bords de la Seine, près de l'Île de Saint-Denis (D. No. 48, see chap. X, pp. 225-26), purchased in 1894, and L'Allée des marronniers (D. No. 286), bought for $2,100 by Durand-Ruel at the Hayashi sale (New York: American Art Galleries, January 3, 1913, Cat. No. 138), and then sold to Louisine Havemeyer.

32. Henry Marquand had been a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum since 1871; he served as its President for thirteen years, from 1889 to 1902.

33. See the New York Times, March 30, 1893, p. 4; "Art Gossip," Art Interchange 30 (May 1893):129. It seems that Harry Havemeyer had asked Mr. Marquand to accom-

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pany him to the sale for the purpose of buying Colman's painting for the museum, on the condition that his name as donor not be released to the press.

34. H. O. Havemeyer to Henry Marquand, December 8, 1896, quoted by Stuart P. Feld, "Nature in Her Most Seductive Aspects: Louis Comfort Tiffany's Favrile Glass," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 21 (November 1962-63):101.

35. New York Herald, February 6, 1897, p. 3.

36. Ibid.

37. Ira Glackens, William Glackens and the Ashcan Group (New York: Crown Publishers, 1957), p. 18. See the New York Herald, February 6, 1897, p. 3.

38. New York Tribune, April 17, 1897, p. 7.

39. New York Times, May 28, 1897, p. 3.

40. New York Tribune, May 27, 1897, p. 7.

41. Ibid.

42. New York Tribune, May 28, 1897, p. 1.

43. New York Times, May 28, 1897, p. 3.

44. See "John G. Johnson, Lawyer," The Literary Digest 54 (May 5, 1917):1354; Aline Saarinen, The Proud Possessors, pp. 94-95.

45. Ibid. John G. Johnson (1841-1917) began collecting paintings in the 1880s; he made his purchases from dealers in Philadelphia, New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. His first acquisitions followed traditional directions in nineteenth-century European and American art, but his purchase in 1887 of Monet's Le Pont du chemin de fer, Argenteuil (W. No. 318, Philadelphia Museum) and the following year of the same artist's La Manneporte, vue prise en aval (W. No. 1037, Philadelphia Museum), as well as Manet's Combat du Kearsarge et de l'Alabama (R. & W. No. 76, Philadelphia Museum), and a painting by Pissarro, indicate his sudden commitment to modern French art. By 1892 Johnson had assembled 281 works of which a catalogue was printed privately (Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings Belonging to John G. Johnson [Philadelphia, 1892]). This avid patron spent much time studying art books

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and catalogues, visiting museums, auction houses, and private collections; he sought the advice of internationally respected scholars and connoisseurs but in the end relied upon his own ability to appraise the intrinsic quality of a particular work. His taste was constantly evolving and he often sold or traded earlier purchases for paintings of greater merit.

After the turn of the century, Johnson decided to collect on a wider scale, hoping to illustrate the evolution of the history of Western painting with examples from Italian, Dutch, English, and French schools, from the thirteenth through the nineteenth centuries. He became interested in what were then lesser known fields, such as Flemish primitives and German painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Later he concentrated on Spanish art of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. For the second privately printed catalogue of his vastly expanded collection, he solicited the aid of Bernard Berenson (who had assisted him in acquiring fifty or so pictures) for the Italian section and W. R. Valentiner for the rest; the first two volumes appeared in 1913, the third volume in 1914.

John G. Johnson's highly unique collecting habits were summed up in his obituary:

> "In his purchase of paintings Mr. Johnson did not stick to orthodox old masters. He used independent judgement in buying great and minor pictures of the periods in which he specialized. He also did as he pleased about hanging his pictures, some being placed on the back of doors, others on the foot of beds, and some on the ceiling of his house. In spite of the fact that the same catholicity of taste is exhibited in his paintings as in his variety of law cases, his collection has been ranked by competent critics with the three or four best private collections left in America. . . ."

(New York Times, April 15, 1917, p. 20.)

Upon his death in 1917, Johnson's works of art (numbering approximately twelve hundred items) and his house were bequeathed to the city of Philadelphia; in 1933 the collection was moved to the Philadelphia Museum. See the Catalogue of the John G. Johnson Collection, with a Foreword by Henri Marceau, Curator (Philadelphia Museum, 1941); Barnie F. Winkelman, John G. Johnson: Lawyer and Art Collector, 1841-1917 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), pp. 285-94.

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46. Obituaries for Theodore Havemeyer appeared in the New York Tribune, April 27, 1897, p. 7, and in the New York Times, April 27, 1897, p. 12.

47. Theodore Havemeyer and his wife, the former Emilie de Loosey, were much more prominent in "society" than Louisine and Harry. For twenty-five years Theodore Havemeyer was the Honorary Consul General of Austria-Hungary in New York, succeeding his father-in-law in the post shortly after the latter's death in 1870. Theodore and his wife lived at Madison Avenue and 38th Street in a sumptuous house that, in 1891, had been remodeled by Richard Morris Hunt. (See Joseph Byron, Photographs of New York Interiors at the Turn of the Century, with a text by Clay Lancaster [New York: Dover Publications, 1976], plates 2-5.) They also owned a handsome summer residence at Newport, whereas Louisine and Harry Havemeyer shunned such fashionable resorts.

48. Concerning Harry Havemeyer's real estate holdings, see the New York Tribune, November 5, 1897, p. 7, and his obituary in The Sun, December 5, 1907, p. 1.

49. New York Times Sunday Supplement, May 23, 1897, p. 14.

50. According to George Frelinghuysen, these villas were for rent.

51. For contemporary accounts of Mr. Havemeyer's illness, see the New York Tribune, November 5, 1897, p. 7, and the New York Times, November 5, 1897, p. 5.

52. See the New York Tribune, December 30, 1897, p. 7.

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CHAPTER XII

MARY CASSATT IN AMERICA--
ADDITIONAL PURCHASES (1898-99)

Harry Havemeyer's appreciation for modern French painting had increased to such an extent that he became eager to share his recently acquired enthusiasm with one of his closest friends and neighbors, Colonel Oliver Hazard Payne. As Mrs. Havemeyer later recalled: "It was during the pleasant evenings we spent together in the early years of our acquaintance that I think the Colonel began to take an interest in pictures. Often Mr. Havemeyer would suggest a fine picture to him or even let him have one he [himself] had intended to buy, and I have frequently heard Colonel Payne say that he owed many of his finest canvases to Mr. Havemeyer's advice and generosity."[1] It seems that having for so long been tutored by his wife and Mary Cassatt, Harry Havemeyer now savored his role as art mentor to Colonel Payne.

Mr. Havemeyer's first step had been to alert the Durand-Ruels to the fact that the Colonel was a potential client whose artistic comprehension needed to be developed. A Civil War veteran, oil multimillionaire, and fellow member of several trusts,[2] Colonel Payne was a man of intrin-

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sically conservative taste, a trait shared by Harry Havemeyer, who realized that his protégé would have to acquire pictures to which he could easily relate. A letter dated August 1896 from Paul Durand-Ruel to Mr. Havemeyer indicates the kind of works Colonel Payne was then accustomed to purchasing: "I send you to-day by mail a photograph of a picture by DeTroy [a seventeenth-century portraitist]. I thought that the picture may please Colonel Payne as I know he wants the picture of a pretty woman. If the face of this one, according to the photograph pleases him, we may have the picture sent to New York on approval so that he can see its qualities before buying it."

But Harry Havemeyer was a man in a hurry; he did not have the same patience as did his wife and Mary Cassatt. Thus he undertook to accelerate the development of his friend's aesthetic appreciation by purchasing outright a number of paintings on his behalf. Since the Colonel, a confirmed bachelor, was susceptible to the charm of pretty women, Mr. Havemeyer felt that he would be better off with feminine subjects by a more "modern" artist, such as Corot. It was probably at the suggestion of Mary Cassatt that he asked Sara Hallowell to try to secure a few figure-pieces by that master.

In the spring of 1894, Miss Hallowell had decided to establish permanent residence abroad, leaving for Europe with the reputation of a widely respected and discriminat-

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ing critic as well as an accomplished organizer of exhibitions. The Chicago Art Institute had appointed her its official foreign agent with the primary task of sending over the best pictures produced by American expatriate artists for display at the Institute's annual American Exhibition.[3] The New York Times later described Miss Hallowell's role: "The duties and responsibilities of her position are unique. She personally interviews the American painters in Paris, passes judgment on their work, selects the canvases she would have sent to America, then supervises their packing and transportation to this country."[4]

In spite of her job with the Art Institute, Sara Hallowell was hard-pressed financially. Although she and her mother (who was with her in France) owned property that yielded a modest income, the value of their assets had dropped during the American depression of 1893 and they were temporarily finding it difficult to make ends meet. In order to earn a little extra money, Sara was grinding out articles for various newspapers but, feeling that she could put her talents to better use, she addressed the following letter from a distant Paris suburb to Paul Durand-Ruel on August 14, 1894:

> Dear Mr. Durand-Ruel:--
>
> Apropos of our conversation of a few years ago, I am now anxious to make some business arrangement by which, in making my services available, I can myself profit by my experience and wide acquaintaince.
>
> I fear the moment is a bad one for my suggestion,

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> but feeling that my time is being consumed so unprofitably--writing, unless one is a genius, which I certainly am not, is starvation--, I conclude to ask, can you suggest any thing? Having such respect for you, your sons and your house, in the event of any business arrangement being considered by you, I am compelled to be entirely frank with you. . . .
>
> Deeply interested in my late work, all my energy went into it rather than to my own personal advantage, except in the matter of experience, position, and wide acquaintance and friendship with the first people in our country. This is all the capital I have, but if it is worth any thing, I am ready to use it if a satisfactory arrangement can be made. Living in the country, however, unable to go about freely, to see people in the evening, together with my time being consumed in writing--for so little money--, makes it about impossible for me to do any thing in the matter of commissions. I never before realized how tied were one's hands for the want of ready money. . . .
>
> As I would have to go to Paris to live, modestly of course, either in a small hotel--to board--or in a little apartment of my own, you can see that to control my time, I must have a little income assured me from the first. My family would remain out here for the present.
>
> I am not at all visionary but rather accustomed to look matters squarely in the face and to expect the worst, yet, I believe I could prove myself valuable to you. I can always reach the best people without any presumption on my part, for--I would not speak of this ordinarily--my family and the honored position of my late Father, as well as my past works, are an open sesame for me to all Americans.
>
> If you consider my proposition, I em entirely ready, if it is thought better, to have any connection which may be held with your house made public, only I am compelled to act promptly in the matter and consequently beg of you to let me hear from you as soon as possible. . . . 5

On August 20, Durand-Ruel answered Sara Hallowell's proposal:

> . . . Lorsque nous avons parlé ensemble de la possibilité d'utiliser votre expérience au profit de nos affaires de tableaux nous avions en vue la création à Chicago d'une succursale de notre maison de New York. Les événements survenus depuis cette époque et surtout l'augmentation considerable de nos frais par suite de

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> notre nouvelle installation, nous ont fait abandonner pour le moment toute l'idée de nous établir à Chicago.
> Dans ces conditions, je ne crois pas que nous puissions répondre favorablement à l'ouverture que vous nous faites. Je comprends très bien le désir que vous avez d'employer votre temps d'une manière profitable et je crois que par vos relations nombreuses en Amérique vous pourriez très souvent servir d'intermédiare entre vos amis et notre maison. . . . 6

Although no formal business arrangement was worked out, Sara Hallowell maintained close ties with the Galerie Durand-Ruel. This contact, plus her friendship with Mary Cassatt,[7] who could also recommend her as an agent for American collectors, enabled Hallowell to establish herself as an integral part of the Franco-American art world. Eventually her financial situation took a turn for the better.[8]

In view of Sara Hallowell's role on behalf of Europeans with pictures to sell, it is not surprising that Harry Havemeyer found it advisable to engage her services when he was trying to acquire several Corot paintings for Colonel Payne. As it happened, in March 1896, the Durand-Ruels had offered Mr. Havemeyer the chance to purchase two nudes and one portrait by Corot, owned by a Belgian amateur, Emile Dekens, but he did not take advantage of this proposal. Having realized his mistake, he subsequently asked Sara Hallowell to deal directly with Dekens. Unaware of Mr. Havemeyer's private negotiations, the Durand-Ruels had meanwhile secured the three Corot pictures for one of their German clients, who had advanced them the money. Extremely

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disappointed, Harry Havemeyer implored both Sara Hallowell and even the Durand-Ruels to get these paintings back. On January 18, 1897, Joseph Durand-Ruel informed Mr. Havemeyer:

> . . . After exchange of several telegrams with him [the German buyer] I sent you a cable telling that I could let you have the pictures at 125,000 francs [$25,000] and that I would take them back at the same price if they did not please you. I am sure to sell them again at the same price if Colonel Payne does not decide to keep them, as they are all three of an extremely fine quality. . . .
>
> We would have bought the pictures long ago if we had the money to pay for them, but we cannot always buy everything fine, having already so much money invested in our stock. You told me that Colonel Payne would not buy any picture without seeing it, while we have almost always to pay for them before we can take them sometimes they remain for sale only for a few days even for a few hours and we have to decide on the spot.
>
> If Colonel Payne would give us commission to buy some extremely fine things we would only propose them if they were really fine and we would always guarantee him against pecuniary loss if they did not please him.
>
> In some cases we may avail ourselves of a quick opportunity to buy a thing a great deal less than the price named by the owner, taking the moment when he is depressed by some circumstances or when he is in immediate need of money. . . .
>
> We received from Miss Hallowell 45,000 f and today from Munroe & Co. 80,000 f; the pictures will leave by Saturday's steamer fully insured and I trust you will receive them in good order.

Thus the Corot episode was finally resolved to everyone's satisfaction. Colonel Payne unwittingly came out the victor; he ended up the owner of three superb paintings by Corot: L'Age d'or (R. No. 1276, Fig. 96), Femme et amour (R. No. 1998, Fig. 97), and Mademoiselle de Foudras (R. No. 2133, Fig. 98). Whereas Corot's silvery landscapes and mythological scenes were then highly sought after, his figure-studies were appreciated by relatively few. Harry

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Havemeyer was so pleased with his purchases on behalf of Colonel Payne that he immediately commissioned Durand-Ruel to buy for his own collection a Corot figure (Nymphe couchée au bord de la mer, R. No. 1376, Fig. 99) from the Henri Vever sale on February 2-3, 1897.[9] Apparently Mr. Havemeyer was overcoming his negative attitude towards nudes; besides, those by Corot appeared less provocative than those by Courbet.

Not every transaction involving Colonel Payne was quite as complicated. In 1898 Paul Durand-Ruel acquired Degas's L'Examen de danse (L. No. 397, Fig. 100), previously in the collection of Jean-Baptiste Faure. Degas's exquisite depiction of a class of dancers and their ballet master was warmly recommended to the Havemeyers by Durand-Ruel. However, in a magnanimous gesture, Harry Havemeyer decided to relinquish this picture so that Colonel Payne might have it; he was convinced that by living with such an exceptional work, his friend would come to esteem the art of Degas. The Colonel took Mr. Havemeyer's advice and purchased the ballet lesson,[10] about which Mary Cassatt wrote to the Havemeyers: "Durand-Ruel just returned from Vienna where he saw a Ver Meer von Delft, which he says is beautiful. Two million marks was asked or refused for it, I forget which. Col. Payne's Degas is more beautiful than any Ver Meer I ever saw. Tell him that."[11]

But Harry Havemeyer's strategy did not work as antic-

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ipated. Although grateful for his friend's generosity, Colonel Payne remained indifferent to Degas's painting, as later reported by Louisine:

> For many a long year afterward, whenever the Colonel dropped in for a neighborly chat he would refer to his indebtedness to Mr. Havemeyer for allowing him to acquire the picture. After my husband's death the Colonel and I were looking at the Foyer [12] and the Colonel said to me: "Your husband knew that I did not appreciate Degas as he did, but he knew that I could not do it. One day as we were looking at it together, he began telling me what a wonderful picture it was and trying to convince me how great Degas was. I don't know just what I said or did, but suddenly he stopped and said: 'Don't let us talk any more about it.' I fear I disappointed him; Mr. Havemeyer spoke very gently but there was something about him that struck me as unusual."
>
> I knew, for Mr. Havemeyer said to me several times: "If ever you have a chance, get that picture back. The Colonel does not care for it and would rather buy one of the English school." The Colonel promised I should have it back but alas, he never let me have it! 13

Colonel Payne's purchase of his first work by Degas added to the Havemeyers' own and numerous acquisitions were not the only significant occurrences of that year. Another important event had taken place at the very beginning of 1898, when the "Godmother"[14] of the Havemeyers' collection arrived in America for the first time in over a quarter of a century. Mary Cassatt, having at long last decided that she should take another look at her native land, sailed for New York at the end of December 1897. On January 4, 1898, Philadelphia's Public Ledger, in a column called "New York Letter," printed the following notice:

> Among the arrivals on the Bretagne to-day was Miss Mary Cassatt, who has lived and studied art abroad for many

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> years. She left for Philadelphia, where she will visit her family. Miss Cassatt's portraits--usually of women and children--are well known to lovers of art. She began her art studies in Philadelphia, but for many years has lived abroad, studying under Degas and influenced by the technique of Manet and Claude Monet. 15

On January 14, from her brother Gardner's town house at 1418 Spruce Street, Mary Cassatt wrote to her painter-friend from Boston:

> My Dear Miss Lamb,
>
> Your very kind letter reached me in Paris just as I was about leaving for this country. I have been here about ten days & so flurried & hurried that I am only now beginning to take possession of myself again. I am a bad sailor and the passage was dreadful.
>
> I lost my Mother two years ago, in October, & was so bereft and so tired of life that I thought I could not live, now I know I must & I am here to see quite a new world & renew old ties, & to work. I hope to see you soon, for there is a question of my going to Boston to do a pastel portrait of a child, & I look forward to talks with you with so much interest. I return to France in the spring, I hope to my own place, for we bought a home near Bachivillers before I lost my Mother--& then she died, & only there do I come to live. This is a curious experience to me, after twenty-two years absence everything is so different that I wonder if I really remember anything. . . . 16

Before leaving for Boston,[17] Mary Cassatt went to New York to visit the Havemeyers. Louisine must have been delighted to have her dearest friend and mentor as a guest in her home, where Cassatt could finally see assembled the treasures gathered at No. 1 East 66th Street, which she had never visited before.

Certainly among the two friends' greatest pleasures were excursions for paintings by their favorite artists. Louisine took maximum advantage of the presence of her

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staunchest ally; she later recalled one such occasion: "Miss Cassatt and I helped Mr. Havemeyer through the ordeal of deciding upon a large Manet by just buying one 'big one' for him ourselves. On a wintry morning during one of her very rare visits to America, Miss Cassatt and I were taking a walk together and as we passed the Durand-Ruel gallery she suggested we should drop in and see if they had received any new pictures."[18] The two women were greeted by Joseph Durand-Ruel, who did not disappoint them; he produced Manet's Le Port de Calais (R. & W. No. 174), a work recently returned by Harris Whittemore.[19] It seems that Mr. Whittemore had purchased Manet's marine from the Durand-Ruels in 1893 (see chap. IX, p. 210, and n. 24, p. 218) but brought it back in order to acquire a painting by Whistler. Cassatt, appalled over the fact that anyone could prefer Whistler to Manet, strongly felt that Louisine should not miss such an opportunity: "'You must buy it, my dear, Mr. Havemeyer must not lose it.'"[20] With the persuasive Mary Cassatt around, it was easier for Louisine to come to a quick decision; she bought Le Port de Calais on the spot without even consulting her husband.

But that was only half of what occurred. Her courage rapidly rising, Louisine went a step further. It is evident that she relished the following episode, recorded in her Memoirs:

> . . . rather elated with my purchase [Le Port de

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Calais, Fig. 101], I said something that had been on my mind for many a long day. I pointed to Manet's El Espada [R. & W. No. 111, Le Matador saluant]--the bull-fighter stands in the ring holding his sword, covered with the red cape, in his hand and doffs his cap, probably to the royal family, before attacking the bull. "I think we ought to buy that picture," I said.

"Why don't you?" quietly rejoined Miss Cassatt.

"I fear Mr. Havemeyer would think it too big," I answered.

"Don't be foolish," said Miss Cassatt. It is just the size Manet wanted it, and that ought to suffice for Mr. Havemeyer; besides, it is a splendid Manet, and I am sure he will like it if you buy it."

"Very well," I said, "I will buy it, and now let us go home and tell him."

I think we enjoyed "telling Mr. Havemeyer" what we had done quite as much as we had enjoyed buying the pictures. I made a little bow and, imitating his manner, repeated the words he always said when he presented a picture to me. "Mr. Havemeyer," I said, "Manet's Bullfighter is yours." He smiled so genially at us that Miss Cassatt said to me quickly: "What did I tell you?" But Mr. Havemeyer, not understanding what she meant, said to me: "It is no doubt a very fine picture, but now, my dear, it is up to you to hang it." Hanging it meant a lot of work which I enjoyed, but I was obliged to change many pictures. 21

Through the purchase of Manet's Le Matador saluant (Fig. 102), Mr. Havemeyer overcame his former objections to that painter's large canvases, as Louisine later recalled:

When my husband saw how well the big Manet looked in our gallery it was not long before he bought Manet's Majo [R. & W. No. 70, Fig. 103], a life-sized figure in a Spanish costume of the province of Catalonia. He has a pale face and brilliant black eyes; he leans upon a staff and a gorgeous red scarf is thrown over his arm. It is a strong portrait, done in Manet's most characteristic manner, and it makes a worthy pendant to the Bullfighter. Shortly after, Mr. Havemeyer bought the most important of our large Manets, Mlle. V. in the Costume of a Toreador [R. & W. No. 58, Fig. 104]. It was painted after Manet's return from Spain, where he undoubtedly studied Velazquez, and, I believe, determined to paint a large picture of a bullfight,

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> which project was never completely realized but to which we owe both our Bullfighter and Mlle. V. This picture of Mlle. V. is one of the greatest and most difficult things Manet ever did. . . . 22

Cassatt's visit spurred the Havemeyers into acquiring an entire group of significant works by Manet. At the auction of the collection of Gustave Goupy at the Hôtel Drouot on March 30, 1898, Durand-Ruel was able to secure two paintings by the artist on the Havemeyers' behalf. On April 27, Mr. Havemeyer wrote to express his satisfaction: "I am not aware whether I acknowledged the receipt of the pictures by Manet, the Marine [R. & W. N. 75, Le Kearsarge ā Boulogne, Fig. 105] and the Garden [R. & W. No. 155, Au jardin, Fig. 106 . Both are very fine. The Marine pleases me, especially. Should an opportunity occur to buy another fine Manet marine, I hope you will send me a photograph and particulars."[23]

Mr. Havemeyer's next acquisition was not another marine but Le Chemin de fer [R. & W. No. 207, Fig. 107], which had been sent to America for the Manet exhibition at Durand-Ruel's in 1895. Louisine later explained in her Memoirs that at the time of purchase they had to defend the work to those who were unable to understand how anyone could buy a picture with an unattractive child whose back is turned to the viewer and who, in addition, has a homely mother and an unappealing dog. The Havemeyers were often asked why they spent good money for a canvas containing iron rails and clouds of steam puffing out from almost

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invisible engines, when they could have obtained "a gorgeous academic, an imposing English portrait, or some splendid Eastern scene, for the same price."[24] But for Louisine the acquisition of Le Chemin de fer showed that her husband had reached a new level of appreciation for Manet's work: "The Gare St. Lazare Mr. Havemeyer bought to please himself, for the painter had become an open book to my husband and he recognized the Gare St. Lazare as one of Manet's greatest achievements, the ripened fruit after many years of growth, when, as Frenchmen say, he had 'found his way.'"[25]

While Louisine was pleased with the evolution of her husband's taste, Mary Cassatt was genuinely gratified by helping the Havemeyers acquire such pictures. At the same time she experienced professional satisfaction from a show of her work held while she was in America. On February 28, 1898, the Durand-Ruels opened in their New York gallery an exhibition of her paintings, pastels, and etchings; Mary Cassatt's art received its most favorable notice to date by American critics.[26] The Art Amateur, for instance, praised the show in its April issue: "There is, indeed, no artist living who might not be proud of some of these pictures. Miss Cassatt has a marked predilection for the painting of robust women and healthy children. She despises prettiness; but though some of her models might be called ugly, all are full of life and vigor, and no one

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can deny that she makes beautiful pictures of even the most commonplace."[27] In May that journal went so far as to feature a painting by "the impressionist from Pennsylvania" on its cover--Mother and Child (B. No. 151), a portrait study that had been owned by the Havemeyers since 1895--as well as to reproduce six other works by Cassatt, together with a complimentary review of her production.[28] The Havemeyers lent at least two other pictures to Cassatt's exhibition: their pastel Baby's First Caress (B. No. 189, also purchased from the Durand-Ruels in 1895 (see chap. X, pp. 236-37), and their pastel Portrait of Adaline (B. No. 256), specifically mentioned in the New York Times review.[29]

Mary Cassatt was finally beginning to receive recognition in her own country. Actually the decade of the nineties was the busiest and most prolific of the artist's life; she was then at the height of her creative powers. In terms of her role as adviser, Cassatt would become more active after the turn of the century, when she would make special trips to different countries in search of paintings for Louisine and Harry. Following her stay in Boston, Cassatt went to Naugatuck, Connecticut, where she visited the Whittemores (who had commissioned portraits of several family members)[30] and met Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Atmore Pope and their daughter Theodate, who, although considerably younger, would become a close friend of the artist.

Mary Cassatt returned to France in the spring of 1898

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and would cross the ocean only one more time, in 1908, for her last visit to her native land. She preferred to see her American friends in Europe rather than subject herself to another dreaded Atlantic voyage. Cassatt kept in constant touch through her letters, which would become more numerous after 1900. She delighted in bringing certain of her friends together, especially when they could share an appreciation for one another's collections. In a letter dated March 14 (most likely 1899), she wrote the following to the mother of Harris, Mrs. John Howard Whittemore: "Tell Mr. Harris he must go and see Mrs. Havemeyer when he is in New York. She will be very glad to see him and show him their new Degas. They are superb and their Manets too."[31]

The very presence of Mary Cassatt, with her strong convictions concerning the merits of modern French painting, stimulated the Havemeyers into a particularly active period of buying during 1898 and 1899. In addition to their seven canvases by Manet and at least a half a dozen works by Degas,[32] they also acquired more examples by Monet, Courbet, and Cassatt herself.

Within a year of Colonel Payne's purchase of Degas's L'Examen de danse, the Havemeyers were given an opportunity to buy an earlier version of this subject. On July 7, 1899, Paul Durand-Ruel submitted the following proposal to Mr. Havemeyer:

I will call your attention to another work of Degas [L.

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> No. 341, Classe de danse, Fig. 108], of which you must have seen a photograph as it was sent to New York. . . . It is of the same quality as the one we sold to Colonel Payne. It was painted in 1875 [33] and is so clear in color that it almost looks painted only yesterday. Pictures of that high class and of that period by Degas will be absolutely impossible to find at any price in a few years; even now I do not know where I could get another one of that quality even by paying a much higher price than what we ask for this one. We could deliver in New York that picture of Degas for 16,000 dollars, duties paid.

In the same letter Durand-Ruel offered the Havemeyers another picture:

> As for the small painting by Degas [L. No. 258, Le Faux Départ, Fig. 109], it is one of the finest pictures we ever had by him; it was painted in 1864 and you know that the works of Degas of that period are almost impossible to find now. It was bought through Mr. Rouart from Degas, by one of his partners who would not have sold it for any price; [34] we were able to secure it only after his death and of course we had to pay a big price for it. I will deliver the picture to you in New York for 10,000 dollars, duties paid.

In spite of Durand-Ruel's insistent prodding, Mr. Havemeyer was not tempted and replied on July 24: "I am in receipt of your letter of July 7th. I have submitted the same to Mrs. Havemeyer, and regret having to announce that we do not care to acquire either of the Degas.[35] The jockey on the horse passing the grand stand [Le Faux Départ] looks admirable, but the price of ten thousand dollars delivered seems extremely high. You naturally understand that without the opportunity to see these pictures we are somewhat embarrassed about buying them."

It seems strange that the Havemeyers decided to pass up such splendid works, and their excuse was most peculiar,

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as they had already bought pictures after simply looking at photographs. Although they had not actually seen Le Faux Départ, they certainly were familiar with Colonel Payne's Degas and the ballet lesson they were being offered was similar.[36] They may have found the prices for the two pictures excessive, hoping that Mary Cassatt would come across works of equivalent quality for less money. Disappointed by their decision, Paul Durand-Ruel explained his own position to Mr. Havemeyer on August 25, 1899:

> I did not answer earlier your letter of the 24th of July having been absent from Paris when it came. I understand as you say that you should be embarassed [sic] about buying the painting of Degas Jockey near the grandstand without seeing it. My reason for not sending that painting to New York is that I offered it to nobody but yourself wishing to keep it for me if possible; according if you had not taken it after seeing it I would have had to return it here; losing the amount of duties, however, before placing it in my apartment I offered it to you in case you would want it for yourself. It is a superb painting of the early period of the artist and it is considered as one of his master pieces.

Durand-Ruel was then particularly anxious for the Havemeyers to obtain fine early works by Degas, since he felt guilty about the unpleasant incident that had occurred at the beginning of that very year of 1899, concerning the artist's painting Le Pédicure (L. No. 323, Fig. 110).

The year had started off well enough. The Havemeyers had just secured three superior Degas pastels: La Leçon de danse (L. No. 450, Fig. 111), which had formerly belonged to Renoir;[37] Danseuses à leur toilette (L. No. 576, Fig. 112);[38] and Chez la modiste (L. No. 682, Fig. 113).[39] On

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January 3, 1899, Mr. Havemeyer wrote Paul Durand-Ruel to tell him how pleased he and his wife were about these latest acquisitions. But in this same letter he expressed their interest in another picture by the artist: "In looking over the photographs which Joseph submitted of DeGas' works, she [Mrs. Havemeyer] was struck with the Pedicure. The price of 62,500 francs [$12,500] seems to me very large. I have written Miss Cassatt about the quality of the work, and in the meantime would suggest your endeavoring to get a lower price from the owner.[40] It seems to me very high for the importance of the work." Ten days later (January 13, 1889) the dealer relayed the following news to Mr. Havemeyer:

> Je suis contrarié d'avoir à vous annoncer que le Pédicure de Degas est vendu à Mr. de Camondo. [41] Il a payé le prix que nous avions chargé Joseph de vous indiquer; nous ne le lui avons montré que lorsque nous avons cru que vous renonciez à l'acheter.
> Les oeuvres de Degas et de Manet sont de plus en plus recherchées à Paris et partout en Europe: et nous ne pouvons plus en trouver à aucun prix.

Paul Durand-Ruel was in no mood to haggle over the cost of Degas's Le Pédicure when he had such an important client as Count Camondo ready to buy the picture at the asking price. He may also have felt that Harry Havemeyer needed to realize that times had changed. If he wanted the best available works, he would have to act quickly without bargaining.[42] In order to cushion the blow of the loss of Le Pédicure, the dealer, in his letter of January 13, made Mr. Havemeyer another proposition:

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> Nous avons écrit a Joseph de vous parler du tableau [L. No. 399, La Répétition au foyer, Fig. 114] et du pastel [L. No. 498, Répétition de ballet sur la scène, Fig. 115] qui ont fait partie de la collection May [43] et que nous vous engagions fortement à nous autoriser à acheter pour votre compte. Il faudra les payer assez cher mais ils sont superbes tous les deux et à mon avis valent 25 mille dollars. Je ne puis que vous confirmer mon avis à ce sujet, et je suis certain que vous n'auriez pas à regretter cet achat. Toute ma crainte est que ces deux oeuvres remarquables soient prises par un autre avant votre décision.

Harry Havemeyer did not seem to appreciate the fact that the Durand-Ruels could not afford to buy such expensive works from an owner except for the account of a client who would reimburse them immediately. Moreover, there was the pressure of time; if the owner received a better offer before the Durand-Ruels made theirs, he was under no obligation to wait.

When Mr. Havemeyer received Paul Durand-Ruel's letter, he had only one emotion: anger! On January 24, 1899, he penned the following response:

> Dear Sir:
>
> I have your communication of the 13th of January, bearing upon the sale of Le Pédicure. In all frankness I must state that nothing surprised me more than the sale of this picture while negotiations were still pending with myself. The photograph was shown to Mrs. Havemeyer by your son Joseph, and at her request I authorized you to open negotiations for the picture. Miss Cassatt had brought it to Mrs. Havemeyer's attention some years ago, as a remarkably fine work of the artist. Immediately upon receipt of your cable, I sent the photograph to Miss Cassatt, to ascertain if it was the picture she had spoken to Mrs. Havemeyer about, and wrote you of the fact, requesting you in the interval to obtain a lower price. It seems to me that while this was transpiring you offered the picture to some one else. This picture was not in the market. It was

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brought into the market on a commission from myself. I do not think you had any right to offer this picture to any one until I had definitely declined its purchase. It will undoubtedly grieve you that Mrs. Havemeyer is extremely affected by this transaction.

Yours truly,
H. O. Havemeyer

Paul Durand-Ruel presented his point of view to Mr. Havemeyer on February 3: "Je suis bien contrarié de voir que vous regrettez le Pédicure de Degas mais comme je vous l'écrivais le 13 janvier je n'avais proposé le tableau à personne avant de connaître votre décision et je ne l'ai montré à M. de Camondo que lorsque j'ai été persuadé que vous renonciez à l'acheter. J'ai bien failli moi-même voir le tableau m'échapper à cause des délais que j'avais été obligé de demander pour attendre votre réponse." Meanwhile Mr. Havemeyer had sent a cable to the dealer, authorizing the purchase of both Degas's painting and pastel formerly in the May collection;[44] in his same letter of February 3, Durand-Ruel stated: "Je suis heureux d'avoir pu vous dédommager par l'acquisition des deux Degas de May; ce sont deux chefs d'oeuvre mais là encore j'ai eu du mal à ne pas me les laisser enlever."

On February 20, Mr. Havemeyer could not resist mentioning once more the incident of Le Pédicure, but he was relatively mild-mannered considering the abrasiveness of which he was capable: "I have your letter of the 3rd of February, bearing in part upon Le Pédicure. I will only have to refer you to my letter for the facts as far as this

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side of the water is concerned in the matter." He had indeed been soothed by the acquisition of Degas's works from the May collection: "I am very much pleased with the two Degas. They certainly are admirable." He also informed Paul Durand-Ruel that he had decided to obtain yet another Degas pastel of dancers: "I authorized Joseph to buy the two figures, one by the piano and one sitting on it [L. No. 343, Danseuses au repos, Fig. 116], although I considered the price extreme. I am not quite familiar with the ruling price of Degas. They appear to be very irregular--very extreme and then again comparatively low." As angry as Mr. Havemeyer had been about Le Pédicure, he realized that he could not afford to sever relations with the Durand-Ruels, who for many years had remained his most consistent and reliable source for the finest pictures of every school.

Mr. Havemeyer now had to pay more substantial prices for modern French pictures which, until very recently, could hardly be sold for even the most meager sums. By the end of the nineties, the art of these former revolutionaries had become quite acceptable on both sides of the Atlantic. In a letter to Harry Havemeyer of December 22, 1899, Paul Durand-Ruel observed: "There is actually in Paris a kind of fever which has taken possession of all the amateurs and dealers in objects of art and consequently a high increase has taken place on the paintings and espe-

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cially of those of the new school. We must be there all the time still more to seize the occasions of purchasing than to sell. . . ." Both in Paris and New York, the Durand-Ruels were buying up works for their inventory from collectors to whom, in many instances, they had originally sold them.

It seems that the firm's American clients were constantly bringing back pictures, either as part of a trade, or simply because they no longer cared for them. The Havemeyers often took advantage of this, the more so as earlier works by the moderns were becoming scarce. Such was the case with Monet's La Vague verte, 1865 (W. No. 73, Fig. 117), a painting that Mary Cassatt had purchased in 1883 on behalf of her brother (see chap. I, p. 22, and n. 28, p. 31); in 1898 Alexander Cassatt returned it to the Durand-Ruels, who subsequently sold it to the Havemeyers. The next year Louisine and Harry acquired through that same gallery three pictures that had belonged to Catholina Lambert of Paterson, New Jersey.[45] Two of these were Monet flower paintings that had initially been bought by Alden Weyman Kingman at the first Impressionist exhibition held in New York in 1886 (see chap. III, pp. 64-65). Kingman returned them to Durand-Ruel's New York branch in 1892,[46] at which time they were acquired by Lambert, who kept them until 1899. Thus between 1886 and 1899 Monet's Boquet de soleils (W. No. 628, Fig. 118) and his Chrysanthèmes (W.

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No. 634, Fig. 119) were owned by no fewer than three different American collectors. Probably at the same time and from the same source, the Havemeyers also bought a work by Renoir, which had previously been sold to Catholina Lambert in 1892. Renoir's Femme assise au bord de la mer (D. R. No. 448, Fig. 120) remained the only painting by that artist in the Havemeyer collection.[47]

Most of the pictures purchased by the Havemeyers during the last two years of the nineteenth century were brought to their attention by the Paris gallery of Durand-Ruel,[48] usually assisted by Mary Cassatt. Often the procedure was that one of the dealer's sons in New York would show a photograph to the Havemeyers, while Cassatt would look at the original in Paris. Then either Louisine or Harry would confidentially request her opinion and, if given a positive response, would have the painting shipped to America. But if Paul Durand-Ruel had a work on consignment from an impatient owner, he too would approach Mary Cassatt (who spent the summers at her Château de Beaufresne) to find out how matters were progressing. Thus, on August 18, 1898, he wrote to her about Courbet's La Belle Irlandaise (F. No. 538, Fig. 121):

> Je reçois d'Amérique le renseignement suivant. On m'écrit que Mr. Havemeyer a vu la photographie du Courbet femme au miroir que nous vous avons montré dernièrement, que le sujet ne lui déplait pas mais qu'il attend pour se décider l'avis d'une personne à laquelle il a écrit en la priant de voir le tableau.
>
> Je pense que c'est à vous que Mr. Havemeyer a écrit.

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> Je serais bien aisé, en ce cas, de savoir si vous êtes d'avis que le tableau doit être acheté car il ne m'appartient pas et on vient précisément de me demander de le reprendre. J'ai obtenu quelques jours de répit pour avoir le temps de vous consulter.

Obviously Mary Cassatt thought highly of Courbet's painting; it arrived at Durand-Ruel's New York branch in October 1898 and not long afterwards was delivered to 1 East 66th Street.[49]

Meanwhile the Durand-Ruels had been on the lookout for fine examples by Mary Cassatt. On February 20, 1899, Mr. Havemeyer wrote concerning one of her paintings, sent to New York for his inspection: "I bought the Cassatt with three figures and landscape [B. No. 343, Fig. 122], as I consider it an admirable work. My wife is very much pleased with it."[50] In June of that year Mr. Havemeyer was shown a photograph of another Cassatt picture; he requested that it be shipped to New York so that he "could look at it with a view of buying it."[51] But this time the Havemeyers decided to purchase the work, The Oval Mirror (B. No. 338, Fig. 123), even before it was shipped, adopting their usual practice of sending a telegram to expedite negotiations. On July 7, 1899, Paul Durand-Ruel acknowledged Mr. Havemeyer's proposal:

> We received a cable from our New-York house about the Cassatt, number of photograph 1284, offering us 2000 dollars of the picture delivered in New-York. We accept the offer: the picture will leave tomorrow.
> We asked Degas his opinion about the picture; he considers it the finest work that Mary Cassatt ever did; he says it contains all her qualities and is particularly characteristic of her talent.

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Durand-Ruel did not know, however, what Degas had told the artist. Mary Cassatt herself relayed to Louisine his exact words, and Louisine recorded them in her Memoirs: "When he saw my Boy before the Mirror he said to Durand-Ruel: 'Where is he? I must see her at once. It is the greatest picture of the century.' When I saw him he went over all the details of the picture with me and expressed great admiration for it, and then, as if regretting what he had said, he relentlessly added: 'It has all your qualities and all your faults--c'est l'Enfant Jésus et sa bonne anglaise.'"[52]

This triangular relationship among client, dealer, and artist-adviser was and would continue to be the cornerstone of the Havemeyer collection. Assisted by her two allies, Louisine slowly but steadily managed to develop the scope of her husband's taste to the point where he became a true admirer of Courbet, Manet, Degas, Monet, and Cassatt. Louisine's own aesthetic appreciation was expanding sufficiently for her to next consider paintings by Cézanne, then totally unknown in America, but who was just beginning to create a stir among a select few in his own country. In her quest for works by Cézanne, Louisine would again display the originality and farsightedness of her vision. For once, though, she would not be guided by Paul Durand-Ruel, who did not see much merit in most of the artists who emerged after the Impressionists; and she would be only

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marginally supported by Mary Cassatt, whose appreciation for Cézanne did not extend beyond his still lifes. But Durand-Ruel and Mary Cassatt cannot be faulted for the fact that they could not absorb the innovations of the Post-Impressionists and their followers. Instead they continued to encourage Louisine and Harry to acquire the very finest works by the artists to whom they were committed. As a result, the Havemeyers formed a unique assemblage of old master and modern paintings of remarkable quality, which enhanced one another's greatness as they hung side by side at 1 East 66th Street.

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NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

1. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 33. According to W. A. Swanberg, Colonel Payne had already begun a collection of fashionable European Salon paintings even before he occupied his four-story mansion next door to the Havemeyers. See W. A. Swanberg, Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), p. 66.

2. Colonel Oliver Hazard Payne was the son of United States Senator Henry Payne of Cleveland and brother-in-law of William Whitney, who was married to his sister Flora. The Colonel spent close to twenty years working for Standard Oil (he was their treasurer as well as a major stockholder) and was also involved in iron manufacturing, in addition to being a director of numerous corporations. See the New York Times, June 28, 1917, for his obituary, and Swanberg, Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress, for his relationship with the Whitney family.

3. According to Kysela, she was also the official private agent for the museums of St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Boston. See Kysela, "Mary Cassatt's Mystery Mural and the World's Fair of 1893," p. 145, n. 45.

4. New York Times, December 31, 1905, mag. sec., part 3, p. 6.

5. Sara Hallowell's unpublished letter of August 14, 1894, is in the Archives of the Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris; her address on the letterhead was 11 rue Lemaître, Puteaux-Seine.

6. Paul Durand-Ruel to Sara Hallowell, August 20, 1894, Archives, Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris. In the same letter, Durand-Ruel urged Hallowell to continue writing newspaper articles, which he felt would augment her reputation in the Paris art world.

7. Upon arriving in France, Sara Hallowell had gone to visit Mary Cassatt at her mother's rented villa at Cap d'Antibes. The artist wrote the following to Durand-Ruel on March 1, 1894: "Nous attendons une visite de Mlle. Hallowell qui vient se reposer de ses travaux du World's Fair. Elle vient à Gênes et s'arrête à Gibraltar pour visiter le Midi de l'Espagne."

8. In 1905, the New York Times article provided a descrip-

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tion of her Paris residence: "In the Boulevard St. Michel, in a large, interesting house of the seventeenth century, with a lovely old garden, Miss Hallowell has lived for years with her mother. There congregate many of the brightest and best of Paris--Cazin, de Monvel, the illustrator of the life of Joan d'Arc, and others known to fame. Nowhere else, perhaps, is there so complete or interesting a collection of Rodin's sculpture" (see the New York Times, December 31, 1905).

9. The Havemeyers would obtain two more Corot figure-pieces in the summer of 1899: La Comédie (R. No. 1388, Metropolitan Museum of Art), bought from Durand-Ruel in June, and Bohémienne rêveuse (R. No. 1422, Metropolitan Museum of Art), acquired from the same source for $5,000 on the last day of August.

10. Jean-Baptiste Faure, the well-known baritone of the Paris Opera and one of the earliest French collectors of Impressionism, had originally bought Degas's L'Examen de danse (L. No. 397) for 500 francs ($100) from the artist. In 1898 Faure sold the painting for 100,000 francs ($20,000) to Durand-Ruel, who then sold it to Colonel Payne for 125,000 francs ($25,000). See Venturi, Les Archives, 2:195.

11. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 24. The Vermeer painting Durand-Ruel saw in Vienna was probably A Painter in His Studio (Kunsthistorisches Museum), which was then owned privately.

12. The picture Mrs. Havemeyer actually meant was Degas's L'Examen de danse (L. No. 397). Louisine mistakenly referred to the Foyer (La Répétition au foyer de la danse, L. No. 362), which was the artist's second painting to be bought by the Colonel. However, this purchase would not be made until August 1909, almost two years after the death of Harry Havemeyer, who did not live to see his friend finally become an admirer of Degas's work.

13. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 264.

14. Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 21.

15. Public Ledger, January 4, 1898, p. 18. All accounts of Mary Cassatt's life state rather vaguely that her visit to America took place in 1898-99; the notice in Philadelphia's Public Ledger firmly establishes the

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fact that she arrived in her native land early in January 1898.

16. Mary Cassatt to Rose Lamb, January 14, 1898, Archives, Department of Prints and Drawings, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Cassatt went back to Philadelphia during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and then left permanently for Europe in 1872. But on the basis of her 1898 letter to Rose Lamb, it would appear that Mary Cassatt returned again to America in 1876 (twenty-two years earlier), yet any such 1876 visit is undocumented. For recently discovered biographical data concerning Cassatt's early career, see Nancy Mowll Mathews, "Mary Cassatt and the 'Modern Madonna' of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1980), pp. 7-38. However, the chronology established on the basis of these new documents seems rather vague.

17. Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner Greene Hammond of Boston commissioned Mary Cassatt to do pastel portraits of their three young children (B. Nos. 292-95), on the recommendation of John Singer Sargent. See Sweet, _Miss Mary Cassatt, Impressionist from Pennsylvania_, pp. 150-51.

18. Mrs. Havemeyer, _Memoirs_, p. 222.

19. In her _Memoirs_ (pp. 222-23) Mrs. Havemeyer incorrectly identified Manet's marine returned by Harris Whittemore as one of the artist's scenes of the famous naval battle, during the American Civil War, between the _Alabama_ (a Confederate ship) and the _Kearsarge_ (a Union ship), which took place outside the harbor of Cherbourg. But the Havemeyers purchased their one and only painting of this subject, _Le Kearsarge à Boulogne_ (R. & W. No. 75) from the Gustave Goupy auction in March 1898 (see chap. XII, p. 296). The picture that had belonged to Harris Whittemore and was acquired by the Havemeyers through Durand-Ruel in the winter of 1898 was _Le Port de Calais_ (R. & W. No. 174).

20. Mrs. Havemeyer, _Memoirs_, p. 223.

21. Ibid., pp. 223-24.

22. Ibid., p. 224. According to George Frelinghuysen, _Mlle. V. in the Costume of a Toreador_ was his grandmother's favorite painting among all those in the Havemeyer collection.

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23. The young Julie Manet, daughter of Berthe Morisot and Eugène Manet, brother of Edouard, recorded in her diary on March 29, 1898, a visit to the exhibition of the Goupy pictures, where she saw the two works by her uncle that were subsequently acquired by the Havemeyers: "Dans le jour avant d'aller à la chapelle nous voyons à l'Hôtel Drouot la Collection Goupil [sic] qu'on vend demain; il y a l'Alabama retouché, au large de Cherbourg [Goupy sale, Lot. No. 20] à la mer verte de mon oncle Edouard, et aussi de lui Tante Edma en robe de mousseline blanche avec voiture d'enfant derrière elle et l'oncle Tiburce" (Goupy sale, Lot. No. 21). See Julie Manet, Journal (1893-1899) (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1979), p. 160. The Rouart-Wildenstein Manet catalogue raisonné points out that for many years this marine was mistakenly identified as L'Alabama au large de Cherbourg, whereas its subject is actually Le Kearsarge à Boulogne (R. & W. No. 75). It has often been presumed that Manet's Au jardin (R. & W. No. 155) shows the Italian artist Joseph de Nittis and his family, to whom Manet gave the work. However, according to Julie Manet, the man and woman in the garden are her mother's sister Edma (Morisot) and the latter's husband Tiburce Pontillon. This identification is confirmed in Correspondance de Berthe Morisot, ed. Denis Rouart (Paris: Quatre Chemins, 1905), p. 40.

24. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 239.

25. Ibid., p. 237.

26. See "Art Notes," The Critic 29 (March 5, 1898):169, and the New York Times, March 5, 1898, p. 158, for reviews of Cassatt's show.

27. "Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 38 (April 1898):107.

28. Roger Riordan, "Miss Mary Cassatt," The Art Amateur 38 (May 1898):130.

29. See the New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art, March 5, 1898, p. 158.

30. In a letter to Frederick Sweet of January 25, 1955, Harris Whittemore, Jr., wrote: "At the time of Miss Cassatt's visit to Naugatuck she made three crayon portraits. One was of Mrs. John Howard Whittemore [grandmother of Harris, Jr.], another one was of me, Little Boy with Golden Curls, (I now hide my identity whenever possible) and one of my mother, Justine

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Brockway Whittemore with my sister Helen Brockway Whittemore in her arms whose age must have been about one and a half." This letter is among the Frederick Sweet Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

31. Mary Cassatt to Mrs. John Howard Whittemore, March 14, [1899], Archives of American Art. The attributed date of 1899 is based on certain references by Cassatt to events that occurred during that particular year.

32. Another Degas painting purchased by the Havemeyers in 1898 was Ballet de Robert le Diable (L. No. 294, Metropolitan Museum of Art), a work the Durand-Ruels had bought back from Jean-Baptiste Faure in 1894.

33. Paul Durand-Ruel's date of 1875 for Degas's Classe de danse (L. No. 341) is incorrect; the painting was shown at the Première Exposition Impressioniste (Cat. No. 55) in 1874 and was probably executed that very year.

34. Henri Rouart's "partner" from whose estate both these paintings came (Classe de danse and Le Faux Départ) was the painter Jacques-Emile-Edouard Brandon, who had exhibited with the Impressionists in 1874 and was also a friend of Degas. The dealer's use of the word partner is misleading, because Brandon was not an actual business associate of Rouart's; the true nature of their relationship was defined in a letter from Denis Rouart to John Rewald, dated April 25, 1976: "Il se pourrait alors qu'il s'agisse de M. Brandon, camarade 'binôme, d'Henri Rouart à l'Ecole Polytechnique resté son ami jusqu'à sa mort, relativement jeune. La terme 'binôme' correspondait à une sorte de jumelage traditionnellement établi à Polytechnique parmi les élèves."

35. Eventually Degas's Classe de danse (L. No. 341) would be bought by Count Isaac de Camondo, who bequeathed it to the Louvre. Le Faux Départ (L. No. 258) is today in the collection of John Hay Whitney.

36. For a comparison of Colonel Payne's Degas, L'Examen de danse (L. No. 397), and the Classe de danse (L. No. 341), offered to the Havemeyers in 1899, see John Rewald, "The Realism of Degas," The Magazine of Art 39, no. 1 (January 1946):13.

37. According to the Galerie Durand-Ruel's archives, Renoir sold this pastel to Durand-Ruel on December 12, 1898, doubtless to raise money for the purchase of

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Corot's Le Port de la Rochelle, which he acquired through the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune on December 22, 1898.

38. On March 26, 1898, the Durand-Ruels had bought Degas's Danseuses à leur toilette (L. No. 576) from the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune; it had previously belonged to Ernest May and was included in his sale of June 4, 1890 (Lot No. 76).

39. In her Memoirs (pp. 257-58), Louisine stated that Mary Cassatt secured for the Havemeyers Degas's Chez la modiste (L. No. 682), for which Cassatt herself had posed. However, they acquired it at the beginning of 1899 from Paul Durand-Ruel, who had bought it on May 28, 1895, from Martin & Camentron, the Parisian dealers located on the rue Laffitte.

40. The owner of Le Pédicure, James Burke, was an affluent Englishman and a friend and patron of Bernard Berenson, on whose advice he had bought this picture in 1892. See Ernest Samuels, Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur (Cambridge: Harvard University, Belknap Press, 1979), p. 158. In a letter dated April 18, 1980, Charles Durand-Ruel wrote the following to John Rewald: "En ce qui concerne le Degas: Le Pédicure, nous l'avons vendu le 27 Août 1892 à Mr. Burke (son adresse est: Windlesham, Bagshot, Surrey), en même temps qu'un Boudin, un Pissarro et un Besnard. Nous avons racheté ce tableau à Mr. Burke le 27 Décembre 1898 pour le revendre au Comte de Camondo le 11 janvier 1899."

41. Scion of a family of bankers who had acquired their title in Italy, although they were originally from Constantinople, Count Issac de Camondo was a discriminating collector of works of art from many periods, beginning with the Middle Ages and ending with the Impressionists. In 1897 he had already pledged to the Louvre certain pieces from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; in his will of 1908 his entire collection would be bequeathed to that museum on the condition that everything be accepted and exhibited. (See Germain Bazin, French Impressionists in the Louvre [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1958], pp. 54-55.) More than once Count Camondo and the Havemeyers would compete for a particular picture, as was the case with Le Pédicure.

42. On January 10, 1899, Joseph Durand-Ruel, who was then in New York, had cabled the Paris gallery requesting

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them to telegraph Mr. Havemeyer to buy Degas's Le Pédicure for $12,000 immediately or he would be in danger of losing it. Obviously Harry Havemeyer did not heed this warning.

43. Although Degas's La Répétition au foyer (L. No. 399) and his Répétition de ballet sur la scène (L. No. 498) had been in the Ernest May sale held at the Galerie Georges Petit on June 4, 1890 (Lots Nos. 30 and 75), both works had been bought in and remained in May's possession.

44. On January 25, 1899, the following message was cabled via Joseph Durand-Ruel: "Havemeyer says use your discretion about buying May two Degas not exceeding 125,000 francs for the two quality necessarily superb otherwise not."

45. Catholina Lambert, a silk manufacturer who lived in a fourteenth-century English-style castle on a mountain overlooking Paterson, New Jersey, was a prolific collector whose holdings would eventually include some four hundred paintings ranging from Italian, Dutch, English, and Spanish old masters through the Impressionists. Lambert was among the earliest American admirers of Monet; his first documented purchase of the artist's work from the firm of Durand-Ruel was 1888, but it is possible that he acquired two of Monet's canvases even before that date. Lambert, like others among his fellow countrymen, was constantly returning paintings to the Durand-Ruels; during the single year of 1895 he brought back no fewer than seven works by Monet. The sale of his vast collection in February 1916--at which time the eighty-two-year-old Lambert was suffering financial difficulties--included six paintings by Monet, in addition to examples by Sisley (eight), Pissarro (seven), Renoir (four), and Boudin (three), plus twenty-nine works by Monticelli, whom Lambert had known personally. See the Catalogue of the Catholina Lambert Collection (New York: The American Art Association, February 21-24, 1916); also Towner, The Elegant Auctioneers, pp. 324-27.

46. Between 1892 and 1896 Alden Weyman Kingman returned to Durand-Ruel a dozen Monet paintings, all of which had been bought from that dealer in 1886.

47. For Mrs. Havemeyer's intense dislike of Renoir, see chap. XI, n. 31, p. 281.

48. There were on occasion other sources, such as for the

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Monet painting Neige à Argenteuil (W. No. 349), which the Havemeyers acquired from Boussod, Valadon, et Cie. in 1898.

49. Soon after its arrival Courbet's La Belle Irlandaise was lent to the Union League Club of New York for their November 1898 exhibition, "Old Master and Modern Paintings" (Cat. No. 15, Woman and Mirror).

50. Breeskin assigns the date of 1901 to Cassatt's painting Family Group, Reading (B. No. 343), but according to the Galerie Durand-Ruel's archives, the work was purchased from the artist on November 24, 1898.

51. Harry Havemeyer to the Durand-Ruels, June 28, 1899.

52. Mrs. Havemeyer, Memoirs, p. 244.

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CONCLUSION

By 1900 the character of the Havemeyer collection was firmly established. Until Harry Havemeyer's death in 1907 and that of Louisine in 1929, they would continue to purchase works reflecting the consistency of their taste, based on a central idea. From every school and no matter what period, they selected pictures devoted to the direct observation of the real world as opposed to those adhering to the academic tradition, that is embedded in the antique, historical, or religious past. They avoided paintings that were anecdotal, sentimental, or coquettish; instead they were particularly responsive to portrayals of people, either as individual character studies or as engaged in daily pursuits and integrated with their environment. This precept made it possible for them to hang their modern works in complete harmony with their older masters; there was an aesthetic kinship among all the Havemeyer paintings which also shared a quality of monumentality.

In the modern section of the Havemeyer collection the sober realism of earlier schools was succeeded by the vivid Naturalism that developed in France during the second half of the nineteenth century. Here the selected works continued a painterly heritage transmitted from Corot, Millet,

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and Courbet, to Manet and the Impressionists. While the pictures combined a contemporaneity of subject with a great freedom of execution, they also displayed a link between modernity and tradition. With the exception of Monet's landscapes, the Havemeyers did not respond to "pure" Impressionist paintings, characterized by outdoor scenes rendered in bright colors and loose, fragmented brushstrokes. They did appreciate new ways of looking at a motif, unusual angles of perspective, and probing, even provocative observations of contemporary life, but they preferred such works within an established tradition of draughtsmanship. The pictures assembled by the Havemeyers do not often display the Impressionist dissolution of forms, because both of them chose works that emphasize figures. With such predilections, their favorite artists were Courbet, Manet, Degas, and Cassatt, who never let preoccupations with color and light overpower their interest in drawing and composition.

The Havemeyers were not vanguardists. Their stylistic cutoff point was c. 1890; they did not even consider any of the French movements that developed subsequently. The furthest they would go was to the work of Cézanne, which they regarded as the culmination of what had been begun by Corot, and continued by Courbet, Manet, and Degás. To them, Cézanne was not the precursor of the avant-garde of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but

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rather represented the return to a classic, monumental approach to painting, which had its roots in earlier periods. They saw his compositions as having the structure and solidity, as well as the objectivity and sobriety which made them old masterly.

Thus the Havemeyers, while limiting the scope of their nineteenth-century French pictures, concentrated on an in-depth accumulation of works by their favorite painters. More than anything, the uniqueness of the Havemeyer collection lies in the consistent quality of their selections. From small-scale ballet dancers by Degas, to luscious Courbet nudes, to almost life-size toreadors by Manet, to Cassatt's sensitive mothers and children, one finds again and again the best of these artists' productions. This level of excellence has kept these paintings from becoming simply period pieces or social records; works of such quality can never appear dated. The Havemeyers' acquisitions were an expression of both their sensibility and their love for art. Though Mary Cassatt and Paul Durand-Ruel repeatedly brought pictures to their attention, had these not struck a sympathetic response in Louisine and Harry, their efforts would have been in vain.

After the turn of the century, the Havemeyers continued to increase the volume of their purchases. In addition to their modern French pictures and occasional old masters, they would venture further into the little-known field of

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Spanish painting, virtually becoming the first Americans to acquire works by El Greco, just as they had been when, in 1897, they bought two of Goya's portraits. Their 1901 trip to Spain, in the company of Mary Cassatt, was to mark the beginning of their concerted efforts to obtain such pictures, which sometimes took years to secure because of the complex negotiations that had to be carried on with their owners (usually impoverished nobility). It is understandable that the Havemeyers would become strongly attracted to Spanish art, since they saw it as having influenced Manet and even Cassatt.

This second half of the development of the Havemeyer collection (1900-1929) is reserved for a future study. After the death of Harry Havemeyer, his widow kept adding to the wealth of art that she and her husband had assembled together. As the fame of the collection grew, so did the number of renowned visitors to the Havemeyer home. Louisine would also establish a close friendship with a fellow collector, Charles Lang Freer, based on mutual respect and admiration for one another's prodigious activities. Mrs. Havemeyer continued her European trips for the purpose of purchasing works as well as for viewing other notable collections, both public and private. She consciously filled in gaps in her own collection, making sure that she had early, middle, as well as the latest works by her preferred artists. Although innately frugal, she was able to adjust

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to the fact that times had changed in terms of the prices she used to pay. On two occasions--at auctions in 1912 and 1913--she even spent record-breaking sums for paintings she was determined to obtain. Her pioneering spirit was again aroused when, several years after Degas's death (1917), Louisine went to Paris and purchased a complete set of his sculptures (seventy-two pieces); she bought No. 1 of Series A of the original twenty-two posthumous casts made by the founder Hébrard. Mrs. Havemeyer was once again guided by Mary Cassatt, who had told her: "Degas' statues are as fine, and as great as anything the Greeks or Egyptians ever did. They will constantly increase in appreciation and value" (Mrs. Havemeyer's unpublished chapter on Mary Cassatt, p. 32).

Another cause in which Louisine Havemeyer would become deeply involved was that of woman's suffrage. On behalf of the National Woman's Party, she toured the state of New York, making spirited speeches for the enfranchisement of women. In 1915 she even lent a sizable number of her pictures for a suffragist benefit exhibition she organized, "Masterpieces by Old and Modern Painters," the latter being Degas and Cassatt, who herself was an ardent suffragist. On the opening day of this show, Louisine Havemeyer gave her only public speech on art: "Remarks on Edgar Degas and Mary Cassatt." She later confessed that although she considered it easy to talk about the emancipation of

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women, she found art to be a much more difficult and complex subject. Mrs. Havemeyer really did not believe in talking or writing about paintings, but rather in looking at them; nonetheless, she was pleased when her speech was well received, particularly by the press.

On many different levels, Louisine Havemeyer was a woman of strength and purpose; she was always bold in her judgments, both in art and in politics. She was a perfect example of the American brand of a nineteenth-century matron, devoted to her family, and jealous of her privacy though public-spirited enough to speak out for a political cause in which she believed. It was a fitting conclusion to a life dedicated to the pursuit of the happiness derived from an intimate relationship with exceptional works of art, that these works should eventually be given to the public.

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Louisine W. Havemeyer:

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General Archives. Correspondence between officials of the museum and the Havemeyers; newspaper clipping file concerning the Havemeyer bequest.

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Diaries, Memoirs:

Theodore Robinson, Diary MS, 1892-96. Frick Art Reference Library, New York.

George G. Frelinghuysen (grandson of Mrs. Havemeyer). Unpublished memoirs. (Typewritten.)

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Paris:

Charles Durand-Ruel.

The late Baron Henry Petiet. Private print dealer and collector, who handled most of the graphic work from Vollard's estate.

Jean de Sailly. Son of Mary Cassatt's friend and neighbor at the Château de Beaufresne.

United States:

Members of the Havemeyer Family:

Mr. George G. Frelinghuysen, Santa Fe, N.M. Grandson of Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer.

Mr. Henry O. H. Frelinghuysen, Far Hills, N.J. Grandson of Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer. Both George and Henry Frelinghuysen are sons of Adaline Havemeyer Frelinghuysen.

Mr. J. Watson Webb, Jr., Shelburne, Vt. Grandson of Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer.

Mrs. Electra W. Bostwick, New York, N.Y. Granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and her daughter Mrs. Electra McDowell, New York, N.Y. Both Mr. Webb and Mrs. Bostwick are children of Electra Havemeyer Webb.

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Others:

The late Mrs. Percy C. Madeira, Jr., Berwyn, Pa. Niece of Mary Cassatt, daughter of Cassatt's brother Gardner.

The late William Milliken, Cleveland, Ohio. Former Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, who visited Mrs. Havemeyer at 1 East 66th Street.

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Fig. 1. Degas, Répétition de ballet, 1874, gouache and pastel.

Fig. 2. Monet, Le Pont, Amsterdam, 1874.

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Fig. 3. Cassatt, Self-Portrait, 1878, gouache.

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Fig. 4. Manet, Boy with a Sword, 1861.

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Fig. 5. Manet, Woman with a Parrot, 1866.

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Fig. 6. Degas, The Ballet, c. 1880.

Fig. 7. Manet, Le Saumon, 1869.

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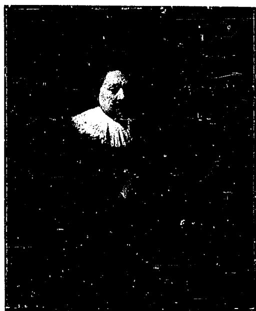

Fig. 8. Rembrandt, _Portrait of van Bere-steijn_, 1632.

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Fig. 9. Rembrandt, Portrait of Volkera van Beresteijn, 1632.

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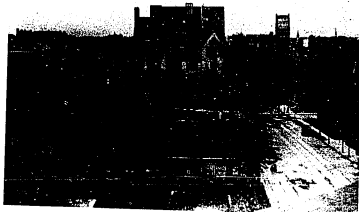

Fig. 10. Tiffany house, Madison Avenue at 72nd Street, New York (demolished)

Fig. 11. Havemeyer residence, 1 East 66th Street, New York (demolished).

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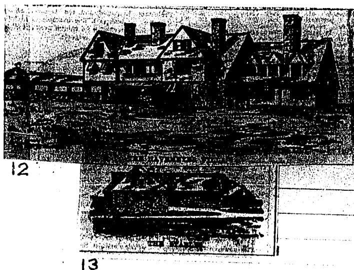

Fig. 12. Havemeyer Connecticut country house (demolished).

Fig. 13. Stables.

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Fig. 14. Rembrandt, The Gilder, 1640.

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Fig. 15. Whistler, The Greek Girl--Pink and Violet, n.d.

Fig. 16. Courbet, La Remise de chevreuils, 1866.

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Fig. 17. Decamps, Les Singes experts, 1837.

Fig. 18. Millet, Paysan faisant boire deux vaches, 1867, pastel.

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Fig. 19. Courbet, Landscape with Cattle, 1859, etching based on the painting.

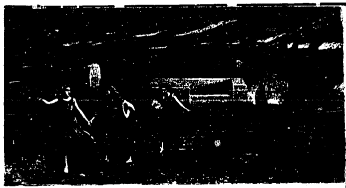

Fig. 20. Corot, The Destruction of Sodom, 1857.

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Fig. 21. Puvis de Chavannes, The Allegory of the Sorbonne, 1889.

Fig. 22. Renoir, Jeune fille lisant, 1889, pastel.

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Fig. 23. Decamps, The Good Samaritan, n.d.

Fig. 24. Havemeyer dining-room--Barye bronzes.

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Fig. 25. Formerly Rembrandt; now style of Rembrandt, Portrait of an Old Woman, 1640.

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Fig. 26. Formerly Rembrandt; now style of Rembrandt, Portrait of an Admiral, 1643.

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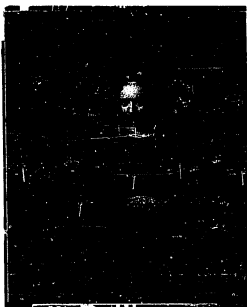

Fig. 27. Formerly Rembrandt; now style of Rembrandt, Portrait of the Admiral's Wife, 1643.

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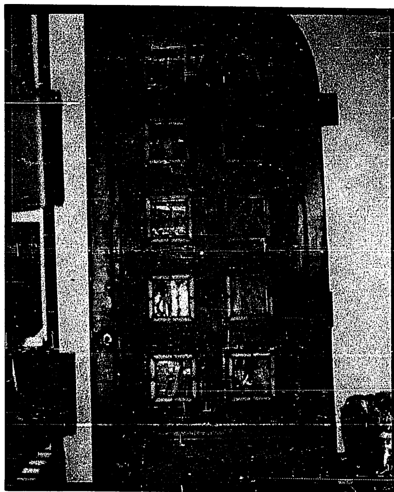

Fig. 28. Havemeyer House: One side of double doors into entrance hall.

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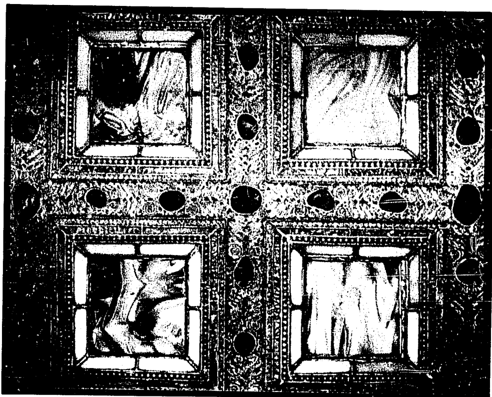

Fig. 29. Detail of Fig. 28: Translucent glass squares.

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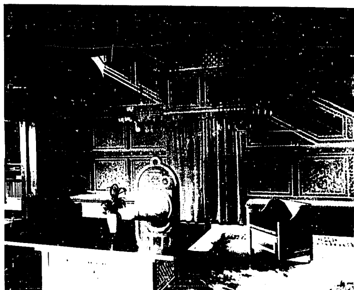

Fig. 30. Havemeyer House: Entrance hall, north wall with marble staircase.

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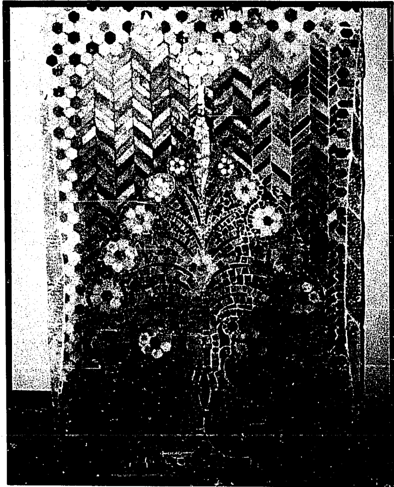

Fig. 31. Detail of Fig. 30: Entry hall mosaic.

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Fig. 32. Havemeyer House: Upstairs gallery with "flying" staircase.

Fig. 33. Detail of Fig. 32: Metal "flying" staircase.

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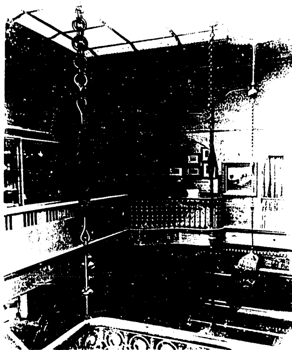

Fig. 34. Havemeyer House: Upstairs gallery with glass cases.

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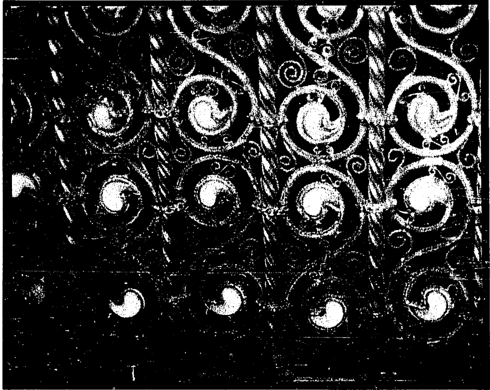

Fig. 35. Detail of Fig. 34: Filigree railing.

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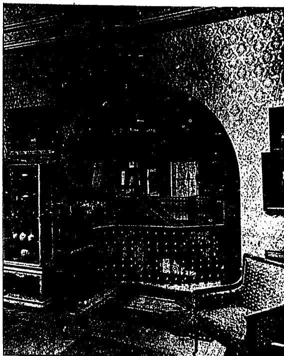

Fig. 36. Havemeyer House: Third story watercolor gallery.

Fig. 37. Havemeyer House: Library, "the Rembrandt room."

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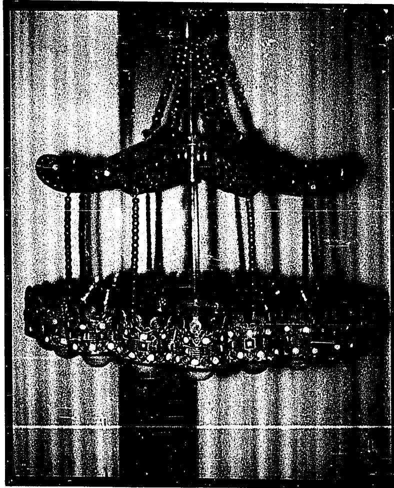

Fig. 38. Detail of Fig. 37: Library chandelier.

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Fig. 39. Havemeyer House: Dining room.

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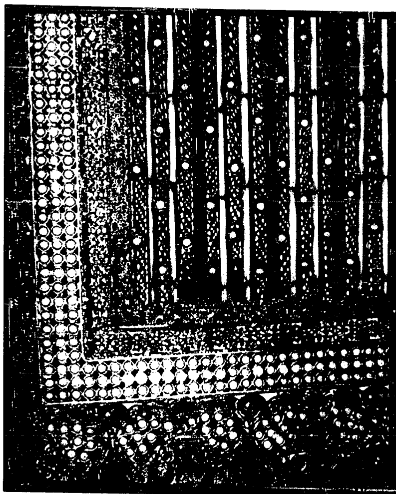

Fig. 40. Havemeyer House: Ornamental screen.

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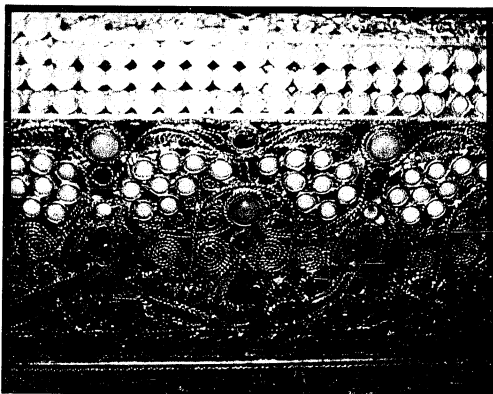

Fig. 41. Detail of Fig. 40: Screen's intricate filigree.

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Fig. 42. Havemeyer House: Fireplace, reception room.

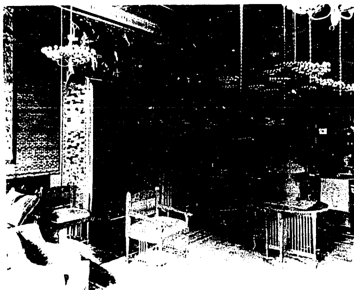

Fig. 43. Havemeyer House: Music room.

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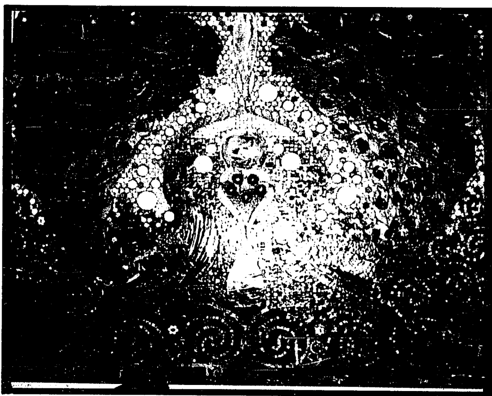

Fig. 44. Havemeyer House: Peacock mosaic, entrance hall.

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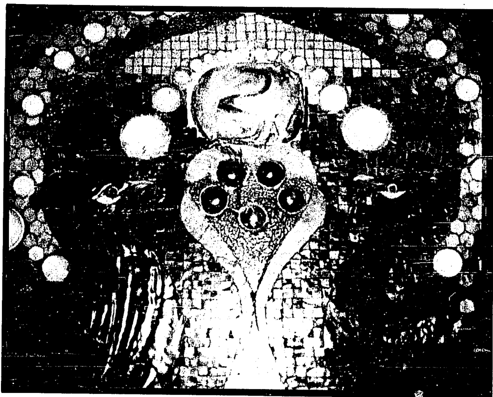

Fig. 45. Detail of Fig. 44: Peacock mosaic.

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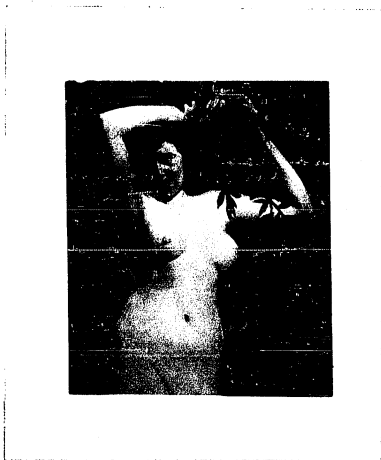

Fig. 46. Courbet, La Branche de cerisier, 1863.

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Fig. 47. Courbet, Chiens de chasse, c. 1856.

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Fig. 48. Degas, L'Amateur, 1866.

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Fig. 49. Degas, Danseuses en scène, c. 1880.

Fig. 50. Delacroix, Arab Rider Attacked by Lion, 1849.

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Fig. 51. Delacroix, The Lion Hunt, 1861.

Fig. 52. Millet, In Auvergne, 1866-67.

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Fig. 53. Millet, La Gardeuse d'oies, c. 1865-68, pastel.

Fig. 54. Millet, La Bergère, n.d., charcoal.

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Fig. 55. Courbet, La Vague, 1869.

Fig. 56. Degas, Jockeys, 1866, pastel.

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Fig. 57. Manet, La Femme à la guitare, c. 1865.

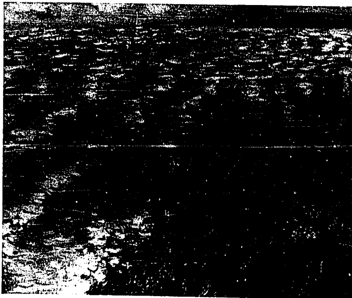

Fig. 58. Monet, Marée montante à Pourville, 1882.

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Fig. 59. Monet, Matin sur la Seine â Giverny, 1893.

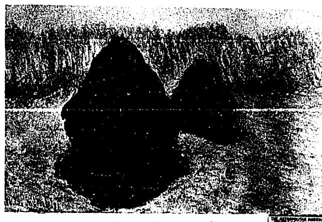

Fig. 60. Monet, Meules, effet d'hiver, 1891.

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Fig. 61. Manet, Le Bal de l'Opéra, 1873.

Fig. 62. Delacroix, Christ on the Lake of Gennesaret, 1853.

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Fig. 63. Corot, L'Italienne, 1872.

Fig. 64. Cassatt, La Famille, c. 1887.

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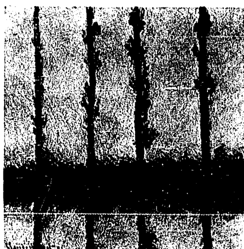

Fig. 65. Monet, Les Quatres arbres, 1891.

Fig. 66. Monet, Meules, effet de neige, 1891.

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Fig. 67. Manet, Le Grand Canal à Venise, 1875.

Fig. 68. Cassatt, Mother and Child, 1888.

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Fig. 69. Cassatt, <u>Baby's First Caress</u>, 1891.

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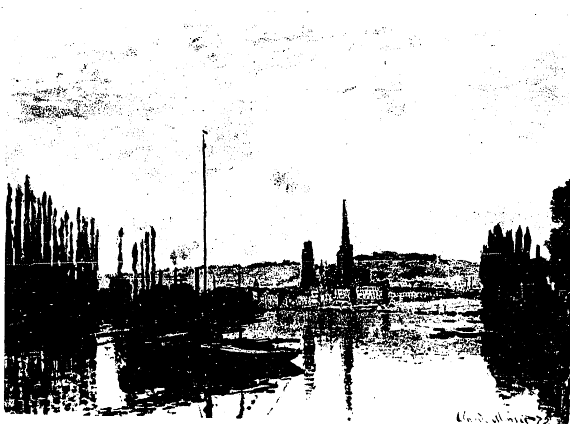

Fig. 70. Monet, Vue de Rouen, 1872.

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Fig. 71. Monet, Les Glaçons, 1880.

Fig. 72. Manet, Dante et Virgile aux enfers, c. 1854.

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Fig. 73. Cassatt, Portrait of Adaline Havemeyer, 1895, pastel.

Fig. 74. Degas, L'Attente, c. 1882, pastel.

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Fig. 75. Degas, Danseuse verte, c. 1880, pastel.

Fig. 76. Degas, Danseuse jaune, c. 1878, pastel.

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Fig. 77. Daumier, L'Amateur, n.d., watercolor and gouache over black chalk.

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Fig. 78. Manet, En bateau, 1874.

Fig. 79. Courbet, Cerf et biche, c. 1865.

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Fig. 80. Corot, Portrait de Mlle. Dobigny, c. 1868-70.

Fig. 81. Manet, Intérieur à Arcachon, 1871.

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Fig. 82. Manet, _Roses dans un vase de verre_, 1883.

Fig. 83. Manet, _Portrait de Clemenceau_, 1879.

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Fig. 84. Degas, Mme. René De Gas (Estelle Musson), 1873, pastel.

Fig. 85. Degas, Deux danseuses assises sur une banquette, c. 1879, pastel.

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Fig. 86. Courbet, La Source de la Loue, 1864.

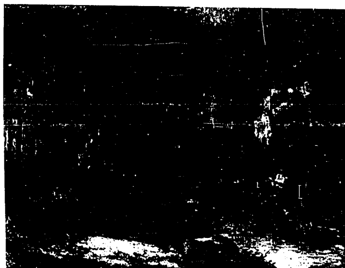

Fig. 87. Courbet, Le Ruisseau du puits noir, 1855.

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Fig. 88. Courbet, La Femme à la vague, 1868.

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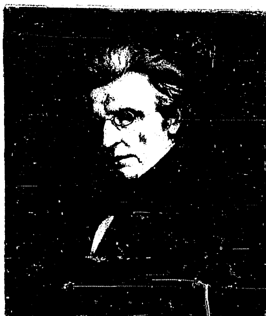

Fig. 89. Courbet, _Portrait de Monsieur Suisse_, 1861.

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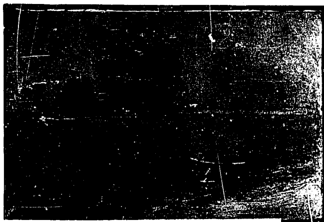

Fig. 92. Monet, Glaçons sur la Seine, 1893.

Fig. 93. Monet, Les Glaçons, Bennecourt, 1893.

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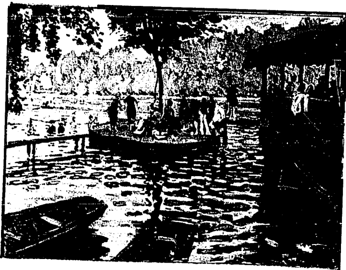

Fig. 94. Monet, La Grenouillère, 1869.

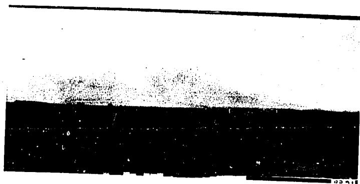

Fig. 95. Colman, Spanish Peaks, Southern Colorado, 1887.

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Fig. 96. Corot, L'Age d'or, c. 1855-60.

Fig. 97. Corot, Femme et amour, c. 1870-73.

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Fig. 98. Corot, Mademoiselle de Foudras, 1872.

Fig. 99. Corot, Nymphe couchée au bord de la mer, 1865.

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Fig. 100. Degas, Examen de danse, c. 1875-76.

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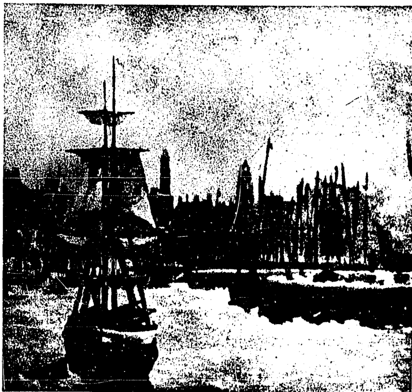

Fig. 101. Manet, Le Port de Calais, 1872.

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Fig. 102. Manet, Le Matador saluant, 1866.

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Fig. 103. Manet, Majo, 1863.

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Fig. 104. Manet, Mlle. V. en costume d'Espada, 1862.

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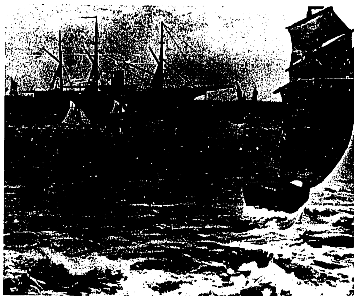

Fig. 105. Manet, Le Kearsarge â Boulogne, 1864.

Fig. 106. Manet, Au jardin, 1870.

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Fig. 107. Manet, Le Chemin de fer, 1873.

Fig. 108. Degas, Classe de danse, 1874.

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Fig. 109. Degas, Le Faux départ, c. 1869-72.

Fig. 110. Degas, Le Pédicure, 1873.

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Fig. 111. Degas, La Leçon de danse, 1877-78, pastel.

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Fig. 112. Degas, Danseuses à leur toilette, c. 1880, pastel.

Fig. 113. Degas, Chez la modiste, 1882, pastel.

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Fig. 114. Degas, La Répétition au foyer, c. 1874.

Fig. 115. Degas, Répétition de ballet sur la scène, c. 1874, pastel.

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Fig. 116. Degas, Danseuses au repos, 1874, pastel.

Fig. 117. Monet, La Vague verte, 1865.

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Fig. 118. Monet, Boquet de soleils, 1881.

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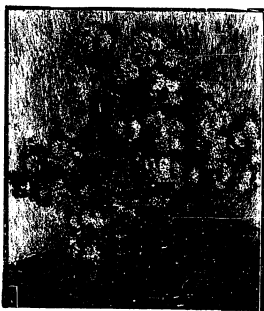

Fig. 119. Monet, Chrysanthèmes, 1882.

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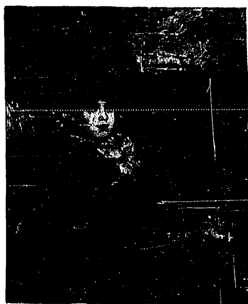

Fig. 120. Renoir, Femme assise au bord de la mer, 1883.

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Fig. 121. Courbet, La Belle Irlandaise, 1866.

Fig. 122. Cassatt, Landscape with Three Figures, 1898.

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Fig. 123. Cassatt, The Oval Mirror, c. 1898.

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