Jewish collectors, donors, and fundraisers at the National Gallery, 1824–1945

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Contents

Abstract

This thesis examines the interactions of Jews with the National Gallery, from 1824 to 1945, as donors of works of art, benefactors, and fundraisers for the cause of art 'for the nation'. Five case studies highlight their diverse activities in London and across the British Empire from 1900 onward, a period when the visibility of Jews was under intense discussion in Parliament and within Jewish communities in Britain. The first case study examines Jewish exhibition organisers in London at the turn of the century, focussing on those who were members of the National Art Collections Fund (established in 1904). The second locates a single family, the Duveens, and their benefactions to the National Gallery, while the third relates an Anglo-Dutch Jewish couple's attempts to introduce 'Modern Foreign' painting to its walls. The fourth chapter investigates Jewish fine art collectors who were born throughout the former British Empire, and their gifts to *other* national art museums. The fifth case study surveys the diverse activities of Jewish women in relation to art dealing, museum work and fundraising.

The richest literature on Jewish collecting has come from central Europe, profoundly shaped by the impact of Nazi persecution and the Holocaust. This thesis, by contrast, considers the context of Jewish collecting in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. It uses the National Gallery's records to explore the role of Jewish actors in shaping the institution, whether as donors, as curators or as trustees. After their emancipation, many Jewish families began collecting fine art and commissioning painters and fine artists. They also started to give away parts of their collections to galleries and museums, actions often understood by their contemporaries as expressions of patriotism. As other historians have noted, the museum had a role in representing national values, but this has been overlooked where the National Gallery is concerned. While historians have investigated its historic development, few have considered the people it has spoken for (or to), for the last two hundred years. Much has been left unsaid or taken for granted regarding its role in promoting ideas of 'national' identity. Jews also took on active roles in shaping these institutions, as trustees and fundraisers promoting the cause of 'the nation's' art.

Few cultural historians have considered Jews' contributions to non-Jewish charities, or secular institutions like museums and art galleries. Close examination of how Jews interacted with one national museum - the National Gallery - revealed that collecting and donating works of fine art was a means of self-expression and self-assertion for many Jews, without indicating any loss of Jewish identity. In Section 1, I explore how the Gallery increased the visibility of its donors' cultural and political commitments, as well as their 'difference'.

In Section 2 and 3, I investigate the ambitions of two Jewish families, the Duveen art dealing family, and an Anglo-Dutch collecting couple, the Druckers. Many Jewish collectors (including Joseph Duveen) augmented the collections of regional museums and galleries across Britain, though they lived in its capital. Chapter 4 examines those Jewish collectors who helped shape British cultural institutions, as well as those throughout its former empire, who have not been recognised in a national context, by historians of British Jews, or by historians of Empire. The Drucker-Frasers, Mary and Edmund Davis and Alfred de Pass were British citizens who chose to give their painting collections away in large gifts to *other* countries' national museums, despite being courted by the National Gallery's trustees. I examine the reasons why their cultural legacies in Britain have since been occluded.

The final section highlights the most overlooked Jewish historical actors in this study - the many female Jewish collectors and artist patrons who acted as dealers, exhibition organisers,

and collectors of fine art even within the relatively narrow confines of the British art world during the period under discussion. Indeed, the first painting given (rather than sold) by a person with Jewish heritage to the National Gallery was a woman. Perhaps unsurprisingly, they were also hardest to trace in the Gallery's records, though some like Lillian Browse were notable figures in the twentieth-century male-dominated art market. I consider how Jewish womens' gender, as well as their Jewishness, may have influenced their reception by the Gallery.

This thesis explores what light the development of the National Gallery casts on the role of Jewish collectors in Britain, and how Jewish historical actors might have seen the Gallery as a space in which to invest in public life and commemorate their own lives. The project provided an opportunity for the Gallery to rediscover these 'overlooked' cultural actors in its bicentenary year, I hope that they may speak of the diversity of perspectives found within its historic galleries.

Introduction

'The gift will be Jewish in spirit and fact'.[1]

The Jewish Chronicle, 1919

When reporting that the 'Jewish Community of Leeds' had presented their local art gallery with two recently completed oil paintings by the artist Jacob Kramer (1892–1962) in 1919, the *Jewish Chronicle* described the gift as 'Jewish in spirit and fact'. There was an assumption that readers of the newspaper would understand this expression. The civic gallery was founded in 1887 with funding from a public subscription campaign. That Kramer's paintings, which often depicted Jewish religious themes, were considered 'Jewish in fact' by contemporary audiences is understandable. One of the paintings given was commissioned in response to the pogroms that followed the Polish-Ukrainian war of 1918.[2] When discussing 'Jewish art', art historian Margaret Olin suggested however, that some works might '"speak Jewish" for a given period and audience', regardless of their subject.[3] Thought-provoking, if elusive, was the implication that the act of giving paintings to the locally governed museum was Jewish 'in spirit' and would have been appreciated as such by contemporary audiences.[4]

Unlike the Kramer gifts made to Leeds, this project is not a study of donations of works recognised as 'Jewish art' to 'non-Jewish' museums. Similarly, I have not examined Jewish collecting of religious works of art, or Jews' funding of 'communal' charities or cultural organisations. Instead, I have studied the different ways Jews have supported the work of the National Gallery as the country's leading cultural institution for the collecting of historic paintings. I sought to identify some of the historic contributors to the Gallery whose gifts, of their possessions, money, and time, might also be described as Jewish 'in spirit and fact', and "speak" for their Jewish former owners.

Though I have investigated donations made by Jewish patrons to the National Gallery over a one-hundred-and-twenty-year period, from its establishment in 1824 to the close of the Second World War, this project is not an exhaustive survey of the Jewish provenances of the Gallery's paintings. When studying the Gallery's records, Jewish names did not begin to emerge with any regularity until the turn of the twentieth century, and therefore my case studies have been drawn from the period between the first 'Jewish' gift to the National Gallery (1895) and the

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[1] Anon., 'Two Kramer Pictures Presented to Leeds', *The Jewish Chronicle,* 19 December 1919, p. 24.

[2] The paintings discussed are Jacob Kramer's *The Day of Atonement*, 1919 and *Hear Our Voice, O Lord Our God*, *1919,* both in Leeds Art Gallery (inv. nos. LEEAG.PA.1920.0276 and LEEAG.PA.1920.0275). An earlier pogrom in the artist's birthplace, Klintsky (now Northern Ukraine), is believed to be the reason Kramer's parents migrated to Leeds circa 1901. See B. Silver, *Three Jewish Giants of Leeds* (Leeds: Jewish Historical Society of England, 2000), p. 48. Jaclyn Granick noted the scale of the 1919 violence 'dwarfed' earlier Eastern European pogroms, with conservative estimates suggesting 50,000 Jews were murdered, while others have cited the figure of 200,000 Jewish lives lost. See Granick, *International Jewish Humanitarianism in the Age of the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), Chapter 2, n104.

[3] Margaret Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining Modern Discourses on Jewish Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), pp. 200-201.

[4] Frances Spalding suggested that *Hear Our Voice*, or "Pogroms", originated from 'a [poster] commission by the British Zionists', later commissioned in oils by Leeds Jewish Representative Council. Two preliminary drawings of Kramer's mother survive, one in sanguine (private collection, Spalding cat. 37), and an ink drawing, 'Pogroms' or 'My Mother' (Leeds City Art Gallery). See Frances Spalding (ed.), *Kramer Reassessed*, exh. cat. (Ben Uri Gallery, May – July 1984), p. 5.

end of the Second World War.[5] To capture all Jewish contributions to the organisation before this point, I produced a separate database that records the Jewish histories of the National Gallery's paintings, and other instances of other Jewish 'contributions', i.e. the work of Jewish artists, staff members, benefactors, and its few Jewish trustees. The five chapters' chronological structure takes us from direct expressions of support by 'the Jewish community' at the beginning of the twentieth century, i.e. membership of charities like the National Art Collections Fund and the National Loan Exhibitions schemes, which were directly fundraising on the Gallery's behalf, towards the 'margins' beyond its walls, as Jews began to demonstrate adjacent forms of cultural (and civic) philanthropy in Britain during the 1914-18 war.

Analogous to Jews' increasing frequency in the Gallery's records was their growing visibility in other areas of British political and cultural life, so it was not surprising that Jews became involved with one of its major cultural institutions. What *was* surprising was the variety of ways Jews expressed support for the Gallery, and the fact that so few Jewish patrons have been recognised by the organisation since. The sustained interest shown by several Jewish benefactors in the National Gallery qualifies them to be considered its constituents. I use this term to describe how these Jewish cultural actors made a lasting impact on the institution, rather than *merely* contributed their assets to it. Jews were involved in the governance of the museum, and even made decisions about the very fabric of the building, as shown in each case study later discussed.

The diversity of interests reflected in this study of the National Gallery (as seen in the accompanying database and Appendices 2, 3 and 4) defied familiar narratives relating to the study of collecting, as well as studies of Jewish identity. In the few instances that Jewish fine art collecting has been discussed in either field, it has been framed as a means of 'gaining access' to privileged social spheres, by 'imitating' their non-Jewish peers, rather than as a means of self-assertion.[6] Unlike the collecting of 'Old Masters', Jews' interests in avant-garde and modernist movements have been explored by some art historians like Charles Dellheim and Elana Shapira, however in a British context, Jewish support of contemporary 'modern' painters has not been considered significant. What has been overlooked in other accounts of Jewish collecting was the role that many collectors and Jewish cultural philanthropists had in helping modern artists achieve wider global recognition. This mirrored the way that many of Gallery's staff and trustees were involved in initiatives in the regions beyond the metropole, encouraging the growth of a 'native' market for British contemporary art. A phenomenon common among all the collectors discussed in relation to the National Gallery was their patronage of contemporary artists, alongside historic artists. Compounding the obscurity of some of the figures I studied was that several of the artists whom Jewish patrons supported (with commissions but equally with financial aid for living costs) are now rarely exhibited.

Another reason for the later 'obscurity' of some of these collectors was the transnationalism of their collections - in terms of what was collected – the diverse nationalities of the artists represented and the 'national schools' used by art historians to arrange and analyse their works. Many Jewish art collectors often moved between national boundaries throughout their lives, resulting in the wide circulation and dispersal of their possessions, contributing to the lack of awareness of their activities in Britain, where few signs of their collections are now visible.

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[5] The first painting given, rather than sold, to the Gallery by a Jewish person was François Bonvin's *The Meadow* (also called *The Village Green, Veuverie*), presented by Ruth Edwards (1833–1907) in 1895 (NG1448). See Chapter 5.

[6] Milena Woźniak-Koch (ed.), 'Preface', *Mapping Art Collecting in Europe, 1860–1940* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), unpaginated.

Methodology and Scope of the Project

To determine how Jews have historically supported the National Gallery, I began by combing the Gallery's extensive administrative records kept in its Research Centre, for instances of donations by Jews. I gathered information on 122 individuals and collated this information as a digital resource, which I analysed for patterns.[7] As there was a significant scale range among my 'dataset' of Jewish collectors, from a single painting to large gifts and bequests of over 40 works, I chose to explore as case studies those who gave more than ten paintings to the National Gallery. I used the separate records of the National Art Fund (which are kept at the Tate Gallery Archive, London), but also those of several galleries in Britain to which Jews have contributed.

As many of the Jewish collectors I identified in the Gallery's records owned paintings by contemporary artists, which they displayed alongside older 'Masters', I included in my study paintings which now belong in the Tate's collection (formerly the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank).[8] From its establishment in 1897 until 1954 (when it gained complete financial independence from the National Gallery, as opposed to merely independent governance, introduced in 1917) paintings made after 1800 could be accepted for Millbank by many of the National Gallery Board members who appraised Trafalgar Square's own acquisitions.[9] Those paintings now in Tate's collection accounted for 29% of those identified using the National Gallery's records.

The Jewish collectors discovered in the National Gallery's archive were born in at least seventeen countries. More than half (56%) were born outside Britain. I considered how wider transnational family and social networks helped these collectors to source (and disperse) their paintings.[10] To date, only the 'transnational Jewish philanthropist' Ludwig Mond (1839–1909) has been investigated in-depth. Thomas Adam has shown how Mond and his descendants supported scientific, artistic, and Jewish causes in several nation states including Britain.[11] Similarly, among the Jewish donors I discuss, only Mond has been recognised in a display and publication by the Gallery.[12] The 'Mond Bequest' (1924) of forty-three paintings to the Gallery was unprecedented (by both Jewish and non-Jewish donors) both in scale and significance, when given in 1909.[13] However, the Monds were not outliers among Jewish collectors in

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[7] My database of Jewish owners of National Gallery pictures can be accessed via this link.

[8] The Millbank gallery was built after the State received an endowment from Victorian art collector and industrialist Henry Tate (1819–1899), a Unitarian.

[9] Frances Spalding, *The Tate: A History* (Tate Gallery Publishing, London, 1998), p. 23; pp. 42–3; pp. 116-24. See also *National Gallery and Tate Gallery Act 1954*, 1954 c. 65.

[10] While I have referred to the numbers of collectors born outside the United Kingdom, I have not identified any Jewish fine art collectors born in Scotland, Wales, or Northern Ireland. Of those born in England, 18% were born in London.

[11] On Ludwig Mond's identity, Adam wrote: 'Any attempt to force him into just one identity being German or being English or being Italian would distort his experience and force the historian to neglect one part of his personality... Ludwig Mond was none of the above and at the same time he was all of them.' Adam does not give 'Jewish' as an identity. See Thomas Adam, *Transnational Philanthropy: The Mond Family's Support for Public Institutions in Western Europe from 1890 to 1938* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 5.

[12] The display *Ludwig Mond's Bequest: A Gift to the Nation* was held 14 July – 29 October 2006. It showed the 'highlights' of the Mond Collection together for the first time since the Mond Room opened in 1924. In the 2007 *Annual Review*, Director Charles Saumarez-Smith described the display's message that 'bequests are crucial to the development and growth of our cultural heritage'. *The National Gallery Review*, *April 2006– March 2007* (London: The National Gallery, 2007), p. 28.

[13] On the Mond Bequest and the legal dispute between Mond's children and the Gallery's trustees, see Dennis Wardleworth, 'The "friendly" battle for the Mond Bequest', *The British Art Journal*, vol. 4 no. 3 (Autumn 2003),

making a large and conspicuous donation to the nation (as Appendices 3 and 4 demonstrate). The Monds' transnationalism mirrored that of many of Jewish patrons of the National Gallery. In the twentieth century, the increasing mobility of many Jewish art dealers and collectors across national borders brought their possessions and interests to the attention of international audiences. One aspect of Jewish collecting that has not been fully explored is the impact that Jewish patrons of British contemporary artists had on the careers of those they supported, as works in their possession were often traded and displayed outside of Britain, promoting 'national' interests and tastes across the world. I used correspondence kept in the archives of the North Holland Archive, which contains the Rijksmuseum's archive, to discover how a collecting couple, the Druckers, maintained support for several national museums simultaneously throughout their lives.

This thesis explores what light the development of the National Gallery casts on the role of Jewish collectors in Britain, and how they saw the Gallery - as a space in which to invest themselves in public life and commemorate their own tastes and achievements. The first Chapter examines their direct 'investment' in arts fundraising, and in exhibitions which drew public awareness to their engagement with museums and art galleries (including the National Gallery) in London. The second locates a single Jewish family, the Duveens', unrecognised project to promote the cause of 'living British artists' from within the Gallery. The third and fourth investigate the ways that several Jewish collectors used their possessions to demonstrate their diplomatic and imperial interests, as well as their aesthetic ones, but have never been located in a British national context. Lastly, I aim to put Jewish women back in the frame, demonstrating the diverse ways they supported both cultural and humanitarian philanthropic causes with their collections, among many other activities within the London art world during the period under discussion.

Anglo-Jewish Identity

The statistician Simon Rosenbaum articulated one of the unique problems of investigating Jewish lives in a 1905 article on England's Jewish demographic: 'in dealing with Jewish statistics I am confronted at the outset with a difficulty, that those who marry "according to the rites of the Jews" are not coextensive with those who at death are buried in Jewish cemeteries … for statistical purposes a Jew is best defined as one who… is buried in a Jewish cemetery … the net which is spread at death is sufficiently wide … to embrace… everyone who would or would not desire to be called a Jew'.[1] I have included in this study those who *did not* have a Jewish burial in order to reflect the diverse forms of engagement people with Jewish heritage have had at the National Gallery. I adopted the broadest definition of 'Jewish' to include those people who were religiously observant, as well as those who had no religious affiliation but may have received a Jewish education or were raised as culturally Jewish. Nicholas Mirzoeff, in his study of Jewish diasporas, identified that while in English there are only 'Jews' and 'Gentiles', i.e., non-Jews, in French there were many different words for identifying people with Jewish heritage.[2] He explained that historically speaking, there have

pp. 87–93; Charles Saumarez-Smith and Georgia Mancini, *Ludwig Mond's Bequest: A Gift to the Nation* (London: National Gallery, 2006).

[1] Simon Rosenbaum, 'A Contribution to the Study of the Vital and Other Statistics of the Jews in the United Kingdom', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. 68, no. 3 (September 1905), p. 527.

[2] Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.), *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 64-7.

been many ways in which a person may have been identified as Jewish, and that this plurality should be recognised when we examine historical actors' experiences.

In studying the lives of Jews, historians have often struggled to narrow down their subject(s) as Jewish identity is simultaneously ethnic and cultural. While Rosenbaum's gendering of the subject 'Jew' as male was not out of step with his contemporaries' definitions of human behaviours as masculine, it illustrated an additional challenge when writing about Jewish women's lives. Whether they married Jews or non-Jews, women would have in most cases lost their own names in the historical record. While the definition of 'Jewish' adopted here was broader than Rosenbaum's, he articulated several practical challenges for the historian, not least that many of the Jews living in the century under discussion 'would not desire to be called a Jew'. In some cases, Jews may also have shed their Jewish identities out of choice, whether from a gradual distancing from the Jewish 'fold', or from more assertive acts of 'assimilation' such as religious conversion, exogamy, or altering family names to suppress associations with Jewish heritage.[3]

The term 'Anglo-Jewry' is often used as a distinct identity to which some British Jews ascribed.[4] For Todd Endelman, 'Anglo-Jewry' was a fragile identity that required self-reinforcement from 'its representatives', as those notables among the Anglo-Jewry 'knew that their own acceptance… was tied to public perceptions of the community and its representatives as a whole'.[5] As David Feldman explained, in a post-emancipation landscape, 'Jews had not only to justify the persistence of Judaism within a Christian society but also to show themselves worthy of inclusion within the nation'.[6] As Endelman has observed of British Jewish historiography, a 'contributionist' discourse similarly characterised the majority of pre-1980s commentary on the interests of the British Jewish community. Many historians focused on the 'successful' acculturation of Britishness, and presented a 'version of Anglo-Jewish history [that] was whiggish, apologetic, and triumphalist, emphasising the harmony of between Jewishness and Englishness'.[7] From the 1970s onward, 'new social historians' like Bill Williams, who studied Manchester's Jewish population, examined this process of integration and the friction that sometimes resulted in the pursuit of acceptance by non-Jews.[8] Williams's work exposed broader questions about the role of Jews in wider projects of nation building, and the lack of homogeneity of Jewish experience even among a small population like Britain's.

There are several reasons why Jewish collectors have not been studied widely by cultural historians. The first is the persistence of the misapprehension that Jews were 'a people without art'.[9] As the visual image was not central to Jewish religious practices, and was prohibited

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[3] Todd Endelman defined the term 'radical assimilation' in his 2015 book, *Leaving the Jewish Fold: Radical Assimilation in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 16.

[4] Anglo-Jewish identity was the subject of a recent book by Sara Abosch-Jacobson, *"We are not only English Jews – We are Jewish Gentlemen": The Making of an Anglo-Jewish Identity, 1840–1880* (Brookline, MA, Academic Studies Press, 2019).

[5] Todd M. Endelman, 'Could a Victorian Jew be an English Gentleman?', *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies 2013–2014* (Oxford University, 2014), p. 30.

[6] Feldman 1994, p. 382.

[7] Todd M. Endelman, 'English Jewish History', *Modern Judaism*, vol. 11, no. 1 (February 1991), p. 91.

[8] Tony Kushner, 'Review of Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History, 1656-1945 by Todd M. Endelman', *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Autumn, 1992), p. 327. Bill Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry* (Manchester University Press, 1985).

[9] The title of Olin's 2001 book.

under the Second Commandment, Margaret Olin explained how 'the absence of Jewish art in one Hegelian interpretation turned into the rejection of art by Jews in another, and eventually active Jewish hostility towards art became an art historical trope'.[10] Despite the wide dismissal of this idea by cultural historians, even non-religious Jews have continued to be overlooked as cultural actors and artistic patrons. This oversight is curious, as David Cesarani insisted that 'no historian can understand the inner life of British Jews' without looking at their engagement with 'the sports column, the arts and cultural coverage' of the Anglo-Jewish press.[11] While some Jews may have followed developments in the art world with interest, there was also perception that art collecting [arguably remains] a privileged activity, which only the élite could engage in.

Feldman has also argued that rather than being a recent phenomenon, 'fundamental questions about collective Jewish identity' have engaged 'non-Jews as well as Jews' for over a century, but this has been overlooked as 'the interest of non-Jews into the question tends … to be allocated to the category of either "philo-" or "anti-" Semitism and thus segregated from the discursive fields in which Jews were engaged'.[12] He reminded other historians that 'a wider array of professionals… were occupied by the question of what distinguished the Jews'; that we might look outside the Jewish community for evidence of this collective project of identity formation.[13] Similarly, in his analysis of the figuration of 'the Jew' in English literary sources, Bryan Cheyette maintains that consistent throughout the Victorian, Edwardian and Modern British imagination was the 'active remaking of Jewish racial difference', which non-Jews sought to maintain and reinforce, but which ultimately was expressed as 'structural incoherence' as 'the Jew' became synonymous both with 'culture' *and* 'anarchy'.[14]

While questions of what defined Jews may often have interested non-Jews, when examining Jews' cultural and social lives, one problem encountered is that many historians have avoided referring to behaviours or interests as 'Jewish', for fear of reinscribing racist assumptions and cultural bias. On a broader level, the subject of Jewish identity has been met with ambivalence, which was often expressed by Jewish people themselves (such as the Druckers and the Davises, see Chapters 3 and 4) in relation to their own identity. This ambivalence felt by non-Jews toward Jews in Britain (and Jews themselves) during the period after political emancipation has been defined as 'allosemitism'.[15] This 'attitudinally ambivalent' term, coined by Arthur Sandauer (1913–1989), and popularised by sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (1925–2017).[16] Arguably, prevailing allosemitism has ensured that the Jewishness of historical actors such as art collectors has not figured in criticism of their actions or behaviours.

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[10] Olin (2001), p. 18.

[11] David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841–1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 137.

[12] David Feldman, 'Conceiving Difference: Religion, Race and the Jews in Britain, c.1750–1900', *History Workshop Journal*, no. 76 (Autumn 2013), p. 164.

[13] Ibid, p. 167.

[14] Bryan Cheyette, *Constructions of 'the Jew' in English Literature and Society: Racial Representations, 1875-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 268-9.

[15] For a reference to Mond as a 'cultured Jew'… 'the greatest Jew… of my acquaintance', see H.C. Bainbridge, *Twice Seven* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1933), p. 228. Bainbridge was Director of the Fabergé's London branch from 1906. A copy of his autobiography was presented to Queen Mary by Emanuel Snowman (1886–1970), tmanaging director of Wartski and a Jewish communal leader in West London (presented December 1933, Royal Collection inv. no. 1114001). See also Kieran McCarthy, 'Fabergé in London', *Apollo*, vol. 169, no. 533 (July 2006), pp. 34-9.

[16] Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (eds), *Philosemitism in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 5.

However, cultural historian Leora Auslander provoked a critical reassessment of the significance of Jewish 'difference' when arguing that:

> No one cultural location completely saturates an individual's mode of being … I would, however … argue that both because we live in a world in which gender and race are marked categories … All our behaviour, tastes, all our cultural practices are inevitably shaped by gender and race, even when the historical actors or ethnographic subjects are not conscious of it mattering. Part of the scholar's job is, in fact, to determine how gender, race or Jewishness may have mattered even when the subjects of research thought it irrelevant.[17]

Just as Auslander encouraged historians to consider 'Jewish frames' alongside those of gender and race, she invited the suggestion that these frames may have mattered to a greater or lesser degree to the subjects themselves. While Jewishness may not have defined the lives of many of the Jewish collectors I have studied, British society was marked by concern for the presence of Jews and understanding their position within the British nation. So we find that certain Jewish art collectors, like the Druckers, who seemingly never described themselves as Jewish, found themselves thus described by non-Jews when they had apparently transgressed British cultural norms, while also exposing their 'structural incoherence'.[18]

Moving beyond fixed definitions of 'Jewish' interests, or of the singularity of the Jewish experience and its significance in Jews' lives, historians have begun broadening the field of Jewish history to include 'places and peoples beyond our current imaginations.'[19] Rather than preoccupying themselves with who was Jewish and who was not (or indeed, may have 'thought it irrelevant'), Lila Corwin Berman argued that scholars should be encouraged 'to approach Jewishness as an interpretive mode'.[20]Jewish art historians Tamar Garb and Linda Nochlin have also encouraged the diversification of the term 'Jew' and its application.[21] They reflected that 'the category of the "Jew", not the history of Jews, Judaism or Jewish culture, but the way in which the "jew" had been perceived in modern culture' required critical attention.[22] As Auslander encouraged historians of visual culture to consider 'Jewishness' and patterns of taste and consumption, so the *Journal of Jewish Identities*, established in 2008, sought to broaden the parameters of what the term 'Jewish' represents.[23]

This analytic mode, Corwin Berman argued, has allowed 'historians … [to] move from identifying the bodies, objects, and territories of the Jewish people to interpreting the ideas, politics, and material resources that structured bodies, objects, and territories as operating in Jewish frames.'[24] Studying the ways in which many different Jews operated in a non-Jewish space like the National Gallery might shed light on how earlier Jewish histories may have excluded those who did not conform to 'imagined' Jewish and non-Jewish interests. I

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[17] Leora Auslander, 'The Boundaries of Jewishness, or When is a Cultural Practice Jewish?', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies,* no. 8, vol. 1 (Spring 2009), p. 60.

[18] Cheyette (1993), p. 269.

[19] Corwin Berman (2018), p. 275.

[20] Lila Corwin Berman, 'Jewish History Beyond the Jewish People', *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, vol. 42, no. 2 (November 2018), p. 274.

[21] Tamar Garb and Linda Nochlin (eds.), *Reading the Jew in the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995).

[22] Kathrin Pieren, *Migration and Identity Constructions in the Metropolis: The Representation of Jewish Heritage in London between 1887 and 1956*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of London: Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, January 2011, p. 18.

[23] The *Journal of Jewish Identities* is a peer-reviewed journal (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press).

[24] Ibid., p. 275.

deliberately drew broad parameters for 'Jewishness' to include those who might have otherwise continued to be overlooked among the Gallery's hundreds of historic donors.

My project has differed from the work of other historians of taste and collecting like Auslander and Elana Shapira who have recognised coherent patterns to Jewish collecting habits in different national contexts. Both argued that the French, German, and Austrian Jewish citizens they investigated were united in their patronage of artists from their respective national schools.[25] However, the diverse interests shown among Jewish collectors at the Gallery (as demonstrated in the Appendices) indicated immediately that a comparative study of 'Jewish taste' among its holdings would prove inconclusive.[26] For the same reason, I did not compare collectors belonging to different Jewish subcultures. Where a person's ancestry was well-documented, I included references to an additional Jewish subculture: Ashkenazi, Mizrahi, or Sephardi, where pertinent, but made no further attempts to carry out genealogical research on those whose lives I examined.

Jewish Collectors in Art Historiography

Social historians have been reticent about Jews' involvement in non-Jewish cultural and artistic fields, and this is reflected in studies concerning British Jews. In many thorough social histories, like Endelman's *The Jews of Britain* (2002), Feldman's *Englishmen and Jews* (1994), and Tony Kushner's edited volume, *The Jewish Heritage in British History* (1992), the visual arts are mentioned infrequently (unlike music or literature). In Cesarani's book on the *Jewish Chronicle*, for instance, the paper's arts column was not discussed. This column often noted (and promoted) the inclusion of Jewish artists in exhibitions and loans and donations by Jewish lenders, as well as publishing articles by Jewish art critics.

Though museologists and historians have examined the class and gender of those who collected fine art, few have considered the ethnic or cultural backgrounds of collectors who passed 'the act of distinction', whereby their possessions, or expertise were appraised by the art museum.[27] Those tasked with considering donations or potential purchases in the Gallery reflected on provenance as well as artistic merit. While there has not been a study of a non-Jewish art organisation as a stage for locating Jewish histories, Kathrin Pieren's doctoral thesis set a precedent for examining Jews' diverse forms of collecting in Britain. She considered how Jews historically contributed to the modern project of using 'museums … to give expression to ideas of collective identity'.[28] Kushner argued that expressions of Jewish 'success' at events like the 1887 Jubilee *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* (see Chapter 1), failed to engage either Jews or non-Jews with their 'progress' rhetoric because there was little opposition to either their presence within non-Jewish cultural spaces, or to Jews' assimilation within broader British

[25] Leora Auslander, '"Jewish Taste?" Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1920–1942', in Koshar, Rudy (ed.) (2002), pp. 299–318. Shapira, Elana, *Style and Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture, and Design in Fin de Siècle Vienna* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, 2016).

[26] Dominique Jarrassé also dismissed the idea of a totemic conception of 'Jewish art' in *Existe-t-il un art juif?* (Paris: Editions Esthetiques du divers, 2013).

[27] Kajal Meghani's AHRC-supported CDA project is a notable exception (University of Brighton and the British Museum, forthcoming). Meghani has examined the contributions of individuals with South Asian heritage to the British Museum since 1753. I am grateful for her work convening the Museums and Galleries History postgraduate reading group.

[28] Pieren (2011), p. 21.

'culture'.[29] However, his dismissal of the significance of the 1887 exhibition meant that he also overlooked how many Jewish collectors who lent there were already engaged in the preservation of their cultural heritage (and by extension, the nation's). Pieren's work, by contrast, showed how British Jews promoted 'their' interests to both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences via their collections, leaving tangible legacies in the Mocatta Library (now merged with University College London's other Jewish collections), London's Jewish Museum (in Camden until its temporary closure in 2023), and the Ben Uri Gallery (found today in St John's Wood).

Like Pieren, Charles Sebag-Montefiore and James Stourton identified 'Jewish collecting' as a discernible phenomenon in Britain from the nineteenth century onwards.[30] These authors compared Jewish collectors to 'female collectors', whom they argued emerged 'like winter pears', less frequently in Britain than in America. The subject of religion and its impact on collecting habits was tentatively broached, but they acknowledged that 'divisions of faith are hard to discern'.[31] While suggesting that Catholics collected differently, 'ha[ving] a natural sympathy with Continental culture … most were not financially in a position to collect art until the relaxation of the penal fines in the mid eighteenth century', they did not conclude that Jews had similarly 'Continental' aesthetic interests, or examine non-observant Jewish collectors.[32] This study considers what might be gained if we examine the National Gallery as a site where the Jewish heritage of some of its donors *has* been expressed, however rarely, by those who interacted with the organisation.

In a different national context, Veronique Long analysed French Jews' support of Parisian museums in the nineteenth century, using the musée du Louvre's archive.[33] Though a much larger museum, home to many more art forms than the National Gallery, her quantitative method was influential, as was her use of sources such as contemporary exhibition catalogues and guidebooks for information on lesser-known collections. She found that Jewish donors were consistently 'overrepresented' in terms of their donations to the national museum in the nineteenth century, relative to the size of Paris's Jewish population. Long, like Auslander and Shapira, emphasised the 'nationalism' demonstrated by French Jews in choosing their national museum as the ultimate repository of their possessions. In Britain, however, it was often 'foreign' Jews who were recognised for their significant donations to the National Gallery, as Jewish art historian Claude Phillips (1846–1924) observed in his appraisal of the Mond Bequest, subtitled 'our debt to foreigners', where he listed several Jewish donors under their 'national' origins, rather than locating them as Jews living in Britain.[34]

While not specifically a study of 'Jewish collecting', Pauline Prevost-Marcilhacy has examined how a pan-European Jewish family, the Rothschilds, of Frankfurt-um-Main, Vienna, Paris, London, and Naples, collected and donated their art collections to museums across western

[29] Tony Kushner, 'The end of the "Anglo-Jewish Progress Show": representations of the Jewish East End, 1887-1987' in Kushner (ed.) *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 78-105. See also David Cesarani, 'Dual Heritage or Duel of Heritages? Englishness and Jewishness in the Heritage Industry', *Immigrants & Minorities,* issue 10 (1991), pp. 29-41.

[30] Charles Sebag-Montefiore and James Stourton, *The British as Art Collectors* (London: Scala, 2012), p. 20.

[31] Ibid., p. 20

[32] Ibid, p. 20.

[33] Véronique Long, 'Les collectionneurs juifs parisiens sous la Troisième République (1870–1940), *Archives Juives*, vol. 42, issue 1 (2009), pp. 84–104.

[34] Claude Phillips. *The Daily Telegraph,* 'The Mond Collection', 18 May 1923, p. 10.

Europe throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[35] She was able to draw on the family's extensive archive, which has been examined by other historians of collecting.[36] As the historiography on the Rothschilds as collectors is more advanced than that of other Jewish collectors, so the Rothschild family were cast as unique. Sebag-Montefiore observed that the Rothschilds were 'uniquely *sui generis* and belong in an elevated class of collectors'.[37] While many British Rothschilds owned fine art: Ferdinand (1839–1898); Alfred (1842–1918), Constance Battersea (1843–1931); Blanche Lindsay (1844–1912) and Alice (1847-1922) all had distinct interests.[38] Their diverse collections and the way these were used demonstrated that they did not belong to a 'class apart', even if their access to large fortunes meant members of the Rothschild family had greater resources to collect with than other Jewish collectors.
In 1986, Barbara Gilbert's doctoral thesis, 'Anglo-Jewish Art Collectors of the Victorian Period: Patterns in Collecting' sought to establish how British Jewish collectors differed from non-Jewish collectors and 'whether the degree of one's connection to the Jewish community [was] apparent' from the types of works collected.[39] Gilbert did not use the term 'Jewish collector', choosing instead to examine a sub-group of Victorian 'gatherers … of private art collections … Anglo-Jews'.[40] By employing the argument that artworks might express 'connection to the Jewish community', and examining five chronologically discrete collections rather than Jewish collectors as a cohort, Gilbert's study did not find evidence of continuity in their interests.[41] The same conclusion was later drawn by Sebag-Montefiore.[42] Though both historians engaged critically with the Jewish identities of their subjects, neither considered how these collections were received by their owners' contemporaries, or the impact they had on those who encountered the art works while they belonged to Jews.

Perhaps the reason there was no clear 'pattern' to the interests of Gilbert's chosen collectors was because her research question concerned acculturation. Though the term 'acculturation' is useful in considering the relation of Jews to constructions of national identity, it was perhaps

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[35] Pauline Prevost-Marcilhacy, *Les Rothschild: Bâtisseurs et Mécènes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995); and ibid, *Les Rothschild: Une Dynastie de Mécènes en France*, 3 vols (Paris: Louvre Éditions, 2016).

[36] In the last two decades, historians using the Rothschild Archives in London have published numerous articles on collecting by Rothschild family members for its annual *Review* (London: Rothschild Archive*)*. See Francesca Murray, 'An absolute passion: The Rothschilds' orchid collections at Gunnersbury Park, Tring Park, Exbury Gardens - and London's East End' (2014), pp. 19–27; Evelyn Cohen, 'Charlotte "Chilly" von Rothschild: mother, connoisseur, artist' in (2013), pp. 29–37; Rachel Boak, 'The collecting tastes of Baroness Edmond de Rothschild', in (2011), pp. 30–37; Ulrich Leben,'Béatrice Ephrussi de Rothschild: Creator and Collector' (2009)*,* pp. 22–30; Jonathan Conlin, 'Butlers and Boardrooms: Alfred de Rothschild as Collector and Connoisseur' (2006), pp. 26–33, and Felicitas Kunth, 'Anselm von Rothschild, Collector' (2002)*,* pp. 37– 40.

[37] Sebag-Montefiore (2013), p. 166.

[38] Thomas Stammers, 'L'exception anglaise? Constance Battersea et la philanthropie artistique des Rothschild d'outre-manche', in Revost-Marcilhacy and Fuccia (eds.), *De la sphère privée à la sphère publique* (Paris: Publications de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2020).

[39] Barbara Gilbert, *Anglo-Jewish Art Collectors of the Victorian Period: Patterns in Collecting*, unpublished PhD thesis, Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1986.

[40] Gilbert (1986), p. 1.

[41] Gilbert chose six male collectors: Moses Hart (1675–1756) and Samson Gideon (1699–1762), financiers who collected oil paintings during the eighteenth century; Baron Lionel de Rothschild (1808–1879), similarly a financier; Ralph Bernal (1783–1854), MP and collector of Decorative Arts; Sam Mendel (1811–1884), Manchester merchant and collector of contemporary painting, and Israel Solomons (1860–1923), an antiquarian collector of Judaica and works of Jewish historical interest. For Solomons, see Tom Stammers, 'Othering the Ex-Libris: Israel Solomons and the Invention of the Jewish Bookplate', in Ludmilla Jordanova and Florence Grant (eds.), *Where Words and Images Meet* (London: Bloomsbury, 2024) forthcoming.

[42] Sebag-Montefiore (2013), p. 179: 'Collectors within the same generation collected broadly similar works of art, irrespective of faith.'

misguided to approach art collecting as a means of measuring collectors' 'successful' inclusion into 'English life', without interrogating the frameworks that defined 'British' culture in the period. It may have been a mark of these Jews' complete (and therefore 'successful', as Gilbert suggested) assimilation that there were no differences between their collections and those of non-Jews, but it seems more likely that this was not a motivating factor behind their collecting.[43] While the weakness of assimilation as a paradigm for Jewish collecting was exposed by this study, more recently Thomas Stammers has examined how historians of collecting may usefully apply psychological approaches when considered alongside 'wider political, ideological, religious and cultural conditions' that also shaped collectors' choices.[44]

Among the Jewish collectors whose paintings are now found in the National Gallery, only Ludwig Mond has been explicitly referred to as a Jewish philanthropist.[45] In recent editions of its painting catalogues, like Nicholas Penny's 2016 volume and Humphrey Wine's 2018 catalogue, National Gallery curators do refer to the Jewishness of former owners. While not considered at length here, the John Samuel Bequest (1906) was recognised by journalist Marion Spielmann (1858–1948), in his art criticism for both the Jewish and non-Jewish press, as 'numerically the most important bequest of Old Masters since … 1876', formed by 'one of the leaders of the Jewish community … a man of taste' who like Mond, was a 'lover of Italian painting'.[46] Readers of both *The Jewish World* and *The Connoisseur* were told the donation was made by Samuel's niece, and that 'by the board of honour by the entrance … the public will be kept aware how noble is the gift they owe to "Miss Lucy Cohen, of Brighton".[47] While the Samuel/Cohen Italian painting collection, like Mond's, was widely celebrated when it was accessioned, the promise that 'the public would be kept aware' of the names of those who made large gifts has not always been kept by the Gallery.

Though Jewish collectors Samuel and Mond were recognised by their contemporaries for their exceptional taste, their exceptionalism was sometimes perceived as difference owing to their being Jews who moved in non-Jewish cultural spheres.[48] The collective enterprise that their collecting entailed, in employing art historians and art agents, must also be properly acknowledged, though I have not had scope in this thesis to examine how Jewish collectors sought advice from others on their collections. Bryan Cheyette and Colin Holmes have observed how Jewish 'difference' was expressed often in hostile terms in literature of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain.[49] In some cases at the National Gallery itself,

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[43] Kenneth Clark, *Another Part of the Wood*: *A Self-Portrait* (London: John Murray, 1974), p. 194.

[44] Thomas Stammers, 'The Fall and Rise of the Psychology of Collecting: Historiographical Reflections', in Milena Woźniak-Koch (ed.) (2023), p. 3.

[45] Saumarez-Smith and Mancini (2006) mention Mond's Jewishness three times on a single page (p. 3).

[46] M.H. Spielmann, 'The John Samuel Bequest to the National Gallery', *The Connoisseur*, vol. 17 (1907), p. 229.

[47] Spielmann, 'The John Samuel Bequest to the National Gallery: Part II', *The Connoisseur*, vol. 18 (1908), p. 40. Lucy Cohen's obituary in *The Jewish Chronicle* described her 'devotion' to philanthropy, but only listed her medical and Jewish charitable work. The author mentioned her commissions for Brighton's synagogue, inclusing a stained-glass window in memory of her niece Hannah de Rothschild. They wrote 'her tastes were artistic. She was an excellent painter, musician, and singer'. Anon, 'Miss Lucy Cohen', *JC* (9 November 1906), p. 19.

[48] Vera Grodzinski, 'Longing and Belonging: French Impressionism and Jewish Patronage', in Gideon Reuveni and Nils Roemer (eds), *Longing, Belonging and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 91–112.

[49] Cheyette, op. cit. (1993); *Between "Race" and Culture: Representations of "the Jew" in English and American Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); and Bryan Cheyette and Nadia Valman (eds.) *The Image of the Jew in European Liberal Culture, 1789-1914* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2004). See also

Jewish difference was presented as a problem, expressed as antisemitism, including by its director, Kenneth Clark (1903–83).[50]

Alternative Histories of the National Gallery

As Michael Hall noted, when commenting on the 2006 display *Ludwig Mond's Bequest*, 'there is now far more interest in the history of collecting than there was in the 1930s, but that can be satisfied by exhibitions … It is to be hoped that [the 2006 exhibition] will be followed by others that will examine the tastes of the collectors who have shaped the Gallery.'[51] To meet this visitor interest, and encourage collectors of the future to come forward, museums need to recognise their donors. In providing information for visitors about the origins of their collections, museums might also challenge perceptions about who they represent, and why.

Where donations have been discussed by museologists like Carol Duncan, the act has been interpreted broadly in terms of self-memorialisation, rather than examined in-depth. On the rise of American museums in the twentieth century, built by those Duncan described as 'art-collecting robber-baron mansion-builders', she cast a negative view of benefaction as egotism.[52] In 1996, Sachko Macleod wrote an authoritative study of the collecting interests of Britain's 'merchant class'.[53] Focussing on middle class consumers of fine art, the problem of the 'outlier' was not addressed, and similarly the appendix 'Major Victorian Collectors', is of limited use to those interested in the collecting habits of individuals deemed, whether by contemporaries or the author, 'untypical'.[54] While the omission of Victorian women collectors was perhaps understandable, when describing the benefactions of Alfred Aaron de Pass (1861–1952) a prodigious collector (see Chapter 4) '[as] representative of the altruistic strain that defined the highest evolution of the middle-class character', she did not include him in the appendix nor acknowledge his Jewishness.[55]

For art critic Harold Rosenberg, writing in 1966, 'the most serious theme in Jewish life is the problem of Identity'.[56] While I have not been engaged with wider debates about definitions of 'Jewish art', it was a concern for some of the historical actors discussed in relation to 'Jewish exhibitions' (Chapter 1). However, the expression of personal identity, whether through self-fashioning, or demonstrating allegiance to different professional or social networks, is an area of Jewish historiography that is developing rapidly.[57] As Rosenberg reminded, Jews 'have no

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Colin Holmes's *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (London: Routledge, 1979) and *John Bull's Island* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

[50] See, for example, Clark's description of the Volterra family in Kenneth Clark to Mrs H Anrep, 27 May 1937, marked 'Private and Confidential'. London: National Gallery Archive, NG16/290/72.

[51] Michael Hall, 'Shall the Dead Hand Rule?', *Apollo,* vol. 169, no. 533 (July 2006), p. 13.

[52] Carol Duncan, *Civilising Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995), pp. 79, 83.

[53] Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[54] Sachko Macleod, 'Appendix: major Victorian collectors', in ibid pp. 382-489. The author only included one Jewish collector in the study, Sam Mendel, a textile merchant born in Liverpool, who later lived in Manchester, where he converted to High Anglicanism. Ibid*,* p. 450.

[55] Ibid, pp. 353-4.

[56] The capitalisation of 'Identity' is Rosenberg's own. See Harold Rosenberg, 'Is there a Jewish Art', an article in *Commentary*, published July 1966, adapted from a talk given by Rosenberg at the Jewish Museum, New York that year. The essay was reproduced in Vivian B. Mann (ed.), *Jewish Texts on the Visual Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 150–2.

[57] For a study of Victorian Jewish photography albums and Jews' 'self-fashioning', see Michele Klein, 'Louis XIII, Richard I, and the Duchess of Devonshire: Nineteenth Century Jews in Fancy Dress Costume', *IMAGES: A*

monopoly on this problem [of identity]'. It has been useful to consider how reading a non-Jewish organisation like the National Gallery through a 'Jewish lens' might similarly encourage others to investigate how other historically marginalised voices were amplified within the 'national' civic space.

Current debates about rising nationalism, migration, civil and human rights have shown the significant public appetite for 'new' perspectives which might challenge prevailing narratives about historic institutions. This project complements recent research carried out by the National Gallery, particularly that concerned with the contributions of cultural 'outsiders'. I am indebted to Susanna Avery-Quash's article, 'Two hundred years of women benefactors at the National Gallery', in which the Gallery's Jewish female donors were finally recognised.[58] Maria Alambritis's doctoral thesis, and a special issue of *19* on women artists, writers and their relationship with 'Old Masters', edited by Avery-Quash, Alambritis and Hilary Fraser, also proved valuable for situating Jewish women among the British art world (Chapter 5).[59] Other relevant areas of 'unmapped territory' have included the Gallery's relationships with professional art dealers, investigated by Barbara Pezzini, Alison Clark and Lucy West in their respective collaborative doctoral projects.[60] The Gallery has also worked with University College London's *Legacies of British Slavery* project, enriching the provenance information on its website to indicate where trustees and donors of paintings in the period 1824-1924 profited, directly or indirectly, from the enslavement of people.[61] Throughout this project I have considered how Jewish donors to the National Gallery have been overlooked in institutional memory.

While some of the collectors I have studied (like Joseph Duveen) have been the subject of biographies, rarely have these Jewish collectors and patrons of the National Gallery been considered in relation to the subject of cultural philanthropy in Britain. Historians of the National Gallery have not considered the different 'types' of visitor beyond surveying the behaviours of the 'working classes'. In approaching the Gallery as a Foucauldian disciplinary space, Whitehead drew on widely discussed theories proposed by Duncan, but did not expand his study to investigate who might have made up the 'masses' who flocked to this new civil(ising) space.[62] This lacuna is curious; Giles Waterfield made a persuasive case for the

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Journal of Jewish Art and Visual Culture, vol. 14, no.1 (2021), pp. 54–81. For a reading of twentieth-century Jews' 'self-fashioning' to conceal their Jewish identities from others, see Kerry Wallach, *Passing Illusions: Jewish Visibility in Weimar Germany* (University of Michigan Press, 2017).

[58] Susanna Avery-Quash with Christine Riding, 'Two Hundred Years of Women Benefactors at the National Gallery: An Exercise in Mapping Uncharted Territory', *Journal of Art Historiography*, vol. 23 (December 2020), pp. 1-92.

[59] Maria Alambritis, Susanna Avery-Quash and Hilary Fraser (eds), 'Old Masters: Modern Women', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century,* issue 28 (2019).

[60] Barbara Pezzini, unpublished PhD thesis, 'Making a Market for Art: Agnew's and the National Gallery, 1850–1944', Manchester University, 2018; Alison Clarke, *Spaces of Connoisseurship: Judging Old Masters at Agnew's and the National Gallery, c.1874–1916* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2022); Lucy West, unpublished PhD thesis, 'A Great Commerce in Curious Paintings: The Role and Practices of Art Dealers and Agents in the Reception and Re-evaluation of pre-1500 European Painting in Britain, 1800–65', University of Leeds, 2023.

[61] One significant outcome of this research was identifying a descendant of an enslaved person who worked for the Comte du Vaudreil in present day Haiti. Poet Madeleine Le Cesne has responded to his portrait, and their 'linked lives' in a short film with Francesca Whitlum-Cooper (pubished by the National Gallery in December 2023). The Drouais portrait of Vaudreuil was presented to the Gallery in 1927 by the barons d'Erlanger, three French Jewish brothers, in memory of their parents (NG4253). Another Collaborative Doctoral student is investigating the Baring family's slavery links, and the family's multi-generational involvement with the National Gallery, as collectors and trustees.

[62] Carol Duncan, *Civilising Rituals: Inside Public Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

centrality of museums and art galleries to public life in his final work, *The People's Galleries* (2015). While several historians have written accounts of the National Gallery's development, the most recent and comprehensive being Jonathan Conlin's *The Nation's Mantlepiece: A History of the National Gallery* (2006), Jews are explicitly mentioned twice.[63] Nick Prior described the National Gallery as '[an] instrument of national consciousness', where power was sought and demonstrated through the act of exclusion.[64] By exclusion, he was referring to the judgements of quality that were daily performed by the Gallery's administrators and trustees, many of whom were self-taught connoisseurs rather than experts. One of the problems with this argument, as Trodd had earlier identified, is that it presents a view of 'national consciousness' as coherently preconceived by the museum's staff. In Colin Trodd's view, 'the National Gallery … [was] less a controlling or disciplinary space' than a 'fluid, ambivalent or disordered environment'.[65] The Gallery's earliest incarnation was 'willed into existence' in 1824 by a private campaign for the State's purchase of the collection of 38 pictures, and the Pall Mall townhouse of John Julius Angerstein (1735–1823), a recently-deceased, Russian-born collector. [66]Since then, the Gallery's collection has been built up haphazardly.[67] While its administrative 'disorder' has been observed by other historians, few have considered Trodd's suggestion that the Gallery 'was not a single text, read in the same way by all, but rather … meant different things to different social groups'.[68] Similarly, Nick Merriman examined the uses of museums by 'different' social groups, but this approach has not been reflexively applied to consider how the National Gallery received 'different' communities, like non-Christians.[69] Christopher Whitehead examined the way its collection has historically been arranged and consumed by a homogenous 'public'.[70]

Drawing Room Antisemitism and the National Gallery

At certain moments throughout its first century, the National Gallery was shaped by Jewish individuals, whose presence did not go unacknowledged by its staff. These encounters were occasionally met with overt prejudice, which would not have been recognised historically, as during the early twentieth century antisemitic views were common among 'polite' society in Britain. Several pertinent examples can be found in the diaries of one the Gallery's longest serving trustees, David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Balcarres (1871–1940), alternatively styled as 'Balcarres' or 'Lord Balniel'. A Conservative politician and Chairman of his family's

[63] Conlin's book drew on his PhD thesis, 'The origins and history of the National Gallery, 1753-1860' (University of Cambridge, 2002) in which he examined the Gallery's 'pre-history' from the 1750s until it reached its permanent incarnation in Trafalgar Square.

[64]Nick Prior, 'Museums: Leisure between State and Distinction', in Rudy Koshar (ed.) (2002), p. 27.

[65] Colin Trodd, 'Culture, Class, City: The National Gallery and the Spaces of Education', in Marcia Pointon (ed), *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology Across England and North America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) pp. 33-50.

[66] Angerstein's own 'origins' have been obscured through his own promotion of the 'family myth' that he was the illegitimate son of Empress Anna of Russia (1693-1740).

[67] The 'haphazard' nature of its early administration was also acknowledged by the Gallery itself in a publication published to make its 150th anniversary. See Michael Levey, *The Workings of the National Gallery* (London: The National Gallery, 1974), p. 6.

[68] Trodd 1994, p. 40.

[69] Nick Merriman, 'Museum Visiting as a Cultural Phenomenon', in Peter Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion, 1989), pp. 149-71.

[70] Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public, 1747–2001* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Christopher Whitehead, *The Public Art Museum in Nineteenth Century Britain: The Development of the National Gallery* (London: Routledge, 2017).

firm, the Wigan Coal and Iron Company, on retiring from business he was elected to several charitable and governmental boards, joining the Gallery from 1918 until 1932.[71] Kenneth Clark praised his public spiritedness, and 'understanding of art [which] has been spent in public service. He has been chairman of almost every institution connected with the arts … and brought to his tasks human understanding'.[72] A trustee of the National Portrait Gallery from 1901, he was appointed Chairman of the National Art Collections Fund in 1904. After the First World War, he was also Chairman of the 'Crawford Committee' on Broadcasting (which led to the establishment of the British Broadcasting Corporation in 1922) and from 1923 onwards, Chancellor of Manchester University and a member of the British Museum's Executive Committee.

Crawford's posthumously published diaries proved useful for this study of Jewish collectors, as he described visits to the homes of his fellow National Gallery trustees and politicians, including those of Sir Philip Sassoon (1888–1939) and Lord Rosebery (1847–1929), husband of Hannah de Rothschild (1851–1890).[73] Within the pages are also unguarded expressions of anti-Jewish prejudice which should not be ignored, especially as Lindsay worked alongside several Jewish National Gallery board members, notably Sassoon and Joseph Duveen (1869–1939) (see Chapter 2). In February 1935, Crawford described a dinner at the Grillion's [a private dinner club at the Hotel Cecil on the Strand]:

> Dined with Grillions … Talk about aliens; Hartington [Edward William Spencer Cavendish, 10th Duke of Devonshire (1895–1950)] amazed us all by saying that he is the secretary of the Jewish Committee in the House of Commons. Whatever can have led him into such a milieu, and how little he must know of the race! … the Attorney General [Thomas Inskip, 1876–1947] said that the percentage of income tax cases in which he is concerned is abnormally Jewish. Trenchard [Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, 1931–5] said that very few of the jewel robberies are genuine … The Jews are the habitual receivers of stolen goods … Ilchester [The 6th Earl of Ilchester, 1874–1959, a trustee of the British Museum and the National Portrait Gallery] knew all about it – so did Inskip – and yet never a word in public about this consuming canker![74]

That the Attorney General, the Commissioner of the Police, and several members of the House of Commons expressed antisemitic ideas in private is not evidence of their outward hostility to Jews but does reveal how several 'stewards' of the nation's interests believed Jews to be 'different' or even criminal.

Another conversation recollected by Crawford has more worrying implications. In 1939, he visited the House of Lords where he discussed the antisemitic literary forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, with the Bishop of Liverpool:

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[71] Lee Sorensen, 'Lindsay, David Alexander Edward, 27th Earl of Crawford, 10th Earl of Balcarres', *Dictionary of Art Historians* (online): https://arthistorians.info/lindsayda (accessed 11 September 2023). Lord Balniel (28th Earl of Crawford), like his father discussed here, was a Gallery Board member from 1935 to 1960. See Geddes Poole (2010), p. 229.

[72] Clark (1974), pp. 184-5.

[73] John Vincent (ed.), *The Crawford Papers: The Journals of David Lindsay, 27th Earl of Crawford and 10th Earl of Balcarres*, *1871-1940* (Manchester University Press, 1984).

[74] Ibid., p. 558. The reference to tax fraud recalls the antisemitic expression 'Jewish lightning', which has been used to describe how Jewish business owners made false claims about robberies or arson attacks to recoup insurance money. A series of false insurance claims, described as a 'conspiracy', were reported in the press during the 1930s, with several of the businesses discussed being London 'bric a brac' dealers. See Anon., 'Fire Insurance Claims', *The Times*, 7 March 1933, p. 9.

> In the Lords I had a rather curious talk with the Bishop of Liverpool [Dr Albert Augustus David, who was Bishop of Liverpool from 1922–44] … his Christian Principles forbid any intolerance … but … he had recently been shown a copy of the *Protocols of Zion* … these are forgeries … he admitted. The copy … was 35 years old … contained the passage about getting control of popular sports … to influence, indeed, to break down the Gentile resistance. This impressed the Bishop, but the naïve fellow little realised how far the process had gone; prizefighting, dogracing, ordinary horse betting, football and the disgraceful pools – in all these directions the Jew betting man is supreme. Other amusements and occupations are rapidly falling into their clutches, and the *Protocols* whether Jewish in their origin or not, at least provide a definite programme for Jewry today. Why don't the respectable Jews assert themselves?[75]

My inclusion of these passages is not intended to mark out Balcarres as antisemitic, or the National Gallery, by association, as complicit in the dissemination of anti-Jewish hatred. These anecdotes demonstrate how racism could exist within the British establishment, even as in the Bishop of Liverpool's case, 'intolerance' was forbidden as antithetical to Christian values. They demonstrate that the 'alien Jew' was frequently the subject of private conversations between men who governed Britain's domestic and foreign affairs. Among the occupations that some men believed Jews 'influenced', along with sport, was the art market (see Chapter 2).[76] The articulation of these antisemitic views in private by one of the Gallery's trustees revealed additional, invisible hurdles a Jewish collector may have faced when engaging with the national institution.

[75] Ibid., p. 596.

[76] See Chapter 2. Aviva Briefel discussed the conflation of Jewish art dealers with criminality in 'Real Sons of Abraham: Jewish Art Dealers and the Traffic in Fakes', in *The Deceivers: Art Forgery and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 116-45.

Chapter 1: Exhibiting Difference: Jewish Cultural Philanthropists in London, 1887–1930

'Donation from the Whitechapel Art Gallery of a work by William Rothenstein'

National Gallery's Trustee Meeting, 19 February 1907.[77]

Ten years before Leeds's Jewish community presented Kramer's paintings to the City Art Gallery, the National Gallery received an offer from 'the Committee of the Whitechapel Art Gallery and other donors represented by the Very Rev. Dr Gaster' (Moses Gaster, 1856–1939). Gaster was the Haham, the theological leader, of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of Britain's oldest synagogue, London's Bevis Marks. At the February 1907 Trustee meeting, they heard the donors' 'resolution to present a picture of "Jews Mourning" or some other similar picture by Mr W Rothenstein in commemoration of a recent exhibition of Jewish art and antiquities.' The minutes recorded that 'two pictures were inspected by the Board [Earl of Carlisle in the Chair] and it was resolved that the… picture of *Jews Mourning* … be gratefully accepted'.[78] The Gallery's authorities recognised the importance of the event being commemorated, the 1906 *Jewish Art and Antiquities* exhibition, held at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in East London, and the merit of William Rothenstein's painting (Fig.1), which the artist had lent to this exhibition.[79]

Bradford-born artist William Rothenstein (1872–1945) exhibited two paintings at the 1906 Whitechapel exhibition, as well as lending several works from his own collection, by German Jewish Impressionist Max Liebermann (1847–1935).[80] The other oil painting by Rothenstein also depicted a religious scene, catalogued as 'Jews Praying'.[81] A third work in this series of eight 'Jewish' pictures, called *Aliens at Prayer* – a contemporaneous title – is now in the collection of the National Gallery of Art, Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.[82] The Melbourne painting was not the other work being considered by the Gallery's trustees in February, as it was already on display in Australia by July 1906. Melbourne's daily newspaper, *The Herald,* greeted its arrival rapturously, quoting an article that had appeared a few days before in a London paper. An anonymous journalist bemoaned the fact the work was not purchased by a British gallery: 'we… regret that the 'Aliens at Prayer' does not go to the Tate Gallery. England's loss is Melbourne's gain'.[83] The same regret can be detected in the London *Art*

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[77] *Minutes of the Meeting of the National Gallery Board*, 19 February 1907. London: National Gallery Archive (hereafter NGA), NG7, p. 299.

[78] The Chair of the meeting was George James Howard, 9th Earl of Carlisle (1843–1911), Trustee of the National Gallery from 1881 until his death. As well as collecting early Italian painting, Carlisle was an artist, having trained as a painter at Heatherley's Art School in London, where fellow students included Edward Poynter, Solomon J. Solomon, and Mary Davis (see Chapter 4).

[79]Marion Harry Spielmann (1858–1948) was the Chairman of the Exhibition Committee, working with Rev. Canon Samuel Barnett (1844–1913) and Charles Aitken, the Whitechapel Art Gallery's first Director (1901–1911). The painting by William Rothenstein (1872–1945), who was knighted in 1931, is listed under the title 'Jews Mourning in a Synagogue' in the *Jewish Art and Antiquities* exhibition catalogue (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1906), cat. no. 35.

[80] Rothenstein particularly favoured works by the President of the Berlin Succession, Max Liebermann. He lent four unfinished works by 'Professor Liebermann', cat. nos. 59, 771, 784, 793. All the works lent to Whitechapel were catalogued as 'sketch' or 'study', so it has been difficult to trace them.

[81] *Jewish Art and Antiquities*, cat. no. 21.

[82] Ted Gott, 'Behind the Canvas: *Aliens at Prayer*', undated, National Gallery of Victoria (cat. entry for inv. no. 261): https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/aliens-at-prayer (accessed 5 October 2023).

[83] Anon., "Aliens at Prayer", *The Herald*, 26 July 1906 (Melbourne, Victoria), p. 2.

Journal's coverage of recent acquisitions made by the National Gallery of Australia: 'it is doubtful if a group of men with conflicting views, such as the Academy Council, could choose satisfactorily; always the tendency is to compromise on the commonplace. Thus, it came about that two excellent pictures on the Committee's list were rejected … Mr Clausen … secured them for Australia'.[84] The dispute concerned the Chantrey Bequest trustees' decision not to purchase *Aliens at Prayer* for their collection of British art (housed at Millbank), when it was on display at Agnew's gallery.[85] As Rothenstein explained in his autobiography, Sir Edward Poynter (1836–1919), President of the Royal Academy and the National Gallery's Director (1894 until 1904), disapproved of the painting proposed by artist George Clausen (1852–1944), on the grounds of 'bad drawing'. Specifically, Poynter objected to the 'maimed finger' of the figure in the foreground. Happily, 'Clausen was then buying for Australia, and under the terms of the Fenton [sic] Bequest… bought my painting for … Melbourne'.[86]

Charles Aitken (1869–1936), then Director of Whitechapel Gallery (1901–11), later Keeper of Millbank (1911–17), may have been keen to resolve this 'national' loss, as he proposed that Rothenstein's painting be presented to the National Gallery at the close of his Whitechapel exhibition. A letter written to Aitken by the treasurer of the exhibition, Frederic S. Franklin (1864–1918), a merchant banker with Samuel Montagu and Co., indicated that Aitken was behind the idea:

> I am much interested in your view of Mr Rothenstein's works, I too think that their purpose is serious, and that they have a certain historical value.
> When however, you suggest the purchase of one for the Tate Gallery, I am obliged to state frankly … I find them (those that I have seen), like so much other work, lacking in imagination. This is my opinion and need not guide you in any movement you desire and initiate to present a specimen to the gallery of British art, nor need it deter you from seeking and following the opinion of our ablest critic Mr Marion H Spielmann … Others you may consult may think differently.[87]

Franklin's response to Aitken's 'initiative' illuminates the circumstances behind the acquisition of *Jews Mourning in the Synagogue*, and Aitken's role, which has not been

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[84] Anon., 'The National Gallery of Australia, Melbourne', *The Art Journal*, November 1906, pp. 332–6.

[85] For the 1904 House of Lords debate about the Chantrey Bequest, during which D.S. MacColl, Claude Phillips, and Marion Spielmann (among other expert witnesses) testified, see *Report from the select committee of the House of Lords on the Chantrey Trust, Session 1904.* The terms of sculptor Sir Francis Chantrey's will (1781–1841) are discussed on p. v. For 'Aliens at Prayer' (no. 14), see Anon. '"Independent Artists" exhibition, at Messrs. Agnew's, Old Bond Street', *Western Daily Press* (Bristol), 14 February 1906, p. 9. The Bristol critic described *Aliens at Prayer* as the work in which 'Mr Rothenstein has surely found himself'.

[86] William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*: *Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1900–1922*, vol. I (London: Faber & Faber, 1932), p. 92. The fund used was the Felton Bequest, after Alfred Felton (1831–1904), who was born in Britain, and gave a £240,000 bequest for acquisitions to Melbourne. See T. Martin-Wood, 'The National Gallery, Melbourne, and the Felton Bequest', *The International Studio,* vol. 228 (1916), pp. 229–40. In 1909, Martin-Wood noted, a panel of art advisors based in Europe were appointed, including a 'permanent London representative' – the role that Clausen had carried out informally on Melbourne's behalf, and several other advisers: Claude Phillips (1846–1924), Charles Ricketts (1866–1931), and Léonce Bénédite (1859–1925), Director of the musée du Luxembourg (see Chapter 4). See also Matthew Potter, *British Art for Australia, 1860–1953: The Acquisition of Artworks from the United Kingdom by Australian National Galleries* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 103–15.

[87] Franklin to Aitken, 28 November 1906 (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery Archive (hereafter WAG), WAG/EAR/4/13/3. Sharing his profession with Samuel Montagu (1832–1911), who became Baron Swaythling in 1907, Frederick [Samuel] Franklin was also his nephew on his maternal side. Franklin was therefore first cousins with both Isidore (1854–1925) and Marion Spielmann, both raised by Swaythling after their mother Marian (née Samuel, 1822–1858) died.

acknowledged.[88] Franklin's reply shows that Aitken believed there was a 'certain historical value' to the painting, and that he wished to acquire an example of Rothenstein's Jewish subject pictures for Millbank. By 'historical value', Franklin might have been alluding to its depiction of Eastern European Jews in their 'new' East London home, but he may also have been referencing the bigger question of the 'alien' presence considering the recent passing of the 'Aliens Act' (1905). This act was the first modern legislation giving the Home Office the authority to curb immigration into Britain and was recognised by contemporaries as a move to restrict further influxes of Eastern European Jews. The painting represented another salient 'historic' milestone, as it was the first work by a member of the New English Art Club (founded in 1885) to enter Millbank's nascent collection of contemporary art.[89]

While Aitken may have wanted to acquire a work by a leading British artist, he may also have recognised that the significance of the artist's 'Jewish' works might be greater among those who recognised themselves as Jewish, unlike Rothenstein himself, and that this recognition might result in a donation. It was clear from other correspondence that Aitken did not have a donor in mind. He consulted authorities within the Anglo-Jewish community like Franklin, Gaster and Marion Spielmann, then President of the Maccabeans (1904–7), all of whom were members of the *Jewish Art* Exhibition Committee. As the artist Frank Emanuel (1865–1948) had warned earlier in a letter to Aitken, though '[he was] quite in favour of your scheme…to arrange the purchase of one of Rothenstein's paintings to be placed in the Tate Gallery as a permanent record of the Jewish Exhibition at Whitechapel. Shekels, I fear, will be the difficulty'.[90]

Within a month, on 8 January, Gaster reported that he had found a donor in Jacob Moser (1839–1922), a Bradford-based philanthropist:[91]

> He does not wish his name yet to be mentioned to anyone except yourself. He has selected the one that has been shown in the Gallery of the last exhibition "Jewish Mourning in Synagogue" [*sic*] the same we had originally fixed on.
> He is willing to pay the amount fixed upon viz: £300, but … he does not wish to buy it outright, and to expose himself to the rebuff of having it afterwards rejected by the Trustees of the National Gallery …
> Should it leak out that the picture had been purchased with the intention of presenting it … and it is then heard that they have declined the gift, instead of enhancing Mr Rothenstein's reputation, it would go a long way to damage it.
> … I may mention privately that he would be pleased if Canon Barnett would be made acquainted … privately of his action, and the Trustees of your Gallery. But neither I nor he wishes his name to be

[88] Mary Chamot, Dennis Farr, and Martin Butlin (eds), *The Modern British Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* (London: Tate Gallery, 1964), vol. II, Tate inv. no. N02116.

[89] The 'NEAC' was a contemporary artistic group founded to allow its members (many of whom were Slade alumni like Rothenstein) to exhibit outside of the Royal Academy. Robert Speight, *William Rothenstein: The Portrait of an Artist in his Time* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962), pp. 165–6.

[90] The 'shekel' referred to by Frank L[ewis] Emanuel was the unit of currency used in the Book of Genesis, in circulation before the introduction of coins. Frank L. Emanuel to Aitken, 30 November 1906, London: WAG, WAG EAR/4/13/3.

[91] Moser was born into 'the sole Jewish family in Kappeln, Schleswig [now Denmark]'. He became a cloth merchant, moving to Bradford in 1863 to manufacture wool. He was appointed the city's second Jewish Lord Mayor in 1910. According to *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 698–9, he 'gave £10,000 in order that elderly townspeople [of Bradford], irrespective of creed, would have a weekly income … he helped establish the local Reform congregation, to which he belonged, but also aided its Orthodox counterpart and made possible the erection in 1909 of a synagogue in Durham'.

> mentioned prematurely, nor that any of my people should know anything of these negotiations and of what looks to be their happy conclusion.[92]

Moser may have had an interest in 'Mr Rothenstein's reputation', beyond the fact that he was a painter of Jews, and a Jewish-born painter. When *The Jewish Chronicle* reported on the silver wedding anniversary of Jacob Moser and 'Mrs Moser … useful guardian of the poor' [née Florence Cohen, 1856–1921], they mentioned that: 'The Bradford Congregation of British and Foreign Jews [Moser was its President] … presented the couple with a watercolour of Bradford Synagogue… the Rabbi Rev. Strauss, 'Messrs Gottheil, Reinhers and [Moritz] Rothenstein … each wished them good luck … [and] Mr Moser… thanked … his nearer friends and coreligionists'.[93] Moser may therefore have also wanted to promote the work of his close friend's eldest son.[94]

Moser's agreement meant the £300 painting was secured, but some members of the exhibition committee were unsure that the work would be accepted by the Gallery's trustees. The 'ablest [art] critic' among them, Spielmann, consulted Charles Holroyd (1861–1917), the newly-appointed Director of the National Gallery, a week before the work(s) by Rothenstein were sent for the Board's consideration. Spielmann revealed his anxiety that the Gallery's trustees would not recognise the 'excellence' of the painting, nor the 'weight' of the 'authority' of its Jewish donor(s), though Holroyd assured him he would support the acquisition in the boardroom.[95] It showed also that he believed the National Art Collections Fund (of which his brother Isidore was Honorary Secretary) might have more influence over the Gallery than an unknown donor:

> … [Holroyd] tells me that the picture… in the Whitechapel Exhibition – is the one for which he has preference… Mr D S MacColl favours a new picture which Mr Rothenstein has at present upon his easel, on account of what he considers to be a somewhat technical superiority ... Sir Charles, however … would prefer to recommend that one [*Aliens at Prayer*].
> I must say that I cordially agree with him: especially as it could not be said that the purchase of the new picture would be a direct memento of the Jewish Exhibition – seeing that it never was there exhibited.
> There was a question as to whether it would not be a good idea to offer the purchase through the intermediary of the National Art Collections Fund, backed by the authority that such a body would bring to bear as to excellence.
> (… the Trustees are somewhat difficult to please in respect to modern works and have refused excellent things…) But Sir Charles makes a kindly recommendation that the offer should come as from the Jewish Community, which he was sure would carry more weight with the Trustees; and he said that he would throw all his influence on our side.

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[92] Gaster's underlining emphasised that 'his people', i.e., fellow Whitechapel exhibition committee members, or perhaps members of 'the Jewish community', should not be made aware of the proposed gift, made on 'their' behalf. Gaster to Aitken, 8 January 1907, WAG, WAG EAR/4/13/3.

[93] Anon., 'An Interesting Celebration at Bradford', *Jewish Chronicle,* 18 April 1900, p. 23. Moritz Rothenstein, William's father, emigrated to Bradford in 1859.

[94] Ibid, p. 23: 'Nor does he restrict his [Moser's] philanthropy to Jewish affairs … Moser … laid aside £10,000 as a fund from which aged artisans, regardless of creed or nationality, should be helped in honour of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee [1897].'

[95] Spielmann's comment that 'the Jewish community' were not 'even contributors' revealed the difficulty he found in financing the 1906 Whitechapel exhibition. At its close, organisers wrote to its lenders: 'this exhibition was closed last night. 151,000 visitors have passed the turnstile since it was opened… May I venture to add that about £200 is still required to cover the expenses of the exhibition? Contributions towards which will be gratefully received.' See note card signed by Charles Campbell Ross (1849–1920), Curator of the Whitechapel Gallery, 17 December 1906, WAG, WAG EAR/4/13/3.

> … whether it would be just to Mr Moser, by whose generosity the gift is alone made possible, is quite another thing. For my part, I shouldn't see how the Jewish Community can accept any of the credit that belongs to Mr Moser… The gift is his, and we are not even contributors.[96]

I have examined the National Gallery of British Art's acceptance of *Jews Mourning in a Synagogue* at length as the episode demonstrated the efforts of a small number of Jewish community leaders to recognise the work of their peers at the *Jewish Art and Antiquities* exhibition and showed how much they wanted this recognition to come from an institution (the National Gallery of British Art) which they believed represented 'excellence'. The show was organised by a small number of Jewish collectors, who worked with several non-Jewish art administrators (Aitken, D.S. McColl, Poynter, and Holroyd) involved in running the Trafalgar Square and Millbank galleries. Peter Stansky has described the phenomenon of the temporary public exhibition as an ideal source for understanding 'self-presentation of a society'.[97] In this case, the exhibition was designed to promote an overview of Jewish 'excellence', not only to a largely Jewish audience in the East End of London, but also to Jewish and non-Jewish audiences beyond, who would be encouraged to visit Whitechapel and encounter 'other' Jews there. Marion Spielmann stated explicitly in his coverage of the exhibition for *The Graphic* art magazine: 'the Jewish denizens of the East End … here rub shoulders with Gentile pilgrims from the West'.[98] Pieren has suggested that in emulating an earlier exhibition, held in 1887, the Whitechapel committee had a more overt political aim, 'to dispel antisemitic prejudice … to revive Jewish identity in secular terms; and to establish Anglo-Jewish history as an academic discipline'.[99] The 1887 exhibition at the Royal Albert Hall exhibition was seen as a catalyst for the establishment of the Jewish Historical Society for England, founded in 1893.[100]

In a 2010 study of several Jewish exhibitions organised in London, provocatively titled 'Out of the Ghetto', Pieren argued that these events were important for Anglo-Jewish identity formation and for understanding the reception of Jews by their largely non-Jewish audiences. She wrote: 'insofar as London would for years … remain the only British city with significant temporary and permanent displays of British art and history which … claimed to be representative of British Jewry and were widely represented as such by the press, their significance … went well beyond their local context'.[101] The political significance of the 1906 *Jewish Art and Antiquities* exhibition cannot be overstated, as the earliest records kept by its Exhibition Committee indicate that it was conceived as a means of countering prejudice towards 'aliens'.[102] Though modelled on the 1887 Jubilee exhibition at the Royal Albert Hall, the 1906 Whitechapel show was a more urgent demonstration of the historical contributions of

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[96] Marion Spielmann to Aitken, 5 February 1907, WAG, WAG EAR/4/13/3.

[97] Peter Stansky, 'Review: Anglo-Jew or English/British? Some Dilemmas of Anglo-Jewish History', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Autumn, 1995), p. 164.

[98] M.H. Spielmann, 'In the World of Art', *The Graphic*, 24 November 1906, p. 692.

[99] Kathrin Pieren, 'The Role of Exhibitions in the Definition of Jewish Art and the Discourse on Jewish Identity', *Ars Judaica: The Bar-Ilan Journal of Jewish Art*, vol. 13 (2017), p. 75.

[100] A year after the exhibition, Lucien Wolf (with contributions from Joseph Jacobs) published the *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica: A Bibliographical Guide to Anglo-Jewish History* (London: Offices of the Jewish Chronicle, 1888), which was the third in a series of publications relating to the 1887 *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*.

[101] Kathrin Pieren, 'Out of the Ghetto: Negotiating Jewish Identity through the Display of Art', *Jewish Culture and History*, vol. 12, nos. 1&2 (Summer/Autumn 2010), p. 284.

[102] The British Government passed the 'Aliens Act' on 11 August 1905, with the Act coming into law on 1 January 1906. See Aliens Act 1905, Chap. 13, available at: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Edw7/5/13/contents/enacted (accessed 1 October 2023)

British Jews to national life, but more importantly of their present 'value'.[103] The organisers presented many more works of art made by Jews born or working outside Britain than were shown at the Royal Albert Hall, despite borrowing fewer objects overall.[104] While some of the contents would have been familiar to those visitors who saw both exhibitions, the 1906 exhibition had a different character.[105] At the initial exhibition planning meeting, committee members were frank about the purpose of their work, which was to persuade both Jews and non-Jewish audiences of the value of the 'progress and change' which Marion Spielmann argued was particularly central to Jewish life.[106]

The 1887 exhibition had encouraged Jews in Britain to acknowledge and preserve their heritage (and that of 'British Jews' across its Empire), indeed T*he Jewish Chronicle* insisted: 'it is a duty of English Jews to support the Exhibition by attendance and interest. The outside world will look upon the success of the Exhibition as a test of the position of the Jews in public esteem'.[107] One lender to the exhibition, and member of its 'History' committee, A[lfred] L. Cohen (1836–1903), who lent a shofar from the Great Synagogue and a portrait miniature of his father, Louis Cohen [1799–1882], wrote to Spielmann describing his visit to 'what may be fairly called "your exhibition"' as though it were a religious duty, '… there is much there to preach to the visitor a sermon that is none the less eloquent in that it is silent, and none the less attractive in that the length … can be determined by the congregation'.[108] In 1906, this sense of 'duty' was extended to the 'alien' Jews who lived near Whitechapel, as the exhibition attempted to bridge the cultural divide between East and West End Jews. This, organisers hoped, would be achieved through displaying the riches of their 'shared' past, and the talents of contemporary Continental Jewish artists.

That the Whitechapel exhibition was explicitly about inclusion and integration was clear to the Exhibition Committee who met monthly at Marion Spielmann's home. At the October meeting, two months after the Aliens Act was passed, Frederic Franklin suggested 'with regard to the scope of the Exhibition … an effort should be made to demonstrate the industrial and commercial benefits which the alien immigrants had brought to England … the values of the alien should be shown by statistical charts and tables.'[109] Franklin's use of the term 'alien' to

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[103] For the 1887 *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition,* organised by a committee with Isidore Spielmann, brother of the art critic Marion, as 'originator', see Natalia Berger, *The Jewish Museum* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Pieren (2011); Tony Kushner, 'Anglo-Jewish Museology and Heritage, 1887 to the Present', *Journal for the Study of British Cultures*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2009), pp. 11–25; Michael Clark, 'Identity and Equality: The Anglo-Jewish Community in the Post-Emancipation Era, 1858–1887*',* unpublished DPhil thesis*,* University of Oxford, 2005, and Tobias Metzler, 'The Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition and the formation of Jewish identities', in *Museological Review,* issue 12 (Leicester: 2007), pp. 141–156.

[104] The 1887 catalogue (edited by Lucien Wolf and Joseph Jacobs) listed 2,295 objects (not including multiples of coins), while the 1906 exhibition showed 1,688 objects.

[105] Michael Clark described the impact of the 1887 exhibition on Jewish and non-Jewish cultural relations in 'Immigrants and Exhibitions: Expanding the Boundaries of British Jewry', *Albion & Jerusalem*: *The Anglo-Jewish Community in the Post-Emancipation Era, 1858–1887* (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 224–55.

[106] Marion Spielmann, 'In the World of Art', *The Graphic*, 24 November 1906, p. 692.

[107] Anon., *Jewish Chronicle*, 1 April 1887, p. 12. The paper carried illustrated supplements showing loan objects in its 8, 15 and 22 April issues.

[108] Louis's father Alfred Cohen was President of the Great Synagogue and Vice-President of the Jews' Free School. Louis Cohen lent cat. nos. 1071 and no. 1536. See letter of congratulations from Cohen to Spielmann, 3 April 1887, kept with Spielmann's copy of the 1887 catalogue. Special Collections Stanford University Library, NK1672.A6 1888 F.

[109] Minutes of 'The first meeting of the Jewish Exhibition Committee, 22 October 1905, at the residence of Mr M H Spielmann [21 Cadogan Gardens, London]'. WAG, WAG/EAR/4/13/1.

describe fellow Jews indicates that he was cognisant of current debates about Jews' status in Britain. Jews' 'value' should be demonstrated for visitors to Whitechapel in the most literal sense. Such was the importance of this aspect of the exhibition that among the five subject areas requiring advisors, 'Industrial and Statistical' was given as much weight as the 'Art' section, on which 'Mess. F Emanuel, W Rothenstein and S[olomon] J[oseph] Solomon, RA (1860–1927) would be consulted.[110] A statistician, S. Robenbaum, was tasked with providing 'evidence' of Jewish contributions to various industries, but his inability to participate forced the Committee to reconsider the inclusion of 'statistical charts' in their exhibition.[111]While the loss of these 'statistical' exhibits may not have impacted the overall reception of the exhibition, the Gallery's most popular to date, the 'art side of modern Jewish achievement' eventually dominated the display.[112] In his commentary, Spielmann made a distinction between the paintings and drawings by those he called 'foreign' artists, which he was familiar with, and 'the art objects', or 'objects of devotion' [never 'Judaica'], which he found 'strangely full of interest'.[113] In the paintings by 'men of the hour… S[olomon] J[sopeph] Solomon (a fellow committee member and Royal Academician), Will Rothenstein and his brother Albert', and 'among the foreigners … Jozef Israels (sic), Max Liebermann, Lévy Dhurmer … Camille and Lucien Pissarro' he found nothing 'curious … not an Oriental touch no Eastern revelling in vivid colours; just a love of nature … a demonstration of psychological but not aesthetic differentiation'.[114]

In Spielmann's article for *The Graphic,* apart from Isidore's 'Montefioriana', the only collection named [in a caption] was the Sassoon's 'Synagogue Appurtenances' (fig. 2). He drew his readers instead to the 'different condition' he discerned in the Jewish 'art objects', where he found 'the racial feeling com[ing] out fairly strongly'.[115] He did not, however, discuss the different interests of the collectors represented in the exhibition. He singled out an object lent by his brother, Isidore, describing how 'the *clou* of this important exhibition is an object regarded by them ['the Jewish denizens of the East End'] with passionate devotion: a stone from the Temple, presented to Sir Moses Montefiore by the Governor of Jerusalem'.[116] For the art critic, it was this object that united Jewish visitors, a tangible piece of 'Jewish heritage'. He was suggesting that most Jews were more interested in 'the past', than in the modern fine art

[110] The proposed 'advisers…[were]: Israel Solomons (1860–1923), Mrs Asher Myers [née Elizabeth "Bessie" Cohen] (m. 1894), Lucien Wolf (1857–1930) on Anglo-Judaica; Sir I[sidore] Spielmann (1854–1925) – Montefioriana; Art; Industrial and Statistical: Charles [H. L.] Emanuel (1868–1962), S[imon] Rosenbaum (born 1877–?) and L[eon] Simon (1881–1965); and Ecclesiastical: Revs. A[sher] Feldman (1873–1950) and S[olomon] Levy (1872–1958)'. Ibid.

[111] Chairman (Marion Spielmann) asked for 'Mr Rosenbaum [to] be thanked for his troubles … and informed that in the circumstances the Committee would not be able to avail itself of his services.' Manuscript (unpaginated) 'Notes from the First Meeting of the Jewish Exhibition Committee', WAG, WAG/ EAR/4/13/1.

[112] Note card written by Campbell Ross, sent to each lender to thank them: '151,000 visitors have passed the turnstile since it was opened on November 6th. … about £200 is still required to cover the expenses… Contributions towards which will be gratefully received.' Attached was a list of those who had already pledged to the fund, the largest of which came from Claude G. Montefiore (1858–1938) [£20], followed by Isidore Spielmann (£10.10s) and Arthur D[avid Sassoon (1840–1912) [£10]. See note card of 17 December 1906, WAG, WAG/EAR/4/13/3.

[113] Spielmann, *The Graphic*, 24 November 1906, p. 692.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

displayed, which 'Spielmann … associated with modernity', complicating the common trope that as 'cosmopolitans' Jews were harbingers of modernity.[117]

Jewish Collectors and Cultural Philanthropy

While the 1906 exhibition may often have been interpreted, even by its organisers like the Spielmann brothers, as a defensive strategy to display their worth to non-Jews, those who lent their possessions to it may not have contributed necessarily to prove their own 'value', or that of their art works. Exhibiting items from one's collection did however draw visibility to the owners of these works, giving audiences a sense of their cultural interests. In their respective histories of philanthropy, Paul Vallely and Sarah Abosch-Jacobson both examined religious Jews' religious obligation to give, or '*mitzvah*'. A sense of obligation may have been felt even by non-religious Jews to share their collections with the public. This need was perhaps perceived to have been more urgent in 1906, as Jews may have felt obliged to demonstrate their investment in national causes, as their status was the subject of Parliamentary debate. National arts charities, like the National Art Collections Fund (founded in 1903) and the National Gallery gave Jewish donors a means of demonstrating their allegiance to a national cause but as Marion Spielmann identified, also connoted 'excellence' in the field of art. Membership of a charity like the NACF, or an exhibition committee, also allowed for sociability with those who shared their interests in art, as well as their cosmopolitan backgrounds.

For Jews, Vallely argued, demonstrating belonging was a significant factor towards charitable giving. He described this social impetus as distinctive to Jewish philanthropy: 'it is essential to the Jewish understanding that men and women are social creatures … where Graeco-Roman philanthropy was about society, Jewish philanthropy was about community'.[118] Vallely also suggested that Jews were driven by a commitment to '*tzedakah*' or social justice, which bound them to their own communities. In her discussion of Jewish charitable giving in Victorian England, Abosch-Jacobson explained that Jews gave differently from others, owing to their communal obligations to support other Jews, and protect them from criticism. She explained:

> Though *zedakah* is frequently used interchangeably with … 'charity' the two are not identical. Charity implies altruism, encompassing feelings of love and/or affection (and in the case of the Victorians, a not insignificant measure of sentimentality) … the giver of *zedakah*, regardless of his feelings … does so as a matter of duty and justice. He gives because to do so is right and just.[119]

Though some have interpreted Jews higher rates of charitable giving as evidence of their sense of 'duty' towards others (whether Jewish or not), where cultural philanthropy by Jews has been occasionally referred to it has largely been framed as an aspirational move from a position of alterity to recognition and social acceptance.[120] In the same way, lending one's possessions to a museum, or giving money to support them, has most often been considered a form of self-promotion rather than an indication of genuine interest or expression of belonging.

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[117] Pieren (2017), p. 78. For Jewish contributions to the development of modern art, see Charles Dellheim, *Belonging and Betrayal: How Jews Made the Art World Modern* (Waltham, MA, Brandeis University Press, 2021).

[118] Paul Vallely, *Philanthropy: From Aristotle to Zuckerberg* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020) p. 31.

[119] Abosch-Jacobson (2019), p. 57.

[120] For an example, see Stevenson (2002).

A contemporary sociological study (by a Jewish research body) found that Jews are more likely to give to arts charities than their non-Jewish counterparts owing to 'above average levels of educational attainment', but this claim was not substantiated by any supporting evidence.[121] It seems highly likely that the organisers of the 1887 and 1906 Jewish exhibitions in London were motivated to lend their belongings, give up their expertise, and support the considerable running costs of these events for more nuanced reasons than merely that they felt 'obligated' to 'their' communities. Many of the collectors and patrons involved had already shown an interest in cultural philanthropy in Britain, and already belonged to 'communities' of likeminded people engaged in supporting the nation's cultural interests.

One Jewish collector who was clear about the motivations behind his non-Jewish charity work was Isidore Spielmann, brother of art critic Marion. In a document 'compiled for my children, January 1917', he recorded every occasion where he had organised art exhibitions – his 'Exhibition Work'.[122] A summary at the beginning of the typed list noted that he had 'devoted practically all of [his] time' to the cause of organising exhibitions, often directly for the British government. Spielmann abandoned two lucrative career paths (he trained as a civil engineer and was later a stockbroker) to focus on voluntary arts administration. That his work was largely voluntary was alluded to in his obituary in *The Times*, titled 'a Benefactor of British Art'.The author stressed that Spielmann 'freely gave his services, which were very valuable, to the administration of international exhibitions … year after year at no cost to the committee or the state'.[123] The implication of this last sentence was that Spielmann was effective at producing exhibitions at little cost, but also suggested some concern (from *The Times* at least) over the State's spending on the international exhibitions in which Spielmann specialised.[124]

The first exhibition Spielmann listed was the 1887 *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*. From his correspondence it was clear that Spielmann wanted on record that the 1887 show was his initiative. He encouraged his children [as readers of his list] to 'see the Committee's testimonial hanging in my study … these facts are…set down as Rev. S[olomon] Levy (1873–1957) once mentioned another name as… the originator'.[125] The many congratulatory letters he kept also testify to his pride in having welcomed 30,000 people to the event's opening reception, and another 12,000 visitors throughout the 12-week run. The exhibition was coordinated alongside non-Jewish curators at the South Kensington Museum (now the V&A), the British Library (then within the British Museum) and the Public Records Office (then at Chancery Lane) who held their smaller exhibitions of 'Jewish' material, also aimed at educating largely non-Jewish visitors using objects that were not lent to the Royal Albert Hall, often for lack of space.[126] The

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[121] David Graham & Jonathan Boyd, 'Charitable Giving among Britain's Jews: Looking to the Future', *Jewish Policy Research* (2016), p. 7. See Graph (Fig. 3) 'Proportion of donors giving to different causes and proportion of total amount donated by cause 2012/13'. The only cause that had a higher difference, proportionally, than the 12% increase seen in the arts, was that of 'overseas poor', where Jews gave 14% more on average. Ibid., p. 10.

[122] Isidore Spielmann '*Exhibition Work, For my Children*', *January 1917,* typescript list (Collection of Charles Sebag-Montefiore, his reference, 14E). I am grateful to Charles Sebag-Montefiore for sharing this unpublished document.

[123] 'Sir I. Spielmann', *The Times*, 11 May 1925, p. 8.

[124] He organised the British pavilions at the St Louis World's Fair (1904), Christchurch's *International Exhibition* (1906–7), and the White City *Franco-British Exhibition* (1908).

[125] Solomon Levy was Minister of the New Synagogue, Great St Helens, and the editor of *The Jewish Year Book* and *The Jewish Annual*. Spielmann may have been referring to one of these publications when accusing Levy of failing to recognise his work for the 1887 Exhibition Committee, chaired by Canon Samuel Barnett (1844–1913). Ibid, p.1.

[126] As Natalia Berger noted, a supplement in Wolf's 1888 edition of the exhibition catalogue (pp. 175–83) listed the British Museum's display of 58 items, largely 'manuscripts (mainly Hebrew manuscripts), seals and rings,

success of the 1887 exhibition led to Spielmann's appointment as Director of the 'Exhibitions Branch' of the Board of Trade in 1901. He had already begun to organise temporary loan exhibitions at the New Gallery, Regent's Street. For the *Royal House of Tudor* exhibition (1890), he sat on the Executive Committee that included Lionel Cust (1859–1929), then Director of the National Portrait Gallery.[127]

Perhaps it was Spielmann's reputation for effective campaigning among private lenders that inspired one of the National Gallery's trustees, Lord Balcarres, to invite him to join a new society, the National Art Collections Fund (NACF), in 1903. The society had originally been advocated for as a 'Society of Friends of the National Gallery' in a column written by D.S. MacColl for *The Saturday Review* in 1900.[128] At the first meeting in July 1903, held at the home of artist and activist Christiana Herringham (1852–1929), the aims of the group were agreed, and potential members canvassed. Claude Phillips, one of the four founders as Keeper of the Wallace Collection, proposed that Balcarres should be asked to be Chairman. Balcarres wrote of 'what [is] to be a great museum league' in his diary that evening.[129] Though several of its early members, including Phillips and Spielmann (Honorary Joint Secretary) were known as 'men of means', the NACF hoped to recruit middle class members through low annual fees of one guinea. [130]

When invited to join the Board of the NACF, Spielmann replied to Balcarres's invitation enthusiastically: 'it is high time that the Art loving patriots of this country should launch their new ship & my sympathy is such that I am prepared to work for it if my services are wanted.'[131] Spielmann identified himself as a 'patriot' and as an 'art lover', and the new society provided a platform where he could demonstrate both interests. So committed was Spielmann to his role alongside Robert Witt (1872–1952), as honorary Joint Secretaries, that his Victoria Street office became the NACF's first headquarters. His role as Commissioner of Exhibitions had provided the former engineer with a network of government contacts, experience negotiating with other collectors and some fundraising experience. He used his position within the Board of Trade to bring the cause of the NACF to the attention of several notable Jewish families. As the son of a Polish immigrant, Adam Spielmann (1812–1869), who had become a currency trader and married into the Liverpool-based Samuel family, Isidore's uncle was Sir Samuel Montagu, first Baron Swaythling (1832–1911).[132] Isidore's wife Emily Sebag-Montefiore

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portraits, and printed books. The South Kensington Museum… presented 19 articles from its Jewish collection… a Torah scroll, a Torah mantle, finials, a Torah pointer, an Esther scroll, thirteen wedding rings, and an amulet … The London Public Record Office exhibited 51 documents, including bills of rights and legal papers.' Berger (2017), p. 70.

[127] He was not listed as a lender, and his name was misspelt 'Spielman' in the 'Prefatory Note' at the beginning of the catalogue. See Anon., *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor, under the auspices of Her Majesty The Queen*, exh. cat (London: The New Gallery, 1890).

[128] Mary Lago, 'Christiana Herringham and the National Art Collections Fund', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 135, no. 1080 (March 1993), p. 202.

[129] Lago (1993), p. 203, n14. The 'league' refers to the first name proposed for the National Art Collections Fund, before Herringham suggested a 'lesss combative' alternative, '… more good can be done [if] the name emphasises the need of money which is the great need.' Ibid., p. 204, n22.

[130] Lord Peel to Balcarres: 'The thing to be aimed at is the numbers of subscribers … Rich men may come to the rescue in special cases, but the rank and file should feel that they have done enough in subscribing their small sum to swell the general aggregate of the Fund.' Quoted by Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian Art Scene* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), p. 84.

[131] Spielmann to Balcarres, undated letter, 1903. NACF Papers (TGA), 9328.1.3.110.

[132] When Adam Spielmann died, his three youngest sons, including Isidore and Marion, became the Swaythlings' wards and lived in a house bought by them in Cleveland Square. See Ruth Sebag-Montefiore, 'From Poland to

(1859–1929) was great-niece of Sir Moses Montefiore and was both more religious and wealthier than her husband. Unlike Isidore, Emily did not profess any interest in art, preferring 'racing and bridge'.[133] It was surprising to find a £10,10s donation to the NACF's 1924 campaign to acquire Tintoretto's *Portrait of Vincenzo Morosini* for the National Gallery from both 'Sir Isidore and Lady Spielmann' (he was knighted in 1905) as she did not appear to have shared her husband's interest in cultural philanthropy.[134]

The primary aim of the fund was to enable its Committee to 'save' works of art in Britain from an art market perceived to have fallen prey to 'the foreigner'.[135] Balcarres was here alluding to American and German museums and private collectors, who had begun to export paintings and works of art from Britain, particularly after the imposition of death duties in 1880 and the passing of the Settled Lands Act (1882).[136] The loss of artworks abroad highlighted the necessity of scheme like that of the Société des Amis du Louvre in Paris or Berlin's Kaiser Friedrich Museumsverein (both founded in 1897) for Britain's 'treasures'.[137] Foremost among the 'foreign' rivals was the highly acquisitive Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), Director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and Max Friedländer (1867–1958), Bode's deputy and eventual successor in Berlin. [138]

The NACF's founders recognised that private initiative would have to supplement the Treasury's failure to provide funds for acquisitions for the National Gallery or the National Gallery of British Art, which was never allocated more than £10,000 annually until the 1950s.[139] The charity had an inauspicious start, as Charles Ricketts (Chapter 4) described its first public meeting in November 1903 as 'England in miniature … pompous nobodies nobbling everything'.[140] While its members may have had strong ideas about the kinds of works that should be 'saved', few could part with their own works or large sums of money. A turning point came with an offer made by Jewish wine merchant Max Rosenheim (1849–1911), a volunteer in the British Museum's Prints and Drawings Department, of an eighteenth-century 'repeating watch' by English horologist Daniel Quare (1649–1724).[141] Rosenheim's gift may

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Paddington: The Early History of the Spielmann Family, 1828–1948', *Jewish Historical Studies*, vol. 32 (1990), pp. 237–43.

[133] Ibid, p. 246

[134] The Tintoretto portrait was acquired for the Gallery in 1924, the gift marking the twentieth anniversary of the NACF, and the centenary of the National Gallery (now NG4004). There were at least 37 Jewish donors to this campaign. See the Art Fund acquisition file, London: Tate Gallery Archive (hereafter TGA), 9328.3.2.14.

[135] Lago (1993), quoting Lord Balcarres, p. 204.

[136] Peter Mandler, 'Art, Death and Taxes: The Taxation of Works of Art in Britain, 1796–1914', *Historical Research*, vol. 74, no. 185 (2001), pp. 271–97.

[137] See Pierre Rosenberg (ed.) *Des mécènes par milliers: Un siècle de dons par les Amis du Louvre* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997). Among the French society's founder members were Jewish collectors Isaac Camondo (1851–1911) and Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934). The German organisation was larger in terms of founder numbers, with at least eleven Jewish founder members, including Max Liebermann and James Simon (1851–1932).

[138] Philip Conisbee, 'The Ones That Got Away', in Richard Verdi (ed.), *Saved! 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund*, exh. cat., The Hayward Gallery (London: Scala, 2003), p. 27.

[139] 'State Aid for Salaries and Wages in 1879–1880 was £3,300, compared with £23,086 in 1928–9; and for Purchase of Pictures £10,000 in 1879–1880, compared with £7,600 in 1928–9'. See A.C.R. Carter, *The Year's Art* (London, 1929), p. 10.

[140] Ibid, p. 20.

[141] See British Museum, inv. no. 1905,0418.2. Max Rosenheim and his younger brother Maurice were customers of Mosheh Oved, a jewellery dealer who ran a popular shop, Cameo Corner, under the name Edward Good and published his memoirs, *Visions and Jewels* (London: Faber, 1952), written in Yiddish and translated by Hannah Berman. Oved described the Rosenheims as 'two Jewish customers', suggesting that they may have conducted

have been inspired by his German Jewish upbringing in the *Bildung* tradition, which had also beginning to flourish outside of London in the German Jewish diasporas of Bradford and Leeds.[142] The watch was accepted by the NACF in 1904 and donated to the British Museum, described by antiques dealer Mosheh Oved (1885–1958) as Rosenheim's 'home'.[143]

Following Rosenheim's first donation, the NACF continued to attract support from many Jewish art collectors. Also in 1904, German born John Jaffé (1843–1934), a linen merchant whose younger brother Otto (1846–1929) became Belfast's only Jewish Lord Mayor (elected in 1899 and again in 1904), wrote to the NACF from Nice, expressing his interest in bequeathing his picture collection (around 500 paintings) to England's museums.[144] Spielmann suggested that Max Rosenheim should visit Anna and John Jaffé to inspect the paintings by Guardi, Goya, Constable and Turner among others, to encourage the Jaffés to leave them to 'the nation'.[145] Spielmann often appealed directly to potential donors, notably during the '*Rokeby' Venus* acquisition campaign of 1905, when the Velasquez nude was for sale at Agnew's for £40,000. Spielmann was optimistic despite the high price and campaigned hard, approaching the King's financier, Sir Ernest Cassel (1852–1921): 'I have gone down on my knees to Sir Ernest Cassel to save us & the Venus'.[146] Along with Cassel, many Jews made contributions to the NACF's first high-profile acquisition campaign, and as a result several were given honorary life memberships, including Herbert Stern, Lord Michelham (1851–1919), Joel Joseph Duveen (1843–1908), Ludwig Mond, and Mond's non-Jewish son-in-law, Sigismund Goetze (1866–1939).[147]

However, some that were approached were not keen on supporting the *Venus* campaign, such as the financier Edgar Speyer (1862–1932), a trustee of Whitechapel Art Gallery, who promised £500, before retracting his offer. Lionel Walter, Lord Rothschild (1868–1937) flatly refused, as 'all the money he could spare would be given to a fund for the unemployed in the East End and to the families of the Jews massacred in Russia long before he thought of pictures'.[148] Spielmann worried privately that this was 'a view a great many will take at the moment'.[149] The 1905 pogroms in Ukraine occupied much Jewish charitable giving that year, as it had for the last decade.[150] At a planning meeting for the *Jewish Art and Artists* exhibition, held by Isidore's brother Marion, Spielmann reported that the 'idea [of the exhibition] generally met with strong opposition … so much had recently been required of the community for matters

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sales with him in Yiddish. He wrote that they were 'very ripe in years and in wealth and collecting had… become a highly cultivated passion.' (p. 172).

[142] John Hilary and Tom Stammers, 'Introduction: Bildung beyond borders: German–Jewish collectors outside Germany, c.1870–1940', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 34, no. 3 (October 2022), p. 376.

[143] Oved (1952), p. 173. This was the first work of art donated to the nation via the NACF.

[144] Judit Kiraly, 'John and Anna Jaffé: the art lovers from Belfast who gave the Emperor's Library to a nation', *Riviera Reporter* (2012). The couple were advised by Wilhelm Bode and built up a large collection of Old Master paintings, several of which they eventually donated to their local musée Messina in Nice during their lifetimes. The rest of the collection was inherited by their nieces and nephews, and was subject to Nazi confiscation in 1942, when it was sold. See Doreen Carvajal, 'Jewish Heirs sue Swiss Museum to Recover Constable Painting', *New York Times*, online (2016) for the family's descendants' attempts to reclaim John Constable's *Dedham from Langham*, c.1813, from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland.

[145] National Art Collections Fund, *Minute Book, 1903–1917*, TGA, 9328.1.3.110, p. 110.

[146] Isidore Spielmann to Balcarres, 3 December 1905, quoted in Lago (1996), p. 275, n19.

[147] See National Art Collections-Fund, *Minute Book, 1903–1917*, 12 December 1906, op. cit., p. 196.

[148] Juliet Gardiner, in Verdi (2003), quoting letter from Spielmann to Balcarres, 15 November 1905, p. 23.

[149] Ibid, p. 23.

[150] In 1891, Spielmann edited a supplement of *The Jewish Chronicle* on the theme of 'Darkest Russia', in which he warned of the plight of Russian Jews.

of absolute necessity, that "communal funding" was inopportune; […] the Jewish people had been too much in the public eye of late; objections had been raised by Lord Rothschild, Sir Samuel Montagu [his uncle] and Claude Montefiore'.[151] The observation that Jewish people had been too 'visible' related to the *Aliens Act* and the outbreaks of anti-Jewish violence across Britain and Europe. As the playwright Alfred Sutro (1863–1933) summarised when refusing his own participation in the Whitechapel exhibition, he felt that 'as an English Jew [he] would rather he died an English, than a Jewish, artist'.[152] While to some a Jewish exhibition may not have been palatable, contributions to a national cause like the NACF may have offered a way for Jews to demonstrate the compatibility of 'their' interests with those of England.

Though patriotism has been suggested as the cause of many people's involvement in the NACF, not least those with Jewish heritage, arguably the internationalism of its members proved one of the charity's great strengths. One of the Fund's Executive Committee, from 1910–20, was the manufacturer and founder of Unilever Henry Van den Bergh (1853–1937). His wife Henriette was also a local representative of the NACF in its Kensington and Tunbridge Wells districts. Though based in Oss, in the Netherlands, the Van Den Bergh family had shown an interest in their British neighbours for several decades before they moved to England.[153] As a collector, Henry Van den Bergh favoured Dutch Old Master drawings and South American decorative objects which he gave to the British Museum and the V&A via the Fund.[154] In 1924, during the NACF's anniversary campaign, he gave £1,000 towards a Tintoretto portrait.[155] Later, he left £4,950 in his will to twelve Jewish and non-Jewish charities in England and the Netherlands, several of which were cultural organisations. His children were made life trustees of his diverse art collection, from which they could draw lots, the remainder was to be distributed through the NACF to the National Gallery, the V&A, and the British Museum. His will also specified that unless she re-adopted the Jewish religion, one of his daughters would forfeit her £5,000 inheritance, for further redistribution to charity.[156]

Despite the inference that a fear of being 'too visible' steered Jewish would-be philanthropists towards national causes like the NACF, when studying its records closely, it was clear that the

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[151] Jewish Art and Artists Exhibition Committee, *Minute Book*, 20 March 1905 (unpaginated), WAG, WAG/EAR/4/13/1.

[152] Sutro to Canon Barnett, 22 November 1905, WAG, WAG/EAR/4/13/1.

[153] In 1856, his father's manufacturing company donated £50 towards the London Board of Guardians' headquarters, the centralised poor relief organisation for Jews in Britain.

[154] In December 1912, he gave 'three Drawings by Dou, Backer and Konwick from the Heseltine Collection … to the British Museum', while in 1913: '9 Caricatures by Rowlandson to the British Museum'. He gave hundreds of coins to the museum (hereafter BM) in 1911, and many German and Netherlandish banknotes in 1917. He was interested in Islamic art, collecting works like Marius Bauer's etchings depicting Islamic life, like *Call to Prayer* (British Museum, inv. no. 1924,1108.40). In 1928, he gave 'two gold spoons, Inca period and two cast figures of miners in silver' to the BM. He also gave a 'woodcut by Cranach, *Christ on the Cross*, inv. no. 1928,0714.4), and a 'collection of [26 pieces] of Persian [and Syrian] pottery' (all BM). In 1929, he gave a sixteenth-century Dutch drawing, *Judith Decapitating Holofernes* (BM, inv. no. 1929,0511.29). In 1930, '25 Dutch tiles (18C) and panel of 18C French faience' were given to the V&A, while in 1931, he gave a Peruvian nasca pot and an engraving by Pontius, *Portrait of Daniel Seghers* (BM, inv. no. 1931,1010.1). He contributed £10 towards the purchase of a print by Cornelis Teunissen, *The Wise Man and the Wise Woman* in 1933 (BM, inv. no. 1933,0610.13). Curiously, none of Van den Bergh's modern gifts to the BM are mentioned in the NACF minutes. These included a 1919 gift of a Corot *Landscape* (inv. no. 1919,0412.3) and two drawings by William Rothenstein (1925): *Portrait of Charles Shannon* and *John Davidson* (inv. nos 1925,0817.1 and 1925,0817.2, respectively). In 1927 he gave the BM a self-portrait sketch for *l'Anniversaire* by Fantin-Latour (inv. no. 1927,1112.1-2).

[155] National Art Collections Fund, *1924: Tintoretto Acquisition* file*,* TGA, 9328.3.2.14.

[156]Harry Schneiderman, 'Necrology', *The American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 39, no. 5698 (September 1937–September 1938), p. 588.

NACF's various campaigns were most successful when they engaged those with a genuine interest in the promotion of the arts, like Spielmann and Van Den Bergh, rather than simply targeting Britain's wealthiest men.[157] Several Jewish members donated consistently through their lifetimes to different campaigns, and donated their works of art through its channels. Isidore Spielmann gave his Turkish rug collection, and later a large collection of Delftware, to the V&A, and was subsequently made an honorary friend of the museum (though this did not give voting rights on its Executive Board). Spielmann also gave Verrio's sketch for the ceiling of the Hampton Court's Banqueting Hall to the V&A in 1916, bolstering its small historic paintings collection.[158]
Van den Bergh also sought to acquire objects on behalf of the NACF. In 1910, he bid up to £2,800 at the Alexander Young sale at Christie's for fellow Dutch Jew Jozef Isräel's *Shipwrecked Mariner,* which the NACF hoped to present to the National Gallery. He was outbid by Mrs Alexander Young.[159] Though Mrs Young gave the painting to the National Gallery in 1910, Spielmann could not convince her to do so through the auspices of the NACF. Instead, it was presented in her husband's name and memory, as he had been a collector of 'modern foreign painting'. Another departure perhaps from his own, specific collecting interests was made by Van den Bergh in 1936, when he made a joint gift to the British Museum of a drawing by Michelangelo, a study for *Adam from the Sistine Chapel* ceiling, which he had bought with Sir Joseph Duveen (1869–1939).[160]

Isidore Spielmann may have been anxious to be recognised for his work for the NACF as an 'art loving patriot' because he was the subject of suspicion during its 1905 *'Rokeby' Venus* campaign. Lord Sutherland Gower (1845–1916), a dissenting voice against the painting's acquisition on the grounds of the 'indecency' of the female nude, wrote privately to Balcarres, resigning from NACF membership. He cited as his reason a Jewish conspiracy to acquire the 'immoral' painting, asking 'with a nasty anti-Semitic reference to Spielmann, how much Spielmann […] as well as various unidentified (presumably Jewish) dealers stood to make from the £40,000 being asked for the picture'.[161] Gower's inference was that Spielmann as a Jew, like several London picture dealers, must have fixed the large sum commanded for the painting. In campaigning for the acquisition, he could not have been disinterested or have had national interests at heart. The insincerity implied was mirrored in a later description of Jews by Osbert Sitwell (1892–1969, a Tate board member, 1951–8) in his fictional account of a seaside town at the turn of the century (when the NACF was in its infancy): 'their life is one round of pretence…pretending to be Europeans, Christians, Englishmen, English Gentlemen, Peers … removing them… further than the *genuine* section of the County from any sense of reality.'[162]

Despite facing prejudice, Spielmann persevered with campaigning for the NACF, and later for other acquisitions for the National Gallery. In 1909, he organised the first *National Loan*

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[157] The most generous donor to the NACF's 1908 campaign to acquire Holbein's *Christina, Duchess of Milan*, [giving £40,000 of the £72,000 total asked by the Duke of Norfolk] for the National Gallery in 1909, maintains her anonymity to this day. All that was made publicly known was that she resided in a German spa town at the time of the acquisition. Though she was likely not Jewish, it will remain difficult to determine the exact scale of Jewish giving to cultural causes in Britain, as some donors chose anonymity. See Isidore Spielmann, *The Acquisition of Holbein's "Duchess of Milan" for the Nation* (London, 1924), p. 3.

[158] NACF, *Minutes 1903–1917,* 9 November 1916, TGA, 9328.1.3.110, p. 530.

[159] Ibid., 14 July 1910, p. 340.

[160] For the Duveens see Chapter 2. Michelangelo's preparatory drawing is now in the BM (inv. no. 1926,1009.1).

[161] Crawford Muniments, Acc 9769 (Personal Papers 97/22) Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, item 849.

[162] Osbert Sitwell, *Before the Bombardment* (London: Duckworth, 1926), p. 153. Emphasis my own.

Exhibition at London's Grafton Galleries, to raise much needed additional funds for the Gallery. Spielmann requested loans for this temporary exhibition from owners including many of the Gallery's Board (the Earl of Plymouth, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Redesdale and Lord Ribblesdale all lent their own paintings). Among its fifty-four lenders, ten were Jewish (18.52% of the total). Given that the total Jewish population in Britain in 1911 was only 0.59%, the over-representation of Jewish lenders here was significant.[163] Many of the Jewish lenders showed works not seen by the public before, like Mrs Bischoffsheim's (née Clarissa Biedermann,1837–1922) *The Fish Seller* by Velasquez's pupil Juan de Pareja; Edmund Davis's *Portrait of a Man* by Velasquez (fig.3); and Messrs. Duveens' loans of Giovanni da Bologna's *Statue of Venus Anadyomene,* Frans Hals' *Portrait of a Man* and *Portrait of a Burgomaster*, and Watteau's *Camp Scene*, which had recently belonged to Parisian collector Rodolphe Kann (1845–1905).[164]

A second national loan exhibition in 1913/4, *Women and Children in Art*, was marketed as a fundraiser for 'works by contemporary British artists for the nation'. Despite having fewer Jewish lenders (13.7%), there was a greater representation of Jews on the Executive Committee, including many female philanthropists like Lady Rufus Isaacs (née Alice Cohen, 1866–1930), Lady Meyer (née Adele Levis, 1855–1930), Lady [Frida] Mond (née Löwenthal, 1847–1923), who lent Titian's *Madonna and Child* (now in the National Gallery, fig. 4), Lady Speyer (née von Stosch, 1872–1956, the non-Jewish wife of Sir Edgar Speyer), Mrs Otto Beit (née Lilian Carter, 1873–1946, also not Jewish) and Clarissa Bischoffsheim.[165] For Lady Isaacs, participation may have been a way of showing her allegiance to a national cause at a time when her husband faced criticism for the Marconi scandal. She was likely interested in the theme of 'childcare'; as Vicereine of India (from 1921-26) she later set up the 'Women of India' fund (1921), and India's 'National Baby Week' (1923). Adele Meyer, a prominent suffragist, founded the St Pancras' Mothers School in 1907 as the country's 'first rural health centre', near her home in Newport, Essex, and was among the founders of the Queen Mary Hostel for Women (a precursor to the London University campus in Whitechapel).[166]

Claude Phillips's Bequest

A Jewish member of the NACF who left a significant legacy at the National Gallery was Sir Claude Phillips. After training as a solicitor, Phillips became a journalist, writing on art for the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, the *Daily Telegraph* [his uncle's paper] and the *Magazine of Art.* In 1900 he was appointed by the Government as first Keeper of the newly opened Wallace Collection. Appointed the NACF Executive Committee's 'buyer' of paintings and works on paper, with its annual £400 fund, in November 1904 Phillips purchased Lazzaro

[163] The total population of Jews in Britain varied, but when the 1911 census was taken, it was estimated that 270,000 Jews lived in Britain, within a general population of 45,370,530 people. These figures were taken from Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times* (London: Methuen and Co., 1914), p. 346.

[164] *Catalogue of the Pictures and Drawings in the National Loan Exhibition in aid of the National Gallery Funds, held in the Grafton Galleries* (Heinemann and Sons, London, 1909).

[165] Titian's *The Virgin suckling the Infant Christ* was given to the National Gallery as part of the Mond Bequest in 1924 (inv. no. NG3948).

[166] She may have been inspired by her former brother-in-law, Robert Mond's founding of the Infants Hospital (1906) in memory of her sister Helen (1873–1905), which she contributed to. Serena Black, 'Meyer [née Levis], Adele, Lady Meyer', *ODNB*, online version published 28 September 2006 (accessed 3 November 2023).

Bastiani's *Madonna and Child* for the Gallery.[167] At the 1905 meeting where the Gallery accepted the Bastiani work, Phillips independently gave two Rodin drawings to the British Museum. Though he resigned as buyer in 1906 on health grounds, he continued to give to the National Gallery in a personal capacity. He interviewed for the position of Director in 1905, but his poor health prevented him accepting, so the position went to Charles Holroyd. In 1906, Phillips gave Millbank a large theatrical poster for *The Woman in White*, by Frederick Walker, in 'the name of his sister Eugénie' (1853–1910) whom he lived with all his life.[168] He had written his second art monograph on Walker in 1894, which featured the poster design reproduced with the permission of its then owner, National Gallery trustee John Postle Heseltine (1843 –1929, trustee from 1893).[169] In 1910, he gave Benedetto Diana's *Christ Blessing* and a drawing by John Ruskin of an *Olive Branch*.[170] Phillips's largest gift to the Gallery was his bequest of thirteen (largely Italian) paintings on his death in 1924.[171] His executor was Alec Martin (1884–1971) of Christie's, who had succeeded Isidore Spielmann as the NACF's Honorary Secretary. Phillips's will included '£200 to be divided between the Gallery's wardens (described by him as Gallery 'police')'.[172] It also provided a £10,000 'Phillips Fund' for acquisitions.[173] With it, Carel Fabritius's *Young Man in a Fur Cap* (fig. 5), then believed to be a self-portrait, was immediately bought, though the fund name does not appear in its current provenance.

Among the Jewish members of the NACF who contributed to several schemes of support for the National Gallery at the turn of the twentieth century, there was not a unifying motive. While Jews' historic interest in contributing to national charitable campaigns (and even their 'own' exhibitions) has often been framed as a defensive strategy rather than a cultivation of personal interests or a show of commitment to 'national' ones, the participation of Jews in the NACF and the National Loan Exhibitions presented an alternative set of dynamics. While local and even 'national' pride may have encouraged the organisers of the 1906 *Jewish Art* exhibition to seek recognition from the National Gallery of 'their' people, enshrined in the gift of the painting *Aliens at Prayer*, the same group of Jewish patrons (particularly the Spielmann brothers) were equally concerned that other Jews should be recognised by the nation's art authorities. The NACF and their own Exhibition Committees offered a means of access to cultural authorities and of demonstrating their 'worth' as campaigners.

For other Jewish members of the NACF, Phillips, Rosenheim and Van Den Bergh, the Fund enabled the sharing of private passions for collecting with the public. Phillips was a natural choice for 'buyer' for the fund because he was already established in the London art world and

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[167] Verdi (2003), p. 53. The Bastiani is now in the National Gallery, NG1953. The drawings by Auguste Rodin are *Nude Woman and Child* (BM, inv. no. 1905,0412.1) and *Nude Standing Figures* (BM, inv. no. 1905,0412.2). NACF, *Minutes, 1903–1917*, meetings on 29 November 1904; 26 January 1905, pp. 99–106.

[168] The work was accepted by the National Gallery's trustees, but as it was by a modern artist, it was immediately put on display at the Tate Gallery. It is now in Tate (inv. no. N02080).

[169] Claude Phillips, *Frederick Walker and His Works* London: Seeley & Co., 1894), reprinted in 1897 and 1904, pp. 35–6. His first monograph was *Sir Joshua Reynolds, with nine illustrations from pictures by the Master* (also London: Seeley & Co., 1894).

[170] National Gallery, NG2725 and Tate, N02726 respectively. In both cases these works were also given in Eugenie's name.

[171] Two paintings were given to other museums. Tilly Kettle, *Portrait of a Young Man in a Faun Coat,* inv. no. N03962, transferred from the National Gallery to Tate in 1949; and an Ionian icon on panel, *Entombment of the Virgin Mary* (NG34030, transferred to the BM in 1994, inv. no. BM 1994,0501.4).

[172] NGA, NG21/11; NG24/1924/3. The only other donor to make a gift to the Gallery's staff was its former Director, Martin Davies (1908–1975).

[173] Penny and Mancini (2016), pp. 484–7.

invested in 'improving' public taste through his scholarship and his museum work. Joseph Duveen was exceptional, perhaps, among the Jewish cultural philanthropists so far discussed. While Jews' involvement in several adjacent fundraising campaigns for the Gallery has not widely been recognised, Duveen would become one of the most celebrated art dealers of his generation. He did not participate regularly in NACF meetings and did not need the cultural authority that its backing might have given others' benefactions. Unlike Isidore Spielmann, while he was patriotic, he also did not crave recognition from the State explicitly. While other Jewish philanthropists began to receive peerages, he had a different aim in mind, as he told one National Gallery trustee (Arthur Lee, Viscount Lee of Fareham, 1868–1947): 'he did not want a peerage…which would be an embarrassment to him in his business… Duveen says… that it is *as* a dealer that he wants to be elected… to the Board of the National Gallery.'[174] His hope that he would leave his mark on the National Gallery as trustee have not been adequately explored in accounts of its development.

[174] 9 June 1928. See Alan Clark (ed.) *A Good Innings: The Private Papers of Viscount Lee of Fareham* (London: John Murray, 1974), p. 286.

Fig. 1

William Rothenstein, *Jews Mourning*, 1906, oil on canvas, 127 x100 cm (London: Tate Gallery, N02116) Presented by Jacob Moser, J.P., through the Trustees and Committee of the Whitechapel Art Gallery in commemoration of the 1906 Jewish Exhibition, 1907.


SYNAGOGUE APPURTENANCES (SASSOON COLLECTION): "BELLS" FOR THE SCROLLS OF THE LAW, EWER AND LAVER, PASSOVER DISH, HANUCAH LAMPS, ETC.

Fig. 2. Detail of 'the Sassoon Collection' from Marion Spielmann's article 'In the World of Art', *The Graphic*, 24 November 1906, p. 692.

Fig. 3. Diego Velasquez, *Portrait of a Man* (now called *Ferdinando Brandani*), 1650, oil on canvas, lent by Edmund Davis to the National Loan Exhibition, 1911 (Madrid: The Prado Museum, inv. no. P007858).

Fig. 4

Titian, *The Virgin Suckling the Infant Christ,* c. 1565-75, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (London: National Gallery, NG3948, Mond Bequest, 1924). Lent by Frida Mond to the National Loan Exhibition, 1913-4.

Fig. 5

Carel Fabritius, *Young Man in a Fur Cap (Self-Portrait?)*, 1654, oil on canvas, 70.5 × 61.5 cm (London: National Gallery, NG4042, 'bought 1924'). Purchased with the [Claude] Phillips Fund, 1924.

Chapter 2: The Duveens and the National Gallery

'This will be my memorial', the art dealer Joseph Duveen (1869–1939) told another friend and customer, Andrew W. Mellon (1855–1937), on a visit to the National Gallery in 1928, ten years before Duveen's death. It was the eve of his appointment as a trustee, a role in which he hoped to realise his vision for the Gallery: 'sculpture courts, a study collection, and travelling exhibitions. He wished to bring the place alive with concerts, make it a community centre instead of a morgue'.[1] The implication from this exchange with Mellon, who went on to build the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. in 1937, was that within his own lifetime, Duveen wanted to change the direction of London's Gallery.[2] A reconsideration of his family's exhibition sponsorship, patronage of contemporary artists, and support of Britain's art galleries – both regional and national – might, it is hoped, restore something of this intended 'legacy' as cultural philanthropists in Britain.

At the opening of the Mond Room at the National Gallery in 1923, Joseph Duveen, the art dealer, announced that he was planning to provide funds for the building of several new galleries for 'modern' art at the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank. Similarly, in 1928, when the Mond Room was rearranged, Charles Holmes wrote to Mond's son, Robert Mond, 'that the example [of your family] was so promptly followed by the offer of a new room [Duveen's offer of an Italian Gallery] is, I think, a wonderful compliment of its excellence'.[3] While Holmes may have implied that Duveen was inspired by the beneficence of another Jewish art collector, Mond, it was equally likely that he was emulating a figure even closer to home: his own father. Both Duveen Senior and Junior were passionate about endowing the National Gallery with new rooms, as well as paintings for its walls. This beneficence began in Duveen Senior's case in 1905, with a £1000 donation towards the *Rokeby Venus*. His greatest gift, the 'Turner Wing', though it was his idea, was made by the art dealer's sons, Louis and Joseph, in their father's memory. Of the Duveen sons, Joseph, the eldest, was both the most well-known and the most generous towards the National Gallery. He began giving to the Gallery independently in 1916 with a painting: Degas's *Carlo Pellegrini*, bought by Duveen and presented through the NACF.[4] His later gifts dwarfed all earlier gifts to the National Gallery (and numerous other museums in Britain).[5] Just as Duveen's brothers' efforts to support the Gallery by presenting the Turner Galleries to Millbank in honour of their father have been forgotten, so have their most important act of cultural philanthropy towards Britain's 'living artists': the endowment of the 'Duveen Fund' (1924) and the 'Living British Artist's Exhibitions' (1927–31) which promoted contemporary artists' work around the world. Both

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[1] Colin Simpson, *The Partnership: The Secret Association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987) p. 227.

[2] The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. was established with a gift from Mellon in 1937, followed by a large donation from Samuel H. Kress, another of Duveen's clients. See David Cannadine, *Mellon: An American Life* (New York, 2006).

[3] Charles Holmes to Robert Mond, 13 January 1929. London: NGA, NG14/51/7.

[4] The work has since been transferred to Tate. It is now Tate N03157.

[5] In summary, he made the following gifts to museums (in chronological order): Ferens Art Gallery, gift of Stott paintings (1910, 1927), and Albert Rutherston, Frederick Brown, and Stanley Spencer works (in will, 1949); Bode Museum Jubilee Celebration Fund, Berlin (5,000 marks, 1913); Modern Foreign Art Gallery (1916, Tate) Boris Anrep mosaic (1923, Tate); Burne-Jones gift (1924, Tate); Duveen Gallery for Italian Art at the National Gallery, 1930; Courtauld Institute Chair, 1932 (£20,000 endowment); Morley College for Working Men and Women – commissioned murals by contemporary British artists; British School in Rome; Duveen Galleries, at the National Portrait Gallery, 1933 (£42,000); Duveen Gallery, British Museum (also 1933) (£50,000); Wallace Collection redecoration, 1933 (£12,000); Holbein's *Mrs Pemberton* given to the V&A (P.40&A-1935) via NACF (£5,900 guineas); Hampton Court redecoration, 1936 (£11,000); Modern Sculpture Galleries, 1937, at Millbank.

schemes were administrated and paid for by the Duveen Brothers firm, though where they have been acknowledged by art historians, they have been associated with eldest brother Lord Joseph Duveen alone.

Just as Karel Fabritius's '*Self-Portrait'* does not speak now of the legacy of Claude Phillips, so a work that often hangs nearby, *A View of Delft, with a Musical Instrument Seller's Stall* (fig. 6) does not testify to Joseph Duveen's interest in the NACF, through which he gave the small painting to the gallery in 1922.[6] While this oversight may appear insignificant, Duveen's philanthropic support of Britain's 'national' museums has been overlooked in the vast amount of scholarship on his professional career as an international art dealer. On the centenary of his birth, *The Times* published 'Joseph Duveen: Salesman', which noted that 'critics of his mixture of big business and high art have not been lacking ... But his service to the United States was considerable'.[7] The author cited his contributions to North American museums but made no acknowledgement of Duveen's efforts to support British public collections. A failure to recognise the pluralism of Duveen's interests has resulted in a partial view of his career, in sharp contrast with the colourful descriptions by contemporaries of his ambitions, and his confidence that artistic philanthropy would be his greatest personal legacy.

Joseph Duveen was born in Hull, the eldest of the eight sons of Joel Joseph Duveen (later Sir Joseph Duveen, 1843–1909). His father ran the art dealing firm, Duveen Brothers (founded 1876), with his brother Henry Joseph Duveen (1852–1918) in London and New York. For fifty years, the playwright S.N. Behrman's 1952 biography was the only one written on the art dealer, based on a series of earlier articles published in *The New Yorker* magazine. [8] A subsequent biographer of Duveen, investigative journalist Colin Simpson, described Behrman's book 'as … inaccurate as it is hilarious'.[9] Despite its inaccuracies - it was drawn from anecdotes from Duveen's former clients and rival dealers as Behrman never met his subject - subsequent accounts of the family have relied upon his account and he was accepted as an authority on the dealer.[10] In August 1947, Berhman even discussed the development of a screenplay for a film on Duveen with Kenneth Clark.[11]

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[6] The Fabritius was sold by Sir William Eden, of Durham to Duveen in 1922, who presented it to the Gallery through the NACF. Duveen had offered to purchase it in 1917, when the painting was discussed by the trustees as a desirable acquisition. See *Minutes of the Board,* London: NGA, NG8, p. 375: 'Owing to the scarcity of this master's works… Board…wish to keep its eye on any pictures by him which might be secured for the nation. … if the price asked for it was not unreasonable, Mr Joseph Duveen was prepared to contribute £500.'

[7] *The Times*, 14 October 1969, p. 9.

[8] Behrman was commissioned to write a series of articles for *The New Yorker* on Duveen's greatest sales, which he developed into his book on Duveen. Colin Simpson suggested that most of the material came from an unpublished manuscript written by Duveen's former lawyer, Louis Levy, which Behrman 'expanded into the book as we know it today'. According to Simpson, Levy and Berhman were members of the same synagogue; see Simpson, *Artful Partners* (1988), p. 7. In a letter to Bert Boggis, manager of Duveen Brothers, New York, Behrman requested a meeting and mentioned that Clark, 'told me I must see you … I should be happy to come into Duveen Bros… an edifice which I should like to see the inside of'. This surprising admission shows how unfamiliar Behrman was with his subject. Los Angeles, Getty Archive, Duveen Brothers records, 1876–1981, Series II.E, Folder 6, 17 May 1949.

[9] Simpson (1987), p. 226.

[10] In his author's note, Berman thanked twenty-six of Duveen's contemporaries for 'sharing their recollections', including the National Gallery's former Director, Clark.

[11] Behrman wrote to his *New Yorker* editor: 'I had dinner with Kenneth Clark last night … a great powwow with him about Duveen. When I first mentioned it to him… his eyes lit up and he said … that he had… done some work on a film of Duveen's life for Robert Morley'. See Joseph Goodrich (ed.), *People in a Magazine: The Selected Letters of S.N. Behrman and his Editors at The New Yorker* (Amherst Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018), pp. 138–9. Clark may also have been approached by Behrman for a potential film

Despite Clark's involvement or perhaps more tellingly, *because* of his involvement, Berhman's biography was light in detail on Duveen's interest(s) in the National Gallery. According to Berhman, Duveen 'could be counted on to help [the museum] with a cash gift. He loved the role of benefactor'.[12] While acknowledging that he enjoyed the role of benefactor, his gifts were presented as superficial one-off 'acts' to curry favour with museum clients and solicit private sales. Very few of his biographers have attempted to analyse the patterns or motivations behind either Duveen's own collecting or the donations he made to museums. As a result, Duveen has not been widely recognised as a philanthropist despite a wealth of evidence that during his own lifetime this activity brought him both personal satisfaction and his peers' admiration.

Several posthumous biographies of 'Joe' Duveen have been published since Behrman's, but most have focussed on his meteoric success in the United States and his firm's influence in introducing Old Master paintings there.[13] Meryle Secrest's 2004 book painted a richer picture of Joseph Duveen's personality and interests, in part thanks to the greater accessibility of the private archives of Duveen's clients. Missing however from Secrest's biography were details of Duveen's time in Britain, as it was written primarily for an American readership.[14] The 'residue of resentment' against Duveen can be found in Conlin's history of the National Gallery - he derided Duveen's contribution as a trustee of the National Gallery. Referencing only Berhman, Conlin dismissed the dealer as 'naturally generous and socially irresistible, [Duveen] was … amoral.'[15] I would ascribe this 'amoral' characterisation as a legacy of Behrman's work, which might be complicated precisely by examining the Duveen family's activities at the National Gallery and throughout Britain's museums.

There has been more scholarly interest in Joseph Duveen's colleague, Bernard Berenson (né Valvrojenski, 1865–1959) as a connoisseur and art advisor than in the art dealing family, which might reflect a bias even among art historians against those 'in trade'.[16] The pervasive characterisation of Duveen's business as 'amoral' was evident in Charlotte Vignon's *Duveen Brothers and the Market for Decorative Arts, 1880–1940* (2019). Vignon maintained that Joseph Duveen was unable to behave in a disinterested way towards either people or artworks, arguing that even his promotion of certain styles was driven by an underlying, cynical commercialism. For Vignon, Duveen 'compromised' the 'historical authenticity' of his clients' homes due to his overwhelming 'commercial interest … His preference for Neoclassicism was dictated not only by its aesthetic values but by his pragmatism… straight walls were ideal for

on Duveen because he was already a familiar broadcaster. His first television documentary, on 'Florentine Artists and their Work, from the National Gallery', was shown by the BBC in 1937.

[12] Goodrich (2018), p. 180.

[13] John Brewer, *The American Leonardo: A 20th-Century Tale of Obsession, Art and Power* (London, 2009).

[14] Secrest's account makes no mention of the fact that Joseph Duveen was born and grew up in Hull, Yorkshire; see Meryle Secrest, *Duveen: A Life in Art* (New York: A Knopf, 2004).

[15] Conlin (2006), p. 93.

[16] Their professional relationship has been explored in Colin Simpson's joint biography of Berenson and Duveen, *Artful Partners: Secret Association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* (London: HarperCollins,1988). This work traded on the more sensational aspects of Duveen's professional career and implicates both as peddlers of false attributions to manipulate a largely ignorant public. Several biographies of Berenson were published posthumously, such as Secrest's *Being Bernard Berenson: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980) and Ernest and Jayne Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend* (Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press: 1987). Robert Cumming edited the collected letters of 'B.B' and Kenneth Clark, see *My Dear BB …: The Letters of Bernard Berenson and Kenneth Clark* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

hanging paintings and tapestries'. [17] This dubious suggestion was not the only occasion when the author argued Duveen manipulated both his clients and the wider art market. On the subject of his philanthropy, she implied that Duveen's museum donations were designed to take items out of wider circulation to protect their value from depreciation, and that such 'strategies … [were] often carefully hidden from the clients behind a façade of sincerity'.[18] Regardless of whether Duveen had ulterior motives when making gifts, the scope and variety of his activities as a cultural philanthropist have not been adequately explored, and where it has been mentioned, as in Vignon's work, it has been explored partially and in a dismissive tone.

David Cannadine also took a circumspect view of the art dealer when he described Duveen as 'pushy, determined, overwhelming, duplicitous, intimidating, unscrupulous, ingratiating, manipulative, loquacious, and addicted to his own hyperbole … in short […] a brilliant but shameless salesman'.[19] While Conlin was dismissive of Duveen's contribution to the National Gallery, in *Art for the Nation*, Brandon Taylor felt it necessary to provide 'a little biography [to] resuscitate an almost forgotten figure'.[20] He gave an equally unflattering portrayal: 'frequently accused of over-restoring, attributing works to invented artists and even fraud, Duveen was by all accounts determined not merely to dominate the family dynasty … [but also] to become the Lorenzo de Medici of his day'.[21] The comparison with the Italian Renaissance patron Lorenzo de Medici *was* apt in relation to Duveen's long-standing commitment to promoting the work of contemporary architects and artists, an aspect of his biography that is arguably 'almost forgotten' even if his Medici-like wealth was not.

Duveen's attempts to improve his reputation and that of his fellow art dealers, and his use of gifts to museums to demonstrate the worth of his profession, has remained obscure in most analysis of his activities. One reason for the paucity of information about the Duveens' other interests, was the loss of large parts of the Duveen family archive, though unlike Taylor I would not suggest they were 'forgotten'. A fire in 1938 in the London branch of Duveen Brothers destroyed most of Joseph's correspondence. Surviving records, including occasional private documents, mainly comprised of (necessarily brief) transatlantic cables between their London, Paris, and New York branches, which only provided a partial view of the company's interests.[22] These cables, often written in shorthand or typed in code to protect sensitive commercial information, are now in the care of the Getty Research Institute, where their digitisation has allowed for more thorough investigation of the firm's activities. Tom Loughman has suggested

[17] Charlotte Vignon, 'Tricks of the Trade: Duveen Brothers and the Market for Decorative Arts, 1880–1940', lecture given at the Getty Research Institute, published online on 9 May 2022 (accessed 10 October 2022).

[18] CharlotteVignon, *Duveen Brothers and the Market for Decorative Arts, 1880–1940* (New York: Frick Collection, 2019), p. 247.

[19] David Cannadine, *Mellon: An American Life* (New York: Vintage, 2006), p. 262

[20] Taylor (1999), pp. 142–3

[21] Ibid., p. 143.

[22] See typescript, 26 January 1942 in *Duveen Brothers Records* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute), Box 259, f.1. The author, who signed on behalf of Duveen Brothers, wrote: 'the greater part of our correspondence files was destroyed in 1938'. The Duveen Records were initially given to Edward Fowles, former director of Duveen Brothers, Paris, in Joseph Duveen's will. On his own death in 1968, Fowles gave the papers to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, where they remained until 1996. In 1996, over 100,000 items were legally deposited at the Getty Museum, Los Angeles. The business papers were merged with the Duveen Brothers reference library, which was acquired in 1969 for the Sterling & Francine Clark Art Institute but is now on long-term loan to the Getty.

that their recent digitisation will allow for a more nuanced understanding of their activities; that the Duveens' 'legacy [is] not cast in amber, but constantly evolving'.[23]

As there has been surprisingly little written either by the Duveens or by other historians about the Duveens' philanthropy, it was useful to examine contemporary sources, written by both friends and their rivals. Examining British newspapers and the archives of museums which have historical links with the Duveens, revealed that not only did they follow developments in British museums carefully; several Duveens were widely considered significant cultural 'players', both as professional authorities on fine and decorative arts and as donors. Though Simpson suggested that Duveen was regarded 'in England … as a coarse and vulgar man, tolerated only because of his outwardly inexplicable relationship with the royal household and the depth of his pocket', analysis of his correspondence with some of the country's most influential cultural figures – including politicians, museum directors and artists – confounds this hitherto one-sided reading.[24]

As a cultural player, Duveen made one of his most significant 'performances' demonstrating his position as someone 'actuated by more than … commercial consideration', when he was asked to defend himself in a legal trial that lasted almost a decade.[25] In 1920, Duveen was asked to comment on the story that Mrs Andrée Lardoux intended to sell her 'Leonardo' to the Kansas City Art Institute. He speculated on the inauthenticity of the painting to a newspaper journalist, provoking the owner to bring two charges against Duveen, firstly that her 'sacred rights of property had been invaded' through a 'false' accusation of inauthenticity, and secondly, that this caused 'special damage' to the owner owing to 'defendant's position in the world of art'. John Brewer investigated Duveen's involvement in the trial in *The American Leonardo*, painting a similar portrait to Vignon's characterisation of Duveen as arch mercenary.[26] However, Duveen himself maintained throughout that he was acting in the public interest as it was a public institution that was considering the acquisition. He argued that it was in the American people's interest to know the work's true value, a subject on which he felt uniquely equipped to pronounce. The court case brought the art dealer into the international spotlight, and his close association with Europe's leading artistic authorities, like the National Gallery's director Charles Holmes (1868–1936), was also made plain. In the Parisian paper *Le Journal*, Geo London reported that Holmes, who was on the trial's expert panel, was asked by the Judge to confirm whether his travel expenses had been paid privately by Duveen.[27]

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[23] Tom Loughman, in conversation with Vignon and Rebecca Tilles, 'The Duveens: Tastemakers, Market Shapers, Mega Dealers', panel at the Frick Museum, New York (for TEFAF 2019), available online since October 2019 (accessed 2 September 2022).

[24] Simpson (1988), p. 160.

[25] *Hahn v Duveen* was a defamation case brought against Duveen by Harry J. Hahn, a Kansas City salesman and Andrée Lardoux for over $500,000 in damages. See *Hahn v. Duveen*, 133 Misc. 871, 872-73 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1929): 'Plaintiff claimed that her sacred rights of property had been invaded in that defendant falsely and maliciously stated to a reporter of the *New York World* that the Hahn picture was not a genuine Leonardo da Vinci; that any expert who pronounced it genuine was not an expert…' Duveen settled the case in 1929, paying $60,000 to the Hahns but refusing to retract his opinion of the attribution, rendering the painting virtually worthless to its owners.

[26] The trial was discussed by Harry Hahn, the owner of the painting, and Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975), an American painter, in *The Rape of La Belle* (written in Kansas City, 1933, but not published by Frank Glenn and Co. until after Duveen's death in 1946), and more recently, with far greater objectivity by John Brewer, *The American Leonardo: A Tale of Obsession, Art and Money* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[27] Geo London, 'La Belle Ferronière D'Amérique', *Le Journal*, 16 September 1923.

In his own words on his philanthropy, which are disappointingly rare, Duveen referenced the criticism he faced because of his business's success, and the apparent contradiction that their success represented when it came to giving profits away. He wrote to one of his American clients, Eva Stotesbury (1865–1946), in 1919:

> It will always be my earnest endeavour to carry on the tradition of our firm … to help Americans to learn to love and cherish art and beauty ... I fully agree with you that this is among the highest forms of service to humanity but although one may be in business, one is, I trust actuated by more than mere commercial consideration.[28]

There was significant hostility from the American public over Duveen's perceived monopoly over the American market, and his promotion of Western European Old Masters in particular, which Hook described as 'cultural money laundering'.[29] There had been little apparent interest in these works until several art dealing families, notably the Duveens, Wildensteins and Knoedlers, moved to New York, this 'new crop of parvenus' bringing with them paintings from European collections.[30] Duveen's dealer rivals were numerous, and vociferous, in denouncing his business methods. One such rival was Jacques Seligmann (1858–1923), who wrote to his American client, George Blumenthal (1858–1941): 'it is terrible to think that a country like America is undermined by such intelligent and nasty people as that lot [Duveen and associates]… the means which are employed are really terrible.'[31] For Seligmann, Duveen represented the worst of the dealing profession, those 'intelligent and nasty people' who were capable of 'undermining' whole nations with methods Seligmann claimed he did not recognise, whilst observing that they were commonplace.

It was not just other dealers who voiced fears over Duveen's 'corrupting' influence on the Gallery's administrators, as Lord Balniel 'found the fact that Duveen had been allowed onto the Board painful, not least because … three important Trustees owed him money', and [wrote to his colleague Ormsby-Gore]: "the Art World must be the most corrupt of all worlds … but, if Trustees of our galleries are… having personal dealings with people like Duveen, it is really serious."[32] In some cases mistrust of Duveen was suffused with antisemitism, as Conlin noted: 'the antisemitism fashionable in the period made the 'Jew dealer' a particularly powerful bogeyman … with friends like these, the National Gallery had no need of enemies.'[33] While Duveen may have earnestly tried to defend himself and those in his profession in the press, even enlisting the support of the Prime Minister, influential voices like journalist and critic Clive Bell (1881–1964) were publishing articles which played on nationalistic fears of being

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[28] Joseph Duveen quoted in Vignon (2019), p. 247.

[29] Hook (2017), p. 75. See also Hart Benton (1946), in which the author criticised American collectors who bought 'Old Masters': 'a new crop of parvenus who are urged to consecrate their salons with what Mr Hahn calls "dollar mark names" (p. xviii).

[30] According to Daniel Wildenstein (1917–2001), 'Watteau, Boucher and Fragonard had to wait more than a century, for the arrival of my grandfather [Nathan Wildenstein, 1851–1934], before their qualities were fully recognised'. Wildenstein quoted in Hook (2017), p. 94.

[31] Letter, 12 January 1921 (Jacques Seligmann and Co. Records, Series 1.2 (Paris Office Correspondence), box 6, folder 2 [Washington D.C.: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution]. Rebecca Tilles wrote about the Blumenthals' avoidance of Duveen in her account of their collection at Hillwood Estate, near Washington. See Rebecca Tilles, 'George and Florence Blumenthal: A Collecting Partnership in The Gilded Cage, 1858–1941', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2019.

[32] Balniel to Ormsby-Gore, 31 December 1929 (National Gallery Archive (hereafter NGA), NG26/74), quoted in Conlin (2006), p. 147.

[33] Conlin (2006), p. 128.

duped by 'European dealers'. [34] In Bell's characterisation of newly ennobled Jewish art collectors, Duveen surely would have recognised himself.

In 1922, as Jewish dealers were being criticised by Bell and others, Joseph Duveen believed he had a quasi-diplomatic responsibility to defend the art trade. Before the culmination of the Hahn trial, he wrote to the National Gallery's Keeper, Henry Collins-Baker:

> I have read a letter to *The Times* of 30 Jan by Sir William Davison, MP, relative to the export of works from England, together with your reply... I am sure that the whole "Art-Dealing Fraternity", apparently so much despised … are very grateful to you for taking up cudgels on their behalf against a very ill-deserved calumny … I regard your reply as very public-spirited and as striking just the right note in defence of a fraternity who after all have always endeavoured to render our museums all the assistance in their power … Please accept my own personal thanks.[35]

The 'ill-deserved calumny' that Duveen sought to defend his profession from was here directly conflated with his own 'public-spirited' philanthropy. However, it appears that Joseph Duveen was supporting museums long before he *needed* to be. While he may have faced criticism for his American activities, Duveen promised that his legacy would be found on the walls of British institutions like the National Gallery, which he had begun privately supporting. The stigma that clung to the profession of art dealer, might also explain, though not necessarily undermine as some have argued, Duveen's desire to be associated with the "non-commercial" museum space, and more specifically with the 'nation's' gallery. Secrest observed that Duveen 'genuinely shared his clients' pleasure in giving and that made him, if not original, highly unusual'.[36] The observation that giving things of value away gave Duveen pleasure, rather than being 'unusual', recalled the sentiments of another Old Master dealer, Duveen's contemporary, Hugh Lane (1875–1915). Lane observed that 'to give away is to possess … and if I give a picture to a gallery that is good business. It is as much mine as ever; I still possess it; I can see it when I like and every one can see it too, so there's no waste in the matter.'[37] Joseph Duveen was certainly not unique in wanting to be remembered in the Gallery, as among his dealer 'fraternity', there are several examples of Jewish art dealers making gifts to the Gallery. [38] The earliest I have discovered was Lesser Lesser's (1840–1911) 1894 gift of the Le Nain Brothers' *A Woman and Five Children*.[39] Similarly, Messrs Colnaghis' made a large contribution to the

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[34] Clive Bell, 'Save the Old Masters from their Friends', *Vanity Fair* (October 1922), pp. 67, 96. In particular, he referenced a Rembrandt, 'which remained in the possession of the family until 1899, when it was purchased by Sir Isaac Hoggensheim [an invented Jewish-sounding surname], now Lord Stratford-upon-Avon, and by him presented, a few months before his elevation, to this gallery'. Here several pernicious antisemitic tropes are in evidence. Bell suggested that the apparently Jewish donor 'bought' his elevation through his philanthropy, but also the choice of 'Stratford-upon-Avon' for his peerage implied the encroachment of the Jewish figure upon the most beloved of national treasures, Shakespeare's birthplace.

[35] National Gallery Archive's personnel files (NGA, NG26/28/1/1). Collins-Baker's letter in defence of art dealers like Duveen was published in *The Times,* 28 February 1922, p. 8.

[36] Secrest (2004), p. 172.

[37] Jacques-Emile Blanche and Walter Clement (trans.), quoting Hugh Lane, *Portraits of a Lifetime* (London: J.M, Dent & Sons, 1937), p. 248.

[38] There are also examples of London art dealers donating the profits of ticket sales to charity, such as Messrs Agnew's decision to 'devote the entrance receipts' for displaying the *Rokeby Venus* to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution, which supported artists' families. Joel Joseph Duveen donated the ticket money raised by his 1905 exhibition of Chinese ceramics to the same charity. See *The Year's Art* (London: Hutchinson & Co Ltd, 1906), p. 7.

[39] This group portrait of 1642 is in the National Gallery (NG1425). Lesser Lesser was a picture dealer from Birmingham, who sold paintings at 123 New Bond Street, London. See Henry Benjamin Wheatley, *A Short History of Bond Street Old and New, from the Reign of King James II to the Coronation of George V, 1686–1911* (London: The Fine Art Society, 1911), p. 35.

1909 acquisition of Holbein's *Christina of Denmark, Duchess of Milan*, waiving their commission on the sale of the painting, an act which might similarly be recognised as a demonstration of a commitment to 'rendering … museums all the assistance in their power'.[40] The most conspicuous figure among this cohort was Asher Wertheimer (1844–1918), whose twelve family portraits by Sargent were considered newsworthy when they entered the Gallery in 1922.[41]

Secrest noted that as a young man, Duveen was known to 'stand for hours in the National Gallery in front of J.M.W. Turner's oil sketch *Bridge and Tower* [the *Ponte Delle Torri, Spoleto*]'.[42] That a love of art was something Duveen shared with many of his forebears was suggested in James Henry Duveen's *The Rise of the House of Duveen* (1957). Written by Joseph Duveen's first cousin, the book was a conscious attempt to record the memories of *other* Duveens. Charting the family's long association with the great collectors of Europe in its first chapter, 'Origins', Duveen established a tradition of art collecting among his family, the 'Du Vesnes', which the author claimed began with the Cologne art dealer and collector Eberhard Jabach (1618–1695) whom the Dutch branch of the family claimed descent from (fig. 7).[43] Whether or not Joseph Duveen knew of his Dutch collector ancestors, the influence of his family has not been explored except in the authorised account of his first cousin [James] Henry Duveen (1873–1964). There was an oblique allusion to his 'dual' Dutch Jewish identity in Vignon's work, when she mentioned the family's use of Yiddish on the shopfloor.[44] The fact that the illustrious 'origins' of the Duveens are not widely-known might have particularly disappointed Joel Joseph Duveen, father of Joseph, as he had authorised his nephew to write their family biography.[45] According to his nephew, the press coverage of Sir Joseph Joel Duveen's knighthood in 1908 (he reversed the order of his first names the same year), contained 'so many inaccurate statements' that he felt compelled to offer a corrective account. As a family friend, A[lbert] C[harles] R[obinson] Carter (1864–1957) noted in his memoirs, Duveen as a naturalised British citizen, 'never failed to acknowledge his early "struggles in Hull"', as an economic migrant who came to Britain after the collapse of his father's business,

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[40] Susanna Avery-Quash, "The volatile and vivacious connoisseur of the old school": A portrait of the Victorian art dealer Martin Colnaghi (1821–1908) and his relationship with the National Gallery, London', *Colnaghi Studies Journal,* 1, 2017, pp. 86–109.

[41] See Conclusion. Tate (where Asher's portrait now hangs) does not refer to his Jewish identity in the catalogue entry for N03705).

[42] This painting was transferred to the Tate in 1909 (inv. no. N02424). See Secrest (2004), p 66.

[43] In a surprising twist of fate, a *Group Portrait of Eberhard Jabach and his Family*, c.1660, by Charles Le Brun, which had been in a British private collection for at least two hundred years, was offered for sale in February 2014. As no British museums offered the $12.3m price, the painting went to the Metropolitan Museum, New York in May 2014. See Carol Vogel, 'British Cede Le Brun Portrait to the Met', *New York Times*, 15 May 2014 [digital edition, accessed 15 October 2022].

[44] Vignon wrote that the shop assistants of Duveen Brothers' occasionally spoke Dutch, and perhaps even Yiddish, to one another, when discussing prices and clients privately. See Vignon (2019), p. 28. This was corroborated by James Henry Duveen, who mentioned that notes were written in Dutch by Joel Joseph Duveen, and that in 'excited Yiddish whispers he related discover[ies] he had made'. See J.H. Duveen, *The Rise of the House of Duveen* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1957), p. 75, p. 94.

[45] Another account of the Duveen business was published by Edward Fowles, who was employed by Duveen Brothers from his adolescence and became the head of the Paris branch (and ultimately Sir Joseph's executor). See Ibid, *Memories of Duveen Brothers: Seventy Years in the Art World* (London: Times Books, 1976). Despite working with Joseph Duveen for most of his adult life, Fowles admitted at the book's close that his former employer was difficult to know. Fowles wrote that 'Joe' was 'a clever actor,' who in all his personal dealings would first 'study the part he had to play' before acting accordingly, often rarely dropping this 'performance' in intimate company. In fact, Fowles's account was compiled by the investigative journalist Simpson, who confessed to ghost-writing it on Fowles's behalf, owing to the art dealer's increasing infirmity.

or 'attempt [ed] to "escape" from his origin … he liked all the stories about him to be true'.[46] His pride in his origins might have motivated his children to memorialise his achievements by emulating his acts of cultural philanthropy.

Mr [Joel Joseph] Duveen's donations the National Gallery

There has been little critical attention paid to the influence of his father, and even less on the influence of his mother, upon Lord Duveen's interests.[47] Today, John Singer Sargent's *Portrait of Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth*, 'presented by Sir Joseph Duveen, 1906' (fig. 8) hangs near the river entrance of the Tate Britain.[48] The portrait was offered to the National Gallery's trustees but as the painter was still alive, on acceptance it was transferred to Millbank.[49] Meaghan Clarke has written about the 'sensational acclaim' this painting received when it was displayed at the New Gallery in London and Paris in 1890, at the 1893 *Columbian Exposition* in Chicago, and lastly at the Grosvenor Gallery's 1894 *Fair Women* exhibition.[50] Carter recalled that Duveen offered to acquire the work 'for the nation' on hearing that it had been bid for by an American collector at the Henry Irving sale. In Ellen Terry's letter of thanks to Duveen for his action, she wrote: 'Mr Duveen … although we are not personally known to one another … I know you now quite well as one of the most generous of men, and I cannot resist sending this line to you to tell you I am delighted that the Sargent is to be housed so beautifully.'[51] While Lord Duveen would later claim that *he* had been responsible for 'advis[ing his father] to secure the picture of *Ellen Terry* for the Tate ... paying tribute not only to one of the greatest masters of modern painting, but also to one of the greatest English actresses of our time', it appears just as likely that the elder Duveen wanted to donate the work to the Gallery to preserve a celebrated cultural asset for Britain.[52]

Like the American painter Sargent, Duveen Senior had found commercial success and personal happiness in Britain, after his emigration from Meppel in the Netherlands in 1866.[53] While it is not clear whether Joel Joseph Duveen ever felt British, his wife, Rosetta (née Barnett, 1841–1922), who was born in Hull and was the sister of his first business partner, Barney Barnett (1839–1905), was described as 'a proud Yorkshire woman'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, historians have neglected to acknowledge Rosetta Duveen's influence within her family, although Carter described her as 'a true helpmeet' in establishing her husband's antiques business, 'many

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[46] A.C.R. Carter, *Let Me Tell You* (London: Hutchinson, 1940), p. 20.

[47] An example of Sir Joseph Duveen's influence upon his eldest son was his insistence that Joe wore the same blue suit as his while on their Oxford Street shopfloor. Joel's seven younger sons wore black frock coats and silk top hats, while non-family members were distinguished by a uniform of grey alpaca jackets and bowler hats. Simpson (1988), p. 28.

[48] Tellingly, the Tate's 1960s catalogue entry for inv. no. N02053, in Mary Chamot, Dennia Farr, and Martin Butlin (eds), *The Modern British Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* (London: Tate Gallery, 1964), vol. 2, listed the previous owner as 'Sir Joseph Duveen (elder) 1906', as Sir Joel Joseph Duveen was already far less well-known than his son, Lord Duveen.

[49] Now in the Tate's collection (inv. no. N02053). This painting was acquired by Joel Joseph Duveen from actor Sir Henry Irving's estate sale, for what was considered a modest sum of 1200 guineas.

[50] Clarke noted that the painting's lender to these three exhibitions, Henry Irving, normally hung the portrait in the Beefsteak Room of his London theatre, the Lyceum. Duveen may therefore have seen it before he purchased it from Irving's estate sale. See Meaghan Clarke, *Fashionability, Exhibition Culture and Gender Politics: Fair Women* (Routledge, 2020). p. 80.

[51] Ellen Terry to 'Mr J J Duveen', marked 'Private', dated 28 January 1906, reproduced in Carter (1940), p. 22. Carter claimed that this letter was in the possession of Ernest Duveen (1883–1959), the fourth son of Joel Joseph.

[52] Joseph Duveen, *Thirty Years of British Art* (London: The Studio, 1930), p. 5.

[53] Ibid., p. 4.

striking instances of her acumen and flair which a student of heredity could not fail to discern had been transmitted to her son … the gifted woman kept her husband's books, and the firm still possesses these relics written in a copper-plate hand.'[54] A feeling of duty towards his adopted home might explain Duveen's interest in the National Art Collections Fund.[55] Before his gift of *Ellen Terry*, he gave 'significantly' towards the NACF's purchase of Velasquez's *Rokeby Venus,* giving £1050 in 1906.[56] As discussed, this campaign was fraught by the perceived need to protect this national 'asset' from 'foreign' collectors accused of denuding Britain of its treasures. Similarly, many have overlooked the fact that in May 1906, shortly after presenting *Ellen Terry*, Joseph Duveen organised a charitable exhibition at his gallery at 21 Bond Street, showing thirty *Masterpieces by French Painters of the Eighteenth Century*, donating the proceeds to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution, which supported artists' living expenses.

Shortly after the *Rokeby Venus* campaign, 'Mr Duveen' saw another opportunity to cement this association with his adoptive home, by celebrating the work of one of its most famous painters, Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851). The artist's will stipulated that he wanted all the works in his National Gallery bequest to remain together on permanent display. In 1908, to celebrate the publication of Alexander Finberg's (1866–1939) catalogue of 19,000 items in the Turner Bequest, the Gallery exhibited many of the artist's unfinished works together for the first time in its (increasingly cramped) Trafalgar Square rooms. This exhibition may have prompted Duveen to offer to finance seven new galleries at Millbank, to be known as the 'Turner Wing', for the permanent display of the bequest. He was not in the business of selling Turners at his Oxford Street shop, and indeed rarely sold oil paintings. Behrman and Secrest speculated that it was his eldest son's love of paintings that prompted Duveen Senior to honour Turner at the Gallery. However, examining 'Mr Duveen's' appearances in London's sale rooms showed he already admired the artist, as *A Deluge Scene* was the first painting bought by a 'Duveen' in London in 1891. As Joseph Duveen Junior was only twenty-two, it seems unlikely that he would have been able to find 105 guineas to buy it himself.[57]

Common to many accounts of the Duveen Brothers business was the suggestion that Lord Duveen persuaded his father to take an interest in pictures, and that both lacked a grounding in connoisseurship.[58] However, closer examination of 'Mr Duveen's' gifts to the National Gallery

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[54] Carter, *Let Me Tell You* (1940), pp. 18–19.

[55] In February 1907, Joseph Duveen was granted Honorary Life membership by the NACF's Committee, which he accepted, in recognition of his 'most generous contribution' to the Velasquez campaign. This gesture was also made to four others: Herbert Stern, Lord Michelham of Hellingly (1851–1919), who had given £10,000; Mr W[illiam] Lockett Agnew (1858–1918), (on behalf of Messrs Thomas Agnew and Sons, who had waived the seller's fee with a value of £450; the artist Sigismund Goetze (1866–1939) who had given £500; andhis father-in-law, Ludwig Mond, who had offered £2,000. Joel Duveen had given £1,050 (a sum which equates to around £163,000 in 2023). See *Minutes from Meeting of the National Art Collections Fund*, 12 December 1906 (TGA, NG9328.12.110), p. 196.

[56] Sir Joel Joseph Duveen's obituaries in *The Times* (10 November 1908, p. 12), and *The Jewish World* newspaper (13 November 1908, p. 13) both mention his contribution to the *Rokeby Venus* campaign.

[57] See 'Art Sales', *The Times*, 25 May 1891, p. 11. The oil painting by J.M.W. Turner, *A Deluge* was purchased by 'Mr Duveen' from the sale of the collection of William Ho[u]ldsworth, 23 May 1891. Mr Duveen appears not to have kept the painting, as it was sold by Christie's in 1896, see *Catalogue of choice modern pictures* (London: Christie's, 16 May 1896), lot. 50. The painting is now called *An Evening Deluge*, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (inv. no.. 1960.6.40). The provenance information does not mention Duveen but shows it was bought by Maurice Kann, Paris in 1900, who sold it to Thomas Agnew, London in 1901.

[58] See Hook (2017) for an example, p. 31: '[on Cardinal Albani (1692–1779)] he operated like some sort of benign Duveen … But, less like Duveen, he was a genuine connoisseur with a sincere pleasure in beautiful objects.'

undermines suggestions that he was uninterested in painting. Having supported his son's entry into the picture market with the 1901 purchase of Hoppner's *Lady Louisa Manners*, a record-breaking painting for the British market, he continued to help others acquire paintings.[59] A year after the Velasquez campaign, he was one of three named donors towards the NACF's purchase of Albert Steven's portrait of the art critic *John Morris Moore* (fig. 9).[60]

Before his death, Sir J.J. Duveen's interest in cultural philanthropy was recognised by the press, just as 'his services to the nation' had been recognised in his knighthood from Edward VII in June 1908. *The Jewish World*, published weekly in London in both English and Yiddish, featured Sir Joel Joseph Duveen as its 'Man of the Week' shortly before his knighthood, describing his 'hobby' for public building projects.[61] The article was accompanied by a humorous cartoon in which the art dealer appeared as a waiter serving a John Bull type [either a generic Briton or an unidentified Gallery trustee], his new 'Turner Wing' (fig. 10).
Whether a reflection of their own tastes for Turner's work or as tribute to their late father's interests in British painting, Joseph Duveen and his brothers realised Duveen Senior's promise, and the Turner Galleries opened in Millbank in 1910, two years after his death (figs. 11 and 12). Financed by Joseph Duveen and the fourth brother Louis (1874–1920), with £25,000, the Turner Galleries were meant to testify to their father's 'zealous promotion' of art.[62] Alongside the construction costs, they also presented a *Portrait of Turner* by John Thomas Smith (1766–1833), a contemporary of Turner, and one of the artist's 'relics', a palette which had belonged to his Margate landlady Mrs Caroline Booth.[63] The Duveens publicised that they were interested in acquiring other relics of the painter that could be shown in the new galleries.[64]

Joseph Duveen Junior made several stipulations regarding his family's gift of the Turner Wing. He employed his father's favoured architect, William Henry Romaine-Walker (1854–1940), who had designed their uncle Henry's London home, 128 Park Lane, in 1905. He wanted 'to make a condition [of the gift] that the portrait of my late father … remain in the Upper Ground Floor Galleries'.[65] The portrait of *Sir Joseph Duveen* had been painted from life by Emil Fuchs (1866–1929) in 1903, and was presented to the Gallery by his sons in 1910 (Fig. 13).[66] The

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[59] The portrait by Hoppner, which the Duveens bought for the record price of 14,050 guineas, is now in Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva. According to its online catalogue, it was given to the 'Republic and the region of Geneva' in 1984 by 'Lord Michelham'. Lord and Lady Michelham of Hellingly were customers of Duveen's. See Silvia Davoli, '"I shall now go on selling as much as I can to these people": Duveen Brothers and the making of the Stern–Michelham collection', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 34, no. 3 (October 2022), pp. 413–26.

[60] Morris Moore was a critic of the National Gallery, particularly of Eastlake's cleaning of pictures. In 1846, he wrote to *The Times*, under the pseudonym ''Verax', accusing the Director of violently 'scraping' and 'flaying' Rubens's *Minerva protects Pax,* and Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Susanna Avery-Quash has described Morris Moore's role in the development of the Gallery's first 'preventative conservation' policies, in 'Sir Charles Eastlake and conservation at the National Gallery, London', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 157, no. 1353 (December 2015), pp. 846–54.

[61] 'Mr J J Duveen', *The Jewish World*, 15 May 1908, p. 12.

[62] Joseph Duveen, from Rye, New York, to d'Abernon, 8 August 1916, marked 'Private and Confidential'. London: Tate Gallery Archive (hereafter TGA), TG14/5/1.

[63] John Thomas Smith (1766–1833), known as 'Antiquity Smith', was Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum. Sophia Caroline Booth (1798–1875) was Turner's Margate landlord, and in the artist's later years became his companion. For the offer of Smith's *Turner* portrait (Tate, inv. no. N02728) and 'a palette of Turner's', see Louis Duveen to the National Gallery, 8 July 1910, NGA, NG7/378/8.

[64] See Anon., 'Turners at Christie's: Master's Palette for the Nation', *Daily Telegraph,* 12 June 1909, p. 73.

[65] Joseph Duveen [then staying at Claridge's Hotel], to the Board of the National Gallery of British Art, 3 November 1916, TGA, TG14/5/1.

[66] The portrait, which now belongs to Tate (inv. no. N05999), is not currently on public display.

commissioning of Fuchs may have been a nod to the close association of his father's firm with the royal family, as the painter was among Edward VII's circle.[67] Though Joseph Duveen had requested that the portrait should always remain in the galleries he had endowed, in a special niche designed for the purpose, the Trustees of the Gallery would not accept this clause. However, they offered their assurances that 'Duveen's wishes would be carefully respected by future boards, as was the case regarding the wishes expressed by Turner and other great benefactors'.[68] Here we see the authority the National Gallery gave the Duveens, as early as 1910, as 'great benefactors', even as it refused to concede any curatorial decisions to them. The work is no longer on public display.

Joseph Duveen's 'modern' gifts

As the newly appointed head of Duveen Brothers, Joseph Duveen recognised that he had a responsibility to maintain his father's name, not just through expanding the family business in Paris and New York, but also by upholding his legacy as a cultural benefactor. In 1933, he chose the baronetcy 'of Millbank', in recognition of the family's patronage of the National Gallery of British Art. As his father had donated pictures by his contemporaries Stevens and Sargent, so Joseph Duveen began acquiring contemporary paintings to donate to British galleries. He appeared mindful of his father's legacy when he made his first contemporary gift, which was not given to Millbank, but to a new gallery in his birthplace of Hull.[69] Though he left in his mid-teens to attend Brighton College, Duveen maintained a longstanding affection for the North-eastern city. In 1910, he acquired the painting *The Good Samaritan*, by the Lancashire artist Edward Stott, ARA (fig. 14). Carter related that Duveen was approached by the city's councillors, who were planning to build a municipal art gallery, and knew of the Duveen family's links to Hull. The Ferens Art Gallery, named after local politician and philanthropist, Thomas Robinson Ferens (1847–1930), was built on the site of Joseph Duveen's father's first antiques shop, on Albion Street. As Carter described:

> The site… covered the area in which the old Duveen house had stood in 1866. Knowing this the gallery authorities approached the son with the request of a gift of a modern picture. He asked me to help him select one… we visited the 1910 RA [Summer Exhibition] together, and when he espied the *Good Samaritan* by that idyllic Amberley painter, Edward Stott ARA, he thought that both the subject and the title would be a fitting gift in his father's memory.[70]

The moral of this Biblical painting was fitting. It described the outsider (the Samaritan) who faced prejudice, in the act of giving alms. Incidentally, it was a Jewish priest who first ignored the wounded man, eventually aided by the Samaritan. Perhaps in choosing this painting – a depiction of a familiar biblical subject, though set in the gentle rolling hills of the artist's Sussex home rather than the Holy Land – Joseph Duveen also wanted to preserve his Victorian father's tastes.

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[67] Fuchs produced a depiction of *Queen Victoria on her Deathbed* (1901) drawn during a stay at Sandringham, 1901, see Royal Collection Trust (inv. no. RCIN914998). See also the Austrian-born sculptor Emil Fuchs's autobiography, *With Pencil, Brush, and Chisel: The Life of an Artist* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1925). Though Fuchs does not refer to Joel Duveen's portrait, he does speak admiringly of Joe Duveen's taste. A student of John Singer Sargent, he painted several Duveen's clients including *Edward VII* (formerly Brooklyn Museum, gift of the artist. Sold Sotheby's, New York, 6 October 2021, Lot 104), and fellow art dealer *Martin Henry Colnaghi* (whereabouts unknown). This painting was mentioned by Avery-Quash in Ibid (2017), p. 88.

[68] See Aitken's 'Director's Report', *Minutes of the Board of the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank*, 6 May 1925, TGA, TG14/5/9, p. 3.

[69] Hook (2017), p. 74, stated inaccurately that Duveen was born in London.

[70] Carter (1940), p. 19.

Despite moving across the Atlantic in 1911, to run the New York branch of Duveen Brothers with his paternal uncle, Henry Duveen, Joseph Duveen maintained an interest in Britain's artists. He believed that they would receive greater critical and commercial success abroad if British art students were exposed to a greater variety of 'modern foreign' works. To this end, he ventured to build four rooms at the Tate Gallery for the exhibition of 'Modern Foreign' art, an offer he made to Edgar Vincent, Lord D'Abernon (1857–1941), a member of the Gallery's board, in 1916.[71] The National Gallery had begun to acquire modern foreign paintings from 1905 onwards, with two large donations from George Salting and Charles Drucker in 1910 (see Chapter 3), but had little space to exhibit these works. Duveen's informal offer to his customer and friend, D'Abernon, was followed by a formal promise to the Treasury to match the amount offered by his father for the Turner Galleries, i.e. £25,000, 'or perhaps a little more'. In his correspondence with the Treasury, Duveen explained that he would have given a larger sum 'but for the fact that during last Spring I gave £10,000 for the establishment of a Fund for the purpose of repatriating and helping wounded and stricken territorial soldiers of the County of London'.[72]

Duveen's offer to build 'Modern Foreign' galleries, for showing work by foreign-born artists, would have been understood then as an act of promotion of French art, and was contemporaneously welcomed as a demonstration of the Franco-British alliance during the Great War.[73] D'Abernon, the Board's Chairman, saw the extension as 'particularly well-timed as it marks the increasing unity of the Allied Nations'.[74] That his gift of the Modern Foreign Galleries was an explicitly patriotic act – a means of strengthening the nation's collection – was made explicit in Duveen's stipulation: 'my name should not be mentioned in connection with the new gallery scheme while there is enemy-occupation of any part of France or Belgium; and I trust it will not go beyond the knowledge of your Committee until such time as we may happily feel that peace is settled'.[75] While his gift was announced to the press in 1918, work had still not begun in 1920.[76] Duveen's ambition was stymied by the harsh economic impact of the war on government finances.[77] In the early 1920s, much of the gallery was still under government requisition.[78] Delays were also caused by the prohibitive cost of building materials and a labour shortage. One detects an apologetic tone in Aitken's correspondence with the Office of Works, as he tried to convince then Minister, Alfred Mond (1868–1930), Ludwig Mond's eldest son, that the Gallery's plans should not be designated a 'luxury' but a civic necessity.[79]

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[71] Duveen to D'Abernon, 8 August 1916. TGA, TG14/5/1.

[72] Ibid.

[73] D'Abernon wrote in his notes for the press: 'with the exception of neutral Holland, when we speak of modern foreign art, it is predominantly of the painting and sculpture of our allies and above all of French artists that we are thinking.' Final draft of 'Particulars for the Press' with Lord D'Abernon's revisions, in dossier on 'Modern Foreign Gallery, 3 Nov 1916 – 15 Dec 1916'. TGA, TG14/5/1, p. 2.

[74] Ibid, p. 2.

[75] Ibid, p. 3.

[76] See 'Great Art Gift', *The Sunday Times*, 21 July 1918, p. 9.

[77] Ibid.

[78] During the First World War and until the mid-1920s, several offices were requisitioned for use by the Department for Pensions.

[79] See correspondence between Aitken and the London County Council, 19219–20, TGA, TG14/5/4. Alfred Mond must have been impressed by Joseph Duveen's efforts, as later in 1933, when Duveen was made a Baronet, Mond was his government sponsor.

Millbank's Duveen Funds

In the intervening decade between his offer of new galleries for Millbank and their completion in 1926, Duveen and his brothers found other ways to support the organisation. One novel initiative was an annual purchase grant, called the 'Duveen Drawings Fund', the first instalment was sent to Aitken in 1920, agreed at £250 per annum.[80] In the first year, Joseph Duveen specified that the fund 'must be expended upon drawings by Mr Sargent', whose work as noted, his father had presented to the Gallery.[81] Throughout the next decade, however, the fund was used by Aitken and his trustees to acquire a wide variety of artworks, not all of which were drawings. Between 1922 and 1924, twenty-nine works on paper were acquired using the fund. On each occasion the Duveens were sent a bill *after* Aitken had made the purchase, suggesting that the Keeper enjoyed some autonomy regarding its use.[82] While primarily envisioned as a means of acquiring drawings by contemporary British artists, Duveen and his brothers did not seemingly insist that works bought using 'their' fund were by British artists. A drawing by South African-born [Alfred] Neville Lewis (1895–1972), *The Rag and Bone Man*, was acquired for £6 in 1922.[83] Given that the Duveens were known for their 'conservative' tastes, it was striking that Aitken used the fund for a work from the Grosvenor Gallery's 1921 *Reopening Exhibition*, which showed paintings by 'the Extreme Moderns'. There [Edith] Grace Wheatley's (née Wolfe, 1888–1970) watercolour, *Seated Woman,* was bought for £12.[84] Frequently, the Duveen Drawing Fund was also used to acquire non-contemporary works, which might otherwise have been out of Aitken's reach owing to their price. He bought John Sell Cotman's *Crowland Abbey* for £26.5s in 1922, Edward Burne-Jones's *Ezekiel and the Boiling* Pot (£25 in 1923) and Peter de Wint's *Scene on the Thames* (£42 in 1923).[85]While the fund was undoubtedly useful to Aitken, who only had £3,000 per annum to spend on acquisitions for Millbank, Joseph Duveen was not particularly involved in how it was spent there.

There is little extant correspondence regarding its use and mentions of the Duveen Drawings Fund often appeared among pleasantries between the art dealer and the Millbank Director. In fact, it was often Edward Duveen (1875–1944), rather than Joseph, who administered it. In 1927, the 'Drawings' fund was used for the salaries of the decorators of the Gallery's Refreshments Room (£100 to a 'Mr Wellington' in February 1927, materials from L. Cornelissen and 'structural alteration', £66), the publication costs of the Tate's anniversary report, *A Record of Ten Years*, and by special agreement of Edward Duveen, a £450 one-off payment for the acquisition of a bronze *Europa and the Bull*, from the Swedish sculptor Carl Milles (1875–1955). This work was bought to commemorate the first exhibition of a contemporary foreign artist's work at Millbank.[86] Despite its imprecise definition and terms,

[80] Accounting for inflation, this was around £13,000 in 2022.

[81] Joseph Duveen to Aitken, 17 December 1920, TGA, TG17/3/3/1.

[82] See handwritten list of Duveen Drawing Fund acquisitions in TGA, TG17/3/3/1.

[83] Lewis was the son of the Reverend Lewis, Mayor of Cape Town. He moved to London in his early twenties and was educated at the Slade, joining the New English Art Club. This work is now at Tate (inv. no. N03641).

[84] Wheatley's watercolour had been re-produced before it was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, so Aitken may have known it before buying it from the *Reopening Exhibition*. See catalogue entry for Tate, inv. no. N03642.

[85] The catalogue numbers for these works (all Tate) are N03667, N03719, and N03809, respectively. There is no mention of the Duveen Drawings Fund in the catalogue entries for these, nor that of David Wilkie's *Interior* (inv. no. N03695), acquired in 1922 for a modest £1.10s.

[86] The bronze sculpture (now Tate, inv. no. N04247), was a maquette for a design for a fountain, purchased from the artist from his solo exhibition, *Sketches and Fragments of Monuments executed in Cities in Sweden by Carl Milles*, London: Tate Gallery, February–April 1927, cat. no. 3.

the Duveen Drawings Fund was undoubtedly useful in enabling Millbank's administrators to make diverse acquisitions.

In contrast with the little-known 'Drawings Fund', correspondence regarding the 'Duveen Paintings Fund', also for Millbank, made plain that in the early 1920s, while they were prevented from realising many of the grand-scale capital projects their father had first envisaged for the Gallery, Duveen and his brothers were some of the National Gallery's most supportive donors. Joseph Duveen's knowledge of the European art market had already made him a particularly useful associate of the Gallery's two directors, Holroyd at Trafalgar Square and Aitken at Millbank (who was promoted from Keeper to Director in 1917). Duveen began writing to both offering his assistance in securing potential acquisitions. In 1917, Duveen's generosity was recognised in the form of an 'Honorary Associateship' of the Tate, an honour extended to several other Jewish donors in the same year.[87] In his acceptance letter, Joseph Duveen promised to 'continue to render what service I can to make the Gallery always progressive and increasingly representative.'[88]

By 'increasingly representative', Duveen meant that he wanted to help the Gallery to support living artists, both by exposing them to 'modern foreign' movements and through direct patronage. A frequent myth about the Duveens is that they were not interested in contemporary art. For instance, Phillip Hook wrote, 'there is a distinction between the dealer who handles old art (by dead artists) and the one who handles and promotes living [ones]. It is the distinction between a Duveen and a Kahnweiler or a Castelli.'[89]However, during the mid-1920s, Joseph and his brother Edward used their increasing influence to promote the careers of living British artist both at home and abroad. In a series of letters written by (now Sir) Joseph Duveen to the Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, published in T*he Times,* the art dealer called for public support for Britain's contemporary artists. He compared the British, French, and American contemporary art markets he knew intimately:

> Vast sums are paid for the works of Old Masters for which the wealthiest men in the world compete. It is nevertheless true that modern work of high excellence lingers on the walls of many a studio, awaiting the purchaser who does not come.
>
> It is otherwise in France. For one picture sold out of the Royal Academy exhibition, perhaps ten by French artists are sold in France. Yet French work is not to-day better than English. If the French artist prospers while his English brother starves it is because the one is backed by his government… his fellow countrymen, while the other languishes in neglect… No such atmosphere exists in England. The initiative of the French Government in this respect is supported by … by public and commercial bodies, and by countless private individuals … A Whole class of dealers of high technical education and cultivated taste exist not merely to sell the work of men of acknowledged repute, but to find, to reveal, and to distribute the work of young men of promise … America affords like encouragement to her artists… For these reasons, Sir, I am venturing to invite your sympathy in an endeavour to impress upon the British public their duty to encourage, and the pleasure and profit that will be theirs in encouraging British art....[90]

In pursuing the 'noble cause' of generating support for British contemporary art, Duveen was aware that he was addressing an audience who would have only recognised his name because

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[87] See Chapter 3, n.485 on Charles Drucker's decision to decline their offer.

[88] Joseph Duveen to Aitken, 21 June 1917. This letter was accompanied by a memorandum by Aitken listing 'desirable' works, with an asterisk beside those foreign artists who were represented 'inadequately' in the National Gallery. See 'Modern Foreign Gallery', TGA, TG14/5/2.

[89] Hook (2017), p. 3.

[90] See 'Contemporary Art', *The Times*, 22 January 1926, p. 10. The article also reproduced Baldwin's response to Duveen, in which he pledged 'to offer as much support as I am able'.

of his firm's success abroad.[91] He affirmed that: 'though my family may be mainly known to you for its traditional business connection with the art of the past, it also possesses a tradition of concern for modern art, as is evidenced by the Turner Galleries… the gift of my father to the nation. I have endeavoured to follow in his footsteps… though never having had, and not proposing to have, any business interest in works of contemporary art'.[92] His brother Edward was also concerned by the difficult economic circumstances faced by British workers relative to other Europeans. A decade earlier, he underwrote the cost of a trip for sixty British men to visit Germany's industrial cities, requesting reports back on their working conditions relative to those of Britons.[93]

The purchases made using the £1,000 annual Duveen Paintings Fund [for Modern British Art] in 1926 reveal the catholic tastes of its Selection Committee. In this year alone they purchased sixteen works for the sum of £2,320.3s. These included a painting by L.S Lowry (1887–1976), *Coming Out of School*, which was bought from the *Daily Express Young Artists Exhibition* for £21 (perhaps included generously as Lowry was thirty-nine), an 'Orovida' (née Pissarro, 1893–1968) silk painting, *The Hunter Prince* (£90), and Slade student Robin Guthrie's (1902–1971) *The Sermon on the Mount* (£100). They also bought two landscapes by more established names - the National Gallery's director Charles Holmes and William Rothenstein, then Principal of the Royal College of Art. 1926 also saw a slight overspend on the £2,000 initially promised by the Duveens, to make a 'special' acquisition, Stanley Spencer's *The Resurrection, Cookham* for £1000 (fig. 17).[94] In 1924, its first year, the fund had been used to purchase another work by Spencer, *The Red House,* for the more modest sum of £55, later it was allocated to the Ferens Gallery, Hull. [95] *The Resurrection* 'greatly satisfied' Joseph Duveen, when he saw it and the other new acquisitions in May 1927.[96] In news coverage of the acquisition (fig. 18), the artist was shown dwarfed by his painting. Duveen had emphasised that he wanted the Gallery to acquire larger works, as 'I would like to impress upon … the Committee … that I dislike small pictures, and I therefore wish to stipulate that pictures purchased by this fund are of an important size. I am not enamoured of the idea of a collection of small pictures, which … would appear like a postage stamp album. Forgive me if I seem to be a little over-emphatic on this point.'[97]

Though Joseph Duveen began to correspond frequently with the Gallery's administrators in the early 1920s, it appeared that he first met a member of staff on 'official' terms in 1921, when Collins-Baker, Keeper (1914–1928) visited his Paris showroom to see Perronneau's *Young Girl with a Kitten*.[98] Afterward, Duveen offered the work to the Gallery, though initially he

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[91] For an example of oblique criticism of the 'Messrs Duveens', see Anon., '£80,000! A Great Velasquez Lost to England', *Illustrated London News*, 30 October 1909, p. 16.

[92] 'Contemporary Art', *The Times*, 22 January 1926, p. 10.

[93] See 'British Working Men and Germany', *The Times*, 15 April 1910, p. 6.

[94] The 'overspend' in the Duveen Paintings Fund in 1927 was justified by Aitken on account of several years' 'underspend' of the 'older Duveen Fund' (i.e., the Drawings Fund).

[95] See correspondence between Aitken and Edward Duveen, TGA, TG17/3/3/1. In 1927, the Duveen Drawings Fund was also used for a pen and wash drawing by Stanley Spencer, *Camouflaged Grenadier* (*Recto: Studies for the Burghclere Chapel, c. 1922*) from the Goupil Gallery (£14.4s). See Carter (ed.), *The Year's Art* (1928), pp. 29–31.

[96] Report of Joseph Duveen's visit on 31 May 1927, written by Aitken to Edward Duveen, TGA, TG17/3/3/1.

[97] Joseph Duveen to Aitken, 2 October 1925, TGA, TG17/3/3/1.

[98] Joseph Duveen to Holmes, 20 Place Vendome, Paris, 3 October 1921: 'I was so glad to meet Mr Collins Baker… and to hear that he liked the Perroneau … I will bring it over with me next week … [on] the Nattier … I

wanted to offer Sargent's *Portrait of The Duchess of Sutherland*, before he was encouraged (perhaps by his client and close friend, D'Abernon) to give the Perronneau pastel. In so doing, he was 'filling the gap' in its small collection of French works.[99] The Perroneau joined a gallery which already contained a Duveen gift, an eighteenth-century gilt frame for a group portrait of *La Barre and Other Musicians*, donated by his father in 1907. While Duveen had not chosen the Perronneau work, three years later Charles Ricketts wrote disparagingly that 'it was a very doubtful pastel bequeathed by some member of one of those rich and well related Jewish families from which we Britishers of the moment can refuse nothing'.[100] While the Duveens had supported the custodial ambitions of the National Gallery's trustees in making both gifts, they did not receive public recognition.

Joseph Duveen kept his promise to 'fill' the gaps where the Gallery found itself deficient, owing to a chronic shortage of acquisition funds. As with the Perroneau example, it was often d'Abernon who communicated the Board's interests to Duveen. D'Abernon and Duveen had demonstrated their friendship by jointly donating a work to the Gallery through the the NACF, Degas's *Head of a Woman*, which was bought at the artist's posthumous sale in 1918 and donated in 1919.[101] Along with loyal custom, d'Abernon, as the Foreign Office's ambassador in Berlin (1920-5), provided the Duveens with valuable information regarding the fluctuations of the European currency market. In 1920, Louis Duveen felt it was necessary to write to D'Abernon asking the firm's client for a written understanding, as until then 'the arrangement … has been only verbal between you and my brother, Sir Joseph. This, I am sure you will agree … is not altogether satisfactory.' [102]

When one of Millbank's newest 'Duveen galleries' finally opened in 1926, it was not used to display modern foreign works as the collection was still small. Instead, Gallery 29 on the ground floor (fig. 15):

> which is not yet required for foreign pictures, is being temporarily used as an 'Experimental Testing Gallery' where pictures acquired out of the Duveen Fund, or by the Contemporary Art Society… can be hung with a view to providing leisurely consideration of their suitability... eventually [they will] be available for the National or other public collections. [103]

The Duveens had therefore provided a temporary exhibition space in which the 'suitability' of modern works could be considered by the public and by British museum administrators.

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bought it very cheaply before the war… I fear the price is unfortunately too high for the National Gallery, although naturally…I shall… let your trustees have it at the price I paid for it as indeed would be the case with anything I buy.' The Nattier double portrait depicting *Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter*, which Holmes was interested in had been bought by Duveen from Wildenstein, having been in the Austrian Jewish financier Jules (né Yehuda) Porgès's collection [1839–1921]. Wildenstein sold it to Florence Schuette of New York, who bequeathed it to the Metropolitan Museum in 1945. See NGA, NG26/28/1/1–2.

[99] The Sargent is now in the Thyssen Bornemisza Museum, Madrid (acquired 1983). A note on the Perroneau gift was made by d'Abernon on Ritz Hotel notepaper [in the same Paris square as Duveen Brothers]. It seems likely that d'Abernon was at the meeting with Collins-Baker. See D'Abernon Papers [Sir Edgar Vincent], London: British Library (hereafter BL), Add Man 48932, f87.

[100] See Wine (2018), p. 394.

[101] The painting is now in the Tate, inv. no. N03390.

[102] Louis Duveen, 18 February 1920, in ibid, ff38-40. By 1922, D'Abernon made at least £133,600 in sales from his personal collection through Duveen. For Lord D'Abernon's transactions with Duveen Brothers from 1913 onwards, see D'Abernon Papers, BL, Add Man 48932.

[103] Op. cit., 'Memorandum', in Duveen Paintings Fund (1921–30), TGA, TG17/3/3/1. I suspect it was written by Aitken. 1,000 copies of the Tate's *Annual Review* (Glasgow: Robert Maclehose, July 1927), cost Duveen £166 to publish.

Initially, there was some confusion in the press about the rationale of [Joseph] Duveen's scheme. The *Evening Standard* reported:

> The steps taken by Sir Joseph Duveen to practice what he preached in his appeal for help for the young British artist grow "curiouser and curiouser" … the first was his purchase for the presentation to the Tate Gallery of a picture by an American artist [Sargent]. The second, announced today, is the purchase by the committee which has the spending of the annual £1000 to further his aims, of "The Cab Horse" by Robert Bevan, a British artist truly, but one who died at the age of 60 about a year ago…. It would be a welcome addition to the Tate Gallery, but how any struggling young artist will be helped by the gesture it is difficult to see.[104]

This criticism provoked a reply from Edward Duveen in which he formally established the objectives of their Paintings Fund. He wrote:

> My brother hopes that this fund will benefit living British artists, particularly the younger ones who are not yet securely established in the public favour, but the primary object of this fund is for the public to obtain wider recognition and appreciation of contemporary British Art, particularly on the continent and in America and the dominions, by forming a nucleus collection for loan and presentation to public galleries.[105]

The international emphasis of this acquisition scheme – which would promote British art across the British Empire and America - has been overlooked in accounts of the development of the Gallery at Millbank, as have Edward and Joseph's art historian brother Louis's involvement in the Gallery.[106] Edward Duveen's letter demonstrated that though Joseph Duveen had some oversight over the direction of the new fund, he was not alone in choosing how it was spent, despite the *Standard's* commentator finding 'his' choices 'curious'. An article in the *Illustrated London News* pictured the fund's administrators - a group of regional museum directors, artists, and critics - meeting to assess the suitability of new works for acquisition, and allocating works to other national collections across Britain, once they had been exhibited in Millbank's 'Experimental' Gallery (Fig.16).[107]

The Director of Leeds Art Gallery, Solomon Charles Kaines Smith's (1876–1958) presence on Duveen Fund Committee demonstrated the emphasis the Duveens placed on the Fund's use for new acquisitions for regional galleries.[108] Joseph Duveen wanted to increase public access to encourage others to collect, as 'for art to be flourishing … in a great nation, a great multitude of art collectors is necessary. The realisation of these facts … set me thinking whether there

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[104] Anon., 'The Londoner's Diary', *Evening Standard*, 12 March 1926, p. 6. The 'American artist' mentioned could only have been Sargent, as Duveen had presented *A Study for Mme Gautreau* (Tate, N04102) which was purchased from the artist in 1925 and given to the Tate Gallery under the auspices of the NACF (rather than the nascent Paintings Fund). Robert Bevan's *The Cab Horse*, 1910, was shown at his Goupil Gallery retrospective (1926), where it was purchased for £60 by the Duveen Fund Committee (now Tate, N05911).

[105] Draft of undated letter to the *Evening Standard*, postmarked 12 March 1926, written by Edward Duveen and sent to Aitken for approval (TGA, TG17/3/3/1).

[106] That Edward was also interested in public taste is shown by his book *Colour in the Home* (London: George Allen, 1912), marketed at middle-class homeowners. Hook (2017), p. 81, mentioned that 'much of the detail of the buying [of stock] was actually seen through by… Edward and Ernest in the London gallery'.

[107] The Duveen Paintings Committee included many members of the NACF, including founder member Robert Witt and Martin Conway. The Chairman was William Orpen, alongside the Gallery's Collins-Baker, and artists Gerald Brockhurst, William Reid Dick, Jacob Epstein, Phillip Connard, Adrian Stokes, Augustus John, Randolph Schwabe, Professor Henry Tonks, and William Rothenstein.

[108] Kaines Smith was the National Gallery's first lecturer (1914–16) before he became Director of Leeds Art Gallery (1924–7) and later Keeper of the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (1927–41).

were any means whereby such a multitude could be called into existence'[109] In 1927, Kaines Smith's Leeds gallery was chosen as the first venue for the Duveen's 'Living British Artist's Exhibition'. Carter wrote later of the impact of these temporary exhibitions on 'native' modern artists:

> In years to come, it may be that his name [Duveen] will live through the line of native artists befriended at the critical moment by the scheme of Duveen Exhibitions arranged for displaying the promise of rising painters. … I can foresee that, fifty years hence, some great painter will arise (a President of the Royal Academy, possibly) and say: "I received my first chance at a Duveen Exhibition."[110]

A few years later, a member of their Exhibition Committee, Martin Conway (1856–1937), wrote of [Joseph] Duveen: 'I do not think that his whole-hearted support of the living artist is sufficiently well-known. This activity is his own private enterprise – a hobby, if you like – and is born from an innate enthusiasm and belief in the splendid work that is being accomplished by living British artists today.'[111]

The scale of the *Living British Artists* exhibition scheme belied Conway's 'hobby' description, as its administration appeared to take up a great deal of Edward Duveen's time. As he later wrote, through their temporary exhibitions across the country, the Duveens wanted to teach Britons that oil paintings could be affordable, 'and the best way of educating them is by exhibitions… catalogues with the prices … marked in plain figures'.[112] They stipulated that artists could not charge more than £50 for their submissions (equating to around £3,350 today). To make the scheme accessible to as many prospective exhibitors as possible, they underwrote all the costs: 'no commission is payable by artists on works sold through this organisation, the actual selling price being remitted direct by the purchaser to the Artist'.[113] Like the Paintings Fund, the submissions were appraised by a Selection Committee. Edward Duveen produced the catalogues, which encouraged 'prospective patrons' to write to his Garrick Street office, so that they could be put in touch directly 'with artists who have shown work', thus acting informally as an agency for contemporary artists.[114]

As well as reaching 'new' audiences in the regions, the diplomatic impetus of the Duveens' *Living Artists* exhibitions was important, as Joseph Duveen considered '[the] mutual exchange of art as one of the most important ways by which the friendship of different races may be established and maintained.'[115] In a clear parallel with other Jewish collectors of contemporary art, Charles and Lydia Drucker (Chapter 3), and the Davises (Chapter 4), here collections were used to carry out acts of diplomacy with foreign nations, and in the Davises' case, also to improve the reputation of British artists abroad. Only two years after launching the scheme in Leeds, the Duveens arranged a 'floating exhibition' on board the New York-bound *SS Berengaria*, which made international news and was opened by the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937) (fig. 19). 1929 saw exhibitions in Liverpool, Glasgow, and Stockholm, while in later years they were held in Paris, Brussels, Venice, and 'Jugo-Slavia'. The 1930 exhibition in Buenos Aires 'received … the full support of the British Foreign

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[109] Duveen (1930), p. 74.

[110] Carter (ed.), *The Year's Art* (London, 1929), p. 298.

[111] Conway, a Trustee of the Wallace Collection and the National Portrait Gallery (from 1916), was also briefly Director of the Imperial War Museum (1917). See Martin Conway, 'Introduction', in Duveen (1930), p. iv.

[112] Duveen (1930), p. 19

[113] Edward Duveen, *The Living British Artists Exhibition*, exh. cat., Manchester City Art Gallery, 1930, p 7.

[114] Sir Robert Witt, 'Introduction', in ibid, p. 3.

[115] Lucinda Wright, 'Joseph Duveen: Benefactor of the Arts', *The Antique Collector*, 3 November 1989, p. 126

Office'.[116] Joseph Duveen wrote proudly: 'some people say I have almost touted for [Augustus] John and [William] Orpen, whose work I admire so much. From time to time, I have put my New York Galleries freely at the disposal of British artists who desired to show their work to the American public. … Among those whose work has thus been seen in New York … Ambrose McEvoy (1920), Oswald Birley (1923), Gerald Kelly (1924), the Irish artist Sir John Lavery (1925–6), Augustus John (1925), and Harrington Mann and Richard Jack (1927).'[117]

In 1927, Edward wrote to Aitken that 'it was very important to his brother' that three works were purchased from the Leeds exhibition using the Paintings Fund, to commemorate the event, like the gift of Rothenstein's *Jews at Prayer* from the Whitechapel exhibition, the Duveens wanted to promote the success of their modern exhibitions.[118]Adrian Daintrey's *Portrait of Susan* and Elsie Atkin's landscape, *Chalford, Gloucestershire* were briefly displayed in London before returning to Leeds. In 1930, Duveen arranged a loan exhibition at the Guildhall Art Gallery 'of works sold in the past three years by the instrumentality of the "British Artists' Exhibitions"', which he hoped would 'be an interesting guide to the prevalent taste of purchasers'. The large list of the lenders, and particularly the number of female owners, testified to the affordability of the works of art for sale as well as the scheme's popularity. Many local authority museums lent works to the Guildhall which they had eagerly purchased after exhibitions in their own galleries: Plymouth lent eleven works, Belfast ten, Leeds nine (including Daintrey's *Susan*), Manchester six, Hull and Leamington Spa five each, and Glasgow four, Bradford three and Paisley Museum, one.[119]While the Duveens felt proud of the achievements of the *Living British Artists* exhibitions, the wide dispersal of paintings first shown there into multiple, international collections has meant awareness of both the Duveen Paintings Fund and the exhibitions is now much slighter than their organisers might have anticipated. Carter believed the exhibitions would prove the Duveens' ultimate legacy. Duveen was 'a man who will never be forgotten for befriending art in this country in every way. He will leave many monuments which will keep his name enduring, yet many a contemporary artist will never forget him for providing free gallery space during four years for the works of those who could not in any other way let their talents shine forth to the public.'[120] Few who took part became famous names, but while some like Vanesa Bell (1879–1961) did, the Duveens' enterprising exhibitions have been forgotten. [121]

Whilst trying to encourage the 'flourishing' of regional collections across Britain, the Duveens favoured museums in the North. Carter wrote of Joseph Duveen: 'every Tyke will understand the pride [when] he said … "how much I owe to the grit of my Yorkshire mother, and to the fact that I was born in Hull."[122] Joseph Duveen had been unable to attend the opening of the Ferens in 1927, but stayed in Hull with his wife and daughter for several days in 1929, where he was the guest of [Jewish] Lord Mayor, Benno Pearlman, and the art gallery's benefactor.[123]

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[116] Duveen (1930), p. 148

[117] Ibid.

[118] Coincidentally, in 1926 the Duveen Drawings Fund was used to purchase Max Beerbohm's *Quiet Morning at the Tate, 1907* (Tate, N04165), which showed Millbank's Keeper, MacColl, trying to explain Rothenstein's painting to a bemused-looking Gallery trustee, Alfred de Rothschild.

[119] Duveen (1930), p. 157.

[120] A C R Carter, *Let Me Tell You* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1940), pp. 34-5.

[121] *Living British Artists Exhibition*, exh. cat. (Hull: Ferens Gallery, 1930), no. 128: 'Vanessa Bell, *Parrot Tulips* (21 guineas).'

[122] Carter (1940), p. 19.

[123]Alderman Pearlman of Hull is listed among the members of the *Board of Deputies,* elected 1922, see London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, *Annual Report for 1931* (London: 1931), p. 13.

During this stay, he was made Freeman of the City and presented with its keys at a public ceremony held in the Guildhall.[124] While Leeds was chosen as the first museum to host a 'Living British Artists' exhibition, in 1930 the Ferens showed 668 contemporary works (twice the number shown in the same year at London's Guildhall). 320 male artists and 198 female artists exhibited there, some like Elsie Atkins (no. 143) and Charles Cundall (no. 223), were already represented in Millbank through Duveen Fund acquisitions.

While the scheme may now appear obscure as 'Duveen pictures' were subsequently dispersed throughout the country, or have since been removed from public display, the exhibitions deserve reassessment, not least because they can inform historians about 'ordinary' Victorian tastes. While the Duveens wanted to support 'British artists' through both their Paintings Fund and the British Artists Exhibitions, a survey of the names of the artists who submitted works for exhibition revealed that their committee embraced a diverse cohort. Similarly, Joseph Duveen had been a patron of the East London Art Club in Whitechapel, which encouraged working men and women to exhibit and sell their work (Fig. 20).[125]

The 'Britishness' of the artists involved in the Duveen exhibitions does seem to have concerned their principal patron, Joseph Duveen. A letter from Edward Duveen to Aitken, written in 1926, related the purchase of a painting from London's Leicester Galleries, then showing a joint exhibition by two Anglo-Jewish artists, Albert Rutherston (1881–1953) and Thomas Lewinsky (1892–1947). Duveen wrote of Rutherston's *Self-Portrait*:

> …for Rutherston's *Self Portrait* we will also send them a cheque. I notice what you say about Albert Rutherston having changed his name from Rothenstein, but as he is a British subject, I think my brother would consider that that covered his conditions.[126]

Rutherston was born in Bradford, the youngest son of German Jewish parents, Moritz and Bertha Rothenstein. Like his elder brother Charles (1866–1927), he chose to change his surname in April 1916, shortly before they left England to serve in Egypt and Palestine during the First World War.[127] Like the Duveen brothers, Charles Rutherston gave a large donation to a regional museum, presenting 288 contemporary paintings to Manchester's City Art Gallery. Named the 'Charles Rutherston Lending Collection', it was meant to travel across Britain on

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[124] Anon., *Hull Daily Mail,* 20 September 1929, p. 13: 'Sir J Duveen to be the guest of the Right Honourable T.R. Ferens this weekend … have tea with their host and the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress (Councillor and Mrs Pearlman)… informal visit to University College and the Ferens Art Gallery, after which there will be an informal lunch at the Lord Mayor's parlour.'

[125] Anon., 'A Flowering of Art in the East End: Workers' Pictures to be Shown in the Tate Gallery', *Illustrated London News,* 29 December 1928, p. 13. One of the eight works acquired from this exhibition by Duveen, who was the patron of the Club, was by A[rchibald] Hattemore (1890–1949), a 'pipe inspector'. Depicting a *Stuffed Flamingo* in a case at the Bethnal Green Museum, it was given by the Tate to the Astley Cheetham Collection, Stalybridge, in 1962, along with an *Interior* by the same artist (inv. nos. ASTAC1962.1 and ASTAC1962.9, respectively).

[126] E[dward?] Duveen to Charles Aitken, 4 March 1926, TGA, TG17/3/3/6. Rutherston's *Self-Portrait at the age of sixteen* was acquired by Aitken in 1926 using the Duveen Drawings Fund, but was selected by Vincent Galloway, Curator of the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull, for display in Hull (1949 onward).

[127] Albert and Charles changed their surnames on 13 April 1916. Rutherston's brother [Sir] William Rothenstein was on the steering committee for the Duveen Paintings Fund. He was the only Rothenstein sibling not to change his surname. See Max Rutherston (the artist's grandson, also a gallery owner), *Albert Rutherston*, exh. cat. (17 May–17 June 1988), p. vii.

loan. It was first exhibited in Manchester in 1926, contemporaneous with the first of the Duveens' *Living British Artists* exhibitions in Leeds.[128]

While the Rothenstein brothers were British subjects, given that among his 'conditions' Duveen wanted particularly to support British artists, it was surprising to find so many 'foreign' artists' names, particularly those of female artists, among contributors to his exhibitions. In the 1930 Ferens catalogue, one finds many well-known foreign-born artists whose early works were shown at modest prices.[129] 'Among the 'cosmopolitan' contributors were Benno Schotz (1891–1984), Clara Klinghoffer (1900–1970), Ola Cohn (1892–1964), and Wendela Boreel (1895–1985).[130]While they did not collect 'Jewish art' themselves, it was particularly striking that the Duveens' patronage helped to secure works by many Jewish artists for Hull's public art gallery, including William Rothenstein, Mark Gertler, David Bomberg, Bernard Meninsky, Thomas Lewinsky, and Jacob Kramer. Another Jewish artist who did not exhibit at the Ferens in 1930, but whose work came to be represented in Hull through the Duveen Fund, was Orovida [Pissarro], whose *Huntsman* (1926), was reallocated from Millbank at Feren's curator, Vincent Galloway's request (1894–1977).[131] Duveen's Paintings Committee purchased the painting directly from the artist in July 1927, for £90, far more than was commanded by those showing at the *Living Artists* exhibitions. Perhaps the inclusion of these Jewish artists says more about how the Exhibition's Steering Committee wanted their selections to be representative of British contemporary art than they tell us about Joseph Duveen's personal support of 'foreign' artists, or indeed of fellow Jews. Unlike his father, who was interested in 'Jewish art' donating several religious objects to the Bayswater synagogue during his lifetime, Joseph Duveen chose national causes, like the National Gallery, the Red Cross, the NACF and the Artist's Benevolent Fund, over specifically Jewish charitable organisations.[132]

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[128] City of Manchester Art Gallery, *Exhibition of the Rutherston Gift of Modern Works of Art*, 15 July – 11 September 1926.

[129] One unusual way in which paintings from this exhibition were retained in Hull was that the *Hull Daily Mail* chose sixteen paintings from the show, which were exhibited in their editorial offices. These were later given as competition prizes for 'Women Readers', who were invited to submit a short piece of writing on taste and home improvement for a chance to win one of the paintings. See 'Competition for Women Readers', *Hull Daily Mail*, 14 July 1930, p. 5.

[130] Schotz was an Estonian sculptor who emigrated to Scotland in 1912, where he produced a bronze bust of art dealer *Alexander Reid* (1927). He had a Jewish burial in Jerusalem; Klinghoffer, who was born in Austria-Hungary, was a member of the Women's International Art Club. Her *Portrait of Torquato Simoncelli* was acquired using the Chantrey Fund, for Millbank in 1933 (N04704); [Car]ola Cohn was a Danish-Jewish female sculptor who studied under Henry Moore, but spent most of her working life in Australia, becoming President of the Melbourne Society of Women Painters and Sculptors; Boreel, who was not Jewish, was the daughter of a Dutch diplomat in London. She became Walter Sickert's pupil, before becoming a close friend of Siegfried Sassoon and Frank Schuster, eventually living at Schuster's home in Bray, Berkshire. Another artist who showed with the Duveens at Hull was 'Anne Strauss' (born Bowyer Nichols), an English sculptor who married the Anglo-Jewish Conservative politician, Henry Strauss, Lord Conesford (1892–1974), though neither Anne nor her husband were 'foreign born'.

[131] The acquisition file also revealed that the work was exhibited with 'the Empire Loan Collections Society, whilst still owned by the Duveen Fund'. See 'Orovida Pissarro, inventory no. W204', Hull: The Ferens Art Gallery. I am grateful to Kerri Offord for showing me the Ferens Curatorial files. See also 'Purchasing for the People! Vincent Galloway' (Part 2), on the Hull City Council's website, undated (accessed 3 November 2023).

[132] A notable exception was made for the Palestine Emergency Relief Fund, to which Lord Duveen donated £250 (via Lord Melchett) in 1933. See Getty Research Institute, Melchett folder 1; 23 November 1933, folder 2.

Joseph Duveen as a Trustee of the National Gallery, 1928–1935

Though this chapter has so far addressed the Duveens' support for British artists at Millbank, Joseph Duveen's efforts to support and reform the 'nation's mantlepiece' in Trafalgar Square may have been inspired by the same patriotic impulse. In 1917, Duveen pledged assistance to the Gallery by offering, 'at cost price, any work of art purchased by his firm', and '10% of the cost price towards…any such purchase the Trustees might make'.[133] Despite his many gifts in the 1920s, the trustees did not take Duveen up on his offer to acquire works directly from his firm very often. When acknowledging his offer, the Board expressed 'their special satisfaction that… they would be kept informed of purchases that might concern them', suggesting that they already agreed to have a dealer in their fold.[134] Duveen could use his considerable influence to trade works with other dealers, some of which his own clients would have been unlikely to purchase. This was surely the case when he acquired Paul Gauguin's *Faa Iheihe,* 1898, from the Parisian dealer Ambroise Vollard (1866–1939), which he gave to Millbank in 1919.[135] Nearly two decades later, when he heard that a miniature bought at the Pierpont Morgan Sale (1935), Holbein's *Mrs Pemberton* (now called Jane Small) was to be offered to the V&A by the under-bidders, Walter Samuel, 2nd Viscount Bearsted (1882–1948) and Viscount Wakefield (1859–1941), he offered it to the museum at cost, despite 'many tempting offers from the continent'.[136] Because the work was given by Bearsted and Wakefield through the NACF, of which all three men were members, their individual contributions to its acquisition are not acknowledged.

While Duveen's tenure as trustee was brief, Evan Charteris warned Clark that not reappointing Duveen at the end of his sole term had 'harmed' the organisation.[137]The decision also caused a rift between Philip Sassoon (1888–1939) and the Director, as Sassoon refused to speak to Clark for several months. Some biographers have suggested the rift began earlier over Duveen's 'betrayal' of the Gallery's interests, during the acquisition of Sassetta's seven panels of *The Life of St Francis*.[138] Clark was keen to acquire these fifteenth-century paintings, which were eventually sold rather than given, by Duveen in 1934, at the 'inflated' price of £42,000. One of the former owners, Duveen's associate Berenson, appears to have insinuated that Duveen 'duped' Clark about the value of the works, and the level to which they were 'restored' in Duveen's care.[139]

The Sassettas episode illustrated a problem particular to Duveen's trusteeship, namely that his position as dealer and benefactor appeared fundamentally incompatible. His stronghold over the Old Master market drew suspicion from the Gallery's staff, who felt that he was not

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[133] *Minutes of the National Gallery Board*, *12 December 1918 – 16 December 1927,* NGA, NG9, pp. 72–88.

[134] Ibid. 11 July 1922, p. 88.

[135] This painting was presented to Millbank in 1919 (N03470).

[136] Carter (1940), p. 26. Samuel was Chairman of the trustees of the National Gallery in 1936 and became a trustee of Millbank in 1938. Wakefield was a major donor to the British Academy, through his friend, the Secretary Sir Israel Gollancz (1963–1930). See Anon., 'Charles Wakefield and the British Academy's first home', *British Academy Review*, issue 21 (January 2013), pp. 64–6.

[137] Clark (1974), p. 266: 'the effect of my action on those Trustees who were Duveen's friends may be imagined. Philip Sassoon nearly broke the telephone in his rage and did not speak to me again for three months. Evan Charteris maintained a dignified silence, saying only "you do not know what harm you have done".'

[138] The paintings formed part of the altarpiece of the Borgo San Sepolcro, near Arezzo, c.1437–44. The seven panels were acquired piecemeal for the National Gallery in 1934, 'with contributions from the Art Fund, Benjamin Guinness and Lord Bearsted'. London, National Gallery, NG4757–4763.

[139] Clark (1974), pp. 228–31.

transparent about his interests. He nearly upset his closest ally on the Board, d'Abernon, when he discovered that they had been bidding for the same Holbein portrait from a private collection in Hannover. While d'Abernon ultimately trusted Duveen's word that the dealer would 'withdraw and leave … [his] associates' to acquire the painting rather than go against the Gallery, few of his fellow board members trusted their dealer colleague.[140] Clark, who inherited Duveen as a trustee, was uncomfortable that many of his Board owed Duveen money. He wrote later of the unsuitability of Duveen's appointment, describing how 'Lord Duveen … had become a trustee thanks to the influence of Arthur Lee [of Fareham] and d'Abernon, from both of whom he had bought pictures at inflated prices'.[141] Though he found him 'personally irresistible' he was often also dismissive of Duveen's capabilities: 'he worked entirely by instinct and was incapable of writing a letter or making a coherent statement… whereas in America it paid him to be very grand, in England he could get further by bribing the upper classes and playing the fool.'[142]

Duveen's own awareness of his critics may have caused him to demonstrate his 'disinterested' support for Britain's museums. He often supported campaigns - like asking Alec Martin to acquire William Blake's engravings for *The Book of Job* - to 'save' works in Britain that his own clients were not interested in, but were in 'the national interest'.[143] In 1923 he declared his commitment to 'saving' Augustus John's popular *Madame Suggia* from joining an American private collection.[144] The oil painting of the famous cellist was brought back across the Atlantic to Millbank, with much fanfare. With each of his gifts, Duveen made sure that journalists were briefed to report that they had been made 'for the nation' and were promptly supplied with a photograph of the work of art in question.[145]

Duveen was on safest ground with the Gallery's Board when he offered forms of assistance the Trustees could comfortably acknowledge they lacked. His interest in the gallery's buildings themselves probably came from his father, who was a passionate builder. In 1928, Joseph Duveen offered to pay for a new Venetian gallery, shortly after he had contributed £16,000 towards the Titian *Vendramin Family* acquisition.[146] The costs of the gallery quickly escalated to a final figure of £21,900 [£15,000 was his initial upper limit], as Duveen would not concede any amendments to the design he had chosen (fig. 21).[147] The design was produced by Sir Richard Allison (1869–1958), Chief Architect of the Office of Works, rather than Duveen's frequent collaborator Romaine-Walker. Duveen insisted on choosing the costlier barrel-vaulted

[140] Duveen to d'Abernon in Berlin, 16 January 1925, in BL, Add Man 48932, f185.

[141] Clark (1974), pp. 226–7.

[142] Ibid, p. 227.

[143] 22 engravings from the Old Testament were 'presented to the National Gallery via a special grant from the NACF and Lord Duveen, 1919'. Now Tate, inv. A00012–32.

[144] The artist sold the work on its completion in 1923 to William P[ancoast] Clyde Jr., of New York, son of a shipping magnate.

[145] See the coverage of Duveen's gift of Hogarth's *The Graham Children* in *The Times*, 8 October 1934, pp. 11, 18.

[146] The painting was bought for the National Gallery via the NACF. The largest private donation towards the £61,000 painting from the Duke of Northumberland came from another trustee, Samuel Courtauld, who matched the Government's pledge of £20,000.

[147] File note, 22 October 1928, in Kew: The National Archives (WORK 17/137): 'when it was explained to him that this [£15,000] would necessitate building only two bays of an ultimate 3-bay gallery, he agreed to bear the whole cost'.

scheme, with grey and gold plasterwork and green silk walls.[148] The design was inspired by the innovative 'Seager' roof of the Marlay Gallery at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.[149]

The new Italian Gallery was opened by Prince George in 1930, with journalists and visitors alike admiring its 'scientific' lighting. Reportedly, 'Sir Joseph himself had devised and tried out virtually every detail of the equipment and decoration of the room'.[150] Duveen's fastidious interest in the smallest details of design was seen elsewhere in correspondence with Sir Lionel Faudell-Phillips (1877–1941), Chair of the Wallace Collection's board, over similar plans to re-decorate five of its galleries shortly after the completion of his gallery in Trafalgar Square.[151] He simultaneously offered to pay for the redecoration of the faded State Rooms at Hampton Court Palace, with Clark later noting that it was Duveen's fellow trustee, Sassoon, who persuaded him to contribute.[152] The Duveen Brothers had long advised the royal family, they supplied tapestries for George V's Coronation in Westminster Abbey, and often collaborated with the family's favourite designer, Charles Allom (1865–1947) on private projects like Henry Clay Frick's New York home.[153]

In the 1930s, Duveen's interest in capital projects culminated in two significant gifts to national museums, the National Portrait Gallery and the British Museum, which were conceived very differently from his Italian room for the National Gallery. Where his contribution to the Gallery was a response to the findings of the Royal Fine Art Commission's 1928 report that Trafalgar Square's galleries were inadequate, his offer to the National Portrait Gallery in 1931 was a more direct assertion of his pre-eminence as a benefactor. Though the Trustees of Millbank had denied his father the honour of a place on its walls in perpetuity, Duveen was determined this time to 'stick … his own cenotaph' directly onto the wall of the £44,000 extension, commissioning designs for a niche for his own bust by American architect John Russell Pope (fig. 22).[154] Lord Duveen's portrait bust was modelled on a much earlier sculpture carried out

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[148] Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography* (London: Routledge, 2013) p. 96.

[149] Duveen also gave a watercolour by Sargent, *Studies of Cows* (1153) in 1926 to the Fitzwilliam. Two Italian paintings also went to the Fitzwilliam in 1933, Jacopino del Conte's *Portrait of F. De Pisia, a Papal Notary* (1653), from the Benson Collection, and Giovanni Battista de Cavalletto's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1652), in the Dreyfus Collection until 1930. Troublingly, in 1939, the Fitzwilliam also bought a majolica plate that had belonged to Dr Alfred Israel Pringsheim of Munich, who had bought it from Duveen in 1916 (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, EC.20-1939). Pringsheim was forced to sell his possessions at Christie's, London, 7 June 1939, in order to fund life as a Jewish refugee in Britain.

[150] See 10 January 1930 editions of the *Birmingham Post, The Times*, *The Glasgow Herald, The Daily Telegraph,* and the *Daily Mail*. Of the numerous reports, only the *Daily Mail* was critical of the new Italian Gallery, which it described as 'an architectural monstrosity'.

[151] Correspondence with Faudel-Phillips began in 1926 but the galleries were not completed until 1939 (Galleries XII, XIII, XIV, XV and VIII). Owing to delays, Lady Duveen paid for the last of these renovations in her husband's memory in 1939. In 1939, Faudel-Phillips wrote to Duveen: 'I can assure you that our colleagues at Hertford House are deeply grateful for the magnificent work you have done for our wonderful Museum. On all hands I hear nothing but admiration and I know you will be interested to hear that, when Queen Mary came to see the new gallery hung with green velvet, she was loud in her praise, in spite of the fact that she had taken an active part in helping to select the velvet.' Kew: TNA, AR1/334.

[152] Clark (1974), p. 274.

[153] Allom redecorated the Ballroom at Buckingham Palace in 1910, as well as redecorating Henry Clay Frick's Fifth Avenue mansion in collaboration with Duveen, from 1913–1920.

[154] Evan Charteris to 'my dear Stanhope', Office of Works, 6 January [1934?]: 'Have flu, so please xcuse (sic) pencil. Joe Duveen has been talking on telephone from N York and says he is having his "own cenotaph" made & will send it over completed to be stuck on the wall – this I hope is good news – it will save a certain amount of time and expense.' The original blueprints of the Duveen 'memorial' are among the correspondence relating to the Duveen Wing at the National Portrait Gallery. Kew: TNA, Office of Works, WORK 17/148.

in 1911, suggesting that Duveen had long considered the appearance of his 'cenotaph' within a British museum.[155]

If Duveen's insistence on being remembered at the National Portrait Gallery was thought by some like Charteris (1864–1940) to lack subtlety, his desire to leave a permanent mark on Britain's cultural institutions found its most blatant expression in his new gallery for the Parthenon marbles. In 1922, Duveen was approached by D'Abernon for assistance with funding an excavation in Constantinople. At the time, the political climate in Turkey made it difficult to carry out D'Abernon's plans, but Duveen remained interested in the British Museum, and at D'Abernon's later suggestion, in 1931, he offered to finance a new wing for some of its most treasured exhibits. Elisabeth Kehoe studied the protracted negotiations between the British Museum director(s) and Duveen over what turned out to be a decade-long project, which cost Duveen £100,000 and represented the largest endowment for a British museum of the Edwardian age. With his generosity came many stipulations from the donor, not least that an American architect, Pope, whom Joseph Duveen had employed at Millbank, was brought in to replace Allison. For Duveen, Pope's Americanness was not inappropriate, as he recognised the Elgin Marbles 'belong not to one country, but to the whole world… it would be a pity if nationalism were allowed to get in the way' of his architect's ambitions.[156] Duveen's choices often exasperated the museum's Chairman, Crawford, with whom he seldom saw eye to eye.[157] His decision to pay a team of 'conservators' to bleach the marbles so that they would reflect the brilliant whiteness of their new surroundings ultimately severed Duveen's relationship with the Museum's administrators. They refused to invite King George VI to open the new galleries in 1938, which would have been a bitter blow for Duveen, who had once presided over such ceremonies with pride. A decade earlier, he commissioned John Lavery (1856–1941) to immortalise the opening of his *Modern Foreign Galleries*, a painting he later presented to Millbank.[158]

Though he has been recognised for his mark on American taste and for instigating the founding of its National Gallery, Baron Duveen's reputation as a 'great patron of the arts in Britain' (he was made a baronet in 1933) has not endured, despite his patriotic commitment to supporting Britain's fledgling regional museums.[159] He wanted to be remembered as for 'd[oing] what he could … to appeal … to the British Public to help in adding to the prestige of the Empire by supporting its artists.'[160] He kept his promise to Mellon at the start of his trusteeship– he gave Millbank a sculpture gallery, introduced 'modern' painters and sculptors to its galleries and introduced 'travelling' exhibitions of British artists across the world. He has not been 'memorialised' in the National Gallery, however.[161] Today, one must go further afield to appreciate his legacy in British museums. He was not forgotten in Hull, where Lavery's *Portrait of the Duveens at Home* (Fig. 23) at 15 East Ninety-First Street, New York, now hangs

[155] William Reid Dick was commissioned to produce the bust, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG3062), which was 'given by the sitter's widow, 1939'.

[156] Elizabeth Kehoe, 'Working hard at giving it away: Lord Duveen, the British Museum and the Elgin marbles', *Historical Research*, vol. 77, no. 198 (2004), pp. 503–19.

[157] Duveen knew that Crawford had vetoed his reappointment as a trustee of the National Gallery. See ibid, p. 511.

[158] John Lavery's *Opening of the Duveen Galleries by the King and Queen, Millbank,* was presented by Duveen to Millbank in 1930. See also *Illustrated London News*, Saturday, 3 July 1926, p. 3.

[159] *The Times*, 2 January 1933, p. 16.

[160] Duveen to Stanley Baldwin when Prime Minister, in *The Times*, quoted by Wright (1989), p. 125.

[161] Joseph Duveen was buried with full Jewish rites, beside his parents at Willesden United Synagogue Cemetery, having died at his London 'home', Claridge's hotel.

alongside many modern acquisitions made possible by his family's fund, and his own bequests.[162]

[162] In September 2023, local historian Bob Bell gave a talk in Hull on the art dealer and the Ferens. Similarly, Geoffrey Rhodes organised a 2013 exhibition 'honouring the Lord who gave US its taste for our art'. See *The Yorkshire Post*, 29 July 2013, online edition (accessed 3 November 2023).

Fig. 6. Carel Fabritius, *A View of Delft, with a Musical Instrument Seller's Stall*, 1652, oil on canvas, 15.5 x 31.7 cm (London, National Gallery, NG3714, 'Presented by the Art Fund, 1922'). Bought by Lord Duveen for presentation to the National Gallery through the National Art Collections Fund.

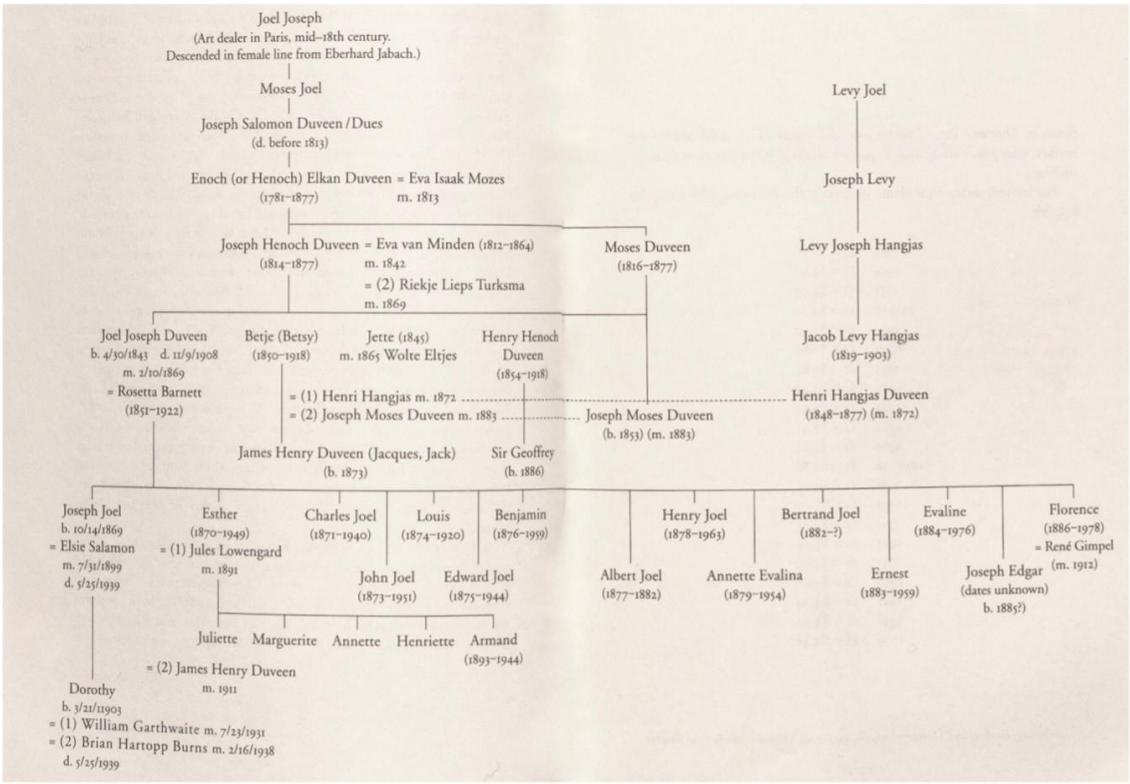


Fig. 7. Duveen Family Tree, reproduced from Secrest (2004).

Fig. 8
John Singer Sargent, *Ellen Terry as 'Lady Macbeth'*, 1889, oil on canvas (London: Tate, N02053), 'presented by Sir Joseph Duveen 1906'.

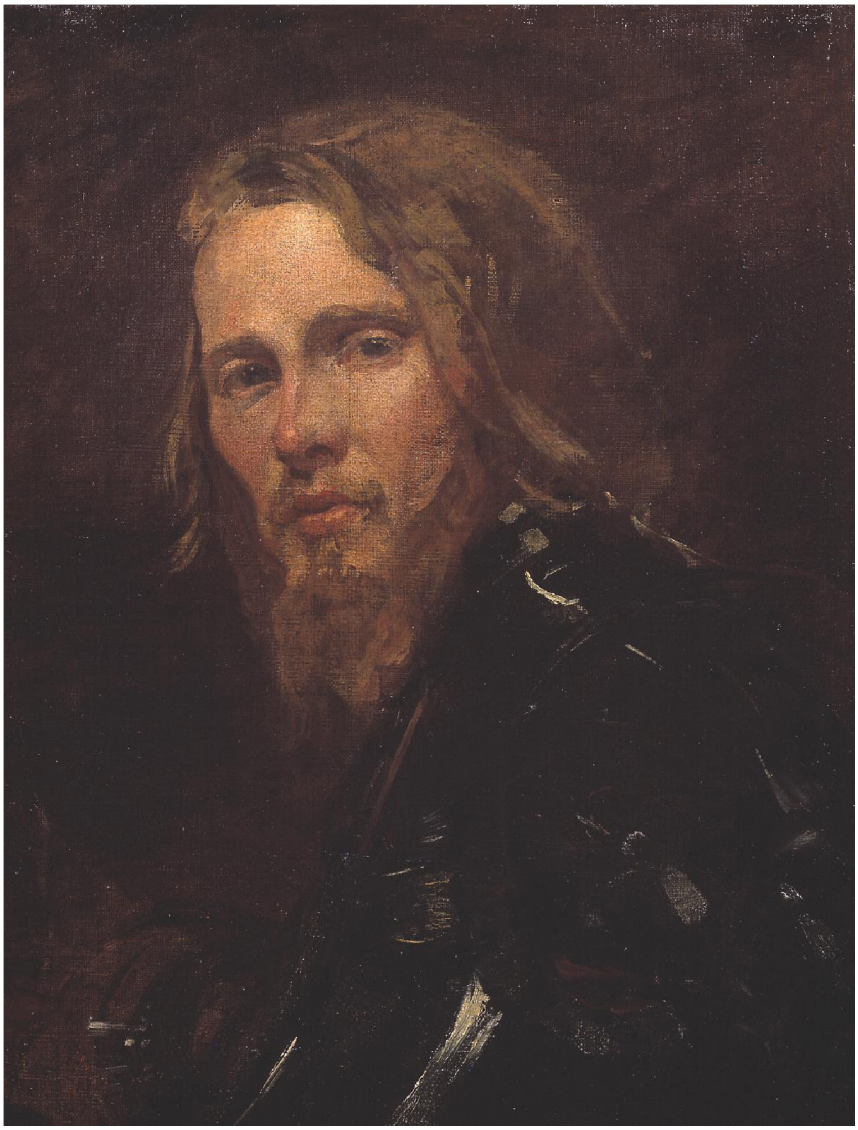


Fig. 9

Alfred Stevens, *John Morris Moore*, c. 1840 (London; Tate, N02132), ‘Presented by Sir Joseph Duveen and subscribers through the Art Fund 1907’.

Figs. 10 and 11. The Turner Galleries', reproduced from *The National Gallery of British Art, Millbank, A Record of Ten Years: 1917-1927*, p. 5; Detail from Anon., 'The Glory of Turner at Last Revealed', *Illustrated London News,* 23 July 1910.

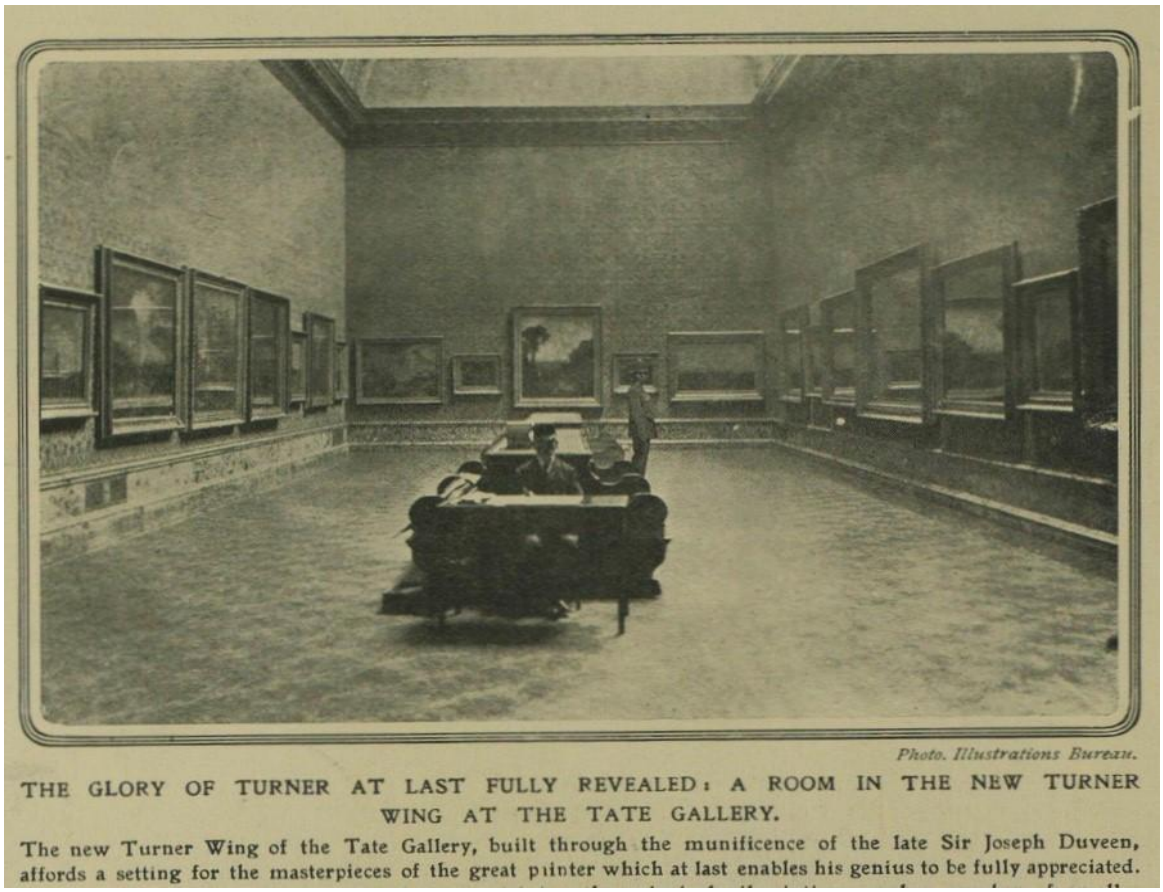


Photo. Illustrations Bureau.

THE GLORY OF TURNER AT LAST FULLY REVEALED: A ROOM IN THE NEW TURNER WING AT THE TATE GALLERY.

The new Turner Wing of the Tate Gallery, built through the munificence of the late Sir Joseph Duveen, affords a setting for the masterpieces of the great painter which at last enables his genius to be fully appreciated.

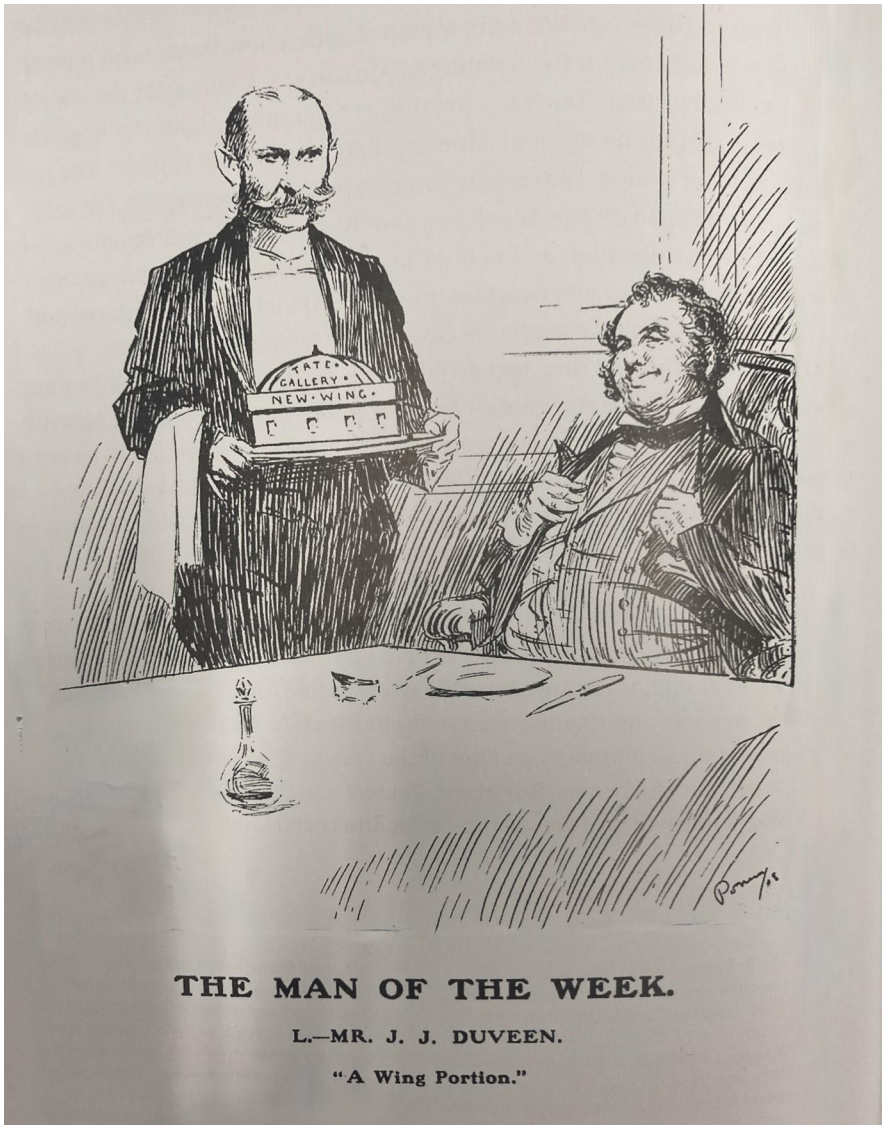


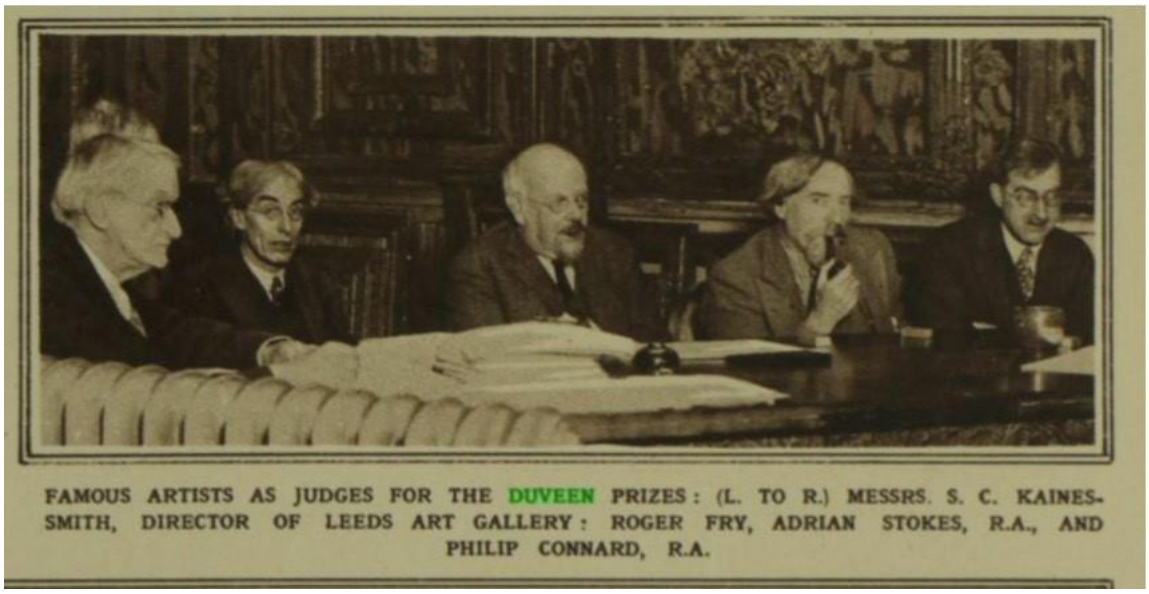
Fig. 12

Anon., Cartoon depicting Mr J. J. Duveen presenting "A Wing Portion", in *The Jewish World,* no. 50, 1908, p. 8.

Fig. 13

Emil Fuchs, *Portrait of Sir Joseph Duveen*, 1903 (London: Tate, N05999). Presented by Joseph Duveen, 1910.

Figs. 14 and 15. William Edward Stott, *The Good Samaritan*, 1910 (Hull: The Ferens Art Gallery, KINCM:2005.6193); A.C. Cooper for *The Reader's Digest,* undated, Photograph of Gallery 29 of the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank.



FAMOUS ARTISTS AS JUDGES FOR THE DUVEEN PRIZES: (L. TO R.) MESSRS. S. C. KAINES-SMITH, DIRECTOR OF LEEDS ART GALLERY: ROGER FRY, ADRIAN STOKES, R.A., AND PHILIP CONNARD, R.A.

Fig. 16 The Duveen Paintings Fund (erroneously described as 'Prize') Selection Committee, from an article in the *Illustrated London News*, 1927.

GRINLING GIBBONS'S LETTER CONCERNING THE MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL GEORGE CHURCHILL — MENTIONING THE RECEIPT OF £50.

This also is in the extra-illustrated Fennant's "London" sold by auction the other day. It will be noted that it is dated June 1, 1710. On the left is the wording: "Admll Churchills Tomb in Westminster Abbey."

BY MR. STANLEY SPENCER, THE NEW A.R.A.: "CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS," ONE OF THE THREE WORKS BY WHICH HE IS REPRESENTED IN THE TATE GALLERY.

THE PAINTING THAT MADE MR. STANLEY SPENCER FAMOUS AND ENCOURAGED CONTROVERSY AMONG THE CONVENTIONALISTS AND THE MODERNS: "THE RESURRECTION"; NOW IN THE TATE GALLERY, FOR WHICH IT WAS BOUGHT BY THE DUVEEN FUND.

Mr. Stanley Spencer, who has never exhibited at Burlington House, has been elected an A.R.A. He won immediate fame in 1927 when his picture "The Resurrection" was shown in the Goupil Gallery. This work was bought by the Duveen Fund for Modern British Art and presented to the Tate Gallery, where the artist is now represented also by a drawing and by a painting, "Christ Bearing the Cross." His "Travoys Arriving with Wounded" is in the Imperial War Museum. First and foremost, Mr. Spencer is a mural painter who favours religious subjects, but he has done a number of portraits and landscapes and he executed a set of mural paintings on War themes for the Oratory of All Souls, Burghclere. He was born at Cookham in 1892, seventh son of the late Mr. William Spencer, a professor of music. He studied at the Slade. He is a prominent member of the New English Art Club. Interviewed, he said that he had a feeling that his pictures would not fit in Burlington House; that they might be discordant.

ELECTED AN A.R.A., ALTHOUGH HE HAS NEVER EXHIBITED IN THE ROYAL ACADEMY: MR. STANLEY SPENCER—WHEN HE WAS PAINTING HIS MOST FAMOUS WORK, "THE RESURRECTION."

Fig. 17

Photographs of Stanley Spencer's *Resurrection at Cookham*, 1926, purchased for Tate through the Duveen Fund, *Illustrated London News*, 10 December 1932, p. 938.

Fig. 18. Stanley Spencer, *Resurrection, Cookham*, 1924-7, oil on canvas, 274 x 549 cm (London: Tate, N04239). Presented by Lord Duveen, 1927, through the Duveen Paintings Fund.

Fig. 19. 'Living British Artists Exhibition' on board the *SS Berengaria*, which sailed from Southampton to New York in November 1928, detail from *The Illustrated London News*, 3 November 1928, p. 30.

Fig. 20. Archibald Hattemore, *The Dead Flamingo, Interior of Bethnal Green Museum,* exhibited at the 'East London Art Club' exhibition, Whitechapel, December 1928, purchased by Lord Duveen.

Fig. 21

The 'Duveen Gallery' for Italian Art, National Gallery, London,
photographed in January 1930.

Fig. 22

John Russell Pope, *Revised design for a Bust of Lord Duveen, for the National Portrait Gallery*, c. 1934 (detail). The National Archives, Kew.

Fig. 23

John Lavery, The Duveen Family at Home, c. 1937, presented by Lady Duveen to the city of Hull in 1939, ‘in memory of her husband’. Photo courtesy of the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull.

Chapter 3: The Druckers, Modern Foreign pictures and the National Gallery

In a 2001 article on the National Gallery's Barbizon pictures, Sarah Herring mentioned the 'great collector J.C.J. Drucker', but in anglophone scholarship, the name is almost entirely obscure.[1] Like the artists, both living and recently deceased, whom he chose to patronise, Jean Charles Joseph Drucker (1862–1944), known as Charles, appears occasionally in accounts of the popularity of modern Dutch painting in the late nineteenth century. The modern Dutch works he and his wife Lydia Fraser (Figs. 24 & 25) gave to the National Gallery were enjoying a second rise in popularity when they were presented by the couple. For this reason alone, they should be considered among the most significant contemporary collectors of their generation in Britain. Though there is little evidence that Charles Drucker maintained his Jewish identity, or that his wife Lydia ever considered herself Jewish, during the First World War their perceived affinities with Germany made them enemies of the British state, and their Jewishness was brought to light as a possible reason for their alienation from British values. It was not for this reason, however, that they chose to give their 'modern foreign' paintings away to another nation's national gallery. Rather, the promise of their collection was a catalyst for the development of the modern holdings (and buildings) of both the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and Millbank's National Gallery of British Art. Only in the Netherlandish museum are the Druckers remembered.

At the opening of Duveen's Modern Foreign galleries in Millbank in 1926, French landscape painter Charles-François Daubigny's *St Pauls Cathedral as seen from the Surrey Side* (fig. 26) was given a prominent position 'on the line', above Manet's *Sketch for a Concert in the Tuileries* (Fig. 27).[2] Its gilt label read: 'presented to the National Gallery by the friends of Mr J.C.J. Drucker, 1912'.[3] Despite the esteem of his contemporaries, Dutch Jewish collector Charles Drucker is not remembered for his lifelong career as an art collector. I will consider the possible causes for the Druckers' obscurity, through examining their relationship with the National Gallery, in the hope of restoring something of their legacies as artistic patrons who influenced both British and Dutch cultural life in their lifetimes as transnational philanthropists to several national museums.

The *Modern Foreign Schools* catalogue of the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank opened with a frank admission that the display of 'Modern Foreign Art' in its galleries was overdue:

> The need for a Gallery of Modern Foreign Art in England has long been apparent, the absence of any such Gallery militating against the acquisition of pictures, though a certain number have been bequeathed or presented, notably paintings of the Barbizon School, by Mr George Salting, 1910, and of the Dutch School, by Mr J C Drucker, 1910.[4]

The one-shilling catalogue was published alongside the opening of the four 'Modern Foreign' rooms (Galleries XI–XIV) at Millbank. At its opening, visitors could appreciate the Daubigny

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[1] Sarah Herring, 'The National Gallery and the collecting of Barbizon Paintings in the early twentieth century', *Journal of the History of Collections,* vol. 13, no. 1 (2001), p. 78.

[2] Manet's sketch was bequeathed by Hugh Lane in his 1917 Bequest (London: National Gallery, NG3260). The installation photograph by A.C. Cooper comes from an album relating to Sir Joseph Duveen's patronage of the Tate Gallery [see Chap. 2]. Los Angeles: Getty Research Centre, 2007.D.1, Box 671.

[3] Daubigny's painting was presented to the National Gallery (NG 2876), with the Druckers' approval, by a group of subscribers including Pear's soap magnate Thomas James Barratt (1841–1928). Letter from Mr T J Barratt, 11 June 1912, London: National Gallery Archive (hereafter NGA), NG7/406/7.

[4] The National Gallery, Millbank, *Catalogue of Modern Foreign Schools* (London: Waterlow & Sons, 1926), p. 5.

landscape that Drucker's friends had presented a decade before. Contemporary readers of the catalogue would have appreciated that the National Gallery was aided in its mission to show modern works thanks to the contributions of Salting and Drucker. The author later described the newly displayed, but not technically-speaking 'new' paintings (Drucker's gifts had been in the Gallery for sixteen years) as an 'interesting, though far from completely representative collection' of modern foreign art. The shortcomings of the collection were attributed to a lack of interest among 'British collectors … [who] have not formed as rich collections of modern foreign paintings as they did of older Masters', i.e. those paintings hung in Trafalgar Square.[5] There was an implicit contradiction however in the author's referencing four [by inference, British] collectors of 'modern foreign' pictures: James Staats Forbes (1823–1904), Sir John Day (1826–1908), Robert Hamilton Bruce (1846–1899), and Alexander Young (1828–1907).[6] Although several British collections of near contemporary French and Dutch painting were discussed in the popular press, particularly those of Sir John Day, only Herring has recognised the importance of collectors like Staats Forbes and Young, a railway magnate and accountant respectively, in relation to their enrichment of the National Gallery's modern holdings. Similarly, while the bequest of Danish – though Australian-born – sheep and sugar farmer George Salting's diverse collections (1835–1909) have been discussed, his interest in collecting modern continental painting is often overlooked.[7] Languishing in even greater

[5] I suspect the author was Aitken. They expressed the hope that Millbank's collection would be augmented over time, as 'at present a comparatively large number of paintings of the Modern Foreign School are retained at Trafalgar Square to represent the French School…but in the future… the proportion at Trafalgar Square will be comparatively smaller and the relation of the two galleries will be similar to that of the Louvre and the Luxembourg'. Ibid., pp. 5-6. The direct comparison of these French galleries with their British 'equivalents', and the desirability of the newer [Tate] Gallery becoming a subsidiary of the National Gallery had been made by the Gallery's Board of Trustees nine years before Millbank's 'foreign galleries' opened. In the *Minutes* of a 1917 Board meeting, it was agreed: 'As to the future, …in respect of the Tate Gallery… they advocated the gradual conversion of this gallery from a place exclusively devoted to modern British art (i.e. works produced since 1790) to a gallery of British art … The finest examples of the British Masters should continue to be hung in the National Gallery. The relation of the two galleries … would thus become very much like those of the Luxembourg and the Louvre… in so far as the younger gallery becomes a feeder for the older one, sending up to it such pictures as have attained to the higher standard of the Old Masters'. See Tate Gallery Archive, *Minutes of the National Gallery Board,* 3 April 1917 [TAM 72/4], p. 310. It seems that the first time the Louvre/Luxembourg model was advocated for was in an article by James Orrock (1829–1913), Orrock wrote to *The Times*, 13 March 1890, calling for 'a gallery that shall do for English art what the Luxembourg does for the French'. See Spalding (1998), p. 13.

[6] Millbank (1926), p. 6. The author speculated that these four collections might have ended up in the National Gallery's care, had the Gallery had room. This statement is bewildering, as their paintings did find their way into national collections in Britain thanks to Charles Drucker, a decade before this catalogue was published. NG2710 was purchased by Drucker from the Hamilton Bruce Sale, 1903 (£441). NG2874 was in Staats Forbes's collection before being sold by Abraham Preyer to Drucker in 1907 (£500). Day, a Catholic judge born in the Hague, collected '1830s School' and Dutch Hague School painters, which he hung at his home in Collingham Gardens, Earl's Court, and later 'in a particularly well-arranged house near Newbury, Berkshire'. Days' London pictures were discussed by R.A.M. Stevenson, 'Sir John Day's Pictures', *The Art Journal*, vol. 55 (September 1894), pp. 261–5, 309–13. Though in later life most of his paintings were kept in Berkshire, the collection remained widely known, as David Croal Thomson noted in his survey on *The Brothers Maris* (London: The Studio, 1907): 'no serious student of these pictures is likely to find difficulty in attaining permission to examine them. Encouraged by Lady Day, whose intelligent interest in her husband's famous collection is an additional attraction'. (p. 5) Their collection was dispersed in two sales, the first in December 1887, and the latter a posthumous, well-attended sale at Christie's, London, 13–14 May 1909. A painting from the second sale, Anton Mauve's *The Marsh* (lot. 89) was acquired by Drucker and almost immediately presented to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See *Netherlandish Art in the Rijksmuseum, 1800-1900* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum and Waanders Publishing, 2009), cat. 71, p. 208.

[7] The most comprehensive study of Salting's 1910 bequest to three national museums in Britain is Stephen Coppel's 'George Salting (1835–1900)' in Anthony Griffiths (ed.), *Landmarks in Print Collecting* (London: British Museum Publications, 1996), pp.189–210. Sarah Herring discovered that Salting's papers have recently transferred to the London Metropolitan Archives, where she discussed them in *The Nineteenth-Century French*

obscurity are the 'Druckers', despite his frequent appearances in exhibition catalogues and in journalists' reports of auctions of modern paintings in London. Several acquisitions of modern foreign paintings for the Gallery that have not had their circumstances investigated. Indeed, the *Alexander Young* sale held on 30 June, 1 and 4 July 1910 was attended by the Druckers and Henry Van Den Bergh (on behalf of the NACF), Jewish collectors who were acting specifically on behalf of the National Gallery in making purchases at the auction.[8]

The Hague School in Britain

The enormous popularity of the kind of paintings that the Druckers collected can be appreciated by examining the 1901 catalogue of the *International Exhibition* held in Glasgow. The large number of modern foreign artists' works lent to this exhibition clearly shows that their interest was not a minority one.[9] In fact, Scottish collectors were in the vanguard in introducing 'modern foreign art' to Britain, as Andrew Maxwell's (1828-1909), an iron merchant, purchase of a Monet landscape a decade before the 1901 exhibition demonstrated.[10] In Glasgow, many examples of modern painting from both private and public collections, as well as several art dealers, represented the tastes of 'the nineteenth century', the theme of the art section.[11]This theme was probably chosen by Lord Carmichael, a Scottish peer who would later take up trusteeships at London's National Portrait Gallery and National Gallery.[12] Its galleries were designed to present to the public the prevailing tastes of the preceding century in microcosm.

The 1901 international exhibition's catalogue was divided by national schools. Many of those artists represented in the 'foreign' section were born in the Netherlands, and popular among them were 'the Hague School', a group of painters loosely connected within that Dutch city and its environs. Among the Hague School works displayed, several were already in a British

Paintings: Volume 1, the Barbizon School (London: National Gallery, 2019). Stacey Pierson wrote on Salting's collection of Chinese ceramics, eventually bequeathed to the British Museum, in *Collectors, Collections and Museums: The Field of Chinese Ceramics in Britain, 1560–1960* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), while Isabelle Gadoin has discussed his taste for Islamic ceramics in 'George Salting (1835–1909) and the Discovery of Islamic Ceramics in 19th-Century England', *Miranda,* issue 7 (9 December 2012). Nicholas Penny has also provided an overview of Salting's collecting, which he determines was motivated by a desire to augment the national collection of modern paintings. See Penny, *The Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings*, Volume I (London: The National Gallery, 2004), pp. 365–6.

[8] See *Catalogue of the very important collection of modern pictures and water-colour drawings chiefly of the Barbizon and Dutch schools, being the third and remaining portion of the celebrated collection of Alexander Young* (London: Christie's, Manson and Woods, July 1910), lots. 294 and 302.

[9] On the popularity of the 'Hague School' among Scottish collectors and dealers, see Frances Fowle, *Alexander Reid in Context: Collecting and Dealing in Scotland in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, unpublished* PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1993.

[10] See Frances Fowle, 'Vincent's Scottish twin: the Glasgow art dealer Alexander Reid', *The Van Gogh Journal* (2000), p. 98; Robert Walker, 'Private Picture Collections in Glasgow and West of Scotland. Part IlI – Andrew Maxwell's Collection', *Magazine of Art*, vol. 17 (1894) pp. 221–7.

[11] See 'Pictures in the Fine Art Loan Collection, Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901' in *Nineteenth Century Art* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons, 1902), pp. 169–92.

[12] Several essays accompanying this quasi-exhibition catalogue were written by Glasgow-born art critic D.S MacColl (shortly before he became Millbank's Keeper in 1906), who also curated the first Impressionist exhibition in Glasgow (1900). The editor was Thomas Carmichael (styled 1st Baron Carmichael of Skirling, 1859–1926), who became a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery (1904–1908), the National Gallery (1906 – 1908, and a second term from 1923 until his death), and the Wallace Collection (1918–26).

public collection, as they were lent by the Glasgow Corporation.[13] The French art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922) lent six paintings – which he perhaps hoped would find buyers in Britain – five of which were produced by 'foreign' artists. Alexander Young, who lived in Blackheath, lent six Barbizon School paintings, and seven Hague School works.[14] William Burrell (1861–1958), a Scottish shipping magnate who would go on to bequeath his eclectic art collections to the city of Glasgow, lent ten works, of which six were by Dutch artists, three by French artists, and a pastel drawing by Henry Muhrman (1854–1916), an American artist with German ancestry. There was a great appetite for 'Continental' painting in Scotland, as the Aberdeen-born miller-turned-art collector, John Forbes White (1831–1904) lent thirteen foreign paintings, including a work by French artist Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), three paintings by Dutch artist Johannes Bosboom (1817–1891), three by Dutch Jewish artist Jozef Israëls (1824–1911), and a *Portrait of Israëls* of 1870, by Scottish artists George Paul Chalmers RSA (1833–1878) and Hugh Cameron (1835–1918).[15] In total, nineteen works by Israëls (not to be confused with his Impressionist son, Isaac Israëls (1865–1934) were displayed in Glasgow, nine of which were oil paintings, the rest watercolours.[16] As we shall see, the popularity of Israëls, which the Druckers did a great deal to promote through their patronage, was widespread in Britain at the turn of the century.

The Origins of the Drucker Collection

That we now know anything of Charles Drucker's early life is thanks to his elder siblings – Wilhelmina Elisabeth Drucker (born Lensing, 1847–1925) and Hendrik Lodewijk Drucker (born Temme, 1857–1917) – who both became prominent political figures in their native Holland. Charles was the fourth of the five legitimate children of Louis Drucker (1807–1884), a Frankfurt-born banker and *rentier,* who lived at 26 Nieue Doelenstraat, Amsterdam, and his former servant, Johanna Margaretha [called Therese] Temme (d. 1904).[17] His parents married

[13] The Corporation of Glasgow lent three watercolours: no. 1194, Willem Maris's *French Landscape*; no. 1201, Josef Israels, *Fisher Folk, Brother and Bairns*; and no. 1221, Josef Neuhuys, *Woodland Scene*.

[14] On public reactions to Alexander Young's collection, see Frances Fowle, 'Prejudice and Parsimony: Early Acquisitions of Modern French Paintings at the National Gallery of Scotland', *Visual Culture in Britain*, vol. 6, issue 2 (December 2005) p. 10.

[15] This work was purchased by Aberdeen Art Gallery after White's death in 1904 (Aberdeen Art Gallery, inv. no. ABDAG003972). According to Jennifer Melville's entry for the Aberdeen painting on the *Visual Arts Data Service*, the inscription (in orange paint) reads: 'A notre ami White Joseph Israels G P Chalmers 1870 Pt Hugh Cameron'. It was painted by the artists while they were staying with White at Seaton Cottage, outside Aberdeen. Melville wrote that it was in fact a collaboration between four artists, as 'there Reid, Chalmers and Cameron painted this three-quarter length portrait of Israëls. At the last sitting, Israëls seized the brush exclaiming, "Now I will show you what Rembrandt would do" adding some "masterly strokes".' See Jennifer Melville*, National Inventory of Continental European Paintings*, https://vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/28570 (accessed 13 October 2023).

[16] A similar picture emerges when one analyses the lenders to the Whitechapel Art Gallery's *Dutch Art* exhibition (1904). Although there were fewer international lenders of Dutch works of art, which the exhibition committee also attributed to a clash with the St Louis International Exhibition staged at the same time by Isidore Spielmann. Numerous loans from Day, Burrell, Staats Forbes, and even Henry Campbell-Bannerman, MP, who would shortly become Prime Minister, testified to the popularity of nineteenth-century Dutch painting among British collectors. See Whitechapel Art Gallery, *Dutch Exhibition*, on display 30 March–10 May,1904 (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1904).

[17] Wilhemina's illegitimacy was the subject of her roman à clef, *George David* (Amsterdam: 1885) seen by many readers including her half-brothers as a criticism of their father's treatment of her mother, formerly a seamstress in his employment.

in 1864, after his birth and those of several of his siblings.[18] In 1868, the family moved to a suburb of Leiden, where Charles and two of his brothers attended a local school. By 1883, at the age of twenty-one, Drucker had begun an 'office job' that required him to relocate to London, and three years later he married [Maria] Lydia Fraser (1862–1944) of London, in an Anglican ceremony.[19] Lydia Fraser has been harder to locate in records, but she was born in Rotterdam in the same year as her husband, and similarly died in 1944, in Montreux, Switzerland. The only daughter of Alexander Caspar Fraser (1816–1904), an Aberdeen-born merchant with the firm of Fraser, Eaton and Co., operating in Batavia and Java in the Dutch East Indies (now present-day Jakarta, Indonesia), Lydia was probably born to his first wife Julia Hermina van Citters (d. 1879).

It is my suspicion that the clerical job that Charles found in London was arranged by his father-in-law, perhaps as a means of strengthening Fraser's ties with the prosperous Druckers.[20] By his own admission, Charles Drucker lived off his own father's investments, which he invested in the expansion of the South Eastern Railway Company as Honorary Secretary.[21] He was naturalised as British in March 1888, five years after arriving from Amsterdam. It does not appear that he ever sought paid employment in London.[22] He and Lydia were tenants of 24 Grosvenor Street, a large townhouse, for almost thirty years. [23]He was a keen rider and a member of the 'Coaching Club' at Albert Gate in Hyde Park.[24]Drucker's name frequently appeared as an owner of horses, which he often sold via Tattersall's. In 1889, he sold 'Intruder'

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[18] The elder Temme children, including Charles, were recognized as legitimate by his parents' marriage, in deeds of 18 April 1865. See extended biography of Mr H.L. Drucker, *Parlement.com* [in Dutch], https://www.parlement.com/id/vg09ll03oywo/h_l_drucker (accessed 12 November 2021).
The biographical information on Charles Drucker's parents came from the 'Biography portal of the Netherlands', which has extensive biographies of two of Charles's elder siblings. A short entry for J.C.J. Drucker appears on the online database, in which he is categorised under the 'Visual Arts' search term. His ethnicity is not explicitly given, nor his occupation. I am exceptionally grateful to Sietske van der Veen, Doctoral Researcher at Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands, Amsterdam, for her assistance navigating the database. See 'JCJ Drucker' in the *Biographic Portal of the Netherlands*: http://www.biografischportaal.nl/en/persoon/26805673 (Accessed 12 November 2021).

[19] See Roger Knight, 'Family Firms, Global Networks and Transnational Actors: The Case of Alexander Fraser (1816–1904): Merchant and Entrepreneur in the Netherlands Indies, Low Countries and London', in *Low Countries Historical* Review, vol. 133, no. 2 (2018), pp. 27–51. The couple's wedding was described in *John Bull*, 24 July 1986, p. 16. The Anglican ceremony took place at Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, near the bride's home at 39 Gloucester Square, Hyde Park.

[20] E.P. Engel, 'Het onstaan van verzameling Drucker-Fraser in het Rijksmuseum', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 1965, issue 13, no. 2 (1965), p. 65, n.1

[21] I consulted the *Staff Book* and *Minute Books of the Board of South Eastern Rail*, but no mention was made of individual shareholders. Both volumes are in the National Archives, Kew (RAIL 1110/426). Charles Drucker was mentioned in an article in the *Nieuwe Rotterdam Courant*, 30 January 1909, with reference to his efforts to 'reform' South Eastern's business. See reference in Engel (1965), p. 45.

[22] In 1909, Drucker was reportedly 'defeated' in his efforts to reform the management of South Eastern Railway, and to promote 'the working union with the Chatham and Dover Line', whose Chairman was Staats Forbes. In particular, he objected to the Board being made up of men 'with no other claims than being the sons of their fathers and the nephews of their uncles'. See *The Manchester Guardian,* 'Public Companies: South Eastern Railway', 30 January 1909, p.11.

[23] See Home Office document no. A5752, Certificate of Naturalisation for 'Drucker, Jean Carl Joseph, from the Netherlands', 15 March 1888 (TNA, Kew, HO 144/10069). I am grateful to Chris Ransted, Freedom of Information Researcher at The National Archives, for granting me access to this record.

[24] Several other Jewish financiers were also members of the Hyde Park coach driving club, which Charles joined in 1890, like Sydney Stern, First Baron Wandsworth (1845–1912). See *Horse and Hound*, 17 May 1890. He was also a lifetime subscriber to 'the Keeper's Benefit Society', a charity looking after gamekeepers. See *The Sporting Gazette,* 28 November 1891, p. 9.

and ‘Conservative’, two bay gelders, while his younger brother, Charles Gustavus ‘Adolphus’ Drucker (1868–1903), who became Conservative MP for Northampton (1895–1900), sold ‘Rufus’ and ‘Madge’.[25] This interest may explain why the Drucker-Frasers’ marriage was only reported in the sporting press.

Charles Drucker’s occupation as a patron and collector of art predated his British citizenship.[26] Like his contemporary Salting, Drucker purchased both watercolours and oils paintings, Chinese ceramics and furniture, but began collecting while a young man in Holland. A single article by E.P. Engel on the ‘Drucker Collection’, written in Dutch and published in the *Rijksmuseum Bulletin* in 1965, has been invaluable in piecing together their collecting careers.[27] The first oil painting bought by Charles and Lydia was by Anton Mauve (1838–1888), entitled *Heath at Laren* (fig. 28), bought directly from what was likely a posthumous exhibition of Mauve’s work, in Rotterdam in 1888.[28] The Druckers began collecting watercolours simultaneously, acquiring Jozef Israël ‘s *The Rabbi* from the artist, in 1886 (fig. 29), for £165.[29] In the Rijksmuseum’s archive, a ledger belonging to Charles Drucker recorded his purchases. This document demonstrated the scope and value of the Drucker Collection, but it had no clear author, and its purpose remains obscure. The acquisitions listed stopped abruptly in April 1907, which gave a rough date for the list’s creation. [30]While a rich source of information on the Drucker’s early expenditure on fine art, its use was limited as in fact, they continued to acquire paintings in London until 1927.

One potential explanation for the obscurity of the Drucker Collection outside the Netherlands is that it has often been classed as a ‘Dutch collection’, because most the couple’s possessions were eventually bequeathed to Amsterdam’s Rijksmuseum on their deaths in 1944. The

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[25] *The Sporting Gazette,* 25 February 1889, p. 18.

[26] In 1907, in an introduction to a catalogue of six works from the Drucker Collection, on display at the Riksmuseum, Cornelis Gerardus't Hooft (1866–1936), Curator of the Amsterdam Museum, wrote: ‘Many years have been devoted to collecting [Jacob Maris’s work]. This veneration for Jacob Maris dates from the moment Mr Drucker started his collection, around 1885.’ C.G. ‘t Hooft, *Der Verzameling JCJ Drucker in het Rijksmuseum*, first edition printed by the Association for the Promotion of Visual Art (Amsterdam: Roeloofzen-Hubner en van Santen, 1907), unpaginated. Translation my own.

[27] This article was the result of a curatorial internship Engels carried out in the Rijksmuseum’s Decorative Arts department. The Dutch museum has the largest holdings of the Drucker collection, in various departments, as the couple used the building to store their collections from 1917 onwards, before their ultimate bequest under the name ‘Drucker-Fraser’ in 1944.

[28] For *The Heath at Laren* (now in Amsterdam’s Rijksmuseum), see de Leeuw, Sillevis, Dumas (eds.), *The Hague School* (1983), cat. no. 107, p. 255. This painting was purchased by Charles Drucker in 1888, lent by him to the Rijksmuseum in 1903, and finally presented in 1910.

[29] See 14-page inventory of the Drucker Collection in London. The manuscript was divided according to the two mediums they collected, oil painting and watercolours, and included a separate list which appears to show the total amount paid to each art dealer. *The Rabbi* hung on the ‘second row, right of window’ in the Drawing Room, which contained 35 other pictures. Two other works by Israels hung alongside it: *A Frugal Meal* and *On the Beach*; two paintings by Willem Maris (1844–1910), *Ducks* and *The Old Curiosity Shop*; and Hendrik Mesdag’s (1831–1915) *Hayrick* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Archive, ref. 1745/1).

[30] The hand-written inventory recorded that only one work by ‘DuChattel’ [Fredericus Jacobus van Rossum du Chattel, 1856–1917] was bought before his marriage, in 1885 (£50), but no subject was given. The ‘Duchattel’ appeared in the inventory [among 17 other works] in ‘Passage to Dining Room’. (Amsterdam: RAM, 1745/1). Jenny Rynaerts, Senior Curator of Nineteenth Century Painting at the Rijksmuseum, suggested the possibility that the list was made by the dealer Elbert van Wisselingh (1838–1912), who took over the former Dutch Gallery in Grafton Street, London. Her reasoning was that van Wissenlingh was employed to assess the value of the Van Lynden-Van Pallandt Gift, made to the Rijksmuseum in 1900. Email correspondence with the author, 14 October 2021.

Druckers were briefly mentioned in the 1983 *Hague School* exhibition catalogue.[31] Here, the exhibition's curator Charles Dumas designated the owners of these paintings by 'Collections in Great Britain'; 'Collections in the United States and Canada'; but addressed the Druckers among 'Collections in the Netherlands'. His taxonomy belied the fact that many of the paintings the Druckers acquired from the mid-1880s onwards, whether from dealers in Holland or from Dutch, French, or British dealers working in London, were originally purchased for their Mayfair home and were well-known to British art critics. While they frequently visited Holland to acquire paintings, even the artists they admired were not strictly 'Dutch', as some like the Maris brothers, trained, lived, and exhibited in several countries throughout their lives.[32]

In his 1907 study of *The Brothers Maris*, David Croal Thomson (1855–1930), an authority on the Barbizon and Hague Schools as a dealer, critic, and collector himself, recalled visiting the Druckers in Grosvenor Street.[33] His description of their home bears quoting at length because it reveals the esteem in which the Druckers' collection was held:

> Mr J.C.J. Drucker … whose home is in Mayfair, and whose sympathies are thoroughly British, is the happy possessor of the finest and most complete collection of the works of James [Jacob] Maris.
> Mr Drucker, although still a young man, has, sympathetically assisted by his wife, for many years devoted himself to making a collection as would show James Maris in every phase … He has not neglected other Dutch artists, and his pictures by Israëls are notable; but James Maris has a specially powerful attraction for him, and the Drucker Collection is quite famous among art lovers…Mr Drucker has a number of fine pictures in London, and his dining room is hung entirely with pictures by Israëls.
> Mr Drucker is one of the few Hollanders who have had abiding faith in the artists of his native country. Tempted by their great rise in money values, the owners of such pictures in the Netherlands have quietly but persistently sold until it is as difficult to obtain a good modern Dutch picture in Holland as it is to find one by Rembrandt and the old Dutch school of the Low Countries … Within the last few months Mr Drucker has lent four representative works to the National Gallery in London, and it is fairly certain that if this generously minded collector feels they are properly appreciated they will ultimately become the property of the English nation.[34]

It was clear from these flattering words that by 1907, the Drucker Collection was well-known among artistic circles in Britain, and that there was a growing appreciation (including in price) of modern Dutch painting. Thomson's description shows that the Druckers were *both* held as connoisseurs and as 'generous-minded collector[s]', keen to share their works with the wider (and specifically English) public. Clearly, the Druckers had begun to consider their collection

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[31] The 1983 exhibition, the largest survey of the Hague School painters outside of the Netherlands, was shown at the Grand Palais, Paris, the Royal Academy of Arts, London, and the Haags Gemeentemuseum, The Hague. In her review of the exhibition, Griselda Pollock acknowledged that while they enjoyed 'fabulous popularity at the beginning of the [twentieth] century', the paintings have had limited appeal to audiences since. See Griselda Pollock, 'London, Royal Academy, The Hague School', in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 125, no. 963 (June 1983), pp. 375–9.

[32] A pertinent example was the transnational career of the 'Hague School' artist Matthijs Maris (1839–1917), who was born in Holland but trained in Antwerp, and later in Paris. Dividing his time between The Hague and Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, he moved to London in 1877 at the invitation of his Scottish dealer and fellow artist, Daniel Cottier (1838–1891). Using the anglicised name Matthew, Maris lived there until his death in 1917. His younger brother was occasionally called William, rather than Willem. The English spellings of both artists' names were used in the 1901 Glasgow I*nternational Exhibition*.

[33] Croal Thomson managed the Goupil Gallery, the London branch of Agnew's, the French Gallery, and later established Barbizon House, a dedicated gallery for the Barbizon artists. See Anne Helmreich, 'The Goupil Gallery at the Intersection between London, Continent, and Empire', in Pamela Fletcher and Helmreich (eds), *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850–1939* (Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 69.

[34] Charles Holmes (ed.) and David Croal Thomson (text), *The Brothers Maris* (London: The Studio, 1907), pp. iv–v.

as having national, as well as personal significance. Engels noted that one of four oil paintings purchased by the Druckers in 1907, a work by Josef Israëls made in the same year and thought to be his final work, was offered as a gift to the Louvre in Paris. The French museum rejected it on the grounds that it could not be displayed there as it was by a then-living artist.[35]

It is now difficult to pinpoint how Charles Drucker, a passionate collector but a social 'outsider' as a naturalised British citizen who retained close links with Holland, went about establishing himself and his collection among the chief art lovers of Britain. However, his keenness to lend his paintings to temporary exhibitions, as noted by Croal Thomson, brought the attention of several European museum and gallery administrators. He was noteworthy among the sixty-seven lenders to the Guildhall Art Gallery' *Selection of Works by Early and Modern Painters of the Dutch School*, held in 1903.[36] Alongside his neighbour Edgar Speyer (1862–1932), who lived at the considerably larger residence 46 Grosvenor Street and lent four paintings, Drucker lent forty paintings.[37] Drucker was the only Jewish lender of modern Dutch paintings to this exhibition, as opposed to Old Master works, and the only collector to lend any works with 'Jewish' themes. These included a new work bought from Israëls, *The Jewish Wedding* (fig. 30).[38] In one review, the *Burlington Magazine's* critic pointed out that the Druckers' Israëls was interesting because it was the artist's most recent work, 'fresh from his easel'.[39] Drucker's involvement in the Guildhall's *Dutch Exhibition* was particularly momentous in establishing his renown as a patron of the Hague School, no doubt augmented by his association with the already popular Israëls.

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[35] Engel's account related the fortunes of Josef Israël's *Gazing into the Distance*, donation of Mr. and Mrs. Drucker-Fraser, Montreux, April 1910 (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2496). See Engel (1965), p. 51.

[36] The free exhibition, which ran for eight weeks, proved popular with London audiences, attracting 140,000 visitors to the Guildhall.

[37] Edgar Speyer, 1st Baronet (1862–1932) was a German Jewish New York-born financier and Chairman of the Underground Electric Railways Company of London, as well as a founding trustee of Whitechapel Art Gallery. He was the victim of extreme anti-German prejudice during the Great War, and was forced to renounce his British naturalisation, which he acquired four years after Charles Drucker. After the loss of his citizenship, both of his homes in England, Guilsborough Hall in Northamptonshire, and 46 Grosvenor Street, London, were put on the open market in 1920. See 'Sir Edgar Speyer's Townhouse', advertisement in *The Times*, 8 January 1920, p. 14.

[38] Alfred Temple, the Guildhall's Director, wrote the catalogue (London: Guildhall Gallery, 1903). Israëls's *The Jewish Wedding* (Guildhall cat. no. 70) was presented by Drucker to the Rijksmuseum in 1912 [Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-2598]. Drucker was among eight Jewish collectors to lend works to the *Dutch exhibition*. The other lenders with Jewish heritage were: Mrs Bischoffsheim lent three Old Masters (nos. 140, 169 and 179); Sir Samuel Montagu (1832–1911), who lent a Hobbema *Landscape*, no. 190 (now Los Angeles: Getty Museum, no. 84.PB.43); Ludwig Neumann (1859–1934) who lent no. 138, Ruisdael's *View on the Brill River*; Sir Marcus Samuel (1853–1927), who had become Lord Mayor in 1902, lent no. 195, a *Portrait of a Woman* by Cornelis Janssens; Edgar Speyer, who lent four Old Master works (nos. 151, 157, 172 and 182); Martin [Meyer] Rikoff lent [School of] Ter Borch, *Lady with a Fan* (no. 178) which was acquired by the National Gallery of Art in Melbourne in 1945. It had been offered to Sydney Cockerell, advisor to the Felton Fund in 1939, but was rejected. The work had an exclusively Jewish provenance and is the subject of a restitution claim by the heirs of its last legitimate owner, Dr Max Emden (1874–1940) of Hamburg. See National Gallery of Victoria, cat. nos. 1542–4. Finally, the last work exhibited at the Guildhall by a Jewish owner was Parisian Adolphe Schloss's (1842–1910) Hobbema, *Wooded Landscape* (no. 186).

[39] The *Burlington Magazine's* critic was otherwise disparaging of *The Jewish Wedding*, which they claimed: 'lack[ed] … the surpassing merits which many claim for it. It has become so much the mode to praise equally all the work of a particular painter or a particular school, that the sense of proportion and the power of discrimination have almost become extinct, and criticism has been undermined.' See 'The Dutch Exhibition at the Guildhall. Article II - The Modern Painters', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 2, no. 5 (July 1903), p. 177.

Twenty-one years later, Drucker recalled the events of the Guildhall's private view with startling clarity. In an article he wrote for the *Nieuwe Rotterdam Courant,* "Jozef Israëls in England", he noted:

> I must not fail to mention the incident when his *Jewish Wedding* went from his studio to the Guildhall Loan exhibition in 1903. He [Israëls] wrote: "a piece of myself is crossing the Ocean today". No wonder. The subject had occupied him for forty years … Never to be forgotten is the great impression it made when, at the "private view" of that most beautiful exhibition of modern Dutch art, it was revealed that Israëls was present … Loud shouts of "Israëls, Israëls ... Speech! Speech!" [were heard], and although there were perhaps 1500 to 2000 people present, the 79-year-old "*mir nichte dir nichte"* (without a care in the world) came up to the platform and spoke: "Your Royal Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen …" as naturally as if he did so every day …[40]

This anecdote gave a sense of the couple's intense admiration for the artist, with whom 'Mrs Drucker and I had the great privilege of an almost 40-year friendship', and the influence that the Druckers themselves began to enjoy as his patron, among London's art world. During the same London visit, the artist was made an honorary Royal Academician. Israëls 'received the highest appreciation from all sides. HRH The King sent one of his chamberlains with an invitation [for him] to see the Picture Gallery at Buckingham Palace. The Chief Rabbi [Hermann Adler, appointed in 1891] fetched him from Claridge's Hotel, where he was staying [on the street parallel to the Druckers' home]… to take him to the Royal Academy banquet, and the *Illustrated London News* amusingly depicted our little friend amid the gigantic [John Singer] Sargent, the corpulent [Sir Lawrence] Alma-Tadema (1836-1912, a fellow 'Hollander' whose work the Druckers collected), and the polar-bear like [John Macallan] Swan'.[41]

In 1903, while lending prodigiously to the Guildhall, the Druckers also began to plan for their collection to go on permanent public display. Their first loan for a 'permanent' display, as opposed to a temporary exhibition, was made that autumn, when the Druckers wrote to the Dutch Cultural Minister Victor de Stuers (1843–1916), of their wish to exhibit their paintings in a Dutch museum.[42] De Stuers brokered an introduction to Barthold Willem Floris van Riemsdijk (1850–1942), Director of the Rijksmuseum (1897–1921), who offered the Druckers use of a gallery in what he called the 'Fragmenthuis', an annexe of the main museum building. Fourteen oil paintings including works by Alma-Tadema, Mauve, Willem Maris, Albert Neuhuys (1844–1914) and Johan Hendrik Weissenbruch (1824–1903), and fifteen watercolours made up the display. A few months after this initial loan, Mauve's *Heath at Laren*, which had been shown at the Guildhall in London that spring, was shipped to Amsterdam with 27 other oil paintings from the Druckers' London home.[43] A third loan from London of 21 paintings and 14 watercolours was made in December 1904, again joining the

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[40] J.C.J. Drucker, report from London for *Nieuwe Rotterdam Courant*, 26 January 1924, p. 9. Translation my own.

[41] Macallan Swan (1846–1910) was a Scottish artist also collected by the Druckers. They presented several examples of his watercolours to the National Gallery and a sculpture to the Guildhall Art Gallery. Charles was also a member of the Swan Memorial Committee. See *Minutes of the Trustees of the National Gallery Board*, 14 February 1911 (NGA, NG1/8, p. 43) for offer by 'Mr J D (*sic.*) Drucker of 14 drawings, all of which depict animals', and a month later, on 14 March 1911, 'another drawing' by Macallan, known as "The Gladiators", which was 'offered as a gift by Mr Drucker in the name of the Swan Memorial Committee', and was also accepted (Tate, N02766), see NGA, NG1/8, p. 50.

[42] J.F. Heijbroek and Herbert Henkels, 'Het Rijksmuseum voor Moderne Kunst van Willem Steenhoff· Werkelijkheid of utopie?', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, issue 39, no.2 (1991), p. 178.

[43] A. Mauve, *Heide de Laren* was listed in the Schedule of Works on loan to the Rijksmuseum, signed by van Riemsdijk, 18 December 1903. The schedule listed twenty-eight paintings from 'J C J Drucker de Londen, nos. 676–704'. These works were permanently given to the Rijksmuseum in 1912. Haarlem: NHA, 1745/1.

'modern' display in the Fragmenthuis. With the last batch of paintings, art dealer Hermanus Gijsbertus Tersteeg (1845–1927) was employed to arrange their hang on the Druckers' behalf.[44] Charles Drucker's frequent 'curating' of his own paintings might seem unusual, but such was the intimacy of the Druckers with the Rijkmuseum's director that in 1904, when van Riemsdijk was an advisor on Whitechapel Art Gallery's *Dutch exhibition* committee, he stayed with the couple at Grosvenor Street.[45] Charles's liberality towards the Rijksmuseum, and his frequent correspondence with van Riemsdijk, distinctly contrasted with Alfred de Pass's arrangements of his own collections in Truro, Cornwall and South Africa's National Gallery, much to the annoyance of curators there (see Chapter 4).

To acquire new paintings like Israël's *Jewish Wedding*, the Druckers frequently engaged the services of leading Dutch dealer, Tersteeg, who managed The Hague's Goupil & Cie gallery. He often gave Drucker generous terms in exchange for his loyalty, like 'the right to exchange any painting, or recover its purchase price minus ten percent, for up to three years after the original sale'. [46] When visiting Tersteeg to choose works, the Druckers may have witnessed the development of paintings first-hand, as 'at Tersteeg's … one saw painters make corrections which the art dealer had recommended, in the small "sweating room" [the Dutch term for workshop] … over the shop at the Plaats'.[47] The Druckers' interest in the act of painting itself appeared to have extended to their display choices too, as in their bedroom in London, they displayed some paintings on easels rather than on the walls. Perhaps they did this to examine their recent purchases closely, or else because their works were often rotated to facilitate temporary loans to public galleries.[48]

While the Druckers' numerous loans to the Rijksmuseum (and the Guildhall) may look exceptionally generous, there was a recent precedent for the large-scale gift of a whole collection to the Dutch government. In 1903, the artist and Director of the Pulchri Studio, Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831–1915), and his painter wife Sientje [or Sina] van Houten (1834–1909) gave their 'museum' of Hague School pictures to the Netherlands.[49] The Druckers may been similarly aware of the large gift the Lynden-Van Pallandt family (1900), in which Baroness [Wilhelmina] van Lynden-van Pallandt (1845–1905) gave the Rijksmuseum, among

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[44] A letter from Tersteeg to B.W.F. van Riemsdijk, 1 December 1904, from The Hague branch of Goupil [now called Boussod, Valadon and Cie], described how Charles Drucker could not attend a meeting at the Rijksmuseum as he had gone to Zurich following the death of his mother [Theresa Temme]. Mr Tersteeg would hang the paintings from the Drucker Collection before the galleries reopened on Monday. This message was followed by a list, with the dimensions of 37 oil paintings, and 30 watercolours from the 'Drucker Collectie [Collection]', so it appears that Tersteeg may have rehung some of the works lent by the Druckers the previous year. Haarlem: NHA, 1384.

[45] See 'Committee list' in *Dutch Exhibition* exh. cat. (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 30 March–10 May 1904) p. 54. Josef Israëls was also a member. Lydia Drucker referred to van Riemsdijk's stay when she wrote to him [in English]: 'Dear Mr van Riemsdyk (sic.), when you were staying with us last summer, you kindly offered to try and find for us an old piece of velvet or leather to cover the chair in Mr Drucker's morning room, you took the measure which you wrote in your pocket book.' See card dated 15 January 1905, from 24 Grosvenor Street to van Riemsdijk, Amsterdam. Haarlem: NHA, 476/1385.

[46] See de Leuws, Sillevis, Dumas (eds.), *The Hague School* (1983), p. 134.

[47] Gerben Colmjon, *The Hague School* (Rijkswijk, Holland, 1951), p. xiii.

[48] See list in the Rijksmuseum Archive: 'Boudoir, right of partition wall … on easels: Josef Israels (sic.), *Invalid*, Josef Israels, *Signalling*, Jacob Maris, *His Son Willem*' Amsterdam: RMA, 1745/1, p. 3.

[49] In 1896, the Mesdags acquired a building in the Hague, next to their joint studio, which later became a popular exhibition venue. They gave it to the Dutch State as a public museum of modern art, which opened in 1904. Hendrik Mesdag was the museum's first Director and took the public on tours of his collection. Now known as The Mesdag Collection, since 1990 it has been managed by the Van Gogh Foundation.

other modern paintings, a work by James MacNeill Whistler (1834-1903)*, Arrangement in Yellow and Gray* (*Effie Deans*).[50]

While the Druckers and their modern pictures were the subject of admiration from their 'amice' van Riemsdijk in Holland, their growing collection also presented a problem for the museum director. Though it had only recently opened, in 1885, the main Rijksmuseum building designed by Pierre Cuypers (1827–1921), already lacked adequate space for its permanent collection. Any works accepted on loan or as gifts were typically displayed in the corridor of the Fragmenthuis, off the central entrance hall. In March 1904, Charles Drucker offered to lend 'at least twenty paintings and six watercolours by Jacob Maris' for a minimum of a year, conditional upon 'a fixed plan for the extension of the building for the appreciation of modern art work'.[51] Initially, he also insisted that the extension should have a separate street-level entrance, clear signage and be accessible to visitors without an entrance fee.[52] The difficulty of realising these ambitious plans in a government-run organisation, which like London's National Gallery required the Treasury's approval for any building work, frustrated both van Riemsdijk and Charles Drucker. Perhaps because of his irritation over delays, the Druckers also began to consider alternative spaces to display their collection.

The Druckers first considered the National Gallery as a permanent home for some of their pictures in March 1905. As something of an 'outsider', as in the case of his initial approach to the Rijksmuseum, Charles did not write directly to the museum's Director or the Board. Instead, he contacted Lionel Cust (1859–1929), Director of the National Portrait Gallery and Surveyor of The King's Pictures.[53] The letter marked 'private', which was forwarded by Cust to the Gallery's Board, partially revealed Drucker's intentions, but frustratingly alluded to prior negotiations with Cust which, if they did indeed take place, either were not documented or those documents have not survived.[54] In his covering note to his 'friends' - the Trustees of the National Gallery - Cust noted that Drucker's letter 'will give you something to act upon,' as 'Mr and Mrs Drucker … have for some years past been forming a collection'. He put on record:

> It was their intention to give as bequest this collection to the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, where the[ir] paintings by Maris and Mauve are presently on loan. They make, however, certain conditions as to the housing and maintenance of their collection, their object being to establish the importance of the modern Dutch school in the history of painting… there seems a probability that the Dutch government will be

[50] This painting was the first work by Massachussetts-born painter Whistler to be shown in a Dutch museum. [Now Rijksmuseum, inv. no., SK-A-1902]. See 'Zaal 358 in de Druckeruitbouw', a photograph of the Lynden van Pallandt Collection on display, c. 1920-30, in the modern 'Druckeruitbrouw' [Drucker Extension building]. Amsterdam: Rijkmuseum Photographic Collection, RMA-SSA-F-00015-1.

[51] J.C.J. Drucker to van Riemsdijk, 8 March 1904, translation my own. Haarlem, NHA, 1384.

[52] Author's translation. See Agreement dated 8 April 1910, accepting a gift made to the Dutch state by the Druckers on 29 November 1909. 'Conditions of gift: The donated item bears the name of: "DRUCKER COLLECTION" … The art collection must be preserved in the presently existing Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam or any other that will take its place in its place, in specially furnished and open to the public (free of charge) with separate halls accessible from the street entrance and may never be separated from them.' p. 8. A later annotation, (post-1926), states that: 'this was altered in correspondence with Mr Drucker, as impossible'. Amsterdam: NH, 1745/2.

[53] While the National Portrait Gallery retains some dossiers on Cust's work for external bodies there does not appear to be any extant correspondence regarding Drucker's collection. See London: Heinz Archive, NPG8/2.

[54] Card from J.C.J. Drucker to Lionel Cust: 'It has given us much satisfaction to learn that there is a possibility of carrying out my suggestions. If you could make me a proposal or at least pave the way to something tangible … unless the Dutch Government change their attitude entirely, [it] might lead to a very satisfactory conclusion for the authorities here as well as for ourselves. I hope therefore that you will be able to confer with your friends.' NGA, NG7/293/2 [ii].

> unwilling or unable to comply with the wishes of the donors as to the space allowable for the exhibition of the collection, and proper access to them. In the circumstances Mr and Mrs Drucker have considered the question of transferring their gift as bequest to the National Gallery, provided that their conditions as to the proper reception and care of the collection can be fulfilled.
> I have already on your authority stated to Mr and Mrs Drucker that the Trustees … would regard the accessioning of their [works] as of very great importance to the future of the Gallery, and that the already existing plans for the extension of the Gallery might possibly be adapted in such a way as to meet the wishes of Mr and Mrs Drucker …
> PS. The collection is fairly numerous. I should think at least 60 to 80 pictures, probably more.[55]

By the time the National Gallery's trustees were informed of these plans on 10 April 1905, the Keeper Mr Hawes Turner (1851–1939) had already met with Charles Drucker to discuss the offer. At the board meeting he reported that: 'acting on the communications of Mr Cust … he had on the 6th… called on Mr Drucker … [who] had been so dissatisfied with the way in which [his] loan had been received by the Dutch authorities… that he was seriously thinking of offering his collection to the British Government, either by Bequest, or possibly even in his lifetime as a donation provided that he could receive some assurance that the pictures would be kept together and properly hung at Trafalgar Square in rooms readily accessible and well lighted.'[56] The Trustees agreed that while they could not immediately provide Drucker with 'any pledge to the acceptance and proper exhibition of these pictures', they were 'deeply sensible both of the generosity and the importance of his suggestion, and that the possibility of fulfilling the conditions desired of Mr Drucker would receive their serious consideration'.[57]

The trustees' promise of 'serious consideration' was not superficial, as less than a month afterward John Postle Heseltine (1843–1929) visited Amsterdam, reporting back to his colleagues his 'careful examination of Mr Drucker's collection', some of which was on loan to the Rijksmuseum. Heseltine described 'a considerable number of desirable pictures' and told the Trustees that he had purchased the museums recent official illustrated catalogue, which 'we ought to have … as the Drucker collection is included'.[58] This exchange indicated not only that works from the Drucker Collection were considered 'desirable', but equally illuminated the high standards of display the Druckers expected their paintings.[59] Their conditions were that the works would be 'properly hung' and 'establish the importance of the modern Dutch school' in the art historical canon. As we shall see, the Druckers' intentions provided a catalyst for both the British and Dutch national museums to expand their buildings and collecting remits to accommodate the Druckers' modern paintings.

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[55] Letter from Lionel Cust to Hawes Turner, 18 March 1905 [i] read to the Trustees at a Meeting of the National Gallery Board, 10 April 1905, NGA, NG7/293/2, see also NGA, NG7, Minutes of Board Meetings (June 1897–June 1907), p. 231.

[56] In this report, Hawes Turner speculated on the collection's value, 'lately valued at £80,000' [equivalent to £9.9m in 2020] and intimated to the Trustees that Drucker may have had a change of heart regarding the Dutch museum, as 'he had lent an important part of [his collection] to the Rijksmuseum …He suggests his dissatisfaction with its hanging as the cause'. See, *Minutes of Board Meeting*, 10 April 1905, NGA, NG7, p. 231.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Heseltine presented his copy of 1903 Rijskmuseum catalogue to the National Gallery library. This new catalogue featured a supplement detailing 31 works from the Drucker Collection that were exhibited on temporary loan. See *Catalogus der schilderijen, miniaturen, pastels, omlijste teekeningen enz in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Roeloffzen-Hübner en van Santen, 1903) pp. 349–52. Heseltine's copy, given to the Reference Library in 1925, features his pencil annotations and drawings, though sadly he did make any personal observations about works from the Drucker Collection.

[59] Alison Clark, 'In a Better Light: Vision, Spatiality and the Connoisseurial Practices of the National Gallery, c.1875–1916', *Victorian Network*, vol. 9 (Summer 2020), p. 30. Clark cited Heseltine's report from the Rijksmuseum when she discussed the trustees' concerns about lighting in Trafalgar Square.

While van Riemsdijk was keen not to lose an existing donor (and friend), in London, the National Gallery's trustees considered how they might reap the reward of Amsterdam's failure to meet the donors' requests.[60] In May 1905, Heseltine's report prompted the trustees to write to the Treasury, reiterating 'the extent to which the Gallery at Trafalgar Square is already over-crowded, and urging on other important grounds… the need of its immediate extension'.[61] In Holland, the threat of the potential loss of the Druckers' pictures was being felt even more keenly. Van Riemsdijk wrote to Joseph Cuypers (1861–1949), son of the museum's architect, urging him to submit plans for an extension before the Government's 1906 Budget was announced. The Director emphasised that 'Herr Drucker has a knife to my throat for an answer over whether the extension will go ahead'.[62] The proposed extension would accommodate over a dozen galleries permitting the 'proper' display of modern painting. In a letter marked 'confidential', Drucker informed van Riemsdijk of rumours circulating in London regarding Hugh Lane's plans for his own famous collection of modern painting.[63] He wrote: 'Mr Hugh Lane is planning a Museum of Modern Foreign Art in Dublin, and this has the authorities in London shaking their heads to also install a museum for these masters in this city, where so many beautiful examples… in private collections.'[64] In July 1905, he reiterated to the museum director that 'he has it on good authority', that 'London are planning a Modern Art wing of the National Gallery'. He expressed disbelief that the same could not be achieved in Holland and of his hope that the 'personal interest' and 'influence' of Her Majesty [Queen Wilhelmina]

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[60] See *Correspondence with JCJ Drucker and Mrs ML Drucker- Fraser and their heirs, (1902–1945)* (36 files) for letters between the Druckers and van Riemsdijk, and his successor, Frederik Schmidt-Degener (1881–1941, Director (1921–41). Haarlem: NHA, 476/1383-1419.

[61] In 1905, the National Gallery had no director, as Sir Edward Poynter's third term ended in December 1904 and no successor was appointed until 1906. See 'Mr Drucker Collection of Modern Dutch Pictures*'* in *Minutes of Meeting of the National Gallery Board*, 16 May 1905*,* NGA, NG7, p. 241.

[62] My translation of letter from the Director's Office, Rijksmuseum to Dr P.H.J. Cuypers, dated 18 March 1905. Haarlem: Noord-Holland Archief [476/1385, document no. 6481].

[63] Before the Hugh Lane Gallery had a permanent building, Lane's collection was exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy, Dublin. See *Catalogue of pictures presented to the City of Dublin to form the nucleus of a Gallery of Modern Art… at the Royal Hibernian Academy* (Dublin: 1904). Two subsequent exhibitions of Lane's paintings were held, in Dublin in 1905 and in Belfast in 1906. Drucker must have been referring to the first Dublin exhibition, or the planning of the second, in his correspondence with van Riemsdijk. See Barbara Dawson, *Hugh Lane: Founder of a Gallery of Modern Art for Ireland* (London: Scala, 2008); Morna O'Neill, *Hugh Lane: The Art Market and the Museum, 1893-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018). The first biography of Hugh Lane was written by his aunt, Irish dramatist Lady Gregory (1852–1932), *Hugh Lane's Life and Achievement, with Some Account of the Dublin Galleries* (Dublin: Gerrards Cross, 1921). A recent exhibition at Dublin City Art Gallery celebrated the centenary of 'the world's oldest modern art gallery', see Barbara Dawson (ed), *Hugh Lane: 100 Years*, exh. cat. (26 June–28 September, London: Scala, 2008), the catalogue included an essay by a National Gallery Curator, Christopher Riopelle, see 'Looking at Lane from the Continent', pp. 45–8.

[64] See J.C.J. Drucker to van Riemsdijk, 17 March 1905, in which Drucker urges van Riemsdijk to seek clarification 'from the relevant authorities' on plans for the extension of London's National Gallery [Haarlem: NHA, 476/1385]. The following week van Riemsdijk wrote to the Dutch Minister of Culture, warning that 'it is of great importance Herr Drucker be satisfied by the building of a modern art gallery, and if we don't treat his offer with goodwill, his collection will move to England, including all the paintings and furniture, as well as precious objects … The Collection worth over 1 million gilders, would leave the country.' See letter from Director's Office to His Excellency the Minister of Culture, dated 28 March 1905 [Haarlem: NHA, 476/ 1385]. This missive prompted an official request for information from the British Embassy in Holland. See letter from J. Eldon-Gorst, under-secretary of State at the Foreign office, to Director of the Rijksmuseum, 21 June 1905. Eldon-Gorst's response included a note (copied in English), from the Marquess of Lansdowne, on behalf of the National Gallery Trustees, reassuring the Director of the Rijksmuseum that there were no plans afoot to enlarge the Trafalgar Square building. Haarlem: NHA, 476/1385.

(1880–1962) to keep his collection in Holland could bolster the campaign for an extension for its '19th century masters'.[65]

Unhappily perhaps for the National Gallery's trustees, Cuypers's design (Fig. 31), which was later known as the Drucker Extension - and is now called the Philips Wing - *did* meet Dutch governmental approval.[66] On learning this news, Cust informed the Gallery's Trustees that 'the erection of a new wing to the Rijks Museum [sic] … had been sanctioned … [and] Mr Drucker's Collection of Modern Dutch Pictures would doubtless be given to that Gallery'.[67]As the Druckers intended 'to establish the importance of the modern Dutch school in the history of painting', the Rijksmuseum would have seemed a natural home for their works. The thirteen new galleries, two of which were reserved for the Drucker Collection, would be presented in spatial and chronological dialogue within the museum's existing Dutch galleries in its main building, which predominantly showed Dutch 'Golden Age' furniture and paintings.[68]

Though the Rijksmuseum extension offered an alternative home for their paintings, the Druckers did not renege on their earlier offer [made to Cust] to present several 'representative' works from their collection to Trafalgar Square.[69] In 1906, Drucker told the Keeper that 'the importance of the National Gallery', meant he 'desire[d] to extend the reputation of the leading Modern Dutch painters … [by] offering… some examples of these Masters'.[70] As Crookham and Robbins noted, they were not the first donors of 'Modern Foreign' pictures to the National Gallery, as two works by a Belgian artist, J.L. Dyckmans (1811–1888) and the French artist Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899) entered the collection under the aegis of its first Director, Eastlake (1793–1865).[71] D.S. MacColl described visiting Millbank in 1906, when 'foreign painting was represented by a wall largely occupied by Delaroche's *Lady Jane Grey* (bequeathed to the Gallery in 1902), flanked by Bonheur's *Horse Fair*, and Charles Poussin's *Pardon Day in Brittany* (NG810), by Dyckmans, Clays, Horace Vernet and Ary Scheffer, a fair example of Fantin-Latour's flowers and the charming little landscape by Bonvin'.[72] In his assessment of

[65] My translation (with help from Alan Crookham). Letter marked 'Confidential', from J.C.J. Drucker, Neues Stahlbad Hotel, St Moritz, to van Riemsdijk, Amsterdam, 28 July 1905 [Haarlem: NHA, 476/1385].

[66] These galleries, which still house many of the museum's temporary exhibitions, were renamed in 2013 after a ten-year sponsorship agreement with Philips, the electrical company, which had been founded in 1891 in Eindhoven by Dutch Jewish businessmen Gerard and Anton Philips, father and son, respectively.

[67] Cust, in the letter that was read to the Trustees, noted: 'his collection of paintings by Modern Dutch artists will be duly received in this building as a gift to the Dutch nation. I may add that Mr Drucker seemed surprised that, after you had brought three members of your Board to see such pictures as he had in London, no further communication should have been received by him from your Board.' See NGA, NG7, Minutes of the Meeting of the NG Board of Trustees, 23 January 1906, p. 263.

[68] For an account of the development of the Drucker Wing of the Rijksmuseum building, see Annemarie vels Heijn, *The South Wing: A New Museum within a Museum* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1996), pp. 6-9.

[69] Drucker refers to an agreement with 'his friend Lionel Cust' in a much later letter to Director of the Tate, Charles Holmes, sent from the Grand Hotel, Baden, 19 September 1920, NGA, NG14-1-1.

[70] Hawes Turner reporting on a visit to Mr Drucker, see NGA, NG7, Minutes of the Meeting of the NG Board of Trustees, 27 February 1906, p. 267.

[71] The first two modern foreign works in the National Gallery's collection were Dyckman's *the Blind Beggar*, 1853 (NG600), bequeathed by Miss Jane Clarke in 1859, and Bonheur's *The Horse Fair*, 1855 (NG623), bequeathed by Jacob Bell the same year. See Alan Crookham and Anne Robbins, 'Confronting Modernity – the establishment of the British national collection of modern foreign paintings, 1914–1918', in Christina Kott and Bénédicte Savoy (eds), *Mars und Museum Europäische Museen im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Koln: böhlau verlag gmbh, 2016), p. 1, notes 3&4.

[72] D.S. MacColl, 'A Birthday Gift', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, vol. 49, no. 280 (July 1926), p. 17. MacColl described: 'the turn of the tide … in 1910 when the Salting Bequest of the Corots and other paintings of that school fell in, and the gift of pictures, chiefly Dutch, by Mr Drucker, was accepted.' In 1900, the National

its ‘modern’ works, he commented that like Salting’s bequest, the Druckers’ Dutch paintings ‘turned the tide’ toward wider acceptance of modern painting in the National Gallery.

The Druckers were unique among the many donors of modern foreign paintings to the National Gallery mentioned in 1906, in that they were encouraged by curators both in Holland and London to exhibit parts of their collection and ultimately give large parts of it away during their own lifetimes, rather than as bequests. The National Gallery’s initial response to the Druckers’ offer to augment its modern holdings, might be usefully compared with the apparently similar intentions of their contemporary Hugh Lane. Lane, a Bond Street Old Master dealer who also collected modern Continental paintings, offered in 1907 to lend the Gallery his ‘avant-garde’ collection. Lane fought for his modern foreign pictures to receive the (reluctant) endorsement of the National Gallery’s trustees, which he saw as a necessary step in ultimately winning over Dublin’s cognoscenti - among whom he and his aunt hoped his paintings might spark an Hibernian cultural revival. In contrast with their solicitation of the Druckers, Lane’s offer to the National Gallery caused friction among the Board, as some trustees thought that they should not accept works belonging to a dealer, who might profit from the association. As their later treatment of Duveen showed, this anxiety persisted among the Board.
However, unlike the Druckers who wanted to see more modern paintings like their own on the Gallery’s walls, in ‘offering his [39] paintings as a two-year loan, Lane inten[ded] … not to fill a gap in a national collection … but rather to seek endorsement in London for the pictures he was keen to see accepted by the Dublin establishment … [as] validation from the National Gallery would make them more palatable’ to the Irish government.[73] Some trustees, like Alfred de Rothschild, rejected Lane’s loan on aesthetic grounds, as they ‘would disgrace the … man who chalks on the flagstones of the street’, while his colleague Lord Redesdale (1837–1916) similarly disapproved: ‘I should as soon expect to hear of a Mormon service being conducted in St Paul’s Cathedral … as to see an exhibition of the modern French art-rebels in the sacred precincts of Trafalgar Square.’[74] Given their very different treatment, it was surprising to find some similarities even among the kinds of paintings collected by Lane and the Druckers. [75]

In November 1906, the National Gallery’s newly-appointed director, Charles Holroyd (1861–1917) received permission to travel to Holland, partly at the suggestion of Drucker, in order to see the Rijksmuseum and the thirty paintings temporarily lent there.[76] Drucker was not in

Gallery’s trustees had authorised the transfer of nine of the ‘Modern Foreign Pictures’ from Trafalgar Square to Millbank. See *Minutes of a Special Meeting of the National Gallery Board*, 27 March 1900 TAG, TAM 7/2, p. 80.

[73] Crookham and Robbins, ‘Confronting Modernity’ (2016), p. 4.

[74] For the trustees’ hesitancy, see Conlin (2006), p. 131. Conlin later compared various international museums’ acquisitioning of modern works to a horserace, in which ‘the British stable performed rather well: tied with the Metropolitan Museum, New York, for the first Monet acquired (1915), and several lengths ahead for Gauguin (1917, [musée du] Luxembourg: 1923. Met[ropolitan Museum]: 1939)’, p. 334. For an account of the fate of a painting by Monet, *A Freshening Breeze*, 1867 (now in Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown), which the Glasgow-based manufacturer Andrew Bain lent to the 1901 Glasgow International exhibition, see Hamilton, Vivien, and Fowle, Frances (eds.) *Millet to Matisse: nineteenth and twentieth-century French painting from Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 44.

[75] The Hugh Lane Bequest included a work now attributed to a contemporary imitator of Johan Barthold Jongkind, *Skating Scene in Holland* (London: National Gallery, NG3253).

[76] Charles Holroyd was appointed Director in January 1906, having been the first Keeper of the National Gallery of British Art, from 1897. As an artist, he was primarily known for his etchings, having trained with emigré Alphonse Legros (1837–1911), who also taught William Rothenstein at the Slade. For his request to travel to Holland, see NGA, NG7, Minutes of the Meeting of the NG Board, 20 November 1906, p. 290.

Amsterdam to show his paintings to Holroyd, but in the New Year he wrote to 'dear Sir Charles', offering to lend eight works to the National Gallery. The letter began:

> As it has always been a matter of astonishment and regret to me that this country (where the most magnificent paintings of the 1830 French and also of the Modern Dutch Masters have been acquired by private collectors) there was no Public Gallery suitable to receive pictures of these two famous schools, you can imagine my delight in finding, upon my return to London, after a long absence abroad, several fine examples, like your Boudin, Diaz and Fantin Latour, hanging on the walls of the National Gallery.

The artists admired by Drucker - Boudin, Diaz and Fantin-Latour - reveal a taste for painterly realism that the National Gallery had begun cautiously to accept under the influence of its new director. Charles Drucker showed precience in collecting paintings that were once considered bold, as evidenced by his contemporaries' reactions to his purchase of Jacob Maris's *The Truncated Windmill of* 1872 (Fig. 32).[77] Cornelis Gerardus 't Hooft (1866–1936), Curator of the Amsterdam City Museum, wrote of Drucker's 1895 acquisition, 'unlike now, Jacob Maris was [then] not generally esteemed, and it took courage to buy the *Truncated Mill* at that time. Even the late Mr Rudolf Kijzer (1840–1904), who… had urged Mr Drucker to collect a selection of these masters, could hardly agree with this purchase at the time'.[78] Though he did not explicitly write about their taste in painting, when discussing the 1903 Ernest Gambart sale at Christie's, London, with van Riemsdijk, Charles Drucker mentioned two works by Lawrence Alma-Tadema, and described being moved by *The Sculpture Gallery* (fig. 33) which was bought by George McCulloch (1848–1907), a Glasgow-born mine owner, for 6,000 guineas. He stated: 'although my wife and I do not typically like "Academic" art, the work kept returning to me for three or four days after I saw it'.[79] However, their own collection testifies to their evolving tastes. They began by purchasing historicist works like Alma-Tadema's *Egyptian Widow*, the first painting the Druckers lent to the Rijksmuseum, in 1903, before embracing the emerging realism of Pieter de Josselin de Jong's (1861–1906) *Coal Barges in England*, which they purchased in 1906. Compositions like de Jong's prefigured the work of Vincent Van Gogh (1853–1890), who as a dealer sold Hague School pictures at the height of their popularity under Tersteeg's tutelage, but as a painter would eclipse the reputations of his late nineteenth-century Dutch confrères in the twentieth century.

Like the artists they so admired - Israëls, Swan and the Maris brothers - the Druckers and other 'modern' collectors like them 'have suffered too long an undeserved neglect'.[80] It was clear that while the National Gallery's trustees were hesitant to embrace overtly avant-garde Continental movements, the Druckers appreciated their tentative shift in policy toward collecting *some* modern painters. Charles delighted in seeing modern French paintings like Eugène Boudin's seascape, *The Entrance to Trouville*, Narcisse-Virgilio Diaz de la Peña [known as Diaz]'s *Sunny Days in the Forest*, and still lives by Fantin-Latour on the walls of

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[77] This work was given to the Rijksmuseum in April 1910. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, accession no. SK-A-2458.

[78] 't Hooft, C G, 'Introduction - Der Verzameling J. C. J. Drucker in het Rijksmuseum', *Der Verzameling JCJ Drucker in het Rijksmuseum* (Roeloofzen-Hubner en van Santen, Amsterdam, 1907), unpaginated. Rudolph Kijzer was a fellow collector of the Hague School, and a collector of drawings. He was a board member for the Society of the Formation of a Public Collection of Contemporary Art, which had been established in 1874, at the insistence of Mr. C. P. van Eeghen, to collect modern paintings for State museums in Holland. The majority of these are now in the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. For the history of this society, see Jan Six, 'Introduction' in *Catalogus Van Schilderijen Teekeningen en Beelden in het Stedelijk Museum Bijeen-Gebracht Door de Vereeningen tot het bornem van een Openbare Verzameling van Hedendaagsche Kunst te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: 1911), pp. 3-4.

[79] Translation author's own. J.C.J. Drucker to van Riemsdijk, 28 April 1904, marked 'confidential', p. 3 [Haarlem: NHA, 1834]. The *Sculpture Gallery* is now in the Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, gift of Arthur M. Loew, presented in 1961, P.961.125.

[80] Charles Carter, 'Where Stands the Hague School Now? Part I', *Apollo* (June 1960), p.173.

Trafalgar Square.[81] His 1907 offer of five paintings to Holroyd was not without a note of self-congratulation, on having his own tastes endorsed by 'the nation':

> I make bold to assert that if this principle had been established somewhat earlier several prominent owners would have been found willing to present or bequest to the Nation some fine works by these celebrated masters. However, a beginning must be made and when you communicated to me the great honor your Board intended to confer upon my revered friend Jozef Israëls, by hanging his works, during his lifetime, it appeared to me a suitable occasion to start a wall of modern Dutch paintings and send you herewith the following five pictures:
> Johannes Bosboom, *Interior of Haarlem Church*, Jozef Israëls, *Philosopher*, Jacob Maris, *Mother and Child*, *The Drawbridge*, Anton Mauve, *Watering Horses*.
> And three pictures which perhaps are suitable to be hung with other schools:
> Giovanni Segantini, *The Shepherdess' Camp Fire*, Eugène Isabey, *Grand Fathers' Birthday* & *Fish Market Dieppe*.[82]

Beyond illustrating the couple's aesthetic tastes for progressive, though not modernist painting, the Druckers' choice of these eight oil paintings for Trafalgar Square also demonstrated their interest and engagement with the wider social networks of the artists they collected. Five of the paintings they offered the Gallery were produced by artists affiliated with the Hague School, one was by Italian Giovanni Segantini who largely worked in Switzerland, and a pair were by the French genre painter Eugène Isabey (1803–1886).[83] Isabey had been the tutor of both Eugène Boudin, who belonged to what Drucker 's contemporaries called 'the 1830s French School', precursor to the better-known Barbizon School, but he had also taught Dutch pre-Impressionist artist Johan Barthold Jongkind (1819–1891).[84] The stylistic influence of an older generation of French artists upon their Dutch pupils and associates was widely recognised in contemporary criticism.[85]

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[81] The paintings Drucker mentioned are Boudin's *Trouville*, presented by the NACF in 1906 (NG2078); Diaz's painting was bequeathed by Mr C Hartree, May 1906 (now NG2058). In a letter dated 10 April 1906, the same donor 'offer[ed] also a small sketch of *Hampstead Heath* by John Constable RA … The pictures were inspected by the Board, and it was Resolved that the Constable be declined with thanks, and that the Diaz be gratefully accepted.' See *Minutes of the NG Board*, 8 May 1906, NGA, NG7, pp. 276-7. The 'Fantins' were perhaps NG1686, which had been presented by the artist's friend, Mrs Edwin Edwards in 1899 (Chapter 5).

[82] J.C.J. Drucker to Holroyd, 25 February 1907, NGA, NG7/321/4. Seven of the eight works were accepted. The National Gallery's works are: Bosboom, *Interior of Haarlem Church*, National Gallery, NG2712; Israëls, *Philosopher*, NG2713; Maris's *Mother and Child* and *The Drawbridge*, NG2709 and NG2710 and two works by Isabey: *Grand Fathers' Birthday,* and *Fish Market Dieppe,* NG2714 and NG2715. Mauve's *Watering Horses* is now in the Tate's collection, transferred in 1920, but is currently on loan to the National Gallery (L715, formerly N02711).

[83] Isabey's paintings were in Britain when the Druckers bough them, as *Grandfather's birthday* was sold by Col. MacMurdo in 1889, while *Fish Market, Dieppe*, was sold in the Bowman Sale of June 1896. Drucker was not the buyer in either case ('Elion.' and Hogg, respectively). See *Catalogue: Modern Foreign School,* third ed. (Millbank: Tate Gallery, 1934), pp. 38-39.

[84] The National Gallery now has ten works by Boudin, all of which were gifts: NG2078, via NAC-F, 1906; NG2758, T.W. Bacon, 1910; NG3050, Henry Florence, 1916; NG3235, Sir Hugh Lane Bequest, 1917; NG6309-13, Judith E. Wilson, 1960; NG6530, Helena and Kenneth Levy, 1990. It has two paintings by Jongkind: NG4583, bequeathed to the Tate by the Belgian art dealer Hans Velten in 1931, transferred to the NG in 1956; NG6529, given by Helena and Kenneth Levy, 1990. A further painting, NG3253, part of the 1917 Sir Hugh Lane bequest, is now believed to be a contemporary forgery.

[85] See Michael E. Sadler, *Barbizon House: A Record of 1928* (London: Barbizon House, 1928): 'The affinity of Constable to Delacroix, to Diaz and Daubigny is clear. The great Dutch painters of the nineteenth century – Matthijs Maris, Jakob Maris and Willem Maris, Israëls, Bosboom and Mauve – are all closely related to the great Barbizon painters – Corot, J. F. Millet, Th. Rousseau, as well as to some of their English contemporaries.' (p. 23).

The offer of a 'Segantini' stands out as having a personal significance, given that the Symbolist artist was known for his depictions of the Engadine valley in the Swiss alps. This landscape would have been familiar to the Druckers, who often stayed in the valley during the summer months.[86] However, it is also quite possible that they had seen Segantini's work at the Pulchri Studio, where he exhibited his drawings as an international member of the Hollandsche Teekenmaatschappij (Dutch Watercolour Society). In any case, the Gallery's trustees decided that *The Shepherdess' Camp Fire* did not belong on the 'Dutch wall' that Drucker proposed, or as a loan among the 'other schools'. The Board asked 'that Mr Drucker … consider the suggestion that another of the Modern Dutch School should be substituted for the picture by Segantini'.[87] Three of the paintings that Drucker offered the National Gallery were on loan to the Rijksmuseum, but were sent back to London in February 1907, to be considered by the Trustees.[88] As today none of the Druckers' paintings are on display in the Gallery, and indeed the couple's much larger 1944 bequest is no longer kept together in the Rijksmuseum, the breadth of their collection is hard to envisage. But the inventory of their London home demonstrated that they did not slavishly collect works by a single national school. Nor was their private collection arranged by nationality, even though Drucker suggested a 'Dutch wall' for National Gallery, a display method in keeping with the didactic ambitions they expressed for 'their' hang at the Rijksmuseum, and the National Gallery's own methods.[89]

In offering this selection from their collection, the Druckers appeared interested primarily in promoting artists 'unrepresented at Trafalgar Square'. Perhaps the most significant line in his offer letter to the Gallery is that in which he explained that the loan was a way of marking 'the great honour your Board intended to confer upon my revered friend Jozef Israëls, by hanging his works, during his lifetime'.[90] Israëls was described by contemporaries as a credible successor to Rembrandt, a comparison which it seems the artist encouraged. Israëls was a patron of the new Rembrandt Huis Museum, opened in 1906, and made a significant financial contribution towards a new gallery to house the *Nightwatch* at the Rijksmuseum.[91]
In making the offer initially as a loan, while he 'watch[ed] events', it seemed that Drucker was unsure whether the Rijksmuseum's promised extension would ever be realised; it did not open until 1909. While supportive of the Rijksmuseum's director, the Druckers nonetheless wanted

[86] Charles Drucker to van Riemsdijk from the Neue Stalbadt hotel, St Moritz, Engandine, Suisse, dated 28 July 1905 [Haarlem: NHA, 476/1385]. He stays in the same hotel in 1911, see letter to Charles Holroyd, dated 13 June 1911. London: NGA, NG7/392/11.

[87] NGA, NG7, Minutes of a Meeting of National Gallery Board, 12 March 1907, pp. 302–3. I think that this painting is now in the Segantini Museum, St Moritz, as there is a painting in its digital inventory described: 'Cold November Day, 1883–1884, oil on canvas, 30 x 43.2 cm. On permanent loan from the Swiss Confederation, gift of J. C. J. Drucker, London, 1912'.

[88] Letter from Charles Drucker regarding his offer to lend eight pictures, 15 Mar 1907, addressed 'To Sir Charles Holroyd, or Mr [Hawes] Turner or Mr [George E] Ambrose [Chief Clerk of the National Gallery]', with annotation that Charles Holroyd received Mr Howell at the National Gallery. Drucker wrote, 'as bearer of this note Mr Howell representative of the Goupil Gallery is doing some rehanging at my house I shall feel most obliged if you will hand him my picture by Segantini as he can take it in my electric car and bring it here and hang it again'. This suggests that he was on familiar terms with the London staff of that Gallery, as well as their Hague-based colleagues. London: NGA, NG7/321/5.

[89] In October 2021, five of the twelve works were on display, but the rest were in store at the National Gallery (including the two works temporarily on loan from Tate). None of the eighteen drawings given by Drucker and the Swan Memorial Fund in 1911 [now Tate] are on public display.

[90] London: NGA, NG7/321/5.

[91] G. Gerda Schmidt, *The Art and artists of the Fifth Zionist Congress 1901* (New York, 2003), p. 81, cited in Rivka Weiss-Blok, 'Jewish Artists Facing Holland', in Yosef Kaplan (ed), *The Dutch Intersection: the Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 333.

to make a significant gift to 'the Nation' in which they lived, and expressed the intention that 'if an extension of the [National Gallery] building takes place … I shall make a codicil that in case of my death these pictures become the property of the Nation.' Their loan was reported on by several art critics – Claude Philips of *The Daily Telegraph* was critical of the decision to hang modern works in the National Gallery, rather than Millbank, 'where they obviously belong … with paintings of the same period', but acknowledged that the Druckers should be thanked 'ever so modestly,' for enriching 'our poor, starved representation of the Continental schools.'[92] Frank Rutter was thrilled with Holroyd's decision to rehang all the Dutch and Flemish works so that the Drucker works appeared in Gallery XII, alongside Wynne Ellis and Peel's Old Master pictures. He described the Druckers' 'small but precious group [which] … glow on the walls … settl[ing] any doubts as to the rank of the painters'. He also singled out the Isabeys, which he described hanging near a 'recent' Chardin acquisition in Gallery XVII, praising the fact that 'for the first time … another great French painter … is represented by two beautiful examples'.[93]

Charles might also have felt particularly civic-minded as the Druckers *themselves* began to be recognised for their promotion of Dutch interests abroad, not least in their support of Israëls's.[94] In 1905, Charles was ennobled with the Order of Orange-Nassau by Queen Wilhelmina. When he was later given a Grand Cross, Drucker wore his decoration and styled himself 'Herr' in England.[95]While negotiating this loan with the National Gallery in London, Charles Drucker was invited by the Private Secretary of the Dutch Queen for a formal audience, in respect of his 'great interest in our national art'. This honour, arranged by van Riemsdijk, seemingly ensured the continued beneficence of the Druckers to the Netherlands. In 1910, in a letter written to van Riemsdijk, Lydia wrote in English: 'just a few words to say how kind of you to put us up Sunday night. I feel very shy at the prospect of making my curtsy to the Queen, but we have really been overwhelmed by the "Hielde" (love) of the Dutch nation and are living in a dream'.[96] Writing to the Private Secretary's office at Het Loo, van Riemsdijk expressed his 'delight to bestow upon Herr Drucker the Order of Commander … in his thank you letter he assures us that he will make a gift of his Collection to the Rijksmuseum in his will', and that 'given the matter's considerable importance [the author was] … willing to risk a great deal to see this plan realised'.[97]

Shortly after receiving the additional honour from the Dutch state, Drucker wrote again to Holroyd:

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[92] Claude Philips, 'Art News', *The Daily Telegraph,* 27 April 1907, p. 6.

[93] The Chardin was probably *La Fontaine* (National Gallery, NG1664), acquired by Poynter in 1898. Rutter closed his article by expressing his hope that 'Mr Drucker will never want to take these [paintings] away from Trafalgar Square … but I wish from his splendid wealth of Marises that he could spare the nation another example of James's [Maris] later style'. Frank Rutter, 'Round the Galleries', *The Sunday Times,* 7 July 1907, p. 4.

[94] Translation author's own, from an illustrated pamphlet written on behalf of Queen Wilhemina, produced following a royal ceremony marking the Dutch government's acceptance of the Drucker-Fraser gift on 29 November 1909 [undated, privately printed]. At this event, Charles and Lydia were received by a royal party whom they toured around 'their' galleries, and were themselves given gifts: 'for their great interest in our national art … [they were presented] with a medal on behalf of some 2400 Dutchmen … as well as with the dedication and the signatures of some participants in the tribute, including that of HM The Queen Mother and HRH The Prince of The Netherlands'[Amsterdam, NHA,1745].

[95] 'Foreign Decorations' in the 'Court Circular', *The Times*, 6 July 1910, p. 13.

[96] Amsterdam, 1742/2.

[97] Note signed van Riemsdijk, undated, among the Rijksmuseum's 'Drucker Collection' loan dossiers [Amsterdam, NHA,1745]

> On the occasion of my receiving … the Grand Cross of the Orange Nassau… for which I am profoundly grateful, in recognition of my efforts to extend the appreciation of some great modern painters, I feel that this is a fitting opportunity to carry out an intention which I have long formed of presenting to the National Gallery of England those examples of the works of Maris, Mauve, Bosboom, Israels and Isabey which I have already lent to the Gallery, and I now desire so to present these pictures, and hope that this gift may be considered worthy of acceptance....[98]

The Druckers' gift to the National Gallery in May 1910 was followed by a further offer made after Drucker attended Alexander Young's posthumous sale at Christie's. There he purchased a work by early Impressionist painter Stanislas Lépine (1835–1892), *Le Pont Marie*, for 38 guineas (Fig. 34).[99] On the first afternoon of the three-day sale, Lydia wrote a short note to Holroyd on her husband's behalf:

> Re today's sale … Lot 26. E. Boudin. Although a Parisian picture dealer in whom I have great confidence told me that this was of the value of about £40, I went as far as 75 guineas; but it sold for 92 guineas. Lot 44. Corot, "The Bay". My friend did not like to take the responsibility to advise me. It fetched 235 guineas.
> Lot 78. Hervier. This he said was worth about 20 guineas. I went as far as 38 guineas, and it sold for 42 guineas.
> Lot 89 (Lepine) I bought at 34 guineas. I have asked Mr Hannen, of Christie's, to let you know that it will give me great pleasure if the Trustees of the National Gallery will accept this picture as a gift from me. In your letter of the 27th you mention a J Maris, but do not give the number.
> As far as I am aware there is no picture by Jongkind in the three days' sale.[100]

The landscape by Lépine, a pupil of Corot, was accepted by the Board on 13 July 1910, but it was clear from this correspondence that its purchase was the result of a request made by Holroyd for Drucker to act, if not officially as a buyer of works from the Young Collection, then at least as some kind of advisor or agent of the Gallery. It would therefore have been unlikely that the Trustees would reject this gift.[101] Drucker's role as agent was not unprecedented, as the Rijksmuseum Directorate files indicated he had been a bidder for van Riemsdijk, visiting several London salerooms on his behalf. Drucker often sent his friend cuttings from British newspapers detailing upcoming sales, and his annotated sale catalogues.[102] It is not clear whether in the case of the Young Sale it was Drucker or Holroyd who first proposed the Lépine purchase, but Holroyd clearly asked Drucker's advice beforehand. What the episode clearly showed was that Drucker worked with the Gallery beyond promoting the couple's collection, as Lepine's work represented a stylistic departure from the Hague School with which the Anglo-Dutch couple were most closely associated.[103]

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[98] Lydia Drucker, signed separately by her husband 'J C J Drucker', to 'The Trustees and Director, The National Gallery, England'. The letter is dated 27 May 1910. NGA, NG7/376/5.

[99] With inflation, the price was equivalent to £4,216 in 2021. The work is now in the National Gallery, NG2727.

[100] NGA, NG7/378/6.

[101] *Le Pont de la Tournelle* was the first work by the recently deceased Lépine to enter the National Gallery's collection (NG2727). The Ashmolean's Drawings Curator Victor Reinacker gave *A Gateway behind Trees* to the Tate [transferred 1956, now NG1361], via the NACF in 1923. A third Lépine, *Nuns and Schoolgirls in the Tuileries* was given by Mrs H W Rawlinson in 1963 (NG6346).

[102] An annotation in Drucker's copy of the Louis Huth Sale catalogue (Christie's London, 1905), beside '*A William and Mary Silver Tankard* … presented by Queen Mary to Simon Janzen for having safely conveyed the King to the Hague', says in English '£2050 bt. Crichton J C J D. went as far as £1250'. During the Huth Sale, Riemsdijk telegrammed Drucker in London authorising him to purchase the tankard for the Rijksmuseum, though he was outbid by £800.

[103] Technically, they were a British couple in 1910, even if they retained close ties with Holland. As the Dutch government forbid dual nationality; Drucker would have renounced his Dutch citizenship on naturalisation as a British citizen in 1888.

It seemed likely that achieving recognition *for* their peers, as well as from them, was the chief motivation in the Druckers' donating of works of art to national museums.[104] In a 1910 letter to T*he Sunday Times* on behalf of the members of the Swan Memorial Committee, which included Alma Tadema, Holroyd, Balcarres, MacColl and Temple, a campaign was proposed to allow regional museum directors to buy works from John MacAllan Swan's widow via a subscription fund that Drucker administered.[105] According to the *Aberdeen Journal*, 'the various directors of the principal art galleries in the country met at the house of Mr Drucker, London, to select the pictures they desired … Mr Drucker having conceived the happy thought' that he could save them money before the works went on the open market.[106] For the Aberdeen Art Gallery, works with a value of £449 5s were acquired with only £325 in promised subscriptions.[107]Similarly, in May 1911, the couple gave ten oil paintings and seven watercolours in honour of Israëls to the Rijksmuseum.[108] This was the first time that they made a joint gift to a museum under the name 'Mr and Mrs Drucker-Fraser of London'.[109] In the agreement concerning this gift, Drucker was explicit that they wanted the works to be understood as a tribute to the artist alone:

> We will find some excuse for not being present, so that he may be the hero of the day… I would also like, for his sake, that it be communicated to Reuter's Agency, so that his many friends and admirers all over the universe may learn that this belated tribute of honour and appreciation has at least been paid to the greatest of modern Dutch painters – our 19th century Rembrandt … Will you also kindly arrange, if her Majesty does visit the Rijksmuseum, that it is entered…as a visit to the "Josef Israëls Room", and not the Drucker Collection, as it is for Israëls and not for me that it is hoped the Queen will open the room'.[110]

Much like Charles's involvement with the Swan Memorial Fund, in presenting the contents of the 'Josef Israëls Room', the Druckers did not court further honours 'all over the universe'. In writing to a National Gallery trustee, Lord Lansdowne, the Dutch foreign minister wrote of 'la richesse' of Mr Drucker, whom he hoped would be invited to become 'a Trustee of one of your

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[104] In her acceptance speech, Queen Wilhelmina alluded to 'a misunderstanding' between the Druckers, Her Government's ministers and the museum's administrators. This may have been the couple's desire for a separate, named wing of the Rijksmuseum, which 'was impossible'.

[105] Among the subscribers was Heseltine, who paid £10.10s towards watercolours 'for the National Gallery or the British Museum', presumably because he was a trustee of both organisations. Other subscribers were Edmund Davis, Mrs Edmund Davis (Chapter 4) the Rhodes Trustees [Cecil Rhodes died in 1903], and Julius Wernher (also Chapter 4). 'Letter to the Editor: JM Swan Memorial', *The Sunday Times,* 12 June 1910, p. 4.

[106] See 'Aberdeen Art Gallery', *Aberdeen Journal*, 9 September 1910, in which it was reported that this museum raised the highest number of subscriptions towards the purchase of Swan's drawings, 'the next highest sum … was £275… in the possession of the City of London Art Gallery [Guildhall]. See 'The J M Swan Memorial Fund: Allocation of Drawings', *Aberdeen Journal,* 19 April 1911, p. 5. Four chalk drawings were 'presented by the Swan Committee, 1911' to the Leeds City Art Gallery, which may not have been selected by any of the museum directors invited to Druckers' home in 1910. See Anon., *Catalogue of the Permanent Collection of Paintings and Drawings* (Leeds: Leeds City Art Gallery, 1928), cat. nos. 402, 403, 761, 762, p. 69.

[107] This represented a total spend of £56,275, when accounting for inflation in 2022.

[108] 'Gift to the British Museum', *The Times,* 16 January 1911, p. 8: 'Chiefly through the exertions of that well-known and generous amateur, Mr J C J Drucker', John MacAllan Swan was commemorated in several British museums. Fourteen of Swan's drawings were bought for Millbank, see *Minutes of the National Gallery Board*, 14 February 1911, TGA, NG8, p. 43. Manchester Art Gallery bought a drawing, *Indian Elephant* (1911.4), and a bronze *Tiger,* from Drucker's own collection, was given to London's Guildhall Art Gallery [Guildhall, inv. no. 918].

[109] Schedule of works signed by B.W.F. van Riemsdijk, 25 May 1911 [Amsterdam, NHA, 1745/2].

[110] Letter written by Lydia Drucker in English, signed by J..C. J. Drucker, marked 'strictly private and confidential', 15 May 1911, to van Riemsdijk [Amsterdam, 1742/2].

museums'.[111] While his suggestion was not directly carried out, Drucker was invited to become an 'Associate' of Millbank in 1917. Though this honorary title was first suggested by Lord Curzon in 1914 in his report of recommendations for the Gallery, the first associates were not named until June 1917.[112] Charles Drucker declined the invitation as he had moved to Switzerland, 'feeling out of sympathy with prevailing' opinions regarding the presence of foreigners in Britain and thought it unlikely that he should return.[113]

The Drucker Collection during the Great War

The outbreak of the First World War and the increasing anti-German sentiment the Druckers detected in Britain cleaved the couple and their paintings from their London home. As their correspondence with both the National Gallery and the Rijksmuseum stopped suddenly during the war, it was difficult to retrace their movements, but they had left London for Switzerland before Christmas in 1915. Their possessions were stored in similarly neutral Holland in 1917, in the Rijksmuseum, perhaps owing to the threat of zeppelin attacks over central London.[114]

Because of their ardent belief in fostering cultural understanding between the two nations they had spent their lives moving frictionlessly between, the Druckers found it particularly difficult to accept that they could not maintain neutrality during the war. Before its outbreak, in 1912, Drucker had written to Holroyd that he felt compelled to contribute paintings which might help viewers across Europe to 'understand each other':

> I have already held the opinion for a number of years that it should be the endeavour of all civilised nations to learn to better understand each other, and that nothing promotes this desirable result so much as the fields of the Fine Arts, Commerce and Sports…
> I will feel proud in the future, as I have tried to do in the past, to contribute with my feeble efforts to this Anglo-Dutch understanding wherever an opportunity arises and it is for that reason you will oblige me by taking the necessary steps by which the Nation will become the owner of my three pictures, now on loan, viz. Th. [éophile] de Bock – "Woudrichem", M. Maris – "Montmartre" and W. Maris – "Ducks".[115]

During the conflict, the freedoms the Druckers had once enjoyed in Europe were restricted, and they were forced to articulate their national allegiance. This obligation was anathema to

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[111] Baron de Hogendorp to Lansdowne, 9 March 1912, in which he complimented Holroyd on his 'opening the portals of Trafalgar Square' to Dutch masters. NGA, NG7/401/6], p. 3.

[112] *Minutes of Board meeting*, 3 April 1917: 'the question of nominating associates should be formed by inviting past and potential future benefactors to accept a semi-official recognised position in relation to the gallery, a list of the Associates to be printed in the catalogue … The Director was instructed to compose a letter… to the following in the first instance: Lady Tate, Mrs Watts, Mr Joseph Duveen, Miss Alexander, Mr Wertheimer, Professor Sadler, Lady Wernher, Sir Arthur du Cros, Sir William Lever, and Mr Otto Beit.' TGA, TAM 72/4, p. 4.

[113] J.C.J. Drucker, *Some Correspondence concerning a British Passport* (Lausanne, 1919): 'as recently as June 1917 the Trustees of the National Gallery, British Art, Millbank, invited me to "become an Associate of the National Gallery, British Art" but I replied that feeling out of sympathy with prevailing opinions in England, that it was more than doubtful whether I should ever take up again my domicile in England.' p. 13.

[114] 210 National Gallery works were stored in Aldwych underground Station in 1917. Alfred Mond had raised the threat of zeppelin raids over London in 1915, as his government department (Office of Works) was responsible for the Gallery building. Henry Oppenheimer as Chairman of the Underground was thanked for his assistance. See *Board Minutes*, NGA, NG8, 9 February 1915, pp. 237-8; 10 July 1917, p. 366.

[115] Drucker offered to present three pictures lent by him to the Gallery in 1911 in a letter dated 1 May 1912. These works were accepted by the Gallery in 1912, though de Bock's *Woudrichem* was later transferred to Tate (N02873). Matthew Maris's *Montmartre* (NG2874) and Willem Maris's *Ducks* (NG2875) remained in Trafalgar Square, NGA, NG7/404/1.

Charles Drucker, who had been committed to fostering diplomacy through his art collection. Owing to his pacifist views, he faced great suspicion from the British authorities.

In a privately published pamphlet, *Some Correspondence concerning a British Passport confiscated by HBM's Minister in the land of Guillaume Tell*, Drucker revealed how far he was prepared to defend his belief in international peace. He voluntarily renounced his British passport in 1919. In an impassioned defence of his views, he wrote: 'born in a Free democratic Holland … having lived in *free* England since 1883, and having passed at least three months in this free Republic [Switzerland] I am getting too old now to start living under a regime where free expression of thought is tabooed … I have devoted my time, leisure and money to all works of peace and hold many letters of thanks from institutions like the National Gallery, the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum [and the Guildhall] for valuable presentations made to them and services rendered'.[116] Defining himself as 'ardent pacifist' in 1919, Drucker received a frosty reception from British politicians Lord Balfour (1848–1930), Sir Horace Rumbold (1868–1941) and Lord Curzon (1859–1925). [117]He had ridden alongside Lord Curzon, a trustee of the National Gallery (1911–1925) when he was invited to be an Associate.[118] Curzon later became the Foreign Secretary tasked with investigating Drucker's right to hold a British passport as a foreigner.

Charles Drucker's Home Office file revealed how the British government began to scrutinise the couple during the Great War and its immediate aftermath. In December 1915, while living at a hotel in Vevey, Switzerland, Charles Drucker applied for a permit to return to London for a meeting at his Grosvenor Street home with a Dutch minister. In this matter he sought the advice of Lord Lansdowne, who was former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Drucker was anxious about travelling as 'an alien', as he could not produce his 1888 certificate of naturalisation, which was in London. [119]The fact he left it indicated that his stay in Switzerland was not preconceived as a permanent move.[120] While reassuring him he would be free to travel, the British Government had an open investigation into the Druckers' activities in Switzerland.[121] The Under-Secretary of State told Berne colleagues that should Charles return to Britain, 'he should not be allowed to leave'. A search warrant and descriptions of the couple were circulated to forty ports around Britain, the War Office, and New Scotland Yard (Fig. 35).[122] The chief reason for the pending charge of 'disaffection' faced by both Charles Drucker and Lydia (who was 'known to support her husband's views') was 'pro-German sentiments' overheard by guests at their Swiss hotel. On being asked for a character assessment, Evelyn Grant Duff (1863–1926), then British Ambassador to Switzerland, reported that he regarded Charles as 'a very objectionable person… the Germans work a great deal through people like Drucker. They

[116] J.C.J. Drucker (1919), p. 13. Italics Drucker's own.

[117] Ibid., p. 14.

[118] See *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pasttimes and Racing Regulations*, 1 September 1895, p. 34.

[119] 'Drucker, Jean Carl Joseph, from the Netherlands', Home Office no. A5752, issued 15 March 1888, TNA, HO 144/10069.

[120] See typed copy of letter, written from Hôtel Trois Coronnes, Vevey, 23 December 1915, received by the Home Office on 6 January 1916, Kew: TNA, HO 144/10069.

[121] See file concerning 'Alien Restrictions', dated 6 January 1916. Kew: TNA, HO 144/10069, file B2.913.

[122] Memorandum by William Haldane Porter, HM's Inspector under the Aliens Act, dated 27 July 1917, Kew: TNA, HO 144/10069, S.C. 815.

are not exactly spies but are useful for propaganda purposes'.[123] Duff's assessment of Drucker closed with a damning verdict: 'Drucker is of course a notorious peace-crank'.[124]

Despite its customary brevity, the Home Office descriptions of the Druckers betray the suspicion of the British authorities to citizens with German heritage. While reporting that Drucker 'spends a lot of money', which might perhaps be a nod to their famed art collection it also claimed he was 'probably an agent'. In a Home Office meeting on 9 December 1915, the couple's beneficence was discussed. The Secretary wrote plainly, 'we should be aware of offending Mr Drucker and thereby risk drying up the fountain of his munificence to the National Gallery … Mr Grant Duff's letter is not without a touch of prejudice and in the absence of anything definite against him we have little to gain and possibly much to lose, by interfering in his movements'. However, a different hand in the margin wrote, 'let the National Gallery know they can do very well without his pictures'.[125] This document revealed the internal debates surrounding the Druckers' national allegiances. Drucker's earlier attempts to prove his loyalty to Britain, which he considered his contributions to the Gallery to be evidence of, fell on deaf ears.

A letter from Sir Horace Rumbold (1869–1941), then British ambassador in Berne, in April 1918, echoed the British government' conflict about the Druckers' relationship with Britain:

> The Drucker case will require careful handling … Drucker is a naturalised British subject of Dutch parentage and ultimately of German origin. He is well known to Lord Lansdowne and Lord Buckmaster (1861–1934, Asquith's Lord Chancellor, 1915–16) … he is a man of vast wealth and very munificent to British public institutions. He is against us in this war and makes no secret of his ulterior intention to resume Dutch nationality … He is a crank but not a harmless one as he is abnormally intelligent. His wife is a Jewess, daughter of Mr Fraser of Rotterdam. Early in the war he threatened to strike a bequest to the Nation out of his will for every letter intercepted by the Censor. He is intimate with Frau v. Grunelius and Miss Lindsay.[126]

Rumbold's description of Lydia Drucker-Fraser was curious, appearing between two sentences about her husband's Liberal leanings and supposed 'intimacy' with women with links to Prussia. The implication of Rumbold's remark, was that Lydia as 'a Jewess', whose father was 'from Rotterdam' rather than Scotland, shared her husband's pro-German sympathies. Elsewhere in Haldane Porter's description of the couple, she was described speaking in 'a thick German accent', though in her letters to both the Rijksmuseum and National Gallery, Lydia wrote in fluent English [making far fewer grammatical errors than her husband]. While the couple's supposed ties to Germany through their friends was the main source of anxiety for British ministers, one should not discount the possibility that they faced additional hostility

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[123] Duff suggested that Drucker had been overheard promoting anti-British sentiments, such as 'spread[ing] the report that the British first used asphyxiating gases at the battle of Pardenberg [18–27 February 1900]'. Evelyn Grant Duff, British Legation, Berne, 18 November 1915, to 'My dear Nicholson' [Kew: TNA, HO 144/10069, B2913, file 17704].

[124] Ibid.

[125] 'Foreign Office: Mr J C Drucker', 29. 11. 15', Kew: TNA, HO144/10069, Restricted file B2.913.

[126] Lord Buckmaster (1861–1934) was a Liberal politician. Frau von Grunelius was probably Marie-Adele von Grunelius (née Tachard, 1861-1948), who married into the influential Frankfurt industrialist family. She was close to Kaiser Wilhelm II. Alternatively, Rumbold could have referred to Frau Max von Grunelius (1881–1940), born Emma Mumm von Schwarzenstein, heiress of the Mumm champagne company, who married into the same Frankfurt family. I have found no evidence of any political affiliation, but she was by marriage a German aristocrat. An American citizen described as 'Miss Lindsay' was placed on a 'blacklist' by the British government in December 1915, 'for her open hostility to Great Britain during the [present] war.' Horace Rumbold to the Home Office, 12 March 1919. Kew: TNA, B2913 /6, in HO 144/10069.

owing to their previous Dutch and Jewish nationalities. Holland maintained its neutrality throughout the war, in part thanks to the efforts of Dutch businessmen who formed the Netherlands Oversea Trust Company. This group monitored trade between the Entente and Central European allied countries, as governments on both sides of the conflict sought to exploit the free port of Rotterdam to transport goods.[127] However, the Dutch government was frequently accused of preferential treatment of German interests, and this perception may have had an impact on the Druckers' treatment. In March 1919, officials in the Home Office found that despite Mr Drucker's sentiments 'of vexation and disillusion' over the war, these did not make him 'actively guilty of disloyalty and disaffection', and conceded that that 'Mr Drucker ha[d] a certain claim on this country by the munificence with which he has contributed in the past to public institutions'.[128] His movements were no longer monitored, but he did not seek to re-establish his British citizenship. The obligation was squarely with Drucker to demonstrate his national allegiance: 'it is open to Mr Drucker now to fulfil his intention to reassume Dutch nationality, and he may very well possibly solve the difficulty by carrying out his intention.[129]

Drucker was sensitive about his altered status as he felt he had become an alien 'outsider' in Britain, despite his earlier acts of generosity to its museums. As he had threatened in terse correspondence with Horace Rumbold, he altered his will c. 1919, bequeathing their entire collection including Chinese and Japanese porcelain, furniture, and the modern paintings to the Netherlands. In 1920, Drucker wrote to the National Gallery to request information about the whereabouts of his paintings after the Gallery's wartime closure, and was alarmed that many were no longer on public display.[130] He reiterated that his donations were made 'to the National Gallery – not to the Tate – as same was intended for British art', demonstrating that he was preoccupied by their being shown in the international context of the National Gallery, rather than relegated to Millbank's comparative 'foreign' display. This might also be read as an assertion of the Druckers' transnationalism, and their self-identification with the home of European painting in Britain, rather than among foreign anomalies at the National Gallery of British Art.[131]

Despite experiencing wartime sanctions, the Druckers continued to promote modern foreign painting in England and supported intercontinental diplomatic efforts through their collections. They lent forty works, including a newly-acquired Mauve, *The Morning Ride*, purchased from London's Barbizon House in 1927, to the 1929 *Dutch Art: 1450 – 1900* exhibition at the Royal Academy.[132] In the commemorative catalogue, introduced by Witt, 'Mr and Mrs Drucker-

[127] Samuël Kruizinga, 'NOT Neutrality: The Dutch government, the Netherlands Oversea Trust Co., and the Entente blockade of Germany, 1914–18' in Johan den Hertog and Kruizinga (eds.), *Caught in the Middle: Neutrals, Neutrality and the First World War* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2011), pp. 85–104. den Hertog suggested that Robert Cecil, Minister for Blockade from 1916, regarded Holland as 'consistently pro German in their actions' (p. 26).

[128] Minutes of meeting on 'Alien-Restrictions: Mr J C J Drucker', held at the Foreign Office, 11 March 1919. Kew: TNA, HO 144/10069, HO file B2913/6.

[129] Ibid.

[130] J.C.J. Drucker to Holmes, Montreux Palace Hotel, Switzerland, 15 March 1919. In this letter, he also made several suggested amendments to the 1920 *Modern and Foreign Schools* catalogue, not least correcting his own initials in the provenance information for Matthijs Maris's *Men Unloading Carts, Montmartre*, which he had donated to the gallery in 1912, NGA, NG14/ 1/1.

[131] The Druckers' paintings are mentioned by Frank Rutter in 'Foreign Art at the Tate Gallery', *Sunday Times,* 31 October 1920, p. 7.

[132] In 1927, the Druckers bought *The Morning Ride*, which had belonged to Croal Thomson at Barbizon House, though it appears it was sold to the couple the same year through K. Groesbeek of E van Wisselingh & Co, London. This painting first belonged to James Staats Forbes, until 1904, when it was bought by Abraham Preyer.

Fraser', as they were now known, were listed among the 'Society "Nederland-England"' based in the Hague, and as members of the exhibition's 'Dutch Committee'.[133]The catalogue reflected the tone of 'friendly rivalry' among European lenders.[134] Though living in the Swiss resort town Montreux, the Drucker-Frasers were named among the exhibition's Dutch lenders.[135] Perhaps it was at the behest of Frederik Schmidt-Degener, the Rijksmuseum's director, that the couple were recognised as Dutch lenders. His museum had been responsible for their collections since 1917, during the war. Nevertheless, it was hoped that the exhibition would prove mutually beneficial, as its proceeds provided funds towards acquisitions for both the NACF in Britain, and its Dutch equivalent, the Rembrandt Society, of which Charles Drucker was an active supporter.[136]

The Druckers' early wish that their paintings would remain together in Trafalgar Square was never realised. Perhaps they would have been happiest in 1914, when their works hung in a 'new' Gallery beside Dutch Golden Age luminaries like Vermeer.[137] Today, the Hague School is represented by Israëls's monumental painting, *Fishermen Carrying a Drowned Man*, given by Alexander Young's widow the same year as the Druckers' first gift.[138] But this work alone cannot testify to the popularity of modern Dutch painting in Britain in the early twentieth century, or to the position Israëls once enjoyed as the modern successor of Rembrandt. Towards the end of his life, Charles Drucker was conscious that the popularity of the Hague School which he had done so much to champion at the National Gallery and elsewhere - was beginning

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It was bought from Frederick Muller & Co. by Croal Thomson on 8 November 1927 (lot. 88), appearing in his Gallery's *1928 Barbizon Record.* The catalogue description read: 'the Dutch people are fortunate in having had this remarkable painting included in the semi-public collection of Mr J C J Drucker in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam, where it looks supremely well' (cat. 20, unpaginated). The work is now in the Rijksmuseum, catalogued as lent by Jean Charles Joseph Drucker and Maria Lydia Drucker-Fraser, 1927, Drucker-Fraser Bequest, 1944, accession no. SK-A-3602. See also *Netherlandish Art in the Rijksmuseum, 1800-1900* (Amsterdam: the Rijksmuseum, 2009) cat. 69, p. 204.

[133] I am grateful to Marco Keiller, former Library and Archive Assistant at the National Gallery Research Centre, for allowing me to consult Harold Isherwood Kay's copy of the *Dutch Art 1450–1900* exhibition catalogue (London: Burlington House, 1929), now in the National Gallery Library.

[134] Ibid., p. xii

[135] Witt stressed 'the magnificent part played by the Dutch galleries and private owners in Holland', who [together] contributed 445 out of a total of 963 exhibits. In contributing 21 of their own paintings, with a further 19 lent by the Rijksmuseum which were formerly gifts of the Drucker-Frasers, the couple were collectively the most prodigious lenders to this exhibition, contributing just under 5% of its total. See Robert Witt (ed.) *Dutch Art 1450–1900*, exh. cat. (London: Royal Academy, 1930), p. xxvii.

[136]Charles and Lydia Drucker do not appear to have visited the exhibition, held 4 January –9 March 1929, as he wrote to a London art dealer 'regarding a visit to once hospitable Britain it is not a question of letting bygones be bygones. I … stand aghast at the present medieval legislation concerning 'aliens'. The art dealer, perhaps Croal Thomson, wrote to Home Secretary Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who was frequently accused of antisemitism by his contemporaries, that 'Mr Drucker … has been very desirous of visiting the Dutch Exhibition at Burlington House … [but] he has decided not to come.' Drucker's resentment regarding a change in attitudes towards aliens in Britain was severe: 'I dislike the idea of going to a country which for centuries could boast of its hospitality towards strangers, and which is now in respect of alien legislation almost on a level with the former Russian Empire'. See correspondence dated 22 and 26 February 1929. Kew: TNA, HO 144/10069, Home Office file B2913.

[137] See *Manchester Courier*, 'New Room at the National Gallery', 24 January 1914, p. 6: 'those who dropped into the National Gallery were surprised to find… the two small well-lighted and well-proportioned galleries … to the right and left of the first flight of steps … over the entrance hall … its contents the small works of old [including the Gallery's two Vermeers] and modern Dutch masters'.

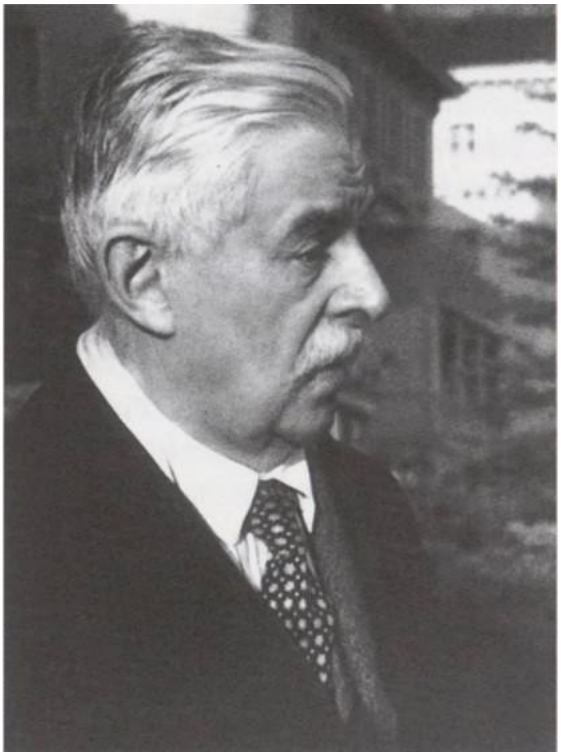
[138] The work was 'presented by Mrs Alexander Young at her husband's wish, 1910'. National Gallery, NG2732.

to wane.[139] In 1939, John Rothenstein, Director of the Tate Gallery, wrote him a conciliatory note explaining that only three works donated by the couple were on display in Millbank, but promised he 'would do all I can to arrange for the exhibition elsewhere of any of the works … for which place cannot immediately be found'.[140] As it transpired, few of the Druckers' works have been exhibited or lent by the Tate or the National Gallery. One notable exception is *The Philosopher* by Israëls – which was the first work visitors saw at the 1949 exhibition *Famous Jewish Artists of the Past* at the Ben Uri Gallery.[141] Whether the Druckers could have anticipated it, when exhibited in this post-war context, Israël's *Philosopher* (fig. 36) took on an even greater significance for the Jewish community. Its acceptance into the National Gallery in 1910 was as a tangible sign of a Jewish artist's transcendence from alterity to preeminence in the Western European art world. This was perhaps an unexpected legacy for a Jewish couple who do not appear to have been remotely interested in promoting *their* own difference as Jews, but does accord with their sustained mission to highlight and promote cross-cultural understanding through works of art.

[139] In the *Manchester Courtier and Lancashire Advertiser,* 21 August 1908, a journalist drew attention to the work of a living French artist, Harpignies, which entered the National Gallery's collection thanks to a gift from the Irish collector Miss Evelyn McGhee, but it was not the first, as 'no later than last year … *The Philosopher* by Jozef Israels … lent by Mr F (sic) C Drucker, was hung in Room 12', p. 6.

[140] Typed copy of letter from John Rothenstein to J.C.J. Drucker, dated 13 May 1939. Amsterdam: NHA, 1745/6.

[141] *Famous Jewish Artists of the Past: Israels, Liebermann, Modigliani, the Pissarros, Soutine,* exh. cat. (London: Ben Uri Art Gallery, 23 June24 July 1949), cat. no. 1. The work is now in the National Gallery, catalogued as *An Old Man Writing by Candlelight,* NG2713.



Figs. 24 & 25. Anon., Charles, and Lydia Drucker-Fraser, 1939. Photographs from Engel (1965), p. 2.

Fig. 26. Charles-Francois Daubigny, *St Pauls from the Surrey Side*, c. 1870-3 (London: National Gallery, NG 2876)

Fig. 27. A.C. Cooper, *the installation of Gallery F in the National Gallery, Millbank* (detail), showing NG2876 hanging in the centre of the wall, above *Manet's Sketch for a Concert in the Tuileries* (NG 3260).

Fig. 28. Anton Mauve, *The Heath at Laren,* oil on canvas, c. 1886. (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2430).

Fig. 29. Jozef Israëls, *The Rabbi*, watercolour, 1886. The painting was bought by Drucker in 1886, lent to the Rijksmuseum in 1907, and donated by the Druckers in May 1912, following the death of the artist.

Fig. 30. Jozef Israëls, *The Jewish Wedding,* 1903, oil on canvas, 137 x 148 cm (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2598). Gift of Mr and Mrs Drucker-Fraser, 4 May 1912.

Fig. 31. 1. Jos Cuyper, *Proposal for the Drucker Extension to the Rijksmuseum* (rectangular plan building, centre left of main entrance, with circular window on second storey), May 1906.

Fig. 32. Jacob Maris, *The Truncated Windmill*, signed and dated 1872, presented by the Drucker-Frasers to the Rijksmuseum in April 1910.

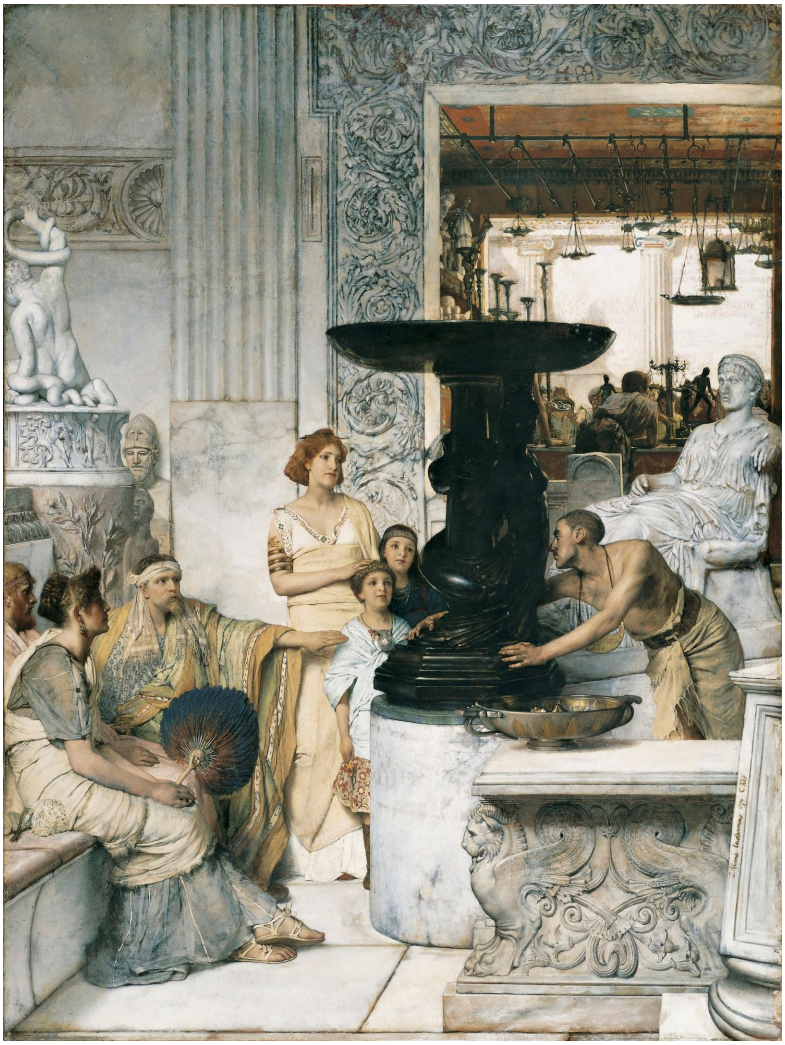


Fig. 33. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *The Sculpture Gallery*, 1874, admired by Drucker at the Ernest Gambart Sale, bought by George McCulloch of Glasgow in 1903 (now in Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, inv. no. P.961.125).

Fig. 34. Stanislas-Victor-Edmond Lépine, *Le Pont de la Tournelle*, *Paris*, c. 1862-4, oil on canvas, 13.7 x 24.4 cm (London: National Gallery, NG 2727). Presented to the National Gallery by the Druckers in 1910.

DRUCKER, J.C.J. and wife.

Dutch Jew, naturalised British. Son of a German naturalised Dutchman. Now at Grand Hotel, Baden.

Very pro-German, and has a large correspondence with Germany and Austria. Spends a lot of money and is very probably an agent.

Desoription:- Age about 55; height about 5'9"; build medium hair turning grey; eyes grey; highly colcured complexion; turned up moustache; always wears a soft hat; has a very smart appearance.

Description: (Mrs. DRUCKER) - Height 5'5"; large build; face full, and highly coloured complexion; hair brown turning grey; speaks with a strong German accent.

Thorough search if they come to the United Kingdom, and their arrival reported to me.

W. HALDANE PORTER.

Fig. 35. Details on The Druckers' from Home Office file concerning 'Alien Restrictions', written by William Haldane Porter, 6 January 1916.

Fig. 36

Jozef Israëls, *Old Man Writing by Candlelight ('The Philosopher'),* c. 1885-99, oil on canvas, 65 × 54.6 cm, signed by the artist (London: National Gallery, NG2713), presented by J.C.J. Drucker to the National Gallery, 1910.

Chapter 4: Jewish Collectors of Fine Art throughout the British Empire

As Jewish collectors of British paintings (among other things), Edmund and Mary Davis's and Alfred de Pass's interests often intersected with those of the National Gallery's curators and even more often with Millbank's. These collectors (and prolific donors, in de Pass's case) also engaged in adjacent forms of cultural and civic philanthropy, and in the patronage of living artists. Though their fortunes were made in South Africa, they have been marginalised in the literature on Jewish collectors in the British Empire, which has focused on Jewish 'Randlords' who profited from mining the country's natural resources in the early twentieth century.[1]

For Alfred de Pass, his Jewishness was clearly an important part of his identity, as he made significant efforts to preserve Jewish heritage in his adoptive home of Britain. He also socialised frequently with other Anglo-Jewish families, principally the Salamans, a family of feather merchants who had also profited from goods found on the South African Cape. His Jewishness does not appear to have been commented on by non-Jewish acquaintances and friends of his, however. Edmund and Mary Davis, by contrast, seemed to maintain few connections with the Jewish community into which they had been born in Australia. While they kept close familial ties with the Halford family, these largely centred around a mutual love of making and collecting art, rather than a shared faith or 'communal' Jewish values. Similarly, they were not frequently referred to as Jewish by their contemporaries. They befriended the British artist Charles Ricketts, who was highly critical of the tastes of several other Jewish art collectors, occasionally expressing antisemitic prejudice, but who did not appear to consider the Davises among the nouveau-riche Jewish collectors whose tastes he openly criticised. What both de Pass and the Davises have in common with the other Jewish collectors discussed here was their passionate support for contemporary British artists whose friendship they enjoyed, but also their surprising absence both in accounts of British Jews cultural interests, and those of major British art collectors of the twentieth century.

There is a growing literature on British Jews' efforts to uphold British imperial values, but these three historical actors, whose collections were dispersed by their legacies to South Africa, have not received critical attention. As Feldman observed, 'the relationship of Jews to the Empire' has proven 'a difficult problem for later generations to address', though the imperial ambitions of many British Jews were not exactly 'hidden' by these 'subjects' themselves.[2] Ironically, their benefaction of the South African National Gallery (now Iziko) in Cape Town, or what some art historians have described as their 'imperial' ambitions there, could explain their obscurity in European literature, while a postcolonial turn encouraged cultural historians to research indigenous artists and patrons over 'European' colonisers. However, by examining their relationships with its artists and cultural institutions while living in England, I consider how these Jewish collectors have been recognised, and forgotten, in Britain since.

The Davis Collection

Sir Edmund Davis (1861–1939), 'once owner of the finest collection of early twentieth-century British paintings, is now a forgotten figure', wrote Simon Reynolds in 1980.[3] Despite being

[1] Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Randlords: The Men Who Made South Africa* (London: Weidenfeld, 1993) and Michael Stevenson, *Art & Aspirations: The Randlords of South Africa and their Collections* (Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2002).

[2] David Feldman, 'Jews and the British Empire c. 1900', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 63 (2007), p.70.

[3] Simon Reynolds, 'Sir Edmund Davis, Collector and Patron of the Arts', *Apollo*, June 1980, p. 459.

ennobled in Britain and France, posterity has not been kind to Australian-born Edmund and even less to Mary, born Halford (1866–1941). Their omission from scholarship is surprising given the number of works of art with Davis provenance now belonging in museums internationally, at least a dozen of which passed into Millbank (see Appendix 2), and many more to Paris's musée d'Orsay. Like the Duveens who were 'forgotten' as exhibition organisers, but were widely recognised in the contemporary press, and indeed like the Druckers's 'celebrated' collection, it was useful to turn to contemporary accounts of the Davis' collection to reconstruct its scale and character.

Before the Great War, their collection was deemed worthy of a public lecture by their friend, Charles Ricketts.[4] In the late 1990s, two exhibitions held in Paris and Cape Town celebrated Edmund Davis's art collecting, but both were incomplete as neither explored the couple's shared interests in commissioning contemporary artists, nor acknowledged Mary's role as an artist.[5] As collectors of the fellow contemporary artists, as well as owners of Old Master paintings which hung at their Kent home, Chilham Castle, the Davises often publicly demonstrated their interest in both historic and modern painting. For example, the catalogue entry for the Fitzwilliam's *Portrait of Ricketts and Shannon as Medieval Saints*, c.1920 (fig. 37), describes the work as 'probably' belonging to Edmund Davis, even though it was listed in the couple's estate sale at Christies in 1942.[6] In part the oversight of the Davises as collectors has stemmed from their artistic choices. While they invested heavily during their lifetimes in the 'immortal company' of art, interest in many of the contemporary artists they patronised, like Ricketts (1866–1931) and Charles Shannon (1863–1937), and their 'arcadian' aesthetic vision has not weathered changes in popular taste.[7]

While Reynolds considered them 'forgotten in every field' of their endeavours, this forgetting was also the result of a failure to recognise the collaborative dimension of the Davises' patronage, particularly through their involvement with 'The International' artists' union.[8] They often shared their possessions, making 'swaps' with their artist friends as in the case of the *Saints* portrait, further dispersing their collection around the world. What has been said of their close friends, Ricketts and Shannon, that their collection was 'less a personal enterprise than it was a collective and embracing ideal', could just as accurately describe the Davis' own

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[4] Charles Ricketts to Mary Davis, undated (before 1914), London: British Library, Add Man 88957/8 f10. Ricketts asked about Mary's request for a lecture (for the Emergency War Wounded Fund): 'Possibly the painters in your collection or the collection itself might suggest a lecture – this might be done on business lines – and Edmund warned beforehand that unless a fine donation is forthcoming his Velasquez and Houdon will be pronounced spurious'.

[5] South African National Gallery, *The Edmund and Mary Davis Bequest* (SANG, Cape Town, 1999). Though it contained a useful catalogue essay by Anna Tietze, there were several inaccurate catalogue entries. For example, two signed drawings were attributed to sculptor Maurice Lambert RA (1901–1964), rather than his father, George Washington Lambert (1873–1930). Olivier Meslay at the Musée d'Orsay curated *Sir Edmund Davis's Collection: A Great Amateur's Gift to French Museums* (2 March– 6 June 1999). Despite being conceived as a 'collaborative' project with Cape Town, no catalogue was produced but Meslay published a list of the Davis gifts in the d'Orsay *Revue* (1999), p. 48. Mary was similarly neglected in its discussion of the collection.

[6] See J.W. Goodison, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings: Volume III British School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), entry for Dulac, P.D. 51-1966. The painting was lot. 47 in the *Catalogue of the Ancient and Modern Pictures and Drawings, the Property of the Late Sir Edmund Davis J.P., removed from Chilham Castle* (London: Christie's, 15 May 1942), where it was 'bought by Abbott' and later donated to the museum.

[7] T. Martin Wood, 'The Edmund Davis Collection: Part I', *The Studio*, no. 264 (1915), p. 80.

[8] The International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers was established in 1898 and its members exhibited as 'The International' until 1925.

approach.[9] The Davis' true legacy might prove to be their support and cultivation of the careers of fellow artists and the creative environment they fostered in their homes in London, Kent, France and Italy, rather than their possessions. While drawing on the previous work of Reynolds and Tietze, in this chapter I also want to demonstrate their fertile patronage of living artists, which has not been explored.

Reynolds's article on the Davis Collection partially established the breadth of Edmund Davis's interests, but the author did not mention that both the businessman and his partner were artists. The last two items in the posthumous 1942 sale were 'two easels', and their union was forged on a shared interest in the visual arts.[10] Mary Davis was not the only practising artist in her family; her sister Constance (born Halford, fl. 1891–1935), and Constance's husband Cecil Rea (1860–1935) were also painters.[11] Another Halford sister, Amy, was patron of the Australian artist Charles Conder, commissioning a portrait which is now in the Fitzwilliam.[12] Marion Spielmann, in *The Jewish World*, singled out among 'six members of the Jewish community' represented in the International Society's 1908 exhibition, 'Mrs Mary Davis's' *The Lake*, for demonstrating 'sincerity and evidence of serious study', though he was not altogether fulsome with his praise, finding her 'suggestion of water … unaqueous'.[13]However, except for Barbara Pezzini, few have since written about Mary Davis. Pezzini noted that Mary and Conder had a joint exhibition at Colnaghi and Obach, New York, in 1914. [14] She showed a painted fan depicting a 'Bergamasque' that entered Millbank's collection in the same year, through Francis Howard (1874–1954), on behalf of the National Loan Exhibitions Committee.[15] It was purchased by Howard from another exhibition, the 1915 'International Society of Artists', of which he was a founder, and both Davises were members. Howard had

[9] John Potvin, *Bachelors of a Different Sort: Queer Aesthetics, Material Culture and the Modern Interior in Britain* (Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 85.

[10] Christie's London, 15 May 1942, lot 162, two easels.

[11] Constance Halford first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1892 with an oil landscape, *A Grey Day, Porlock* (no. 493). She continued to exhibit after she married Cecil Rea, most often as part of the Society of Twenty-Five Artists, but she also had a solo exhibition, 'Drawings and sketches by Miss Constance Halford, at the John Baillie Gallery in May 1903. Mary Davis and her sister took part in a group show with Mrs Robert Anning Bell [born Laura Richard, b. 1867], 'Pictures, Portraits, Fans and Frivolities', organised by London's Fine Art Society (1919).

[12] See *Mrs Amy Halford* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. no. PD.32-1984). It was bequeathed by Mrs Georgina de Paszt, the daughter of the sitter's friend (1984). Amy Halford also appeared in a painting by George Washington Lambert, *The Convex Mirror*, c.1916 (now Library of New South Wales). She is shown seated in the parlour at Belwethers, Mary Davis's mother, Mrs Halford's home, who was also a patron of the artist until her death in 1915. Both Edmund and Mary Davis appear, Edmund standing in the doorway, while Mary in mourning dress, drinks tea at the table. This painting was not commissioned by the Davises, but in January 1918, when considering its loan to the Society of the International exhibition, Lambert wrote 'the prices could be, say, £150 for 'The Convex Mirror', or £100 to Davis if he *really* wants it'. See also Amy Lambert, *Thirty Years of an Artist's Life* (Sydney: Society of Artists, 1938), p. 77. Lambert was probably introduced to fellow Australian Charles Conder by the Davises, who had given him a studio at 80 Lansdowne Road, from 1902 to 1904.

[13] Marion Spielmann, 'At the International', *The Jewish World*, 17 January 1908, p. 44.

[14] Barbara Pezzini, 'New documents regarding the Carfax Gallery: 'Fans and other paintings on silk by Charles Conder, 1902', *The British Art Journal*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Autumn 2012), pp. 19–29.

[15] The fan is titled 'Masques and Bergamasques', as it depicted a musical celebration that was specific to Bergamo, Italy (now Tate, N03004). Isidore Spielmann was the Treasurer of the National Loan Exhibitions Committee (see Chapter 1).

been Secretary of the 1901 *Women's Art Exhibition* in Earl's Court. [16] There, Mary Davis showed nine watercolour landscapes (which were for sale).[17]

Edmund and Mary were both raised in Australia – Edmund in Toorak, an affluent Melbourne suburb, while Mary was probably born in Sydney. Mary's mother Orovida Bensusan (b. 1841) was sister to Edmund's mother Josephine (b. 1869), of Maghrebi Jewish descent. Their shared maternal grandparents were Jacob Levy Bensusan and Sarah Levi (m. 1822), émigrés from Leeds to New South Wales with a textiles business. The Australian family maintained links with Europe, with many Bensusans returning to London for work. Some like Edward and Mary pursued careers in the arts.[18] Perhaps due to a lack of cultural stimulus in suburban Australia, Edmund's parents moved to France and at seventeen, Edmund studied in Paris under flower painter Victor Leclaire (1830–1885). A severe lung condition cut short his artistic ambitions, as his family insisted he travelled to South Africa for his health. There he undertook an apprenticeship in his uncle Montague Bensusan's trading firm.[19] Edmund made a series of early investments (though probably with his uncle's support), such as acquiring exclusive rights to harvest an island rich in guano.[20] In his early twenties he became a prospector of base minerals across German-controlled Southern Africa.[21] He was one of the first investors in the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, in what would later become Botswana, and was an integral member of Cecil Rhodes' (1853–1902) British South Africa Company. In 1891, on Rhodes's behalf, he went to Berlin to negotiate with Kaiser Wilhelm II over plans to lay railway tracks throughout West Africa.[22] His close connection to Rhodes, who has been the focus of widespread criticism, particularly in relation to the many monuments that remain in his honour, made it even more curious that Edmund Davis evaded similar critical scrutiny.[23]

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[16] The 1901 *Women's Art Exhibition's* Chairman was Imre Kiraldy (1845–1919), a Hungarian Jewish impresario and producer of theatrical events for 'London Exhibitions Ltd'. See Cyrus Adler and Frank Kramer, 'Imre Kiraldy', in Isidore Singer et al.(eds), *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–6).

[17] The catalogue listed the artist's address as 13 Lansdowne Road, London. The paintings that 'Mrs Mary Davis' exhibited were all landscapes, see nos. 1590, *Tree Study,* £8,8s; no. 1592, *Evening Clouds,* £15, 5s; no. 1593, *Cornish Study*, £8,8s; nos. 1594 and 1595, *After a Summer Storm* and *The Churchyard Steps*, both £35; no. 1598, another version of *After the Summer Storm*, £35; no. 1590, *Spring Study*, also £35; no. 1698, a *Garden Study*, £35,5s, and finally no. 1690, *Study for a Landscape*, also £5,5s.

[18] Another first cousin of Mary and Edmund was Inez Bensusan (1871–1969), a popular playwright, actress, and member of the Jewish League for Women's Suffrage, whose family moved to London from Sydney in 1894. In her will, she bequeathed her 1924 portrait by Cecil Rea to the Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney (inv. no. OB1.1968).

[19] If one traces the family's genealogy (to Daniel de Pass [b. 1797], a boot dealer who worked from 33 High Street, King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1830–c.1845), de Pass's eldest son was Aaron de Pass (1815–1877), grandfather of Alfred Aaron de Pass. His youngest child (of 10 children) was Catherine (1833–1914), who married Montague Moses Levy Bensusan, uncle of Edmund Davis and his first official employer in South Africa. See Martin Scott, entry for 'No. 33 High Street', 'King's Lynn History Blog', n.d., accessed 4 November 2023.

[20] Several Jewish art collectors traded in guano, like Auguste Dreyfus (1827–1897), who lived in Peru for most of his career, and Edmund's contemporary Alfred Aaron de Pass, also a donor to the National Gallery in London, who grew up in South Africa before moving to Britain as a young man. De Pass's collecting is discussed later in this chapter.

[21] I.R.Phimister, 'The Chrome Trust: the Creation of an International Cartel, 1908–38', *Business History*, vol. 38, no. 1 (1996), pp. 77–89.

[22] Edmund Davis reportedly kept a signed photograph of Rhodes in his London office in Old Jewry. See his obituary in *The Times*, 21 February 1939, p. 16. For reporting on his 1899 visit to Kaiser Wilhelm to advocate for the 'Cape to Cairo' railway line, see *The Telegraph*, 13 March 1899, p. 9, and *The Times*, 17 March 1899, p. 5.

[23] The 'Rhodes Must Fall' movement began in 2015 with protests led by University of Cape Town students calling for the removal of a bronze statue of Cecil Rhodes from their campus, as well as the greater representation of Black teaching staff on its Senior Management Board. The protests led to similar attempts to 'decolonise' the

During his lifetime, admirers (and almost as many critics) acknowledged how effectively Edmund Davis controlled businesses across vast swathes of the African continent, maintaining a virtual monopoly over many of its emerging industries. A cartoon in *The African World* depicted him in the guise of Emperor Napoleon I, straddling the African continent, while also alluding to both men's shortness (fig. 38). Davis was portrayed in 1913 as one of five 'modern Napoleons' in an untitled cartoon produced by Max Beerbohm (1872–1956). Davis later collected Beerbohm's caricatures at his Chilham Castle home, suggesting that he was not offended by the characterisation.[24] The *New Age's* cartoonist Tom Titt (pseudonym of Polish artist Jan Stanislaw De Junosza Rosciezewski,1885–1956) chose the same motif for his earlier portrait of financier Edgar Speyer, his legs forming a tunnel over a London Underground train, commenting on his provision of the majority of the financing for the expansion of its deepest lines (fig. 39).

While managing multiple mining companies (his obituary suggested as many as sixty), Edmund Davis accumulated interests in (but not limited to) tin, asbestos, copper and chrome. He often dealt directly with foreign governments to promote British imperial expansion projects, spreading his operations into China, where he sat on the boards of several engineering companies, and later built tramways throughout Singapore.[25] Davis's Chinese activities drew criticism from a fellow Australian, George Ernest Morrison (1862–1920) who commented on 'British' operations in East Asia: 'look at the way we have swindled the Chinese in the case of the Pekin Syndicate and…Chinese Engineering and Mining Company under the previous Chairman … the notorious Edmund Davis – a Jew who would cheat his blind grandmother at cards, a worse man than even George Cawston or Carl Meyer'.[26] The descriptor 'Jew' was a word frequently used by his contemporaries as a verb to signify swindling or cheating, inferred by Morrison's reference to cards. In a parallel case to the Druckers, in the Colonial Office files, a classified dossier produced before October 1914 listed individuals under investigation for their links to Germany. By Edmund Davis's name: 'origin and nationality unknown, probably a German Jew. Great friend of Darnburg the late German Colonial Secretary … E. Davis is no friend of England.'[27] The comparison with other Jewish businessmen like Carl Meyer (1851–

universities which had received endowments from Rhodes: Stellenbosch in South Africa, Harvard in the US, Oxford and Imperial College in Britain. A synchronous campaign to change the name of Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa, proved unsuccessful, as its Board vetoed the action.

[24] The untitled 1913 work depicted 'Napoleon… riding disconsolate on a horse, [behind] stand… five contemporary Napoleons – Lord Northcliffe, Edgar Speyer, Edmund Davis, John Redmond, and one still unidentified'. The drawing was accompanied by a Ben Jonson quote: 'Yea, though thy child shall childless die, / Time will provide fair progeny/ To call thee forebear.' See Rupert Hart-Davis, *Catalogue of the Cartoons of Max Beerbohm* (London: Macmillan, 1972), no. 1084, p. 104. The Davises owned a sketch by David Wilkie, *Napoleon, and the Pope at Fontainbleau*, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (inv. no. NGI.240). See Christie's Davis Sale, July 1939, lot. 73.

[25] See his obituary in The *Times*, op. cit.

[26] Morrison seemed particularly preoccupied with Davis's Jewishness, as he later continued: 'being Chairman of the Chinese Engineering and Mining Co. [Davis] appointed as a manager a coreligionist named W S Nathan (Major Walter Simeon Nathan, 1867–1940) and Nathan again appointed as his second another Major named Micklem probably the most disagreeable brute in North China.' See Lo Hui-Min (ed), *The Correspondence of G.E. Morrison*, vol. I, 1895–1912 (Cambridge University Press: 1976), pp. 376–77. For a detailed study of anxieties around the perceived power of South African-based Jewish businessmen, and their relationship with the British government, see Colin Holmes, *Anti-semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), pp. 65–7, and *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society*, *1871–1971* (London: Macmillan, 1988), p. 63.

[27] See file kept 2 January 1914–26 October 1914, in Selected Colonial Office Files on Africa. Kew: The National Archives, CO 163, f345.

1922), and Speyer, showed that in the eyes of his critics, despite their different activities and nationalities, Davis's 'Jewishness' was an additional problem.[28]

Though he may have shared *some* of the professional and personal interests of other, often Jewish, German-born industrialists on the Rand at the turn of the twentieth century, Davis's involvement in diamond mining was marginal, so he was considered distinct from the 'Randlords' that have been the subject of critical study by economic historians and historians of collecting. Davis's monopoly over the chromium industry was the subject of a short article in *Business History* by Ian Phimister, but he did not discuss his cultural interests.[29] In his comprehensive thesis on South African Jewish art collectors, Michael Stevenson excluded the Davis Collection, reasoning that, 'because he was not involved in the Kimberley diamond fields and his investments in the Rand goldfields were passive … Edmund Davis was a debatable Randlord at best'.[30] Davis was conceived as an outlier among the Jewish fine art collectors whose careers were also built on the Rand, Alfred Beit (1853–1905) and his brother [Sir] Otto Beit (1865–1930), Hermann (1847–1893) and Frederick Eckstein (1853–1930), Julius Wernher (1850–1912) and Max Michaelis (1851–1932).

Frustratingly little is known about Mary's background, other than that she briefly attended Ridley Art School, which was run from the Chiswick studio of the artist Matthew White Ridley (1837–1888), a friend of Whistler, five of whose works the Davises would later collect.[31] Mary first exhibited her landscape paintings at the Royal Academy in 1896, while also showing at the Paris Salon throughout the 1890s.[32] In the late 1890s, she began taking painting lessons from the society portrait painter Shannon, through whom she was introduced to Shannon's artistic (and probably romantic) partner, Ricketts, with whom she shared a lifelong friendship. Largely working in watercolour on silk and choosing Rococo subjects, she often drew inspiration from Jean-Antoine Watteau's (1684–1721) *fêtes galantes.* At the start of the First World War, Mary asked Ricketts to give a lecture on Watteau in aid of the French War Wounded Emergency Fund.[33] Her friends Ricketts and Shannon owned at least four red chalk

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[28] See Antony Lentin, *Banker, Traitor, Scapegoat, Spy? The Troublesome Case of Sir Edgar Speyer,* (London: Haus Publishing, 2013). John Singer Sargent painted an oil *Portrait of Lady Speyer Playing the Violin* in 1907 (Private Collection). Edgar Speyer supported the Queen's Orchestra, the Proms, the Whitechapel Art Gallery and the King Edward VII hospital. He was made a baronet in 1906 but was stripped of his peerage and forced to leave Britain in May 1915, and faced a judicial tribunal in 1921, under the 'Aliens Act'.

[29] Ian Phimister, 'Davis, Sir Edmund Gabriel (1861–1939), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online since 2004, accessed 12 September 2021.

[30] Michael Stevenson, *Old Masters, and Aspirations: The Randlords, Art and South Africa*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1997, p. 31, n.120.

[31] The Davises bought *At the Piano*, c.1858–9, from John James Cowan in 1899 (now Cincinnati, Taft Museum, inv. no. 31-1962-7), and in January 1899 bought *Brown and Silver, Old Battersea Bridge,* c.1862–5 (now Andover, MA., Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, inv. no. 1928.55), *Symphony in White: III*, 1865–7 (now Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, inv. no. 39.24) and *Note in Red and Violet/ Nets,* 1884 (Private Coll.). Finally, they bought 'Nocturne in Black and Gold', or *The Gardens*, 1875–6, from Magda Heinemann (ex-wife of the Jewish publisher William Heinemann), who declared bankruptcy in 1903. This painting is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (inv. no. 06.286). It was bought back by 'Mrs Heinemann' in 1905 and sold through Agnew's to Winnaretta de Polignac (1865–1943), the twentieth daughter of Isaac Merritt Singer (1811–1875), purveyor of the eponymous sewing machine.

[32] In 1909, she exhibited *A Lake* (no. 8) at the Giardini Pubblici, Venice. In 1910 she showed at the Vienna Secession (*Der Wiengarten*). See 'Mary Davis' in 'Database of Modern Exhibitions (DoME). European Paintings and Drawings 1905–1915' (Universität Wien) last modified 26 November 2019. Accessed 23 June 2023.

[33] Rickett's diary, published posthumously by Thomas Sturge Moore, contained dozens of entries recording meals at the Davises home, most often on Sunday evenings. The manuscript is found in the British Library, Add MS 62713-6.

drawings by the artist. They also owned two drawings by his contemporary Nicolas Lancret (1690–1743), and a later portrait miniature by Marie-Anne Fragonard (1745–1823), wife of Jean-Honoré. These works were bequeathed by Shannon to the Fitzwilliam in 1937 (fig. 40). Edmund Davis dressed as Watteau's *Pierrot* for a costume ball they threw in 1904 at their home, 11–13 Lansdowne Road, Holland Park (figs. 41 and 42).[34] Many costume balls were staged in London in the 1880s and 1890s; indeed Amy Lambert described it as 'the age of pageants'.[35] Popular among these were the annual Chelsea Arts Club Ball and the Chelsea Pageant (fig. 43).[36] Uniquely, however, the Davis' 'performances' were not meant for the public, but were private artistic expressions, accompanied by music performed by their closest friends.[37]

That Mary was interested in the eighteenth century was evident from her fans, like *Masques et Bergamasques*, the choice of the support and medium recalling a lost, pre-revolutionary age quite different from the Davise's metropolitan one.[38] Her historicist interest may have inspired the couple's purchase of Palazzo Contarini-Fasan in Venice, sometimes known as 'the House of Desdemona', which was believed to have inspired the setting of Shakespeare's *Othello*.[39] Here, Ricketts recalled that he and Shannon slept beneath ceilings 'painted by a pupil of Tiepolo' while the Davis' own rooms were 'covered with Longhi-esque frescoes, the interior having been entirely rehandled in the 18th century'.[40] Works by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770), and his son Giovanni Domenico (1727–1804) were highly coveted in European salerooms from 1880s onwards, and were purchased by other élite Jewish collectors like Moïse Camondo (1860–1935) and Henri Louis Bishoffsheim (1829–1908).[41] While the Davises

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[34] Charles Ricketts painted the scene at the Davises' home, c.1904, in *A Fancy Dress Party*, later given to Tullie House, Carlisle, by Mary Davis's friend, the poet Gordon Bottomley. The painting was likely acquired by Bottomley at Mary Davis's posthumous Christie's sale, 15 May 1942, lot 144.

[35] Lambert (1938), p. 48.

[36] The Chelsea Pageant was organised by Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll (1848–1939), herself a sculptor.

[37] In stark contrast to the relaxed poses of the Davis' guests in Rickett's painting, *A Fancy Dress Party*, we see Edmund Davis's contemporaries, Sir Ernest Cassel and Alfred Beit, looking faintly uncomfortable in their costumes, dressed respectively as Diego Velasquez and Frederick Henry of Nassau Stadholder, at the Devonshire House Fancy Dress Ball (1897). Both photographs are now in London: National Portrait Gallery, *Devonshire House Fancy Dress Album*, privately published in 1899. See also Michele Klein, 'Dressing Up: "Reading" Costume in the Photograph Albums of Nineteenth-Century Bourgeois Jews', *Textile*, December 2022, pp. 3–28. An interesting parallel with the Davis' costumes *à la Watteau* can be found in Agnes Henriques's choice of the costume of the Duchess of Devonshire, after Gainsborough's 1785–7 portrait, see p. 22.

[38] Pezzini (2012), p. 29, n33.

[39] Max Beerbohm depicted 'Mr Edmund Davis – with Venice thrown in', in a drawing shown at the Carfax Gallery in 1907, then run by William Rothenstein. It was sold at the 1942 Davis sale. See Hart-Davis (1972), no. 413, p. 53.

[40] Charles Ricketts to 'Michael Field' [the pseudonym of poets Katherine Harris Bradley and her niece Edith Emma Cooper] 20–21 May 1908 (London: British Library, Add MSS 58089, f94). The Venetian palazzo was not the Davises' only continental home. They also rented a villa at Baveno, Lake Maggiore in the 1920s, owned a home in the South of France (the name of which is not known), and a yacht, the *SS Catania*, in which they toured the Mediterranean.

[41] Moïse Camondo purchased the *Glorification of the Barbaro Family* in February 1874, for 25,000F. It was later sold by his heirs and is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Edouard André, a Protestant banker who worked with the French branch of Rothschild, purchased two Tiepolo frescoes, *The Apotheosis of Hercules* and *An Allegory of Justice* while in Milan in 1893, for 12,000 lire. A few months later Nellie and Edouard visited the villa Contarini in Mira, where they purchased a large fresco cycle depicting *The Reception of Henri III at Contarini* for 30,000F, from its then owner, M. Homero. Dutch Jewish financier Henri Louis Bischoffsheim acquired *An Allegory of Venus and Time* for his London home, Bute House, some time before 1876 (when it was first recorded). The entitre contents of Bute House were sold in 1926, when it became the United Arab Republic's

acquired some drawings by G.B. Tiepolo during their extended stays in Italy, they were not particularly committed collectors of these Italian artist[s]. In 1903, Ricketts wrote that Edmund exchanged several works with him that they had grown tired of: 'Spent most of the day at Davis's hanging pictures. He presented us with a batch of Tiepolos he did not like, and we swapped two Claude drawings against the others, some seven Tiepolos in all!'[42] (figs. 44 and 45)

The Davis's interest in Venice was not limited to its famous painters, as in one of their country homes, Belwethers in Cranleigh, which Mary inherited from her mother, the couple slept in a sixteenth-century Venetian bed *Country Life* described as 'fit for a doge' (fig. 46).[43] They also once owned a painting of *The Lion of St Mark's Square* by Walter Sickert, a version of which is now in the Fitzwilliam.[44] The provenance information for this painting is scant, but the painting was photographed in black and white in *The Studio* in 1915, when it belonged to the Davis' collection (figs. 47 and 48).[45]

The Davises and Charles Ricketts

Much more has been written about the careers of the Davises' close friend, Ricketts, who often acted as an advisor to the National Gallery regarding acquisitions. He studied wood engraving at City and Guilds technical college, where he met fellow student Shannon. In 1885, the artists moved to 164 Kennington Park Road, the first of many shared residences, and the first home for their combined collections. Their Kennington drawing room was depicted in a recently discovered portrait of Ricketts by Shannon (fig. 49). In a photograph reproduced by Stephen Calloway, which the author dates to c.1884 – before Shannon's arrival – Ricketts is seated in front of the same fireplace covered with a tasselled fringe, the wall behind him entirely covered in drawings, newspaper clippings and lithographs (fig. 50).[46] Though individually, the objects they collected represented modest purchases, collectively, the Japanese fans, Chinese porcelain bowls, small oil paintings, lithographs, and even mounted postcards of antique sculpture, show the breadth of the artists' interests. Ricketts made a reference to their untidy display when he described a later encounter with a dealer: 'a ruffian who sells stolen goods and is probably a blackmailer has brought here Shannon's first exhibited picture, done 30 years ago, at the age of 19, with mutton chop whiskers in a room … Japanese penny fans and photos on the wall of

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Embassy. The ceiling painting was bought for the National Gallery in 1969. Several other Tiepolos now in the Gallery had Jewish owners, including several *Scenes with Oriental Figures* (NG6302–NG6035), which belonged to Baroness Willy (Mathilde) Rothschild of Frankfurt in 1902, before being inherited by Alfred de Rothschild (1842–1918), a Gallery trustee. They were probably inherited by his daughter, Almina Herbert, Countess of Carnarvon, but were sold pre-1960 to a New York collector. Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo's *The Marriage of Frederick Barbarossa and Beatrice of Burgundy* (London: National Gallery, NG2100) was bought by John Samuel from 'Goldsmith' sometime after 1861, and was inherited by his nieces Lucy and Louisa Cohen, who bequeathed it to the Gallery in 1906. For the Cohen sisters, see Chapter 5.

[42] Charles Ricketts, diary entry, 5 November 1903, London: British Library, Add MSS 62714. For the Tiepolo drawings, now in the Fitzwilliam, see Joseph Darracott, *The World of Charles Ricketts* (London: Methuen Eyre, 1980), p. 133.

[43] Anon., 'Belwethers', *Country Life*, 19 June 1919, p. 92.

[44] J.W Goodison, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge: Catalogue of Paintings: Volume III British School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p 228 (Fitzwilliam, Cambridge, inv. no. PD. 17-1959). The Fitzwilliam's version was bequeathed by Guy Fenton Knowles in 1959. It had belonged to the writer André Gide (1869–1951); bought from his family by the Leicester Galleries, London.

[45] Martin. T Wood, 'The Edmund Davis Collection. Part II', *The International Studio* (New York: John Lane, June 1915), p. 241.

[46] Stephen Calloway, 'Tout pour l'art: Charles Ricketts, Charles Shannon, and the arrangement of a collection', *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1890–1940*, no. 8 (1984), pp. 19–28.

a football team'.[47] Ricketts was the more voracious collector, but was equally encouraged by both Davises to pursue his passion for collecting. While Shannon was more interested in Japanese works on paper, which the Davises did not collect, the 'universal principle' of Rickett's collecting was that 'good things of all periods and cultures go together' when gathered in harmonious arrangements.[48] The arrangement of their shared possessions across their many homes was the subject of a chapter of John Potvin's 2015 study of homosexual domestic spaces.[49] Though they collected broadly, Ricketts and Shannon took care to display their collections appropriately according to medium. In their drawing room at Lansdowne House, glass cases protected small bronzes arranged on side tables (fig. 51) A design for a plan chest by Shannon survives, with twenty-three drawers to store the pair's works on paper away from light (fig. 52).[50] Their London homes became private galleries for the consumption of art.

While the Davises often relied on Charles Ricketts to source historic artworks on their behalf, he also managed the practical arranging of their paintings.[51]Ricketts did not reserve these activities wholly for the Davises, as he acted as scout for other close friends. From 1918 he began advising the National Gallery unofficially, as well as being paid to make acquisitions for the Canadian and Australian governments' national museums.[52] In the Davis' case, Ricketts' most important commission was made in 1909, when the couple decided to fit the 'Inigo Jones' pine room into their Arts and Crafts-style home at Lansdowne Road (fig. 53).[53] Ricketts wrote to 'dear D' [Edmund Davis] that he had found several pieces that would complement the early modern interior: 'delectable objects… which I should advise you to inspect. Pair of brass fire dogs (Flemish c.1630) £8 … Magnificent fire dogs, bronze and French c1590–1600, at Durlachers Bond St. Wicked old Murray Marks asks £120 for them but (to me) he would take less I… They are first rate.' Here Ricketts was buying from a Dutch Jewish antiques dealer who was well-known in London's Aesthetic circle. From a shop on Oxford Street and later in

[47] Ricketts to Mary Davis, undated letter (after 1912). London, British Library, Add MSS 88957/8 f10.

[48] Potvin (2015) p. 108.

[49] Potvin (2015), pp. 81-130.

[50] See pencil drawing of chest (London: British Museum, inv. no. 1962,0809.37). The drawing was given to the museum in 1962, having been inherited by Henriette Sturge Moore, daughter of Thomas.

[51] Ricketts' reputation for sleuthing in London's antiques shops was unrivalled. He found the *God the Father* roundel from Masaccio's Naples triptych (now National Gallery, NG3627, presented by Ricketts and Shannon in 1922), in 1908: 'I bought it for 35 bob as a Russian Icon, a few paces from Whiteley in Bayswater.' Similarly, on discovering a bust by Houdon, he remarked wistfully: 'I wish one could draw cheques on one's future', suggesting he was reliant on this secondary income scouting for other collectors. See T Sturge Moore and Cecil Lewis (eds), *Self-Portrait taken from the Letters and Journals of Charles Ricketts, R.A*. (Peter Davies, London, 1939), pp. 149, 152.

[52] To Thomas Lewinsky, 10–11 April 1918, Ricketts wrote: 'I was fagged out. I had spent the morning at the National Gallery advising on the partition of the [William] Blakes, in varying shares, to the National Gallery, the British Museum, Melbourne, Birmingham, Oxford, and myself – "only a £300 share". We all behaved badly, under the pretence of impartiality and regard for others, Birmingham in particular, who was, I am sure, represented by a Hun disguised to pass as an Englishman.' Ibid., p. 290.

[53] The Davises moved to Lansdowne Road in 1896, commissioning the architect F.W. Marshall to remodel the building. The Inigo Jones room, created for Haynes Grange, Bedfordshire, was sold by Messrs. Hindley & Wilkinson, in whose London showroom it was seen by Davis in 1908. The room was bought from Edmund Davis for a slightly discounted price of £4,000 by the NACF in 1928 and is now in the V&A (inv. nos. W.1:1-1929). While Sir Edmund was the largest NACF subscriber (reducing the sale price by £1,000), donations were also received from other Jewish NACF patrons: Viscount Bearsted £500; Hon. Mrs Ionides £500; the Hon. Mrs Sebag-Montefiore £500; Lord Duveen £250; Sir Robert Mond £100; Lord Melchett £50 and Viscount Burnham £10.

association with George Durlacher, Murray Marks (1840–1918) sold much of the blue and white porcelain seen in Whistler's Orientalist paintings.[54]

Perhaps Rickett's greatest coup on the Davis' behalf was his discovery of an eighteenth-century portrait bust in 1901, in an antique shop 'off Piccadilly' which a dealer had 'modestly' attributed to Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) and was only charging £85 for. Ricketts bought the work on behalf of Mary Davis. He was gratified to discover that on being compared with a terracotta in Potsdam, it was deemed an original and was worth £30,000.[55]As one of Mary's most treasured possessions, she could not be induced to sell it later to Joseph Duveen (fig. 54). In Ambrose McEvoy's sketch of the *Music Room at Lansdowne Road* (fig. 55), it is tempting to imagine that the figure in the pink gown behind the Houdon sculpture is Mary Davis.[56] Thomas Gainsborough's *Louisa, Lady Clarges* (now in the Victoria Art Gallery, Bath) was shown hanging on the wall behind.

Ricketts' letters to Mary and Edward Davis revealed elaborate plans for their respective homes. During an extended trip to Central Italy in 1916, Ricketts visited the Florentine home of the Martelli family, where he was offered two sculptures, a *David* 'by Donatello' (fig. 56), and a *Bust of St John* 'by Desiderio'. Ricketts had in mind the niches of the Davis' 'Inigo Jones Room', even though these pieces were of museum worthy and he knew that Eric Maclagan (1879–1951), Keeper of the V&A, coveted them for his institution.[57] Ricketts wrote breathlessly to Edmund Davis for permission to purchase them, stressing in particular the quality of the Donatello, 'though… too large for the niches in the Inigo Jones room … viewed merely as an investment you could part with it in two or three years for £40,000 and make me a present of the bust which I value at two to five thousand'.[58] Ricketts was perhaps trying to appeal to Edmund's business instincts, while alluding that Mary was the more prudent with money: 'do not let Mrs Davis advise you not to move, if she does so you must obtain a divorce (they are easy in France)'.[59] He was adamant that the purchase was both an important artistic acquisition:

> This is the case of the "Pearl of Great Price" the chance is unimaginable … PS this is the result of the war. The next five years will see the rapid change of hands of all the art treasure in the world. A rich and knowing man could make several fortunes. P.P.S. Should a divorce take too long you could always lose Mrs Davis on a sly motor trip in some nice little picturesque place where she would not miss you.[60]

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[54] Marks collected letters he had received from leading Pre-Raphaelite artists, and gave them to the Fitzwilliam; see Clive Wainwright, 'Murray Marks: "A gatherer and disposer of other men's stuffe"', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2002), p. 174, n1.

[55] The original price of £85 represents about £8,000 today. See Sturge Moore and Lewis (1939), for Ricketts' diary entry from 30 January 1901, p. 52.

[56] The painting was sold by Sotheby's London, 15 July 2015, lot 70.

[57] As Ricketts noted in his letter to Davis, op. cit., the *Martelli David* was particularly important as it featured prominently in 'the Bronzino portrait in Berlin that your wife likes', i.e. Agnolo Bronzino's *Portrait of Ugollino Martelli*, c. 1536–7, now in Berlin: Gëmaldegallerie, inv. no. 338A.

[58] Ricketts to [Edmund] Davis, London. This letter can be dated to 1916, because the Count sold the Donatello to Joseph E. Widener, 28 June 1916, BL, Add MSS 88957/8 f30.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ricketts to 'my Dear [Edmund] Davis', c.1916 (BL, Add MSS 88957/8, f30).

The 'great price' of £20,000 may have proved prohibitive even for the Davises, as they did not agree to the purchase. The two sculptures went into an American collection (not into Wilhelm Bode's museum, as Ricketts feared).[61]

Given that Edmund Davis's businesses do not seem to have suffered during the 1914–18 war, during which his chromium supplies to the British Government increased considerably for use in weapons, another explanation for their failure to purchase these sculptures might have been that they were buying separately from Ricketts, though they continued to support him and Shannon as artists. Robert Witt observed that 'Edmund Davis does nothing without consulting him [Ricketts]'.[62] On closer examination, however, the Davis collection was highly personal, even if its catholic nature showed the influence of Rickett's advice. In this regard it was compared favourably with those of other wealthy collectors, who were thought ignorant of their own collections. Ricketts wrote disdainfully of a visit to 'the great Alfred Beit', whom the Davises had introduced him:

> A typical rich man's collection, everything being a first-rate or valuable example of second-rate art; and the pictures [that] are by first rate masters like the two big Rembrandts, are unpleasant, the small St Jerome at prayer is not by Rembrandt … there are few things that one would care to see in a national collection … the house is a heavy upholsterers' translation of costly styles in bad taste …. There is something continental about the place.[63]

This last accusation, that Beit's London home had a 'continental' air, seemed to disparage Beit's German Jewish identity. It was surprising given his awareness of the Davises strong links with 'the Continent'. Whether or not Ricketts shared his private criticism of Beit's taste directly with Davis, the Davises chose not to limit their collecting to European Old Master paintings unlike Beit and their South African-based contemporaries, perhaps because of Rickett's influence.

The Davis's Lansdowne Studios

Their first demonstration of the Davis's contemporary artistic patronage was their commissioning several artists to decorate rooms in their London home, which are preserved only in black and white photographs. Their bedroom was designed by their friend Frank Brangwyn (1867–1956) in 1900. Brangwyn worked alongside Ricketts and Shannon in the studio complex built by the Davises at 80 Lansdowne Road, across from their own home. The studio building contained four flats; Ricketts and Shannon moved into the top flat in 1902, which was split across two floors. They had a twenty-one-year lease and paid a peppercorn rent in exchange for their advice on the Davis' collection.[64] As far as I am aware, this was a unique initiative in the Davises' lifetimes.[65] Though known for his large murals, Brangwyn's design

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[61] Both sculptures were eventually sold by Martelli through a Florentine dealer, to French & Company, New York, who sold them to Widener. Both are now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, though the *David* is attributed to either Bernado or Antonio Rossellino. The *Bust of St John* is now considered to be by a contemporary 'Follower of Desiderio da Settignano', c.1460. See NGA, Washington, inv. nos.1942.9.115 and 1942.9.142.

[62] Witt to Curzon, 10 July 1914. Lord Curzon's Papers: BL, MSS EUR F112/70. Witt and Curzon appear to have been discussing the likelihood that Edmund Davis would support the NACF, of which Witt was Chairman.

[63] Charles Rickett's diary, Saturday 11 January 1905. BL, Add MSS 62713–6.

[64] Delaney (1990), p. 184. See Joseph Darracott, (ed), 'Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon: Chronology', in *All for Art*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 9 October–3 December 1979), p. 1.

[65] The first artists who rented studios in Lansdowne Road were Amy Lambert and George Washington Lambert (until 1904), Edmund Dulac and Conder. After Ricketts and Shannon vacated the top studio in 1923, it was occupied by another artistic partnership, Vivian Forbes (1891–1937) and Glyn Philpot (1884-1937). Darracott

for the Davis's bedroom represented a G*esamkunstwerk* with all the furniture, metalwork, and fixtures, including the door handles and light switches (figs. 57 and 58) designed by the artist. The mural frieze represented idyllic scenes designed to transport the viewer from the bustle of city life. A cherrywood panel above the Davises bed concealed a telephone that could be 'used… to communicate with other parts of the house', state-of-the-art technology that the Davises perhaps asked the artist to disguise.[66]

Five years later, another tenant of Lansdowne studios, Conder, was commissioned to decorate the Music Room, which like Branwyn's bedroom, featured nude and costumed figures in arcadian settings (figs. 59 and 60).[67] Martin Wood, describing Conder's work for *The International Studio*, found the room discordant, the lustre of the wood panelling distracting from the muted tones of the watercolours set within. Kenneth McConkey described the 1890s vogue for 'Rococo revivalism', and its popularity among the plutocratic class. In his formulation, the style was popular among the very wealthy as 'at a crude level it [was] about the consumption of an alternative, foreign visual code', which was 'drawing upon a common visual repository… recollections which privileged pre-revolutionary France'.[68] The Davises cultivated an 'arcadian' vision elsewhere at Lansdowne Road, constructing a terrace garden on the roof, with ionic columns and trellises not dissimilar to those appearing in Conder's imagined landscapes below. However, it was not clear whether the roof terrace was inspired by Conder's Music Room paintings, or vice versa (fig. 61).

The most significant of the Davis's commissions from their artist friends at Lansdowne Studios, was a series of murals, *The Acts of Mercy*, by Frederick Cayley Robinson (1862–1927) for the Middlesex Hospital, of which Edmund Davis would later become Life Governor.[69] The dates of the commission vary slightly in the limited literature on Cayley Robinson, with Cecil Sharp dating them to 1911–14 in *The Studio*, whilst *The Connoisseur* and *The Times* both suggested Robinson began in 1910. The four panels were individually signed and dated, the two panels of *Orphans* in 1915, the other two in 1916 and 1920.[70] The first panel called

(1980) observed of the pair that 'Ricketts would have liked to see [them] as the new Ricketts and Shannon', p. 79.

[66] Anon., 'A Room Decorated by Frank Brangwyn ARA', *The Studio*, no. 85 (April 1900), p. 179.

[67] For illustrations of the Conder panels, which do not survive, see T. Martin Wood, 'A Room Decorated by Charles Conder', *The Studio* (1905), pp. 201–10. While the Conder works did not remain in the building after its sale, much of Frank Brangwyn's design work in the Davis's former bedroom can still be seen today.

[68] Kenneth McConkey, 'A walk in the park: memory and rococo revivalism in the 1890s', in David Peters Corbett, Lara Perry (eds), *English Art, 1860–1914: Modern Artists and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 100.

[69] In the hospital's Annual Report, Edmund Davis's name first appeared as 'Governor' in 1917, several years after the completion of Cayley Robinson's murals. However, no reports were published in 1915 or 1916, when the hospital was used exclusively to treat soldiers. In the 1917 report, he is listed as having given a donation of £105, and further down the list of donors, 'Rhodesian Chrome Mines' – a business Edmund Davis was involved in – also gave £105. In a complete list of donors in the same volume, four asterisks appeared beside Davis's name, indicating that had given 'more than £200' in donations, presumably in the preceding two years. He was last mentioned as Governor in the 1937 report, two years before his death, suggesting he was a supporter of the hospital for approximately twenty years.

[70] Mary Anne Stevens, 'Frederick Cayley Robinson', *The Connoisseur*, vol. 196 (1977), pp. 23–35; Cecil French, 'The Later Work of F. Cayley Robinson, A.R.A.', *The Studio*, vol. 83 (1922), p. 296; Anon., 'Mr F. Cayley Robinson', *The Times*, 6 January 1927, p. 12. When the hospital closed in 2005, the paintings were put up for sale, and eventually acquired by the Wellcome Trust. In William Schupbach, *Acts of Mercy: The Middlesex Hospital Paintings by Frederick Cayley Robinson (1862–1927)* (London: Wellcome Library, 2009), the author does not provide details of the Davis's commission. Shortly after their 2010 purchase, the four panels were on display in the National Gallery's Sunley Room.

Orphans, was exhibited at the 53rd New English Art Club (NEAC) exhibition in 1915 (no. 80), where it was praised as 'one of the outstanding features of the display'.[71] It can be seen on the left wall in a poignant photograph from the hospital's 1937 *Annual Report*, beside the *The Doctor*, also shown at the NEAC in 1916 (fig. 62). In their tonality, they reference work of Italian Renaissance painters Piero della Francesca and Andrea Mantegna, whose paintings Cayley Robinson studied in Venice and Northern Italy in the 1880s. He was also influenced by a painter closer to home, Pierre-Cécile Puvis de Chavannes (1824–1898), who taught at the Academie Julian in Paris, where Cayley Robinson had studied.[72] Cayley Robinson was occasionally referred to as 'the English Puvis' owing to his tendency towards setting his allegorical paintings in dreamy, almost lunar landscapes. Puvis de Chavannes' work was highly regarded by collectors in the 1890s. Two of the four works now in the National Gallery came from Lane's bequest of (largely) French modern painters.[73]

Though this commission was an act of cultural philanthropy by the Davises towards the hospital and its patients, it was also a display of their support of contemporary artists while the international art market had slowed considerably during the 1914-18 war.[74] The commission bolstered Cayley Robinson's reputation and he was elected an Associate Royal Academician in 1923. Perhaps living so closely with artists made the Davises uniquely aware of the economic challenges they faced. In her memoir, Amy Lambert described moving into an unheated, curtainless studio in 1902, relying heavily on the generosity of the Davises and on Marys's mother, Mrs Halford, while the Australian artists established themselves in Britain.

The Davises also helped artist friends gain wider recognition through presentations of their work to museums. Their first (attempted) act of this kind was their offer of Rickett's *Don Juan* to the National Gallery, after it was shown at the International Society's exhibition in May 1911 (no. 93) (fig. 63). On seeing it in the Grafton Gallery, Aitken thought it worthy of Millbank.[75] He wrote to the Gallery's trustees, 'this picture is quite worth having… for itself and it is desirable to lead Edmund Davis on, as he is wealthy and childless and has such a lot of good things'.[76] Aitken's tone and reference to the Davis's 'childlessness' showed that he believed them potential donors of their collection to the Gallery. Surprisingly, given Rickett's and Aitken's influence within the Gallery, the trustees politely declined the painting. It entered his gallery six years later, through one of Edmund's South African-based contemporaries, Otto Beit (1865–1930). Beit was the younger brother of Alfred, whose home had been considered

[71] Anon., 'Notes from Exhibitions', *The Studio,* vol. 65 (August 1915), p. 185.

[72] Nicholas Penny, 'Journey to Arezzo', *London Review of Books*, vol. 25, no. 8 (17 April 2003).

[73] Puvis's unfinished canvas *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, c.1869, National Gallery, NG3266 (Sir Hugh Lane Bequest, 1917) hangs above the main stairwell in the Getty Entrance, the first work in the National Gallery's collection a visitor encounters on entry.

[74] James Fox, *British Artists and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 12–17.

[75] The Davises lent five works to the International Society's exhibition: G.F. Watt's *The Creation of Eve* and *The Curse of Adam,* nos. 32 and 34; Auguste Rodin's sculptures *La Syrène*, no. 79, *L'eternelle idole*, no. 114; and Edward Burne-Jones's *The Chess Players*, no. 236. Ricketts and Shannon lent 19 works, including several they produced themselves like *Don Juan* (no. 93).

[76] Edmund Davis to Holroyd, 24 April 1911, London: NGA, NG7/391/3 (ii) and (i). In the corresponding Board Minutes, it was reported that the work was seen 'at the Grafton Galleries declined with thanks'. See London: NGA, NG8, p. 57.

in ‘bad taste’ by the artist.[77] Ricketts believed Davis had influenced Beit’s decision to purchase the painting and donate it through the NACF, as he thanked him:

> The great Beit called today and agreed to purchase the picture, subject to the approval of the National Gallery Trustees. This is a great triumph, as my first impression was that he rather hated pictures and included mine in that general feeling. It’s immensely kind of you to have acted in the matter and you know I am glad at the prospect of the money.[78]

Edmund Davis had donated to several of the NACF campaigns from 1905 onwards, and became a member in 1909, the year it successfully ‘saved’ Holbein’s *Christina, Duchess of Milan* for the National Gallery. His proposal of Rickett’s *Don Juan* was his first (and only) attempt to present one of his own contemporary’s works to the Gallery.[79]

Perhaps in defiance of this ‘rebuff’ by the National Gallery in 1911, the Davises looked abroad to find receptive audiences for their works of art. They invited the Director of the Musée du Luxembourg, to select works for a proposed gift to the French government. The invitation may have been broached through his friend Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), President of the International Group.[80] Ricketts later suggested that he had been responsible for the Davises’ decision to look to Paris, as he ‘thought the acceptance of the picture [offered by Davis to the National Gallery] … a foregone conclusion (and bought two Watteau drawings and some new clothes on the strength of the money) … The Trustees asked Davis to withdraw the offer, so that the refusal should not figure in the minutes of the Gallery. Ricketts was deeply hurt and with his usual bravado, “I must get into the Luxembourg instead. Alas!”’[81]

Robert Witt noted later, rather bitterly, how warmly the French government had welcomed the The Davises’ 1912 ‘Davis Gift’ of thirty-seven pictures, and had capitalised on Davis’s sense of rejection from the National Gallery:

> He is … feeling sore still… and finding it difficult to make up his mind to do a big thing for London, when he has undertaken in his sense of grievance, to do so much for the Luxembourg. It was so characteristic of the French Government to offer to build special rooms as soon as he thought of offering them the pictures. When he went over to Paris he was fêted and entertained and cannot speak gratefully enough of how he has been treated there as compared with the official attitude in this country.[82]

The Davis’s friend Edmund Dulac (1882–1953) illustrated the ceremony of the presentation of his gift to France. Edmund Davis is shown with a laurel wreath, being given the museum’s

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[77] Tate’s catalogue entry for N03221 makes no reference to the offer from, Davis. In the same year, Otto Beit gave another work from the Davis Collection, Rosetti’s *Sketch for Paolo and Francesca di Rimini,* also through the NACF (now London: Tate, N03056).

[78] Ricketts to Edmund Davis, undated, c.1916. London: British Library, Add MSS 88957/8, f135.

[79] See list of subscribers in National Art Collections Fund, *Sixth Annual Report 1909*. In 1909 he gave a special contribution of £25 (along with his membership fee) towards the National Gallery’s acquisition of Holbein’s *Christina, Duchess of Milan*, a tenth of the sum he had given in 1905 towards Velasquez’s *Rokeby Venus*.

[80] The archived website for the Musée d’Orsay’s exhibition of the Davis Gift, ‘Sir Edmund Davis's Collection: A Great Amateur's Gift to French Museums’ (Paris: Musée d’Orsay, 2 March–6 June 1999), incorrectly gave the date of the gift as 1915. The Davises owned at least twelve sculptures by Rodin, most of which they kept at Chilham Castle. For their friendship with Rodin, whom they probably met through Charles Conder’s patron, the Jewish collector and art dealer [Samuel] Siegfried Bing (1838–1905), c.1901, see Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 379–84.

[81] J.G.P. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 268.

[82] Witt to Curzon, marked ‘Private’, 6 March 1914. London: British Library, MSS EUR F112/70.

keys by the French Ministre de la Culture and President Raymond Poincaré (1860–1934) as a Union Jack flies over the museum's entrance (fig. 64). In his 1999 article, Olivier Meslay, curator of the Musée d'Orsay exhibition, cited a letter Edmund wrote which indicated that rather than being a patriotic statement expressed through his 'typical' British contemporary collection, or a defiant rebuff of the National Gallery, Davis had always wanted to donate his British pictures to the 'people of France'. 'In French, in firm and rapid writing, on June 25, 1912, he delivered his intentions':

> Sir, I received and reread your charming letter of the 20th with great pleasure upon learning how much you appreciate the desire I had to present to your Luxembourg museum a collection of our modern works. Aware of the teaching and encouragement our artists received in Paris, I took into consideration their feelings and their appreciation of being represented in your city. I hope to bring together a typical collection of the most intelligent painting of our time and with the assistance of Mr Bénédite I have no doubt of its success.[83]

Though aware that they had perhaps lost the favour of Edmund Davis to their French counterparts, the Gallery's trustees were still hopeful that the couple might 'do a big thing for London'. Witt wrote to Holroyd that Davis might be approached about funding the new Modern Foreign Wing at Millbank but that this should be broached sensitively owing to the earlier refusal of Davis's *Don Juan* offer. To another board member, Curzon, he wrote of Edmund Davis: 'he has wonderful taste, and though I do not like the man and his ambitions … I feel that if he can be made to act generously by tactful handling it is well worth the effort.'[84] This tact *was* reflected in the Gallery's re-approach to Edmund Davis, in which Curzon wrote in flattering terms of their French gift, though he wrongfully believed 'the Louvre' was the recipient:

> I am aware that you are vexed with us over the rejection of the Rickett's (sic) picture … Still … There is I conceive a great opportunity for a lover of the arts to do a big and patriotic thing in this country … whatever your views I should like your advice, as you have already done so much in a direction very parallel to that which I have in mind.[85]

While these delicate negotiations were taking place in 1915, Edmund and Mary found other ways to demonstrate their 'patriotism', and promote their collection, by lending 56 works to the French Gallery for a show on behalf of The Queen's Work for the Women Fund (Appendix 2). The charity exhibition was described in the African press, as well as local newspapers. *The African World* claimed Davis as one of their own in its praise of his philanthropic gesture: 'it has become one of the most popular *places des rendezvous* for South African and West African society in the metropolis… It has been left to one of the most original-minded of our African magnates … to render much needed help to a noble, patriotic cause, and to give every visitor of refined tastes the means of many hours of happiness'.[86] At the same time, a New York publication, *The Studio,* published a series of illustrated articles on the Davis' collection.[87]

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[83] Edmund Davis to Mr E. Pujalet, National Museums, Louvre Palace, Paris, 25 June 1912, quoted by Olivier Meslay, 'The collection of Sir Edmund Davis', *La revue du musée d'Orsay*, vol. 9 (Spring 1999), p. 46.

[84] Witt to Curzon, 6 March 1914, British Library, MSS EUR F112/70.

[85] Lord Curzon of Kedleston to Edmund Davis, marked 'Private', 7 March 1914, British Library, MSS EUR F112/70.

[86] Anon., 'The Edmund Davis Collection', *The African World*, 1 March 1915, p. 124.

[87] T. Martin Wood, 'The Edmund Davis Collection, *The Studio*, Parts I and II appeared in vol. 64 (1915), pp. 78–98, pp. 228–45, and Part III, in vol. 65 (1915), pp. 2–17.

Despite their clear interest in sharing the collection with the public, as the French Gallery show demonstrated, the Davises proved difficult for the National Gallery's trustees to 'bring to the point of giving'. As far as the Davises were concerned, there was little urgency to build the modern foreign wing during the war. Witt wrote concurrently of his frustration: 'if we could secure a promise of some modern foreign pictures from him [Davis] or [Hugh] Lane or [Charles] Drucker a more pressing case could be made out for the Gallery'.[88] He thought that Ricketts could influence the Davises into donating funds, and even proposed Ricketts for directorship of Millbank *if* it might ease relations with the Davises:

> The actual sum [£50,000] is of less importance, for once he is brought to the point of giving, his own vanity will I think ensure that the gift is worthy. I think too that it would be a great help if, should it be found permissible to have a director specifically for the modern foreign pictures, a man like Ricketts were considered. Davis has the fullest confidence in him … it would smooth away any difficulties.[89]

While the appointment of Ricketts might have 'smoothed away' tensions between the Davises and the National Gallery, the trustees had not anticipated Ricketts' refusal of the job. He recalled: 'Davis just told me they want him to build a wing to the Tate for foreign work. This I knew. He also added that it was intended offering me the directorship. This I did not know and have not the slightest intention of accepting'.[90] Ricketts regretted his decision to refuse National Gallery's offer, as he wrote two years later:

> I know that I regret, and shall always regret, my decision; that it would have been a dignified end to my life to have recast, rehung, and revised the dear old place; that I should have risked discomfort and moments of anger. I now believe I could have gained the necessary ascendancy over the Trustees; I have been an ass.[91]

The National Gallery's handling of these proposals to the Davises, and their subsequent refusal to support Millbank's expansion in 1914, marked a break in the couple's relations with the Gallery, and in their collecting.

During the war, the couple began to divest parts of their collection to fund other activities, as Ricketts recorded:

> Dinner at Davis's. He has been offered £30,000 for Whistler's *Symphony in White* (Fig.), the picture he bought reluctantly [from Agnews] on our suggestion; he wanted my advice, should he sell or not?[92]
> … I should not get a farthing out of this prodigious unearned increment of £28,000, so I told him to use his own judgment on the matter; that it was the best of his Whistlers, and that in his place, if I wished to sell, I should part with the overrated *Battersea Bridge*. When I hinted that the sum might represent one of Ingres' portraits of Bertolini and Delacroix's *Sardanapolis* and other priceless modern works, my words fell on deaf ears. He wants to build a country house![93]

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[88] Letter from Robert C. Witt to Curzon, 12 June 1914, British Library, MSS EUR F112/70.

[89] Letter Witt to Lord Curzon, 22 April 1914, British Library, MSS EUR F112.70.

[90] Charles Ricketts, Diary entry for 10 July 191*4*, in Sturge Moore and Lewis (1939), p. 203.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 261. On 19 June 1916, Ricketts wrote a long diary entry describing how he would have rehung the National Gallery, had he been appointed Director. It is not clear whether he was under the impression that he was being offered the general Directorship of the National Gallery, rather than that of the new Modern Foreign Wing as discussed in Curzon's earlier correspondence with Davis.

[92] Whistler's *Symphony in White, III* was not sold by Davis in 1915, but instead remained in the collection until 1939 when it was sold by Mary Davis, after Edmund's death, at Christie's, London. It was purchased for £3,465, and it is now in the Barber Institute, University of Birmingham.

[93] Sturge Moore and Lewis (1939), Diary entry, 21 September 1915, p. 248.

Like the Davises, Ricketts and Shannon had begun to give away parts of their own collection, principally to their friend Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962), who had become director of the Fitzwilliam. Theirs was one of the largest gifts ever made to the Cambridge museum, and included fifteen paintings and 426 drawings, among them *A Couple Embracing* by Titian; Barocci's *Study of Christ on the Cross*, Tiepolo's *Study of an Angel*, Rembrandt's *Supper at Emmaus*, and a study of a *Male Nude* then attributed to Rubens.[94] Cockerell was obviously persuasive in encouraging the Shannon/Ricketts gift, as earlier Ricketts had expressed strong views against giving to public museums. In his diary (4 March 1906), he wrote: 'Lunch at Davis'. Depressed by H[ugh] Lane, who told Shannon he hated the big picture he had given to Dublin [*The Lady with the Green Fan*, given in 1904]… a lesson never to make presents to fools and to public institutions'.[95] Ricketts and Shannon went on to make a significant bequest to the National Gallery in 1937, including Piero di Cosimo's *Lapiths and Centaurs*, which had once hung in their Lansdowne Road studio.[96]

The wartime economic slump and a change of priorities may have also altered the direction of the Davis's collecting. In 1917, Mary 'sold her jewellery' at Christies to buy Shannon's *Man with a Greek Vase*, a portrait of Ricketts from 1916, exhibited at the Royal Academy.[97] In April 1918, the Davises gave away several works to the second Red Cross Sale. At this sale, they also purchased several modestly priced paintings, including Rickett's *The Good Samaritan* (£42).[98]In the same year, they sold several works of art (though not for charity) which they had been advised by Ricketts to buy, a Van Dyck, a small Gainsborough and a Reynolds. The £70,000 profits from these (now untraced paintings) allowed the couple to fund their most important acquisition to date: seventeenth century Chilham Castle, near Canterbury.[99] They rewarded Ricketts with a mediaeval keep in the grounds, as a home for him and Shannon, which he saw as 'backshish' for his advice on Old Master acquisitions.[100]

Though they were no longer acquiring historic paintings in the 1930s, Chilham played host to many artists, including a younger generation of British painters like Glyn Philpot (1884–1937) and Henning Nyberg (1903–1964), Ricketts's studio assistant then represented by the London gallerist Lucy Wertheim (1883–1971).[101] The Davises commissioned Sir Herbert Baker (who

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[94] Stella Panayotova, *I Turned it into a Palace: Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2008), p. 142.

[95] See Diary (typescript) of Charles Ricketts, London: British Library, Add MSS 62714.

[96] This work was given to the National Gallery by Ricketts, as part of Shannon's bequest, in 1937. London: National Gallery, now NG4890.

[97] The work was later bought by the Leamington Spa Museum and Gallery at Mary Davis's 1942 estate sale at Christie's. See Delaney (1990), p. 308.

[98] Delaney (1990), p. 289. In 1916, the Davises bought Millais's drawing, *Attack on a Barricade in Paris*, at the Red Cross Sale. See *Catalogue of Important Ancient and Modern Pictures and Drawings and a Few Bronzes, the Property of Sir Edmund Davis, J.P. Deceased, late of Chilham Castle and 13 Lansdowne Road*, Christie's London, 7 July 1939, lot. 48.

[99]Edmund Davis was the first person to buy Chilham rather than inherit it. See https://www.chilham-castle.co.uk/owners-timeline/, undated, accessed 4 November 2023.

[100] See Christopher Hussey, 'Country Homes Gardens Old & New: The Keep, Chilham Castle Kent. A Residence of Mr. Charles Shannon, R.A. And Mr. Charles Ricketts, A.R.A', *Country Life* (21 June 1924), pp. 1000–06. Darracott has suggested that Ricketts was so inspired by the design of the kitchen of the Keep at Chilham that he recreated it for his theatrical design for *Saint Joan* (Scene 1), performed at London's New Theatre, in 1924. See Darracott (1980), p. 172.

[101] Wertheim was the married name of Lucy Carrington Pearson, who ran galleries in London and Manchester. Her husband Mari Paul Wertheim was appointed the Dutch Consul to Britain in 1931 but was not Dutch Jewish. The last exhibition ever staged at Lucy Wertheim's gallery was organised by Fred Uhlman (1901–1985), secretary

had previously worked on Port Lympne for Philip Sassoon) to restore its Jacobean interiors. However, they did not buy many more art works, much to Rickett's chagrin: 'Davis kicks at fine furniture for Chilham, but rushes into thousands over drains and electrics'.[102] Chilham was primarily used for entertaining and 'country pursuits', as Ricketts described how '[Edmund] Davis's first impulse [at Chilham] was to shoot some of the deer, get rid of the swans, and eat the peacocks.'[103] The Davises threw themselves into village life, with Mary often mentioning the parish church in her correspondence (though it is not clear whether she took part in Anglican worship). The church now contains a plaque commemorating Sir Edmund's contribution to Chilham life, as they also paid for the restoration of the Tudor village hall in 1919.[104] Edmund was appointed High Sheriff of Kent and became board president of the local Kent County Ophthalmic and Aural Hospital in Maidstone, which may explain the gradual cessation of his support for London's Middlesex Hospital.[105] The Davis's move also resulted in a friendship with the Dean of Canterbury, George [Kennedy Allan] Bell (1883–1958), who became Bishop of Chichester in 1929. Bell wrote to Davis asking to visit Chilham with some German clerics, as well as for assistance organising several large ceremonies: 'would it be possible for you to lend a car, or even two cars, on the occasion of the Archbishop's Enthronement on Tuesday, to take some of the more important … Cabinet Ministers … to the Cathedral?'.[106] It appeared that Edmund Davis even had a role in the appointment of local clergy, for he wrote to Bell in 1927: 'I offered the appointment to the Revd. Sprucett and he has accepted … I am very much in your debt for all the trouble you have so kindly taken on behalf of ourselves and the parish of Chilham.'[107]

The fact that the Davises were active in Chilham parish life does not necessarily mean they renounced their Jewish identities, though there are very few allusions to being Jewish among the Davis's correspondence. That they once owned a Rembrandt drawing of the Prague 'Old Synagogue' (described as a church in the 1939 Davis Sale catalogue) does not mean that they necessarily identified with its subject matter.[108] However, their friend Bell was one of the most vocal advocates for ecumenism and a prominent Anglican voice in support of German Jewry

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of the Society of Refugee Artists, to whom she rented the gallery in June 1939. See Lucy Carrington Wertheim, Adventures *in Art* (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1939; 1947 edition), p. 85. The Towner Gallery, Eastbourne, recently staged two parallel exhibitions examining Wertheim's career as a gallerist and coordinator of 'The Twenties Group' of artists: *A Life in Art: Lucy Wertheim, Patron, Collector, Gallerist* & *Reuniting the Twenties Group: From Barbara Hepworth to Victor Pasmore* (11 June–25 September 2022).

[102] Charles Ricketts to Thomas Lewinsky, 11 November 1918, cited by Tietze (1999), p. 24.

[103] Ricketts to Lewinsky, undated letter c. December 1918, in Sturge Moore and Lewis (1939), p. 308.

[104] Twenty years later in January 1939, they celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in the room, an event which drew almost every inhabitant of the village. A service in memory of Sir Edmund was also held in the parish church at Chilham, as mentioned in a letter to Mary Davis from Gordon Bottomley, 5 April 1939: '… it was wonderful that you could get to the service in the parish church: thank you very much indeed for the village magazine, the notice is an outstanding one … we were glad to be able to gather from it the beautiful atmosphere there must have been in the village during the saddest days, and at the church.' Gordon Bottomley Papers, London: British Library, Add MSS 88957/1/38 f113.

[105] Sir Edmund Davis to the Editor, 17 January 1936, 'Hospital Appeal', *The Tonbridge Free Press*, p. 2, in which he called for donations towards a new operating theatre and nurses' accommodation. He had worked with one of his Middlesex colleagues, 'well-known' German Jewish philanthropist Mr Edward William Meyerstein (1863–1942), who lived in nearby Sevenoaks, and donated £7,000 towards the campaign.

[106] G.K.A. Bell to Edmund Davis, 30 November 1928, in Bell Papers. Lambeth: Lambeth Palace Library and Archive, Bell 198, f11.

[107] Davis to Bell, 25 February 1927, ibid., f1.

[108] See Christie's *Catalogue … Edmund Davis, Deceased* (London: 1939), lot. 110.

(and German Catholics) in the face of rising Nazi persecution.[109] The only reference I came across to the Davis's identification with other Jews was a remark made by Mary to the poet Gordon Bottomley, on 19 July 1936: 'I hope this new pact with Germany will not mean wholesale misery for Jews in Austria'.[110]

The Davis's historic paintings continued to draw admirers, even in their rural setting. Edmund Davis's attachment to his paintings was clear, as he reportedly cried on discovering the couple's home was burgled in April 1928. Mary Davis wrote to Bottomley about the incident, which was widely commented upon in the press (fig. 65):

> You may have heard in some broadcast or read in a newspaper that we woke yesterday morning to find all our hall ransacked and the pictures out of their frames. Not a sound betrayed the wretches – it must have been between 2 and 4 am. They took the Rembrandt, the two Gainsboroughs, Reynolds [Henry, Twelfth Earl of Suffolk], the Van Dyck… About 10 mins later Edmund was in my room with tears in his eyes, saying "I am very sad" and looking crushed.[111]

Mary also wrote with some poignancy: 'we have to console ourselves with the joy we had in collecting them and the number of years we were privileged to live with them … it is very small to feel so much regret but one's pictures are such intimate and understanding friends and I know you sympathise with us.'[112] It was with great joy that the couple welcomed the return of Gainsborough's *Lady Clarges* and *William Pitt* (fig. 66), recovered from an address in Holborn. By October 1928, Edmund Davis had seemingly forgiven the National Gallery for their earlier dispute, as he wrote offering to lend seven paintings: two Whistlers, *Symphony in White, III* and *At the Piano*, together with 'four pictures by Alfred Stevens and Montagna's *St Jerome*'.[113]At the last minute, however, he could not agree to the Gallery's terms that the works would have to remain in the Gallery for a minimum of a year and could not be sold in the owner's lifetime.[114] The shock of the loss of so many works of art from the home months earlier may have also made the couple reconsider being separated from their collection even on a temporary basis.

It took the most persuasive of museum trustees, Mrs Florence Phillips (née Ortlepp, 1863–1940), to convince the Davises to share their British collection ultimately with an African, rather than European public. Phillips, a Jewish art collector herself, had been instrumental in persuading several Randlords to support South African museums, including the Johannesburg

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[109] A. Chandler, "A question of fundamental principles": the Church of England and the Jews of Germany, 1933–37', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, vol. 38 (1993), pp. 221–6; and David Englander, "Anglicised not Anglicans": Jews and Judaism in Victorian Britain', in Gerard Parsons (ed.), *Religion in Victorian Britain*, vol. I (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 235–73.

[110] Gordon Bottomley Papers, British Library, Add MSS 88957/1/38 f37. The 'pact' with Germany was probably the 'Western [air]Pact' under discussion in Parliament in July 1936.

[111] The Rembrandt was *Saskia at her Toilet*, which the couple bought from Dutch art historian and former Director of the Mauritshuis, Abraham Bredius. The couple lent it to the 1929 Royal Academy *Dutch Art* exhibition (no. 130). The missing Van Dyck was probably the *Portrait of Henrietta Maria*, formerly in the Lansdowne Collection, which had been illustrated in the June 1915 edition of *The International Studio* (New York: 1915), frontispiece.

[112] Mary Davis to Bottomley, 24 April 1938, British Library, Add MSS 88957/1/38 f81.

[113] Typed draft reply to Edmund Davis from the Board of the National Gallery, 10 October 1928, NGA, NG16/290/34. It is not clear which works by Alfred Stevens were being offered, as the Davises owned at least five [see Appendix 2] The *St Jerome* by Bartolomeo Montagna now belongs to the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, to whom it was sold in 1929 (inv. no. 3699). See Mauro, Lucco (ed.), *Bartolomeo Cincani detto Montagna* (Vicenza: ZeL Edizione, 2014) p. 345.

[114] Edmund Davis to National Gallery Board, 30 October 1928, NGA, NG16/290/34.

Art Gallery which she had founded in 1910.[115] While more interested in supporting 'native' South African artists towards the latter part of her life, she engaged in efforts to unite German and British interests before the 1914-18 war.[116]The circumstances of the Davis's gift to South Africa's National Gallery (SANG), Cape Town, founded in 1871, are somewhat obscure, but Anna Tietze credited Phillips' influence on the couple. From 1935-8, they presented forty-eight, predominantly modern British paintings, sculptures, and drawings to South Africa.[117] In several cases, the Davises had chosen new paintings specifically for the 'new' museum. In its reporting of the 1935 gift, the Cape Town newspaper, *The Argus*, invoked the gratitude of 'a new country building ourselves up' and recognised the support of the Davises for its new museum. While they were recognised by their contemporaries for this colonial gift, they may also have been influenced by the ambitions of Hugh Lane, who had been employed by Phillips before the First World War, to fill her new gallery. However, while Lane's legacy has been examined in a post-colonial context, by Morna O'Neill, the Davises later augmentation of SANG has not received the same level of criticism.[118] Perhaps this was because Lane's involvement was sanctioned by the museum as he was paid for his services as an art dealer. His contributions have been interpreted as an extension of its own ambitions, rather than the imposition of 'foreign' taste from without, which the Jewish donors' De Pass and the Davises gifts might reflect.

Mostly, as Tietze observed, South African audiences' responses to the Davis collection were muted. Some critics recognised that the Davis's collection represented 'work in a dead tradition'.[119] Others among South Africa's 'New Group' (founded 1937) resented the traditionalism they saw in their colonial gift and called for the museum's promotion of African artists over foreign works from foreign donors. Criticism of the Davis Gift to Cape Town became more pronounced in the latter part of the twentieth century, as collections like the Davises were often interpreted through an anti-imperialist lens, as the projections of those 'exploiters of the past' looking to 'redeem their guilt and show their gratitude … by rewarding [those] they plundered with cultural property'.[120] Hayden Proud argued that the Davis Collection has been neglected, or rather, rejected by scholars, because like other collections given by non-African donors to South African museums, it was received as a 'monument of cultural oppression erected by the wealth that flowed from the colonial and capitalist exploitation of black labour'.[121] Proud's revisionist assessment resolved that such readings, both of the objects and of their donors, has resulted in the loss of 'riches' for modern audiences, which might be regained 'if [the works] are interpreted within the precise historical, geographical, and cultural context in which they were first created'.[122]

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[115] Jillian Carman, *Uplifting the Colonian Philistine: Florence Phillips and the Making of the Johannesburg Art Gallery* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2006).

[116] Florence Phillips, *A Friendly Germany, Why Not?* (London: Constable, 1913).

[117] See Anna Tietze's catalogue essay in *The Edmund and Mary Davis Presentation* (SANG, Cape Town, 1999), pp. 15–29.

[118] Morna O'Neill (2018).

[119] *The Cape Town Argus*, 2 July 1935.

[120] Marilyn Martin, 'Introduction', *The Edmund and Mary Davis Presentation* (SANG 1999), p. 9.

[121] Ibid., p. 12.

[122] Proud (1999), p. 12.

Mary and Edmund Davis may not have meant to impose their 'Eurocentric' tastes (and those of their art advisors like Ricketts) through making their gift to South Africa.[123] In 1935, in an exchange about the first of their South African gifts, Thomas Sturge Moore remarked to Mary that they might be *more* appreciated by their South African viewers than by the British public. Sturge Moore wrote optimistically: **'**who knows where the real seeing eyes like those of CR (Ricketts) may be born next on the globe. Cape Town may be the favoured spot.'[124]

Mary Davis, Sturge Moore, and Bottomley wanted to memorialise their deceased friend Ricketts (d. 1931), and this may have influenced Mary to give so many works away to be seen by 'real seeing eyes'. She also attempted to preserve his memory closer to home, as she and his friends agonised over the final home for their Ricketts memorabilia:

> When we and the rest of the handful of his lovers, who are zealous to preserve his memory at every opportunity, have gone on elsewhere, there is going to be a generation ignorant of him – and not only that, but indifferent to all he did and wanted to do …So that what may happen to his things is vitally important to his interests: no one will know all his achievements and links as we do: without our knowledge strangers will have to rediscover them, and though one is sure that that will happen, it will be the discovery of the links of a broken chain.
> So that we may put together all the things we have (or can find) and to bequeath the whole bloc to the Print Room [British Museum] or the Fitzwilliam … the Fitzwilliam has specialised so much in Ricketts and Shannon (and by their own intention too) that one feels all this mass of pen-drawing might be better cared for there.[125]

While Mary clearly considered it important that the work of their friends and artistic collaborators was preserved, the Davises were not as successful in ensuring their own legacies either as artists or collectors. During the Second World War, with Chilham under threat (as it was on the South Coast), and with no immediate heirs, Mary began to sell the collection. Bottomley was shocked by the plans for a sale (which Mary went ahead with in 1939) instead suggesting the Gallery as an appropriate home:

> your news about your pictures was bewilderingly unexpected. I believe we had always taken for granted (though I cannot tell you why) that they would go to the National Gallery someday. The idea of their being sold must have seemed unlikely to you who had helped to collect them.[126]

Following the first sale at Mary Davis's behest, after her death a final group of Davis works returned to Christie's in 1942, where they were sold for modest prices owing to the straitened wartime market. The gradual erasure of the Davises is reflected today in the English Heritage plaque on the exterior of Lansdowne Studios, which gives the names and life dates of six of its artist residents but does not include those of the owner-patrons of the building (fig. 67). The chain links associating the Davises with the fertile artistic world they had cultivated in Britain were finally broken.

Alfred de Pass's Collection(s) in Britain

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[123] Anon., 'The Edmund Davis Gift', *Cape Argus*, 1 March 1935.

[124] Thomas Sturge Moore to Lady Davis, 16 June 1935, British Library, Add MSS 88957/8 f155.

[125] She added: 'Moore says that the British Museum has broken up the book of red-chalk studies by Shannon which was brought for it at the sale by the NACF and mounted every sheet in a separate mount. Moore is naturally indignant about the stupidity; and rightly.' Davis to Bottomley, 12 December 1940, British Library, Add MSS 88957/8 f180.

[126] Bottomley to Mary Davis, 5 April 1939, British Library, Add MSS 88957/8 f113.

Of all the Jewish fine art collectors discussed so far (with the exception of Lord Duveen) Alfred Aaron de Pass (1861–1952), who was born in Cape Town but spent most of his adult life in London and Cornwall, was the most active in his support for local and national museums, making hundreds of donations throughout his lifetime to at least nine museums. A contemporary of the Davises, he was a prolific painting collector, favouring Early Italian 'Primitives', the Pre-Raphaelites, Old Master portraits and modern British schools. He also collected ceramics, coins, and Old Master drawings, as well as Jewish religious texts.[127] Though he made two large donations to the National Gallery at the height of his collecting career (which was in fact his only career), in shaping some of Britain's smaller museums, and South Africa's new national gallery, he became akin to a curatorial advisor, as he frequently sought control over displays of his donations.[128] In an interview with *The Cape Times*, he reflected on his impact on the Royal Cornwall Museum in Truro, the contents of which he augmented by two thirds, from 1925 until 1935, 'making this in fact one of the model smaller galleries and museums in England'.[129]

Unlike the Davis's, de Pass's enormous wealth was not self-made.[130] Alfred was the grandson of a guano and sugar farmer and merchant shipman, Aaron de Pass (1814–1877).[131] The origins of the de Pass family in Britain were described by Louis Herrman: '[Aaron … Alfred's grandfather was] born at King's Lynn in Norfolk in 1815 … of a noted Anglo-Jewish family descended from the Sephardi Jews who settled in England… in Oliver Cromwell's time'.[132] Aaron left Britain in 1846, emigrating from Portsmouth with his wife, two children and his younger brother Elias, for South Africa's Cape of Good Hope. Though Aaron returned to Britain in 1864, he retained an interest in Cape Town's Jewish community, having been the first 'Elder' of the country's first synagogue, established in 1844. Aaron de Pass's association with South African international affairs extended to his appointment to the country's Board of Commissioners for the 1867 Paris International Exhibition, where his firm exhibited their innovation, 'Shark's Liver Oil'.[133]

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[127] In 1923, he presented the Royal Institute of Cornwall with an Italian 18th century Seder Haggadah and his personal prayer book printed by Isaque de Moseh de Pas, 1742 (both now Truro: Courtney Library, inv. nos. 23728 and 23703). Ten years earlier, he took over the maintenance of Penryn Jewish cemetery, as the Board of Deputies' *Annual Report* announced in August 1913: "a wealthy gentleman, a member of the Jewish church" and a locally resident Jew' was its new owner. He left £200 a year in his will for its upkeep. See Keith Pearce, *The Jews of Cornwall* (Wellington: Halsgrove, 2014), pp. 380–1.

[128] Anna Tietze, *The Alfred de Pass Presentation to the South African National Gallery* (Cape Town: SANG, 1995), pp. 20–2.

[129] De Pass in the *Cape Times* (19 April 1935), quoted by Norman Nail, 'The Cornish Curator and the Cosmopolitan Collector: A Note on George Penrose (1876–1951) and Alfred de Pass (1861–1953)', *The Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (New Series), vol. 1, part 3 (1993), p. 277. The quotation has proven difficult to verify in its original form.

[130] If one traces both families' genealogies back far enough (to Daniel de Pass [b. 1797], a boot dealer on King's Lynn High Street, Norfolk, 1830–c.1845), we find that de Pass's eldest son was Aaron de Pass (1815–1877), grandfather of collector Alfred Aaron de Pass. The youngest of his ten children was Catherine (1833–1914), who married Montague Moses Levy Bensusan, Edmund Davis's uncle and his first employer in South Africa. See Martin Scott, entry for 'No. 33 High Street', 'King's Lynn History Blog', n.d., accessed 4 November 2023.

[131] For genealogical information on the De Pass family, I relied on Norman Nail's 1993 article, pp. 277–89. The family's last name is a transliteration of the Sephardic name 'Paz', itself derived from the Hebrew 'Shalom', or peace.

[132] Louis Herrman, *A History of the Jews in South Africa from the earliest times to 1895* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1930) p. 124. His ancestor Elias Morenu de Paz (1670-1793), first of the twelve Jews to be elected a member of the Royal Exchange, left a bequest for £1200 for a Jeshiva in the City of London. After a legal dispute, the money was donated to the Foundling Hospital. See Pearce (2014), p. 370.

[133] Ibid, p. 124.

Daniel and his son Alfred, who had studied chemistry at Gotingen University before joining his family's firm in 1882, found success planting a disease-resistant strain of sugar cane in South Africa's (former) Natal province. The family had several ventures including 'large-scale sealing and whaling … [and securing] copper mining and mineral rights over Great Namaqualand' (now the border regions of Namibia and South Africa, containing Springbok).[134] On receiving a twentieth share of the South African businesses, he left for England.[135] After marrying Ethel Phoebe Salaman (1869–1910) in 1888, Alfred took a role in his father in law's Myer Salaman's (1836–96) property business in London, but by 1905, he had retired to devote his energy to collecting works of art, which he had begun in the year of his marriage.[136] At Lime Cottage, Finchley, bought by his father in-law near the Salaman home of Wentworth House, the de Pass's inventory listed several paintings by Abraham Solomon (1823–1862), as well as engravings after Greuze.[137]

Within a decade of beginning this fine art collection, he also he began donating parts of it to museums, with his first gift being a *Portrait of Alexander Pope* (fig. 68), thought to be by Sir Godfrey Kneller, to the National Portrait Gallery in 1898.[138] The painting came from Cliffe House, Falmouth, which the de Passes built in 1897, after first visiting Cornwall during their honeymoon.[139] The painting's acquisition file revealed that the work was given at the solicitation of Ronald Sutherland Gower (1845–1916), sculptor and former Liberal M.P. He wrote to his fellow trustees of the National Portrait Gallery (he was appointed in 1874) in November 1898:

> You will be surprised and I hope pleased to hear that on this far distant Cornish coast I have … come across a very fair authentic portrait by Kneller of Alexander Pope (in original frame) which its owner Mr Alfred A. de Pass (whose acquaintance I made to-day) of Cliffe House offers to the N.P.G. … Mr De Pass will be glad to send it to you, and it might be submitted to the Trustees at the next meeting. I think it will be accepted...[140]

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[134] Frank Davis, 'De Pass – the Cape's subtle connoisseur', *Art and Antiques,* 26 May 1973, p. 8.

[135] References to the 'pioneer' de Pass brothers, Aaron, Elias and John, and their Norfolk connection, can be found in Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz (eds), *The Jews in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 352. Daniel de Pass' 'Reunion' sugar venture, financed in-part by his father Aaron, was mentioned on p. 366. Brian Price noted that 'Alfred ordered some new frost and disease resistant cane … which proved suitable for Natal, subsequently reviving the sugar crop from 17,000 tons in the 1880s to 400,000 tons in 1935.' See B.D. Price, *Biographical Notes on Alfred Aaron De Pass (1861–1952)*: *Art Benefactor Extraordinary* (Falmouth: Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, 1982), p. 6.

[136] Nail (1993), p. 280.

[137] Price (1982), p. 8: 'The inventory of Lime Cottage made by Alfred for insurance purposes … lists the few pictures as *Simeon Solomon as a baby,* by A. Solomon, £15; *Milliner's Daughter* by A. Solomon, £20; Pair of engravings, *Dove and Young Widow* by Greuze, £10; *Fortune Teller*, engraving, £3-3-0; *Peacemaker*, engraving £2-2-0.'

[138] The painting has since been attributed to Pope's friend Jonathan Richardson, c.1737. Elsewhere it has erroneously been recorded as 'given in 1905'. London: National Portrait Gallery, inv. no. NPG1179. De Pass owned a *Self-Portrait* (drawing on vellum) by Richardson, given to Truro in 1924. See George Penrose, *Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures in the Alfred A. de Pass Collection* (Truro: Cornish Riviera Press, 1936), cat. 303.

[139] According to Price, de Pass first went to Falmouth in August 1895, after which '[Salaman] "brought me a plan for a home … from his architect, and after reducing it a bit he built us this house in which I am now writing this". Price (1982), p.9. Myer Salaman, former ostrich feather merchant, did not live to see it completed.

[140] Letter from Gower to the NPG Board on 'Falmouth Hotel' paper, 7 November 189. Acquisition file for NPG 1179, London: Heinz Archive, NPG46/12/80. Emphasis is Gower's own.

The response from his fellow trustees was slower than Gower expected, as he wrote curtly to Cust: 'A week ago I wrote to tell you that a generous man here – named Alfred de Pass – has offered (by my asking him) a profile life size oil portrait … I am anxious … Perhaps my last week's letter was miscarried … Please answer.'[141] That the owner of the painting was not previously known (as a collector or otherwise) to Cust, then National Portrait Gallery Director, was clear, as the negotiations regarding the transferral of the painting were carried out by Gower, who supplied further information on '"full name" Alfred A. De Pass' in a letter written from the same hotel on 23 November 1898.[142] De Pass confirmed his agreement in a very short note to Cust:

> Lord Ronald Gower thought a Portrait Head of Pope by Kneller ought to be in the National Collection. I had it sent to you today, & if the Trustees think it is good enough, I shall be pleased to present it to the Gallery.[143]

Gower might have seen this 'surprising' painting at Cliffe House at the invitation of fellow artist and Falmouth resident, the Cornish painter Henry Scott Tuke (1858–1929), who had painted his portrait in 1897.[144]

After his first visit to the resort, Alfred de Pass recruited his closest neighbour, the artist Tuke, to teach him to sail.[145] This friendship would prove important for both men, and particularly for the Royal Cornish Institute and Falmouth Art Galleries, in whose development Tuke was instrumental. In turn, the de Pass family introduced the reclusive Tuke to several new patrons in London. While spending summers yachting with his young sons and the artist, De Pass also commissioned family portraits from Tuke.[146] By 1896, Alfred had already commissioned two portraits: an oil painting from life of his eldest son, Daniel, then aged four, which Tuke started in Cornwall and completed in London.[147] The second was produced from a photograph of his grandfather, *Aaron de Pass* (fig. 69). This painting de Pass presented to the Eaton Convalescent Home at the Cape, financed by his father in memory of his own father Aaron, and for which

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[141] Gower to Lionel Cust, 14 November 1898 in Ibid. Emphasis is Gower's own.

[142] Gower to Cust, 23 November 1898 in Ibid. Emphasis is Gower's own.

[143] Alfred de Pass to L. Cust Esq, 15 November 1898, in Ibid.

[144] Martin Spychal outlined how suspicions about Gower's sexual orientation alienated him from his Parliamentary colleagues and drew him into the orbit of 'brother artists' like Tuke, G.F. Watts and Val Princep. See Martin Spychal, 'The "beautiful boy of the Commons": Lord Ronald Gower (1845–1916) and sexual identity in Parliament at the time of the Second Reform Act', *The Victorian Commons: Researching the House of Commons, 1832–1868,* blog published 12 November 2020, for P. Salmon and K. Rix (eds.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1832–68* (forthcoming), accessed 23 July 2023. The painting discussed here was purchased by the National Portrait Gallery, London, in 1971 (now inv. no. NPG4841).

[145] David Wainwright and Catherine Dinn, *Henry Scott Tuke 1858–1929: Under Canvas* (West Norwood: Sarema Press, 1989), p. 71.

[146] Despite Alfred de Pass frequently referring to Tuke as his 'best friend', there was no reference to the de Passes in Falmouth Art Gallery's 1980 retrospective of Tuke. See S. Kavanagh, *Henry Scott Tuke R.A. R.W.S, (1858–1929): His Life and Work* (Falmouth: Falmouth Art Gallery, 9 June – 22 August 1970). Cicely Robinson similarly neglected to mention Alfred de Pass's relationship with the artist. See Cicely Robinson (ed), *Henry Scott Tuke* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2021) p. 31.

[147] The current location of the *Portrait of Daniel de Pass* is unknown, but it was probably inherited by Alfred's two surviving children Myrtle Prince (1897-1993) and Capt. Daniel de Pass (1891-1963), his sole legatees. Capt. De Pass lent (rather than gave) Tuke's 1902 portrait of his father to Truro in 1947, *before* Alfred's death in 1952. See George Penrose, 'Draft Particulars for Catalogue' typescript. March 1947 (Truro: Courtney Library).

Tuke was paid £80.[148] Just as Pope had been depicted in the laurel crown 'suggesting the honour of his profession', so de Pass Senior was shown in a naval uniform, holding a sword as Justice of the Peace.[149]. By 1899, Alfred had also begun to take part in civic life in Cornwall, as he became a benefactor and Committee member of Falmouth University's new art school, alongside Tuke.[150]Wainwright and Dinn's description of their friendship implied Tuke was more accepting of Alfred than others in their rural community might have been: 'though de Pass could undoubtedly be difficult from time to time, Tuke possessed the rare gift of tolerance and… maintain[ed] friendly relationships with people whom others found prickly or unpredictable'.[151] A photograph from 1905 in the Tate's photographic archive shows the closeness of the pair, as Tuke stands beside John de Pass (fig. 70).

While he purchased works from Tuke frequently, Alfred's first commission from a contemporary artist was made in 1899, when he sat for Augustus John, a Slade friend of Ethel's brother, artist Michael Salaman (1879-1971) (fig. 71) for a drawing which he later gave to Truro in 1924.[152] More elusive was the *Head of Mrs de Pass*, commissioned from a Newlyn artist friend of Tuke's, known as 'the last Pre-Raphaelite', Thomas Cooper Gotch (1854–1931) in August 1901.[153]In 1902, Tuke resumed his family series by painting the de Pass's youngest son John, aged seven or eight (fig. 72), and a portrait of Alfred, exhibited at the Royal Academy that year, for which he paid £100 (fig. 73).
Though different in their format, collectively, the series of family portraits commissioned by the de Passes recall Sargent's series *The Wertheimer Family* in that were produced by one artist and were often exhibited at the Royal Academy on completion. The commissions may have demonstrated Alfred's interest what has been described in Wertheimer's case as 'the lure of pedigree' but are not now widely known as they remained in private ownership.[154]The connection between these works was not limited to the fact that both depicted two generations of a Jewish family. Tuke knew the Wertheimers through de Pass and his Salaman in-laws, and he recorded visiting them several times in his diary, where he would have seen Sargent's portraits *in-situ* their London home.[155] Tuke's sister quoted from the artist's diary: 'during the winter of 1907 dined several times at the Salamans… "Sargent there, Steer and Rothenstein … old Wertheimer and his daughter, and others. Sat by Miss W[ertheimer] and had amusing talk.'[156]

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[148] The price for the *Portrait of Daniel* was £50, as recorded in Tuke's register of commissions (R235). See Price (1982), p. 9. According to Price, the *Portrait of Aaron de Pass* was 'rescued from the Plumstead Convalescent Home and has been restored … it now hangs in the Jewish Museum in Cape Town.' See Price (1982), p. 10.

[149] Pointon (1993), p. 107.

[150] Price quoting Tuke's diary, 11 October 1899 (p. 10): "Committee on [new Falmouth] Art School about buying casts", and on 24 January 1900: "to the de Passes [5 Lower Berkeley Street, London] to see some documents about Falmouth Art School'.

[151] Wainwright and Dinn (1989), p. 116.

[152] Penrose (1936), cat. no. 439.

[153] Tuke wrote in his diary in August 1901: 'Tom to paint a *Head of Mrs De* Pass', during which he used the studio below Tuke's home at Swanpool for the sittings'. Ibid., p. 11.

[154] Michelle Lapine, 'Mixing Business with Pleasure: Asher Wertheimer as Art Dealer and Patron', in Kleeblatt (1999), p. 44.

[155] For Michel's artistic career, and that of his non-Jewish wife, fellow Slade student Chattie Wake (1876–1971), see Todd Endelman, *The Last Anglo-Jewish Gentleman* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022) pp. 122–3. Tuke's diaries also mention dinner with the 'Euston Salamans', Euston (1871–1916) being another of brother-in-law of Alfred.

[156] Maria Tuke Sainsbury, *Henry Scott Tuke, R.A., R.W.S., A Memoir* (London: Martin Secker). (1933), p. 145.

Like Asher Wertheimer, Alfred de Pass wanted to use his gifts to museums to code his family members into collective memory, though this was not done explicitly through their portraits. The memorialisation of his family began after the premature death of his wife Ethel. In 1910, he presented Millbank with seven works on paper: Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Monna Pomona,* William Blake's *Oberon, Titania and Puck,* Ford Madox Brown's pastel *Our Lady of Good Children* and Frederick Walker's *Refreshment* and *A Study for Marlow Ferry*, and two watercolour studies by George John Pinwell (1842–1985) *Study for 'The Pied Piper of Hamelin': The Children* and *The Strolling Players*. Four of these works had fertility or motherhood as their central theme.[157] It is my contention that Alfred may have wanted to part with works that reminded him of the mother of his children, or were collected with her in mind, while also creating a memorial to her through the gift.

Like his *Portrait of Pope,* de Pass's next gift to the National Gallery was another male portrait, but in making this gift he seemed to want to honour its maker, Alfred Stevens (1817–75), rather than the subject.[158] *William Blundell Spence's* portrait was given in 1913 and would have appealed to the Gallery's trustees on two fronts: the Gallery were acquiring examples of Steven's work for a new gallery in his honour at Millbank, following the success of Aitken's first temporary exhibition, a retrospective of the Belgian-born artist (1911-2). Moreover, the subject, the art dealer Blundell Spence, had specialised in Florentine works of art, assisting collectors like Lady Lindsay (Chapter 5) and Sir Bernard Samuelson, whose cassone were later acquired.[159] Like the Davises, de Pass collected Stevens' sculptures and drawings, as he gave two bronze portrait busts in the same gift, which it seemed he had cast from plaster studies for this purpose.[160]

A photograph now in Falmouth Art Gallery's archive shows de Pass's collection as it was displayed in Cliffe House's Drawing Room(s), with *William Blundell Spence* hanging to the right of the fireplace (fig. 74). Over the fireplace hung Hogarth's *Wedding Banquet* now in Truro, while another photograph shows Reynolds' *Portrait of Sir James Hodges,* 1765, hanging in front of a damask covered wall (fig. 75). Nearby hung Orpen's portrait of *Lady [Grace] Orpen*, near Guardi's *View of the Arsenale* (fig. 76)*,* both of which were given to the National Gallery in 1920.[161]

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[157] Tate's accession numbers for these works are *Monna Pomona* (N02685); *Oberon, Titania and Puck* (N02686); *Our Lady of Good Children* (N02684); *Refreshment* (N02687); *A Study for Marlow Ferry* (N02688); *Study for 'The Pied Piper of Hamelin': The Children* (N02689) and *The Strolling Players* (N02690).

[158] In June 1920, he gave a drawing by David Loggan of former Bishop of Winchester, *David Mews*, c.1680 to the NPG (London: NPG1872), which de Pass purchased from the Carfrae Collection. Robert Carfrae (1820–1900) was a numismatic collector and Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. It is likely that many of the coins which de Pass later donated to Truro were acquired from his collection. In 1920, he also presented a portrait miniature on vellum of another Winchester man, the writer *William Somerville*, by George White, 1709 (NPG1873). Ian Kerslake, in his *Early Georgian Portraits* catalogue (1977) wrote of White (and de Pass): 'a competent artist not known to have had any connection with the world of letters … The answer may lie with the collector Alfred A. de Pass.'

[159] The two cassone now in the National Gallery that were purchased from Blundell Spence both had former owners with Jewish heritage, Lady Lindsay (NG3826) and Sir Bernard Samuelson (NG4906). The *Tournament Scene* (N0 4906) was bequeathed by the 2nd Baronet Samuelson, in memory of his own father in 1937. See also Christopher Rowell, 'Florentine "Cassoni" at Blickling, Knole and Cliveden', *Furniture History*, vol. 51 (2015), pp. 21–49.

[160] De Pass gave two bronzes of *Herbert Collmann*, c.1860 (Tate, N02931) and *Leonard Collman*, c.1860 (Tate, N02932), depicting sons of Steven's employer (also called Leonard Collmann). The sitters were related to *Mary Ann, Wife of Leonard Collmann*, whose portrait the Gallery had bought in 1900 (now Tate, N01775). De Pass to the National Gallery, 3 April 1913, London: National Gallery, NG7/424/4.

[161] The photograph album was donated to the Falmouth Art Gallery by art historian Catherine Wallace. FAMAG 1000.174.20 shows his Hoppner, *Portrait of Emily St Clare as a Bacchante*, c. 1806-7 (now Kansas

While the photographs from Cliffe House show a preference for British portraiture and 18th century British and Italian paintings in the 'Grand manner', after 1911 de Pass began to travel extensively throughout Europe, with his second wife Nora Morris, former governess of his five children. While he was away, de Pass was kept abreast of the National Gallery's affairs, as a letter from 1920 in its archive indicated. The dire state of the Gallery's finances after Millbank's closure during the Great War seemed to have been the catalyst for a fundraising effort by Charles Holmes (1868–1936, Director 1916-28), who it appears approached earlier donors (like Edmund Davis and de Pass) directly for funds.[162]
In his reply, de Pass wrote: 'unfortunately I cannot give to nation money with which to liquidate the debt, but I can give some pictures. You may select any you like from my collection for the National Gallery which I shall be proud to present.'[163] He informed the director that he had tried to lend a work (he did not say which) to the Gallery in 1895, but though it was rejected, he 'held no malice'.[164] The Gallery had similarly rejected his offer of three drawings by Jewish Pre-Raphaelite Simeon Solomon (1842–1905) in 1915, twelve examples of which he gave to Truro from 1917 to 1928.[165]

Though an illness in the family (who went for a prolonged stay in Bath Spa) meant Alfred could not be in Cornwall to help the Gallery's representative choose works from his collection, his affection for his pictures was clear in his tone. He wrote that he could not watch his possessions be wrapped and removed: 'it would feel like going to my own funeral.'[166] His physical distance from his possessions may also have given him an opportunity to reflect on their usefulness to 'the nation', as in his offer letter he also asked Holmes to consider lending the Gallery's collection more broadly to the 'provinces'. He suggested that 'the London Galleries and museums weed out their collections and present them to provincial galleries and museums... It would relieve congestion and be of great instructive value.'[167]Though the Gallery's Keeper was given *carte blanche* to explore Cliffe House in his absence, only two paintings were expressly 'barred' from selection: 'J[ames] J[ebusa] Shannon's "Purple Stockings" and Alfred Stevens' "Mademoiselle de Rohan" which I have given my son'.[168]
In the related correspondence, de Pass's offer was recognised as a patriotic gesture, perhaps because de Pass referred to 'the nation' having his paintings, rather than 'the Gallery'.

City, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, given by Robert Lehman in 1945, inv. no. 45-1). It was bought by Alfred de Pass from P. and D. Colnaghi, London, [July 20, 1895]. He sold it c. 1920 through Thomas Agnew's, London, c.1920, whereupon it was purchased by Duveens in Paris. The Duveens sold the painting to Edward Stotesbury of Pennsylvania (see Chapter 2). The album may have been made for inventory purposes. It must have been produced between 1907 and 1913, because of the presence of the Alfred Steven's portrait, presented to the Gallery in 1913. Another photograph [1000.174.10] shows two more paintings given to the Gallery, hanging side by side: William Orpen's *Portrait of Grace Orpen* (Tate, N03549) hangs over a fireplace, to its left is Francesco Guardi's *View of the Arsenale* (London: National Gallery, NG3538), and on its right, Marieschi's *Rialto Bridge Venice* (now Bristol Art Gallery, K1356).

[162] The severity of the financial situation was such that trustee Lord d'Abernon proposed selling off parts of the collection. Luckily, the 1916 'National Gallery Bill' was abandoned. See Fox (2015), p. 15.

[163] de Pass to 'Mr [Charles] Holmes', 16 May 1920. London: NGA, NG14/38

[164] Ibid.

[165] See *Minutes of the Gallery Board,* 6 July 1915, NGA, NG8, pp. 67-8. At the same meeting, three other drawings by Solomon offered by a 'Mr A M Solomon' and Robert Ross (1869–1918) were also rejected. For the Truro drawings, see Penrose (1936), cat. nos. 445–55. Four were later sold by the museum at Christies, London (22 February 1966, lot. 45) to 'Durlacher' for 90 guineas.

[166] de Pass to Holmes, from the Empire Hotel, Bath, 18 May 1920. Ibid.

[167] de Pass to Holmes, 9 June 1920, Ibid.

[168] de Pass to Holmes, 26 May 1920. Ibid.

Hnery Tuke took Collins-Baker around Cliffe House on 27 June, having received additional instructions from London that he was to bring back any miniatures and drawings that could be given to the National Portrait Gallery, and a painting of *Pandora* by John William Waterhouse (1849–1917) that de Pass wanted the National Gallery's conservator Ayerst Hooker Buttery (1868–1929) to restore. If the Gallery did not 'require' *Pandora*, de Pass asked that it be sent 'home' so that it could be presented to Truro, who were keen to have it on loan.[169] While Alfred did not seem concerned about which other works were chosen, he briefly summarised several of his painting's histories, indicating the 'finest' among his works. He described 'A madonna & child arched top said to be by the Master of the Virgin of St Ursula Cologne 15 Century', but this work was the only painting not chosen by the Trustees among Collins-Baker's selection of fifteen paintings (see Appendix 3), and returned to Cornwall.[170] When he heard of their choices, de Pass wrote to Holmes: 'I am glad to hear the trustees liked the pictures sufficiently to accept them and of course I make no conditions about hanging them, I am quite proud at feeling they are there at all.'[171]

In his 1920 letter to Holmes, de Pass referred to saving two paintings for his 'sons' [Daniel and John], as the family had lost second son, Crispin (b. 1893), a former Cambridge undergraduate, in the Battle of St Quentin (1917). His youngest son John died in a skiing accident in 1923, and in the wake of their deaths Alfred de Pass decided to give away far larger numbers of works. In 1923, he gave many of his Newlyn School paintings, with twenty going to Falmouth Art Gallery, including two Tukes, *The Bathing Boys* and *The Message*, as well as paintings by Laura Knight (18771–1970), Alfred Munnings (1878–1959) and Frank Brangwyn.[172] Among them was a watercolour 'an Oriental Tea Pot', which his son Crispin had produced in 'Class 1', its acceptance perhaps indicating the museum's sense of obligation to the donor, as well as de Pass's determination to enshrine his son's memory in his local museum.[173]

His 1923 Falmouth gifts were followed by another, smaller presentation to Truro, made in 1923-5, of several early Italian paintings: *the Martyrdom of Dionysius* by a follower of Masaccio, a fourteenth-century Florentine depiction of *The Elevation of the Host,* and the German [then thought to be Florentine] *Madonna and Child* that had been rejected by the Gallery's trustees in 1920.[174]Within this sequence of nearly annual gifts to British museums, a further eleven paintings were destined for Plymouth Art Gallery in 1926, of which six were Italian (though not all produced within the same region or even century), two were by modern 'British' artists Sargent and Waterhouse, and two depicted the same subject, *Saint Catherine*. One might speculate that regarding the multiple Saint Catherines, de Pass was contemplating how his works would be received by museum viewers and wanted to 'instruct' on the treatment

[169] *Pandora* was de-accessioned by Truro in 1965. It is now in a private collection.

[170] The *Virgin and Child,* c.1470–1500, was presented to Truro in 1925 (inv. no. TRURI:1925.207).

[171] Alfred de Pass to Holmes, from the Empire Hotel, Bath, 9 June 1920, NGA, NG14/38.

[172] Though Tietze (1995, p. 19) stated: 'only to the smallest British gallery... Falmouth did de Pass give exclusively modern art', while this may be true of his 1923 gift, it was later augmented in 1939 with eight much earlier naval scenes by both Dutch and British marine paintings, which he gave directly after a loan exhibition held there, and an undated gift of *Two Putti* by Cipriani, which cannot be classified as modern.

[173] Crispin De Pass, *An Oriental teapot - Art section class 1*, signed, watercolour, 14 x 16 cm (Falmouth Art Gallery, Cornwall). Presented by Alfred A. De Pass in 1923. He also collected works by Dutch artist Crispyn [sometimes Crispjin van] de Passe [the Younger, 1594–1670], which he gave to Falmouth, suggesting he may have believed them related.

[174] Penrose (1936), cat. nos. 125-218.

of the same subject by different hands. In his own homes, he also appeared to have favoured grouping similar genres of painting together, such as Madonnas and Holy Infants (fig. 77).[175]

George Penrose, Truro's curator, often alluded to the fact that his benefactor often arranged 'his' displayed works as he saw fit, providing display cases and provenance information as well as unsolicited advice. Although there was occasionally friction between the pair, de Passes' assistance was essential to the Cornish curator owing to the sheer volume of objects he received from him between 1914 –28.[176]Having 'defrayed the cost of… the gallery for Old Master paintings and drawings, known as the De Pass gallery', in his 1936 catalogue of de Pass's *Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures.* Penrose thanked the donor 'for the great assistance... during [its] compilation and also for bearing a very considerable cost of printing'.[177] Privately, Penrose rankled at de Pass's frequent visits, when he often gave unsolicited advice about 'his' displays. Having begun to add to its collection in 1914, as Penrose recalled 'going down to Cliff (sic) House and coming back with a load of treasures', perhaps he felt some entitlement as its largest benefactor.[178]

When he made a similarly large gift (211 items) to Bristol Art Gallery, on the death of his wife Nora in 1935, he also paid for 'showcases for the ceramics', and a fully illustrated catalogue, (fig. 78).[179]The 1936 Bristol catalogue, unlike Truro's, contained photographs of the de Pass's collection as it was displayed for contemporary visitors, with furniture and paintings of different schools arranged in vignettes, much as they had been at Cliffe House (fig.79). That de Pass was similarly involved in the arrangement of displays of his collection in South Africa was made clear in an illustrated letter to the head of the trustees of SANG (fig. 80):

> May I suggest that you have a couple of screens made and put [Robert] Broadley's drawings and the four fine Mezzotints I gave the Gallery on them as new acquisitions … I had screens made for Plymouth, Truro and Falmouth and they were a great success – you can have cast iron feet … which is better than wooden feet. If no funds I will gladly pay for this.[180]

That de Pass was as overbearing with his 'improving' suggestions for South Africa's new national museum as he had been in Cornwall, was very clear in Tietze's 1995 examination of the extant correspondence relating to his gifts to SANG. Norman Nail commented that from 1926 onwards, on returning to live in South Africa for the first time since his youth, 'he gave

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[175] Later in 1933, he gave three Renaissance bronzes to the Fitzwilliam, presented in the name of his sons, as Crispin had been an undergraduate of Trinity Hall These sculptures were Barthelèmy Prieur's *Youth Drawing a Sword*; Severo di Ravenna's *Kneeling Hercules,* c.1500–1550, and unknown sixteenth-century, *Plaque depicting the Virgin and Child Enthroned* (all Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, M.10-1933, M.8-1933 and M.15-1933).

[176] A file note produced by the Archivist, Courtney Library in August 2016 provided the figures of: 172 Old Master drawings, 140 Paintings, 394 Ceramics, 176 pieces of Decorative Art, 260 Egyptian works, 343 Japanese (mostly ceramics), 147 Chinese works. The largest part of his gift, coins, has not been catalogued. RIC De Pass Acquisition files (Truro: Courtney Library).

[177] Penrose (1936), pp. 4-5.

[178] Margaret Morgan, 'A love-hate relationship: George Penrose and Alfred de Pass', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (Truro: 2018), pp. 97–100.

[179] On the first page of the Bristol catalogue, a dedication of the gift read 'to the memory of Nora'. The Chairman of the Museum wrote: 'Mr. de Pass is already well known as a most generous benefactor to the National Gallery, the Fitzwilliam Museum, to several West Country Museums and Art Galleries, and to Groot Constantia and other Collections in South Africa. The present gift is of value to Bristol, where it greatly strengthens the representation of pictorial and industrial art, particularly that of the18th century.' See G. Talbot Plum, *The De Pass Collection: Paintings Furniture Ceramics etc.* (Bristol Art Gallery, December 1936), p. 4.

[180] Tietze (1995) transcribed this illustrated letter, 7 July 1943, reproduced on p. 21. The original manuscript is in the SANG Archive (Cape Town: SANG, now known as Iziko Museum, ref. 2/2/1/3).

to museums in Europe and South Africa without any sense of crossing national boundaries', such were the perceived cultural affinities between Britain and its 'dominion'.[181] In 1926, South Africa was granted 'dominion' status by Britain, which gave its government greater freedom to self-govern, but de Pass behaved as though the museum was his own dominion, much as he had treated Truro's museum in his former home.[182]

Understandably, de Pass's legacy as a donor in South Africa has been complicated by revelations from the SANG archives that revealed an often overbearing and entitled character, with patrician (occasionally overtly prejudiced) views about the recipients of 'his' art works.[183] The disputes he had with administrators there resulted in what Tietze described as a breakdown of relations between SANG's incoming director, John Paris, in 1947, and the 'lone collector-benefactor'. In one stinging exchange between de Pass and Paris, on 7 June 1949, the donor described the change in their relations: 'this Gallery was built to house my pictures together… I was allocated three rooms … I was allowed to hang the pictures and have done so on and off up to the time of your arrival.'[184] Among the works he wanted to arrange himself were several by Robert Broadley (1908–88, a Manchester-born artist who also came to Cape Town in 1927). In his old age Broadley gave de Pass painting lessons at his South African home, Norfolk House. While present day curators of Iziko museums have praised de Pass's foresight in collecting 'South African' contemporary artists for their national museum, as Tietze noted, de Pass restricted his South African purchases to works which demonstrated 'modern naturalism… art that was fresh, spontaneous, and free of complex narrative dimensions'. [185] This may simply have reflected his own taste, as Penrose noted de Pass's gravitation towards 'objects with a lot of colour and design'.[186]

Some critics have reflected that his choices for Cape Town exposed cultural bias, as during this period he was still acquiring Old Masters [and 'Mistresses' like Judith Leyster (1609–60)] for museums in Britain during the 1930s. [187] De Pass later reflected that 'we had no Old Masters [for SANG] as it is quite impossible to obtain first-class pictures' but he also believed that 'coloured people, natives etc., could not understand them'. [188]While he may have harboured beliefs about the cultural superiority of European audiences, he might also have been [somewhat naively] trying to maintain cultural tradition by allocating his art works where he felt they would be appreciated. As he made explicit memorialisations with many of his earlier

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[181] Nail (1993), p. 281.

[182] When Penrose became unwell in 1932, de Pass wrote: 'can't you get a young man from the Truro High School who wants a career to take up museum work. I would like to see the place run on a proper up to date footing before I die.' De Pass to Penrose, 16 January 1932, quoted in Morgan (2018), p. 99.

[183] Staff of SANG were not immune from censure from de Pass. See Tietze (1995), pp. 25–6.

[184] Correspondence with Alfred de Pass in the SANG archive, Cape Town: SANG, ref. 2/2/1/3.

[185] Tietze (1995), p. 14.

[186] Penrose to Canon Mills, 20 June 1920, quoted by Morgan (2018), p. 100.

[187] Leyster's *Musician* was given by de Pass to Bristol in 1936, in 'memory of the donor's wife Nora' in 1936. That this substantial gift from de Pass has been subsequently divided between the Bristol Art Gallery and another museum in Bristol, the Red Lodge Museum, an historic Elizabethan house, is understandable (Soest's *Unknown Man* and a British seventeenth century *Lady in Lace Cap* are found there today). While I have tried to uncover the connection between Nora (born Morris) and Bristol, I have not ascertained whether it was her hometown. An article in the *Cornish Guardian*, 'Newquay Resident's Will', 27 August 1936 (p. 14) recorded that she died on 28 May, at her residence 'The Cottage, Pentire' leaving a personal estate of £15,185, to her husband. She left £1,000 to the Home for Destitute Girls, Falmouth.

[188] de Pass to the SANG's Director, John Paris, 7 June 1949, Cape Town: SANG, archive ref. 2/2/1/3. Cited by Tietze (1995), p. 19.

donations - his first wife was London-born, he gave to the National Gallery in her memory, his sons were memorialised in Falmouth and Cambridge, his wife in Bristol – so he seemed invested in the local significance his collections might resonate among various audiences. Contemporary commentators equally remarked upon a 'localising' trend, among modern British painters and their patrons at the turn of the century, and the popularity among audiences of artists whose work was conceived within a clearly defined locale, like the Newlyn School, examples of which he largely gave to museums in the South West of England.[189]While his views on the comprehension of 'natives' may be objectionable, in Alfred's case it is worth noting that when he donated his own portrait to the University of Cape Town, he chose a work by Broadley, who he recognised as South African and who is considered as such by the present curators (fig. 81).

What would become de Pass's final contributions to a museum, his presentation of over 250 items to South Africa's national gallery, like that of his contemporaries, the Davises, was the subject of some controversy in his own lifetime, but within the last fifty years, nuanced readings of their significance as records of artistic collaboration and international diplomacy have shown that these collectors 'deserve closer attention'.[190] Compounding the 'obscurity' of these collector's interests was the fact that though they were exceptionally generous, those museums who received their works could not maintain the interests of their historic donors in perpetuity (or visitors' interests in their possessions). Just as there is no longer an 'Edmund Davis' Room at the musee du Luxembourg, within a decade of his death, Truro's Museum faced significant financial shortfalls, and deaccessioned many of de Pass's drawings and paintings through several auctions.[191] According to its current Collections Manager, the 'de Pass Gallery' will be renamed as part of an initiative on the part of the museum's directorate to 'decolonise' the museum by promoting the use of inclusive language throughout the building. Though ideologically admirable, this action will further obscure the breadth of the collector's interests, and his significance in this institution's development as well as many others across Britain.

[189] See T. Ashcroft on the Newlyn School in *English Art and English Society* (London: Peter Davies, 1936), p. 174: 'as modern industrialism and urbanisation threatens the whole national physique of a race and the whole natural beauty of a country … threaten[ing] to stifle art … making it the conventionalised expression of the philistinism and materialism of a mechanised, standardised population … there is a 'back to the land' movement among artists… and social reformers'.

[190] Davis (1973), p. 9.

[191] See catalogues for 30 November and 21 December 1965; 22 February 1966, all Christie's London.

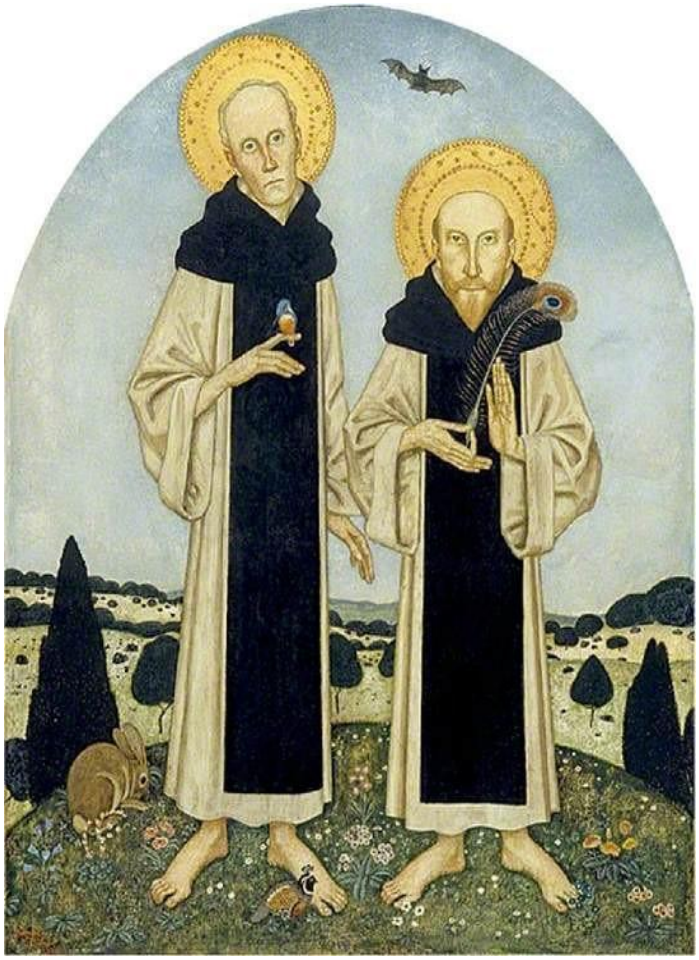
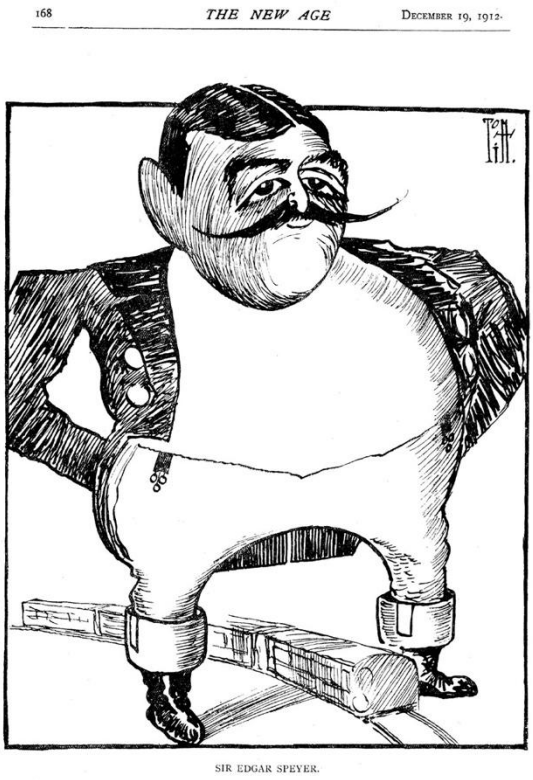


Fig. 37

Edmund Dulac, *Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon as Medieval Saints*, 1920 (Cambridge: Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, PD.51–1966).

Figs. 38 and 39. Constance Penstone (1865–1928), or 'Scalpel', Caricature of Edmund Davis, from *The African World Annual*, 1909; Tom Titt (Jan Stanislaw De Junosza Rosciezewski) (1885-1956), 'Sir Edgar Speyer', *The New Age*, Volume 12, Number 7, 19 December 1912.



Figs. 40 and 41. Charles Ricketts, *A Fancy-Dress Party at the home of Edmund and Mary Davis*, *c. 1904* (Carlisle: Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery); Charles Conder, *Invitation Card for Dinner Party at 13 Lansdowne Road* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, inv. no. 170.1999).

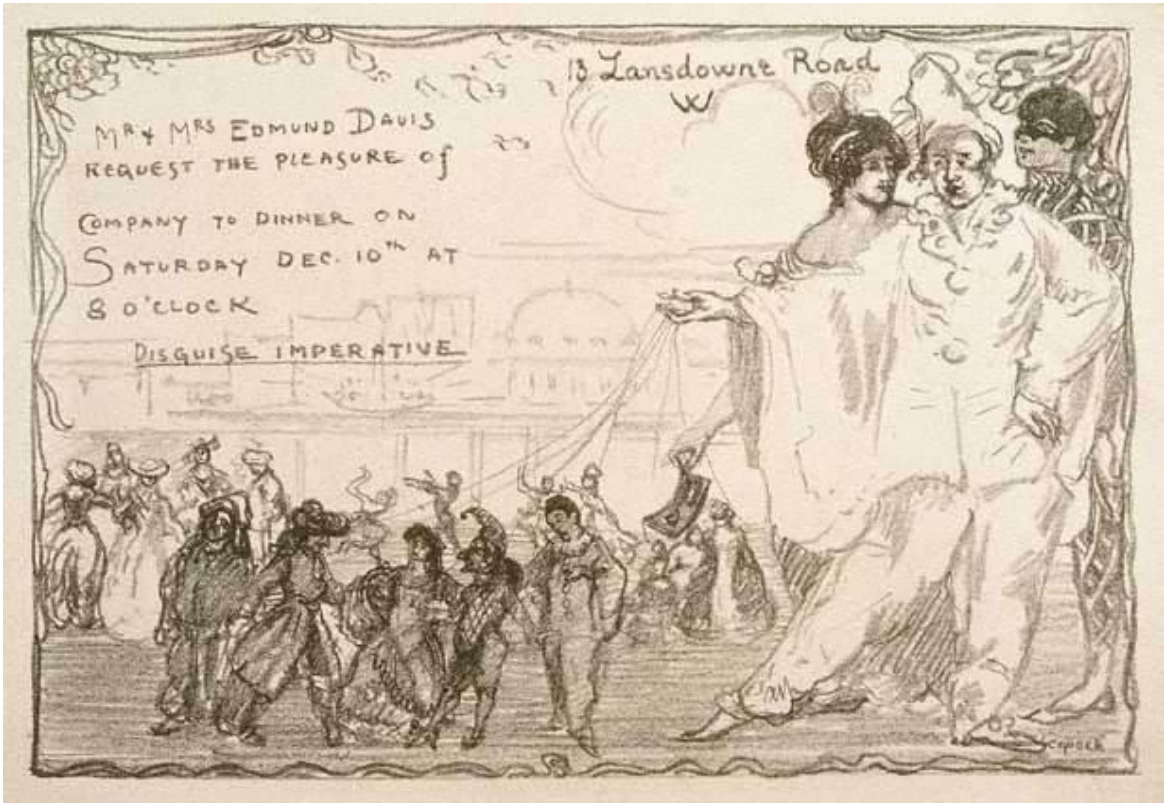


Fig. 42

Jean-Antoine Watteau, *Man Playing a Flute*, c.1717 (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 2265). Bequeathed by Charles Shannon, 1937

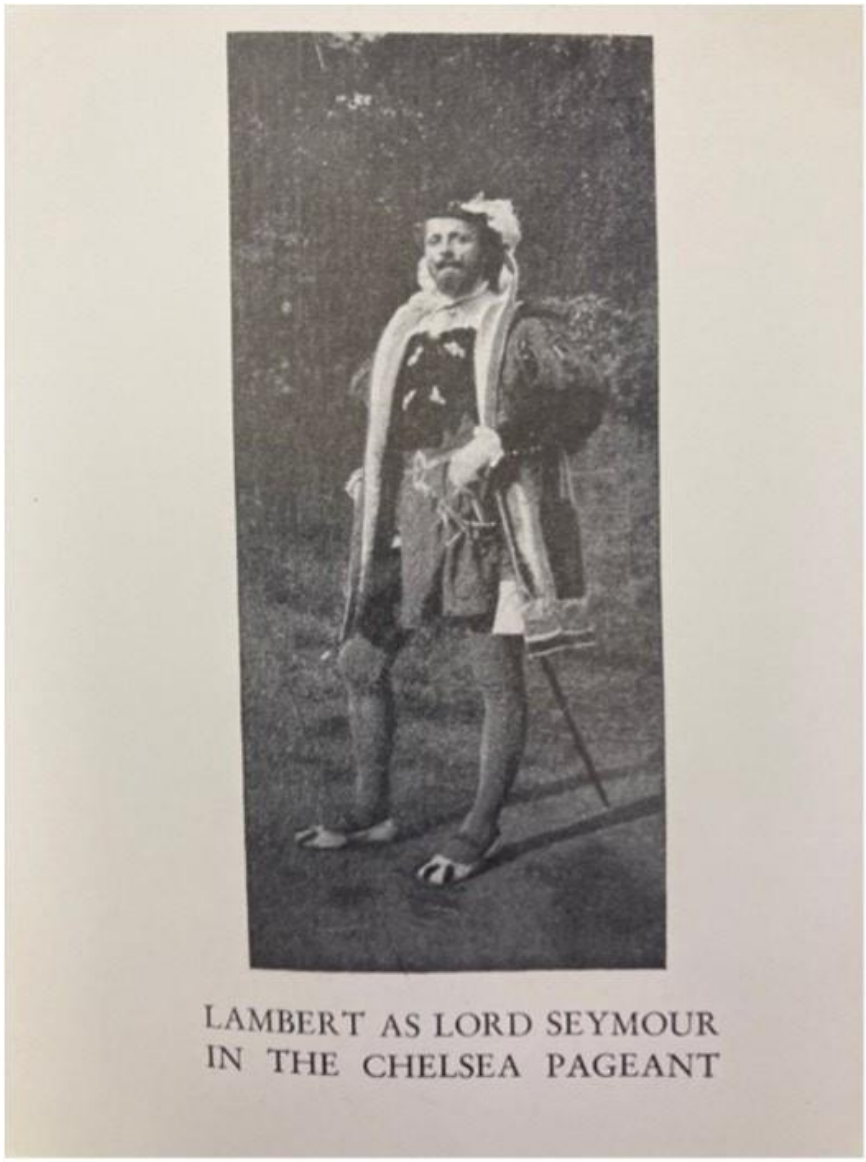


Fig. 43
Unknown photographer (perhaps Amy Lambert), *The Artist George Washington Lambert as 'Lord [Thomas] Seymour' at the Chelsea Pageant, 1908*, wearing a costume designed by his wife, Amy Lambert.

Figs. 44 and 45. Two drawings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo; *Study of a Man with a Chisel* and *Study for a Nude, Seated on Clouds*, given by Edmund Davis to Charles Ricketts in 1903 (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam, inv. nos. 2237 and 2238). Bequeathed by Charles Shannon, 1937.

Fig. 46. Photograph of Edmund and Mary Davis's Bedroom at Belwethers, Cranleigh. © *Country Life*.

Figs. 47 and 48. Walter Sickert, *The Lion of St Mark*, oil on canvas, 90.2 cm x 89.8 cm, c. 1895-6 (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. PD.17-1959; Walter Sickert, *"Venice",* in Martin Wood, T., 'The Edmund Davis Collection. Part II', *The International Studio* (New York: John Lane, June 1915), p. 241

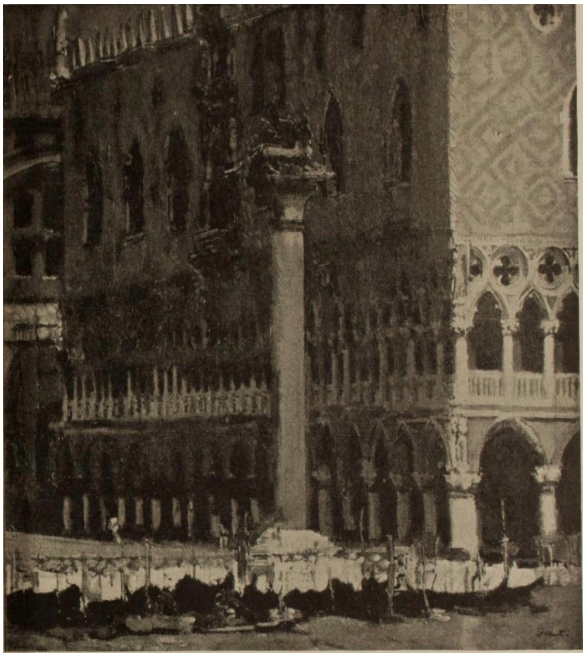
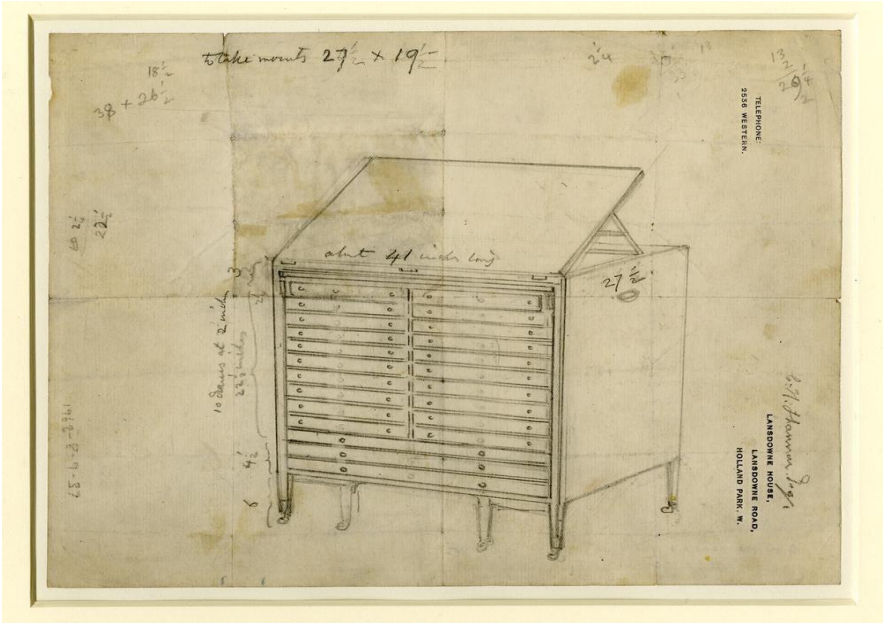


Fig. 49. Charles Ricketts, *Portrait of Charles Shannon seated at Kennington Park Road,* c. 1886, oil on canvas. Sold at Christie's, London, July 2021.

Fig. 50. Photograph of *Charles Ricketts Seated at Home in Kennington*, c. 1884. Private Collection.

Fig. 51

Anon., Photograph of the *Drawing Room at Lansdowne Road*, home of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, c. 1909. Reproduced from Darracott (1980), p. 111.



Figs. 52 and 53. Charles Shannon, *Measured plan for a drawing cabinet*, graphite on 'Lansdowne Road' headed paper, 20 x 25.5 cm (London: British Museum, inv. no. 1962,0809.37; Anon., Photograph of 'the Inigo Jones Room', c. February 1914, from *Architectural Review.*

Fig. 54. Anon., *Photograph of [Lady] Mary Davis beside Houdon's Bust of Comtesse de Sabran, c. 1787*, taken in London c. 1909–1915.

Fig. 55. Ambrose McEvoy, *The Music Room at Sir Edmund Davis's House, 1915*, oil on canvas (Private Collection).

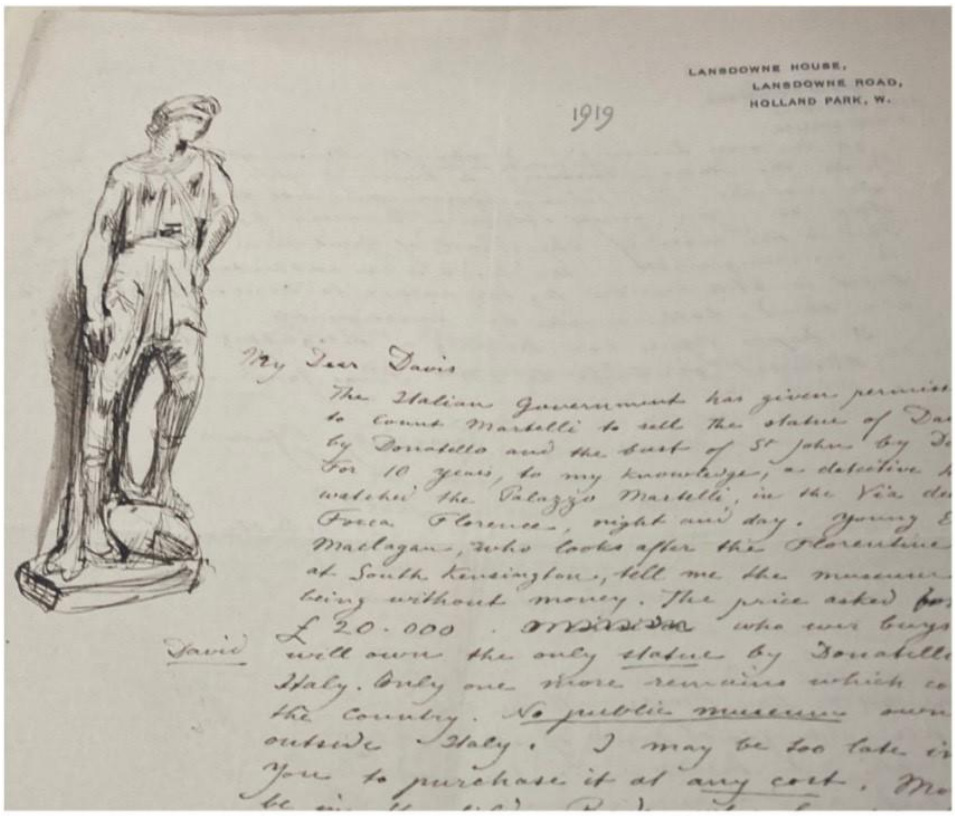


Fig. 56. Charles Ricketts, Donatello's *Martelli David* (detail), from illustrated letter to Edmund Davis, undated. (London: British Library).

Fig. 57. Frank Brangwyn, Decorative metal light fitting in the bedroom of Edmund and Mary Davis, 11-13 Lansdowne Road, London, c. 1899. Photograph reproduced in *The Studio*, April 1900. Photograph reproduced in *The Studio*, 1900.

Fig. 58. Anon., Photograph of Frank Brangwyn's design for the Davis' principal bedroom at Lansdowne Road, photograph from *The Studio,* 1900.

Figs. 59 and 60. Charles Conder, *Panels for the Davis's Music Room*, watercolour on silk. Photographs reproduced in *The Studio*, April 1905.

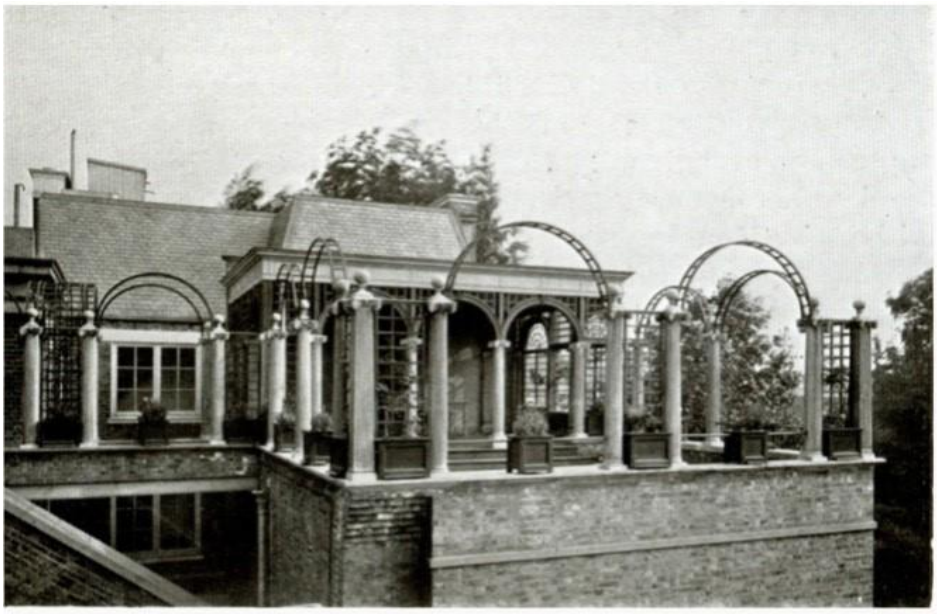


Fig. 61. Photograph of the roof terrace garden built by the Davises at 11-13 Lansdowne Road (London: Kensington and Chelsea Archives).

Fig. 62. Anon., Photograph of a child patient walking through the Entrance Hall of Middlesex Hospital, in front of the left panel of *The Doctor,* taken c. 1937.

Fig. 63. Charles Ricketts, *Don Juan*, c. 1911, oil on canvas, 116 x 96 cm (London: Tate, N03221). Presented by Sir Otto Beit, 1917.

Fig. 64. Edmund Dulac, *The Opening Ceremony of the Edmund Davis Gift, Paris, 1915*.

Fig. 65

A full-page article devoted to the Chilham Castle burglary, *London Illustrated News*, 30 April 1938.

Fig. 66. Anon., Photograph of Edmund Davis admiring the recovered painting *Lady Clarges* by Thomas Gainsborough, in the *London Illustrated News*, 28 May 1938.

Fig. 67. English Heritage blue plaque on Lansdowne House, Holland Park. © English Heritage.

Figs. 68 and 69. Jonathan Richardson, *Portrait of Alexander Pope,* c. 1737, oil on canvas, 61 x 45.7 cm (London: National Portrait Gallery, NPG1179). Given by Alfred A. de Pass, 1898; Henry Scott Tuke, *Aaron de Pass, J.P.,* painted c. 1896 [from a photograph] (Cape Town: Jewish Museum).

Fig. 70. Anon., *Photograph of Henry Scott Tuke, John de Pass and Alfred [Aaron] de Pass at Cliffe House, Falmouth*, c. 1905 (London: Tate Gallery Archive, TGA 9019/1/4/2/14). The photograph was among the papers of Henry Scott Tuke and fellow Newlyn School artist Thomas Cooper Gotch (1854–1931), donated to Tate in 1990.

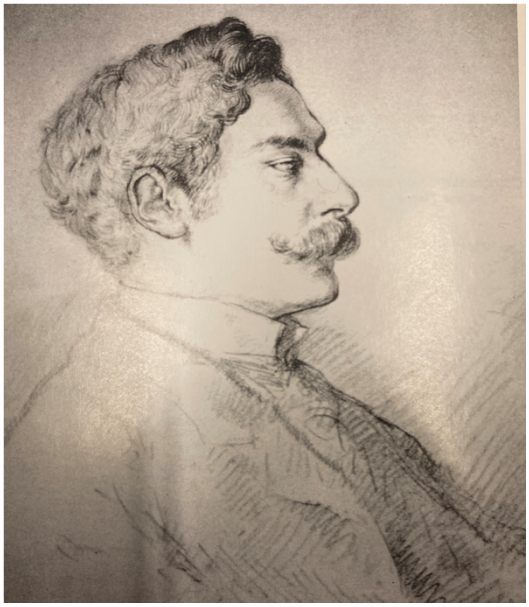
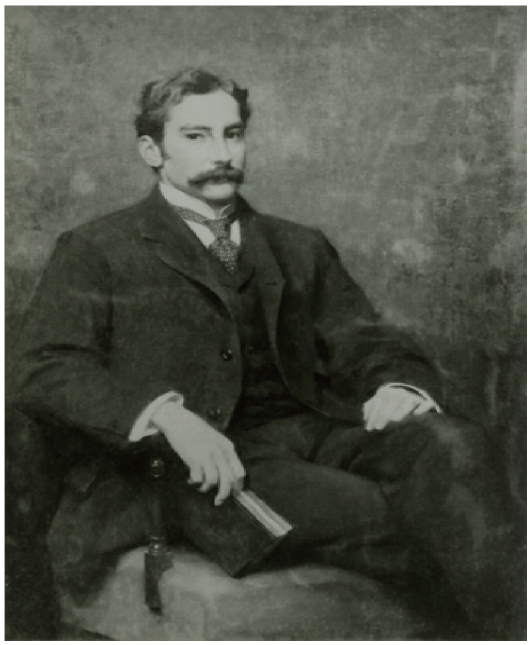


Fig. 71. August John, *Alfred de Pass*, signed and dated 1899, pencil on paper (Truro: Royal Institute of Cornwall)

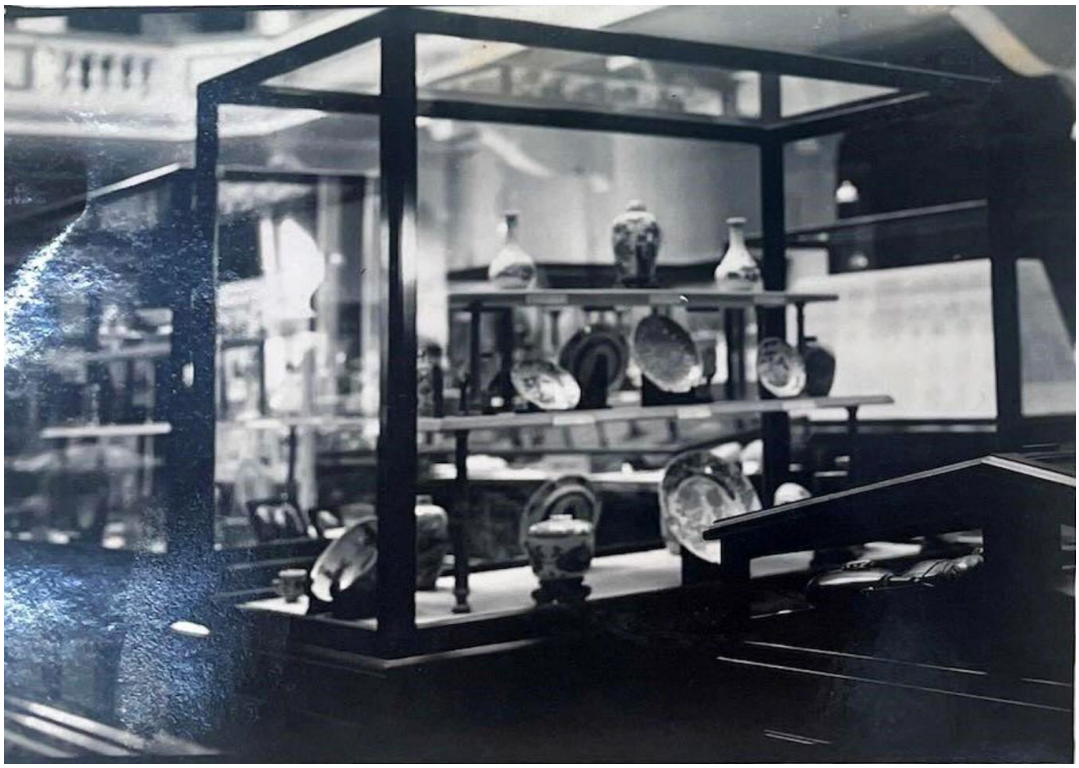
Figs. 72 and 73 Henry Scott Tuke, *John de Pass*, signed and dated 1902; *Portrait of Alfred Aaron de Pass*, 1902, signed and dated, oil on canvas, 127 x 101.6 cm. Lent by Captain Daniel de Pass to the Royal Cornwall Institute, Truro in 1947.



Figs. 74, 75, 76: Anon. (19th century), Photograph of the Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth, showing Alfred Steven's *Portrait of William Blundell Spence*, presented to the National Gallery by Alfred de Pass in 1913; Photograph of the Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth, showing Joshua Reynold's *Portrait of James Hodges*, 1765, hanging on the wall (presented in 1920 to the National Gallery); in the last photograph, William Orpen's *Portrait of Grace Orpen* (Tate, N03549) hangs over a fireplace, to its left is Francesco Guardi's *View of the Arsenale* (London: National Gallery, NG3538), and on its right, Marieschi's *Rialto Bridge Venice* (now Bristol Art Gallery, K1356. Photographs courtesy of Falmouth Art Gallery.

Fig. 77. Anon (19th century), Photograph of Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth, 10.5 x 15 cm. Falmouth Art Gallery Archive, FAMAG 1000.174.1.

Fig. 78. Anon., Photograph of Alfred de Pass's 'new' display cases for his 'Blue and White' Porcelain ceramics collection (Truro: Royal Institute of Cornwall, Courtney Library).



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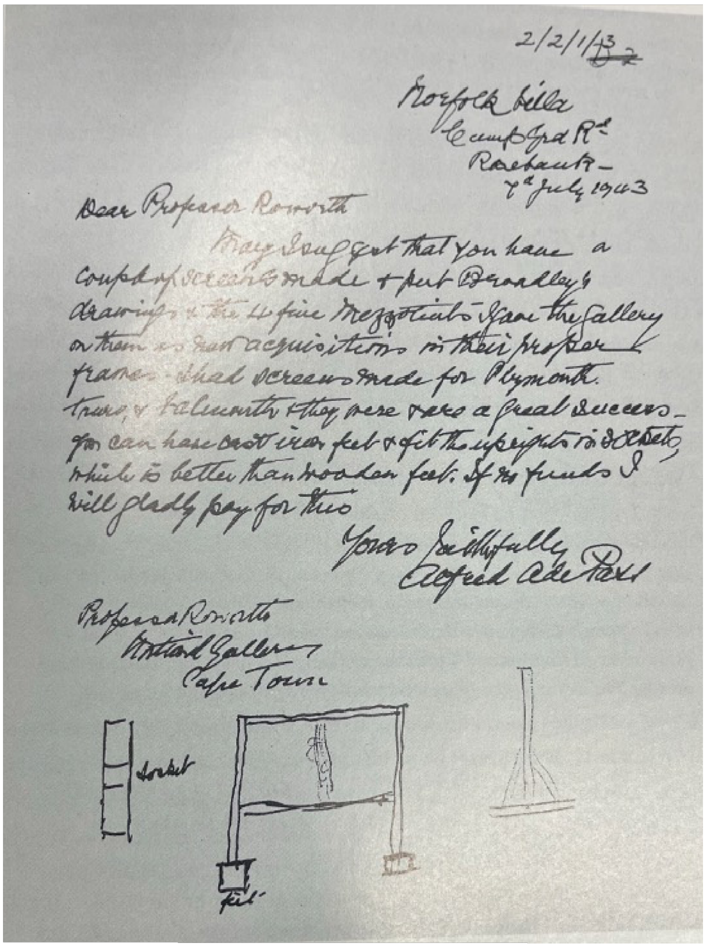

2/2/1/43

Norfolk Villa
Camp Grd Rd
Rosebank
7th July 1943

Dear Professor Roworth

May I suggest that you have a couple of screens made & put Bradley's drawings & the 4 fine Mezzotints I gave the Gallery on them as new acquisitions in their proper frames. I had screens made for Plymouth, Truro, & Falmouth & they were & are a great success – you can have cast iron feet & fit the uprights into sockets, which is better than wooden feet. If no funds I will gladly pay for this

Yours faithfully
Alfred A de Pass

Professor Roworth
National Gallery
Cape Town

Figs. 79 and 80. Photograph from the 1936 catalogue *De Pass Collection* (Bristol Art Gallery, December 1936);

Detail from illustrated letter, Alfred A de Pass [then living at Norfolk Villa, in Rosebank, Cape Town] to Edward Roworth, 7 July 1943 (Iziko Museums Archive).

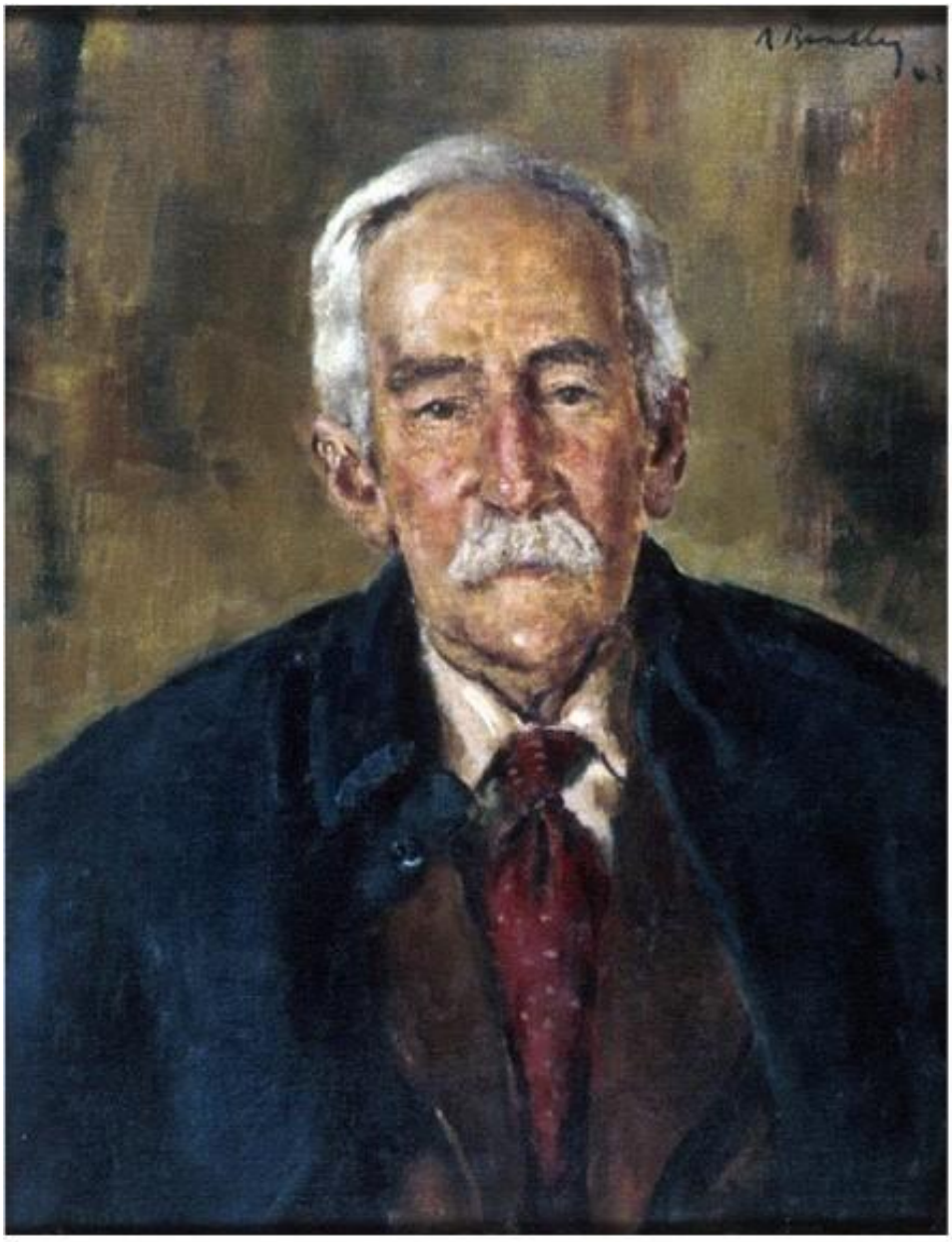

Fig. 81

Robert Broadley, *Portrait of Alfred de Pass*, 1943 (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Works of Art Collection). Bequeathed by Alfred de Pass, 1953.

Chapter 5: *Other* Jewish Women at the National Gallery

Unlike many of the paintings in both the National Gallery and Millbank (now Tate) discussed so far, it is notable that Edward Burne-Jones's large painting, *The Golden Stairs*, 1880 has been on almost permanent display at Millbank since 1924 (fig. 82).[1] Its gallery label reads 'bequeathed by Lord Battersea, 1924'.[2] At first glance it appears to have belonged to an aristocratic male collector, which is not untrue, but nevertheless only partially articulates the picture's significance for both its former owners, the Batterseas.[3] The sublimation of women's interests, whether artistic, philanthropic or both, within the historical record is not surprising. What has been unexpected was the discovery of the level to which (largely élite) Jewish women demonstrated their commitments to supporting the National Gallery, as elsewhere they went unrecognised for their interests in education and politics.

When looking for female collectors in the records of a two-hundred-year-old institution, I expected to find little evidence of female agency, and the widespread use of male relatives' names only compounded this problem. As Jewish women's names did begin to emerge, however, I have chosen to examine the actions of several women who, while often chatelaines of grand homes, whether rural or urban, supported the National Gallery through fundraising and gifts (of both money and paintings).[4] Several of the women discussed were also unusual among female collectors in general as they were curators and art dealers before this was an accepted occupation for women; still others successfully promoted the careers of artist relatives and friends.[5] The roles that they pursued allowed Jewish women to gain renown as cultural authorities in Britain. The reticence of the historic record towards their individual achievements must be addressed, although there was no evidence that Jewish women were any more likely to be overlooked by the Gallery than non-Jews; or women from other ethnic minority backgrounds.[6] Rather, their neglect reflected common bias among the predominantly male academy who first wrote the histories of Britain's museums and their contents.

Scholarship on Jewish cultural philanthropy is still in its infancy, particularly when compared with studies of the interrelation of Christianity with philanthropy.[7] However in her study of

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[1] Alison Smith, 'The Strange World of Edward Burne-Jones', *Tate Etc.,* 20 October 2018, online edition, accessed 11 November 2023.

[2] The same provenance line is found in all Tate's catalogues, see for example, *The Collections of the Tate Gallery: British Painting, Modern Painting and Sculpture,* 2nd edn (London: Tate Gallery, 1969), cat. no. N04005, p. 13.

[3] See W.J. Wintle, in an illustrated 'interview with a famous Liberal whip', 'Lord Battersea at Home', *The Harmsworth Magazine*, no. 6 (July 1901), pp. 551–7.

[4] Francis Haskell suggested it was harder to find female donors in Britain's museum records than elsewhere in Europe, as collectors of both genders had a very different attitude towards preserving 'patrimony', so collecting families were much more likely to retain their belongings rather than leave them to state-run museums. Francis Haskell, 'The English as Collectors', in Gervaise Jackson-Stops (ed.), *The Treasure Houses of Great Britain: Five Hundred Years of Patronage and Art Collecting*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, 1985), New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 50–9.

[5] One particularly influential Jewish art connoisseur was Henrietta Hertz (1846–1913), who founded the Biblioteca Hertziana art historical library in Rome (1912). She also had significant influence on the collecting of the Mond family, through her friend Frida Mond (1847–1923). See Adam (2016), pp. 12–13, 113–19.

[6] Susanna Avery-Quash's recent study of women's involvement at the National Gallery explicitly singled out Jewish women as being 'disproportionately' important donors to the Gallery. See Susanna Avery-Quash (2020), pp. 16–18.

[7] Vallely (2020) wrote short chapters on Jewish and Muslim approaches to philanthropy, but his study was largely Christian in emphasis.

Christian and Jewish Women in Britain, 1880–1940, Anne Summers claimed that philanthropy was one area where Jewish women were embraced by their non-Jewish counterparts, even though their contributions may not have been examined extensively.[8] A benefit of looking at women's collective contributions was that the dynamics they navigated as 'outsiders' may also expose other 'overlooked' aspects of the institution's development. While the women discussed had their own discrete collecting and charitable interests, I have tried to aggregate collective themes that emerged and from them plot any departures from male donor 'norms' at the National Gallery.

Women and the National Gallery

In terms of tracing women's' influences within the National Gallery, there have been several useful studies published in the last two decades. Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon have reasserted the role of Elizabeth Eastlake (1809–93), the Victorian art historian and critic who was married to Charles Lock Eastlake, the first Director of the National Gallery from 1855–65, in the London art world. Recent studies by Kate Hill and Jordanna Bailkin have made further progress by naming female museum workers' and art historians' contributions to galleries in Britain.[9] Particularly pertinent was Bailkin's research on Clara Nördlinger (1871–1970), whom she described as a German Jewish museology student at Owens College, part of the University of Manchester, and one of the first female employees of the Whitworth Art Gallery (fig. 83).

Nördlinger, who was of Italian Jewish heritage, campaigned for the greater visibility of female staff members in museums, and published several papers in the *Museums Association Journal* (founded 1901). In 1896, she interviewed Germany's first female museum director, 'Miss J. Mestorf [Johanna Mestorf, 1828–1909], Directress of the Schleswig-Holstein Museum of National Antiquities at Kiel' (1896).[10] Her subsequent paper provoked a debate among delegates of the 1896 Glasgow Museums Association conference about women's roles in museums:

> MR. HOLMES (Pharmaceutical Society) said that ladies had been employed in the Kew Museum, and with marked success.
> MR. BATHER (British Museum) said that Miss Mestorf was not the only lady curator, Miss Mary Holmes in the United States had filled the office with distinction. Certainly, if women could do good work in museums they should be employed. He himself could testify to their expertness in cleaning fossils. But they must not expect scientific work from women who had not had scientific training.

[8] Summers concluded: 'in the discourse of Christian philanthropy… there was relatively little scope for … revulsion and expulsion … offer[ing] the Other an (often unwanted) embrace … in a final paradox, protect[ing] women of the Jewish community from the overt expressions of racialised hostility … the religious organisations of civil society may have treated Jewish women with greater civility than a more secular civil society treated their male peers'. See Anne Summers, 'Joint Enterprises: The Cooperation of Ladies Who Are Not Christians', in *Christian and Jewish Women in Britain, 1880–1940: Living with Difference* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. XX.

[9] Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon, *Art for the Nation: The Eastlakes and the Victorian Art World* (London: National Gallery London Publications, 2011); Kate Hill, *Women and Museums, 1850–1914: Modernity and the Gendering of Knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 2016); ibid, *Culture and Class in English public museums*, *1850–1914* (London: Routledge, 2017); Jordanna Bailkin, *The Culture of Property*: *The Crisis of Liberalism in Modern Britain* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[10] For Clara Nördlinger's ancestry, see the Anglo-Italian Family History Society, for the 1871 Manchester census records showing Clara's parents, Selmar (a merchant from Venice) and Louise Nördlinger, both Italian nationals with British naturalisation, living with Clara, then 5 months in Victoria Park, Rusholme, Manchester, https://anglo-italianfhs.org.uk/transcriptions/transcripts/1871h-z.pdf , accessed 30 May 2023.

> The PRESIDENT said that the paper was very pleasantly written, and that the importance of the question it raised quite justified its appearance. In his experience he had found that women could clean specimens with a neatness and care which were rarely found in men, and they did their work at a much lower rate. Indeed, he considered them decidedly underpaid.[11]

The last remark by James Paton (1843–1921), President of the recently established Museums Association exposed several patriarchal beliefs about women workers' 'value' to museums. Clara Nördlinger could only afford to work (or indeed be 'underpaid') by the Manchester University Museum because she was supported by an affluent family, and later, husband. Paton's observations about women's 'neatness and care' and their suitability for cleaning roles, which he extended to collection items, was echoed by Nördlinger herself in a later paper also presented to the Museums Association. She examined the practices employed by female staff at the Whitworth, advocated for female cleanliness 'inspectors', commonly associated with social care and housing charities, to be employed in museums, as 'the masculine mind has an instinctive horror of everything pertaining to cleaning and dusting … why not place this essentially feminine department of our museums in the hands of a woman?'[12] At the date of Nördslinger's report, the only roles available to women at the National Gallery were those of eight 'housemaids', and it was not until 1936 that a woman was appointed head of a department of the Gallery.[13]

While Kate Marion Hall (1861–1918) has been identified as the first female museum curator in Britain during her tenure at the Whitechapel Art Gallery between 1894 and 1909, Nördslinger's work should not be forgotten, as she drew attention to the less fêted roles women occupied in museums. While women did not enter the ranks of the National Gallery as art experts, as opposed to 'housekeeping' roles, until the middle of the twentieth century with the employment of Lillian Browse (1906-2005) as exhibition curator, it was important to consider her predecessors both at Trafalgar Square and at regional galleries and museums with which its administrators were frequently engaged.

Jewish Female Fine Art Collectors

In *The Culture of Property*, Jordanna Bailkin reproduced a cartoon by Leonard Raven-Hill (1867–1942), 'The Rachel Rembrandt', first published in *Punch* on 3 March 1903 (fig. 84). It depicted the owner of a purported Rembrandt landscape, showing it to another gentleman. The caption reads: 'So this is your famous Rembrandt, eh? Very fine; but I see it is signed 'Rachel''. The painting's owner's' German accent was emphasised in his reply: "Dot is on account of mein creditors. Everything vos in mein wife's name." The cartoon revealed the anxiety of the 'Englishman' spectator regarding the foreign ownership of one of Britain's treasures – the Jewishness of the owner enshrined both in his accent and in name of the false signature by "mein wife", who shared their name with Jacob's wife in the Old Testament.

The philistinism of the Old Master picture's owners was evidenced by their ignorance of its historical significance, as by signing her name on the canvas, they rendered it valueless. There was also a spectral allusion to their financial misconduct, as the man was hiding his 'asset' from 'creditors'. Perhaps the most damning suggestion made in the *Punch* drawing was that the unseen 'Rachel' might only have collected paintings for their financial value, rather than

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[11] Transcript of comments made by members of the Museums Association after paper given by Miss Clara Nördlinger, see *Museums Association Glasgow Meeting, 1896* (London: 1896), pp. 132–8.

[12] Clara Nördlinger, conference paper on the 'Cleaning of Museums', the *Museums Association Sheffield Meeting, 1898* (London: 1898), p. 110.

[13] Martha Hirst (d. 1860), 'Housemaid', was employed by the Gallery in 1824 (one of five employes), to clean 100 Pall Mall between visitors. I am grateful to Zara Moran, Assistant Archivist, National Gallery Archive, for sharing her research on women's roles at the National Gallery.

having any independent interest or discernment. Though this cartoon was presented to *Punch's* readers without any commentary, it was published at a moment when Jews in Britain faced greater hostility and anti-alien sentiment than they had for over a century, owing to a recent influx of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. While it was likely a comment on the increasing export of Britain's 'treasures' abroad to German museums like the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, nevertheless it also exposed deep-rooted resentments that foreigners were withholding 'assets' that did not belong to them.

At the turn of the century, among the 'foreign-born' collectors who were acquiring, as well as inheriting, Old Masters in British sale rooms were several members of the 'Jewish aristocracy', sometimes referred to as 'the Cousinhood' owing to the close familial ties of the Sassoons, Montefiores, Rothschilds and Waley-Cohens (among other notable Anglo-Jewish families) who rose to prominence at the end of the nineteenth century.[14] Though Natalie Livingstone has recently reassessed the individual interests of the Rothschild women, I also wanted to explore how many elite Jewish women used the historic collections they inherited, or collected themselves, to express their own interests rather than those of their male relatives.[15] One aspect of the collecting practices of many Jewish women that has received little critical attention elsewhere was their patronage of near-contemporary artists.

One member of the Rothschild family who distinctiveness set her apart from the rest of her family was Constance Battersea.[16] Born de Rothschild, she married the Liberal politician Cyril Flower, 1st Baron Battersea (1843–1907) in 1877, but the couple did not have children; her husband was [covertly] homosexual. Contemporary commentary on their homes in Norfolk and Surrey House in London revealed their preference for Italian painting, Persian textiles, and Japanese ceramics, though Cyril has largely been credited for the collection's formation.[17] Lady Battersea, in her *Reminiscences* (1922), described her husband's italophilia. She wrote that Cyril had been tempted to lease 'Desdemona's Palace'in Venice (as noted, formerly owned by Edmund and Mary Davis) but though 'common sense, in the shape of his wife, made him turn his back on the attractions of Italy, he did his best to transplant Italian colouring and Italian designs into his London and Norfolk homes'.[18] Battersea's 'common sense' restraint of her husband mirrored Mary Davis's restrictions on her husband's art investments (as noted by Ricketts who may have felt similarly reined in) though in Lady Battersea's case her prudency was perhaps warranted - her husband died intestate.[19] Today, the remains of the couple's Italian Renaissance collections can be appreciated in another Rothschild home, Ascott House, given to the National Trust by Constance's nephew, Anthony de Rothschild (1887–1961) in 1949, which contains some of the works of art he inherited from the Batterseas.

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[14] For the interconnections of these families, see Chaim Bermant, *The Cousinhood: The Anglo-Jewish Gentry* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1971).

[15] Natalie Livingstone, *The Women of Rothschild* (London: Macmillan, 2021).

[16] Thomas Stammers, 'L'exception anglaise? Constance Battersea et la philanthropie artistique des Rothschild d'outre-manche', in P. Prevost-Marcilhacy, L. de Fuccia and J. Trey (eds), *De la sphère privée à la sphère publique: Les collections Rothschild dans les institutions publiques françaises* (Paris: Publications de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, 2019), digital edition.

[17] For photographs of the Battersea's homes, see W.J. Wintle (1901). Their London residence, 10 Connaught Place, was photographed before its sale by Knight, Frank and Rutley in 1931. A copy of the illustrated brochure can be consulted in the Rothschild Archive, RAL 28/305.

[18]Constance Battersea, *Reminiscences* (London: John Murray, 1922), pp. 174–5.

[19] '…the Estate is not sufficient to pay the debts, and … consequently, the legacies and devisees will not take effect. We are concerned for Lady Battersea who will take over the Overstrand estate from the Executors.' See letter written to Executors of Lord Battersea's will, 25 February 1908, in Rothschild Archive, RAL 000/104/1.

Like other Jewish hostesses, including Hannah Gubbay (1885–1968), Constance Battersea used her London home, Surrey House, near Marble Arch, as the site for fundraising exhibitions that were open to the public. During Lady Battersea's lifetime, she invited members of the Royal Amateur Artists Association to submit work for sale to raise funds for three separate charities, none of which were cultural charities: the Parochial Mission Women's Fund, the East London Nursing Association and the Girls Friendly Society Clubs.[20] While it might first appear that the choice of charities was Constance's own, given her commitment to women's welfare, in fact in permitting her home to be used in this way she was carrying on a well-established tradition. As early as 1896, Reuben [David] Sassoon (1836–1905) had hosted the same Amateur Artists Society exhibition at his own home, 1 Belgrave Square, the recipients of the entrance fee being the same three charities as those supported by Battersea in 1913.[21]

While her campaigning on behalf of women's rights has been examined, Constance Battersea's interest in contemporary art is less well-known.[22] She probably met Burne-Jones early in his career, as he belonged to Cyril's artistic circle, but her interest in the Pre-Raphaelite artist may have grown owing to his frequent contact with one of her family's projects: London's Grosvenor Gallery (founded 1877). Constance's cousin, Caroline Blanche Fitzroy ((1845–1912), later Lady Lindsay, had married fellow artist Sir Coutts Lindsay, embarking, like her mother Hannah Mayer de Rothschild (1815–1864), and Constance, on a union both beyond the Rothschild's network, and outside of the Jewish tradition. Though she faced their disapproval over her marriage, the Rothschild family frequently showed their support for Lady Lindsay's exhibition gallery.

The Grosvenor was conceived as a counterfoil to the perceived failures of the Royal Academy: a place where Aestheticist painters would be celebrated rather than 'skied' or simply rejected. Blanche, who was independently wealthy thanks to her family, and her husband Coutts, supplied half the initial investment for the gallery's establishment, but her contribution went beyond finance. Blanche frequently entertained artists both at her London home and at the Gallery, as noted by Constance in her diary in 1880: 'dined with Blanche and Burne-Jones'.[23] Also among her circle was painter Edward Poynter of the National Gallery. From the outset Lady Lindsay was involved in the daily administration of the gallery, alongside its quasi-artistic director, the painter Charles Hallé (1846–1914).[24] Hallé later credited Lady Lindsay with its early success, largely owing to her corralling influential friends and potential customers through the organising of Sunday evening 'at homes' in the Grosvenor Gallery.[25] As Paula Gillett noted, in opening on a Sunday to even a select group of invitees, 'the Grosvenor's challenge to convention took on an anti-Sabbatarian flavour' that allied Blanche and her husband with the artistic avant-garde, in opposition to the aristocratic tradition from which they

[20] Anon., 'The Royal Amateur Art Society Annual Exhibition', *The Times*, 24 February 1913, p. 8.

[21] Anon., 'Amateur Art Exhibition', *The Times*, 11 May 1896, p. 5.

[22] See Ellery Weill, updated biography of 'Constance Rothschild, Lady Battersea', *Jewish Women's Archive* online, 23 June 2021. Accessed 2 December 2023.

[23] Diary of Constance Battersea, 23 April 1880, *The Battersea Papers, 1878–1880*, presented by J.W. Cohen, British Library, Add MS 47933, p. 86.

[24] For the history of the Grosvenor, and later the New Gallery, see Charles Edward Hallé, *Notes from a Painter's Life* (London: John Murray, 1909), in which the author recounted several Rothschild friendships beyond his relationship with Lady Lindsay.

[25] These events were often enhanced by flowers supplied from the Rothschild estates of Gunnersbury and Mentmore, as well as her husband's Scottish home Balcarres House.

both descended.[26]Christopher Newall's survey of the exhibitions of the Grosvenor Gallery revealed the way that the Lindsays radically altered the landscape of the contemporary art market in London. Their policy was to invite artists to submit their own works, rather than imposing a selection committee, only stipulating that they were informed in advance of the space required. They hung paintings, watercolours, miniatures, and mounted sculptures in single bays, rather than at double or triple height across their ten galleries, so thay they could be studied closely by visitors.[27]

Newall proposed that Blanche's involvement in the Grosvenor Gallery resulted in the increased number of women artists who showed there, representing 17% of the total number of works exhibited. However, he credited the significant representation of 'non-British' artists with Coutts's European social network, rather than Blanche's. Blanche's artistic interests were also underplayed, despite Newall's suggestion that 'for six years [her works] were one of the minor attractions of the Grosvenor summer exhibition', and the fact that Blanche exhibited more paintings (42 in total) than her husband at the gallery.[28] Perhaps as a show of support for their relative, the English Rothschilds often lent their historic collections to the Grosvenor's thematic loan exhibitions. Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839–1898) loaned his jewel cabinet from Waddesdon to its *Early Italian Art* show in the winter of 1893–4, and Lord Battersea lent 'many yards of embroidery' for the *Venetian Art* exhibition of 1894–5 (fig. 85).[29] That the dissolution of the Lindsay's marriage, owing to Coutts's frequent infidelities, and Blanche's withdrawal resulted in its ultimate failure was made explicit by Hallé: "the departure of Lady Lindsay sounded the death knell of the Grosvenor".[30] However, outside its walls, Blanche continued to champion her fellow contemporary artists. She began to show her own paintings at the Society for Lady Artists, alongside her friend Louise Jopling (1843–1933), earning what Livingstone called 'a minor place in a much bigger campaign, for the better representation of women in the arts'.[31]

There are now very few surviving records of Blanche's paintings, even though members of her family frequently recorded her producing artworks.[32] Newall mentioned that she studied at Heatherley's School of Art, whose alumni included Poynter, Rossetti, Mary Davis and Solomon Joseph Solomon (1860–1927).[33] Throughout her life she maintained friendships with many other collectors and patrons of the National Gallery, including the Howards of Carlisle, Rosalind (1845–1921) and George (1843–1911), the latter being a trustee of the Gallery.[34] Nicholas Penny and Georgia Mancini have even suggested that one of the National Gallery's 'sixteenth century' Italian paintings, *The Miracle of St Mark* (after Tintoretto) might have been painted by Blanche Lindsay during a stay at Palazzo Balbi in Venice (fig. 86), though their

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[26] Paula Gillett, in Susan Casteras and Colleen Denney (eds), *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 49.

[27] Christopher Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions: Change and cContinuity in the Victorian Art World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 13. See also Julie Codell, 'On the Grosvenor Gallery, 1877', *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History* (August 2004).

[28] Newall (1995), pp. 97–8.

[29] Charles Edward Hallé, *Notes from a Painter's Life* (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 194–5; 203.

[30] Livingstone (2022), p. 212.

[31] Jopling was a vocal advocate for women's suffrage. See Livingstone (2021), p. 212.

[32] Constance Battersea wrote 'sat to Blanche for a picture' during a holiday in Fontainebleau, France, 7 June 1876. See *The Battersea Papers*, vo. 24l, British Library, Add MS 47932, unpaginated.

[33] Newall (1995), p. 9.

[34] Louise Jopling, *Twenty Years of My Life, 1867 to 1887* (University of Glasgow, online edition, 2015), undated entry, March 1876, unpaginated.

supposition is not reflected in the painting's current attribution.[35]Livingstone recalled that after her marital separation, Blanche shared a studio in London with Georgiana Burne-Jones (1840–1920).[36] Jopling, in her own autobiography, described numerous stays with Blanche at Hans Place and the Rothschild houses of Mentmore and Aston Clinton but did not refer to her friend's painting career at all. Jopling did describe Blanche's 'theatricals' at her home in Cromwell Place. A talented violinist, she also published poetry and novels, including *Caroline* (1888); the three-volume *Bertha's Earl* (1891), and *A Tangled Web* (1892). Among her publishd works was a chapter and a hymn in Constance Battersea's 1890 publication *Mehayil el Hayil "From Strength to Strength": Lessons for the Use of Jewish Children*.[37]

Following her death in 1912, Lady Lindsay bequeathed to the Gallery the contents of her drawing room, though none of her paintings are now on public display.[38] A cassone she donated to the National Gallery was not catalogued in her name, but is given as 'from Misses Lindsay'.[39] While *technically* speaking it was given by her niece as it fell outside the terms of her will (as it was in a hallway) this chest *was* part of her collection of Italian painting at Hans Place. As Stammers has noted, only eleven of the twenty pictures selected by Holroyd were accepted by his trustees, on 'quality' grounds.[40] Many of the works that were accessioned have subsequently had their attributions downgraded to 'studio', 'workshop of' or even much later nineteenth-century copyists, as was the fate of two 'Francesco Guardis' she owned depicting *Ruin Caprices*, which are now described as nineteenth–century imitations of the Venetian artists' work.[41]As Penny has recognised, there is a possibility that Lady Lindsay produced several copies, then accepted as much older paintings after Italian Renaissance masters, herself. Perhaps Holroyd felt compelled to accession some of these to maintain friendly relations with Blanche's Rothschild relatives, in the hope of soliciting their future support.[42]

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[35] See Penny and Mancini (2016), cat. entry for NG2900, bequeathed by Lady Lindsay, 1913 (p. 199): 'of her own work as a painter nothing seems to remain – except, just possibly, NG 2900'.

[36] Virginia Surtees, *Coutts Lindsay, 1824–1913* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 1993), p. 86. Burne-Jones was one of the first trustees of the South London Gallery (established 1891) and made frequent loans of her husband's paintings to the new gallery.

[37] Edited by her cousin Constance Battersea, only two women contributed to the book of thirty-six lessons, the other was the poet Adelaide A. Procter (1825–1864), though her inclusion was posthumous. One of its authors was 'L. de R', which could either have been Leopold (1845–1917) or his sister, Leonora de Rothschild (1837–1911). See Battersea (ed.), *Meyahil el Hayil "From Strength to Strength"* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1890), particularly pp. 57–62.

[38] 'While many collectors of both sexes have quickly faded from institutional memory, the survey concludes that the vast majority of gifts from women in particular are currently languishing in store, just as past bequests from women donors like Lady Lindsay or Mary Venetia Stanley (1887–1948) were partly turned down on qualitative grounds; other gifts have been hidden through transfer to the Tate or obscured through simple mislabelling.' Stammers, Thomas, 'Introduction to Women Collectors and Cultural Philanthropy, c. 1850–1920', *19* (Issue 31, January 2021), p. 30.

[39] See the online catalogue entry for Master of Marradi, *The Story of the Schoolmaster of Falerii* (London: National Gallery, NG3826)

[40] Thomas Stammers, 'Women Collectors and Cultural Philanthropy, c. 1850–1920',
19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century, vol. 31 (2020), online edition, unpaginated.

[41]London: National Gallery, NG2904 and NG2905, which were accepted as works by Guardi by the trustees in 1912. London: National Gallery Archive, NG7/410/14.

[42]I made this inference on the basis that, unusually, Holroyd made a personal visit to the former home of Lady Lindsay, where he was received by her niece and executor, Miss Helen Lindsay. The normal procedure when receiving an offer of a donation was the Gallery requested that the works were sent to the trustees for examination. London: National Gallery Archive, NG7/410/12.

'Madame standing by … the Muse of Inspiration'[43]

Like Blanche Lindsay and Mary Davis, another Jewish woman who promoted the careers of contemporary artists through her patronage, was Elizabeth Ruth Edwards, born Escombe (1832–1907). While little of her early life has been recorded, in 1852 she married Edwin Edwards (1823–1879), a lawyer whom she persuaded to abandon his lucrative practice at the High Court of the Admiralty to pursue a full-time career in etching. Douglas Druick discovered a letter from Edwin which highlighted his wife's determination to support his artistic career: 'I would not have had the strength to make such a serious decision. My wife took care of selling my office while I was travelling on the Continent. She said nothing to me about the change this was going to make in our lives'.[44] As well as producing etchings, Edwin and his wife frequently hosted artists in Sudbury, Suffolk. Flower painter Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), who both Edwardses admired, was invited to stay for six months in 1861, during which he produced a portrait of Ruth.[45] Ruth's 'exacting' nature in regards to collecting was expressed in painter Jacques-Émile Blanche's (1861–1942) autobiography: 'this enterprising Jewess used to go to France to choose flower portraits … Fantin had painted'.[46] It was not clear why Blanche stated Mrs Edwards's Jewishness in his description, but the presence of his phrase 'enterprising Jewess' may have alluded to the fact that she had begun to make a name trading in Fantin-Latour's art (as well as collect it), an 'enterprise' many Jews of his acquaintance also carried out.

Mrs Edwards's cultivation of Fantin-Latour, as his sole agent and dealer in England, was made clear when she attempted to give a double portrait by the artist to the National Gallery later in her lifetime.[47] Her intention to present the *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Edwards* (1875) (fig. 87), after its exhibition at the 1875 Paris Salon, was mentioned by the artist in a letter to his patron in 1897: 'the letter concerning the gift of the double portrait seems to me very good, as does Poynter's reply', suggesting both the artist and Ruth Edwards wanted the work to hang in the Gallery.[48] When it was first exhibited in London, the *Morning Post* described the female sitter as 'that slaty lady who views [her husband's work] with keen disdain, and has manifestly made up her mind that the slaty gentleman shall spend no more money on such trash'.[49] The journalist interpreted the painting not as an expression of the couple's mutual interest in art, but of the male collector [Edwin's] interests alone. This was not the view of French critic Philippe Burty (1830–90) who recognised 'how many thoughts these two persons exchange without saying a word'.[50] Interestingly, in view of Blanche's identification of Ruth as the 'enterprising … Jewess', Paul Bins, comte de Saint-Victor (1827–81) sensed reserve in Mrs Edwards's 'slightly

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[43] Henri Fantin-Latour quoted in Douglas W. Druick and Michel Hoog (eds), *Fantin-Latour*, exh. cat. (Palace of the Legion of Honour, California, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris and National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1983) p. 243.

[44] Druick and Hoog (1983), p. 105.

[45] Douglas Druick, catalogue entry for 'Mrs Edwin Edwards', 1861 (reworked 1864), in *Fantin-Latour* (1983), p. 105. This portrait is now in the Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris, inv. no. 379, the gift of Mme. Fantin-Latour to the City of Paris in 1906. Though the artist was not happy with the likeness, Edwin Edwards [or the sitter herself] was satisfied with the work, even submitting it on the artist's behalf to the Royal Academy, in 1862, though it was rejected by the jury.

[46] J-E. Blanche, Walter Clement (trans.), *Portraits of a Lifetime* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1937) p. 41.

[47] Ibid, p. 41.

[48] Fantin-Latour to Mrs Edwards, 3 June 1897, quoted in Druick and Hoog (1983), p. 85.

[49] Anon., *The Morning Post,* 27 May 1876, p. 3.

[50] Burty cited by Druick, *Fantin-Latour* (1983), p. 245.

starched … appearance, [which] was after all a sign of race: the Englishwoman'.[51] However, for Ruth, it seemed to express intimacy –that of its patrons for each other - and with their artist friend.

The presentation of the Edwards's double portrait did not go ahead immediately in 1897, though it did enter Millbank's collection of 'modern foreign works' in 1904, within Mrs Edwards's lifetime (Chapter 3). A photograph in the National Gallery archive shows an elderly Ruth Edwards sitting in front of the painting in Golden Square, London (fig. 88), which must have been taken shortly before she presented the painting. She wrote to the trustees in September 1904 that she was ready to part with it early, explaining that 'Fantin's death is a great grief to me – much as I now regret parting with my husband's portrait, in memory of our long friendship I should like to honour Fantin's memory by placing the picture now on the walls of the National Gallery where it could be seen by so many'.[52] While she hoped that the gesture 'would be greatly appreciated by the artists of France' (some of whom she may have known through her work as a dealer), she stressed that 'never again should the picture leave the National Gallery – that it should not come under the "Loan Act".[53] In fact all of Ruth Edwards' gifts to the National Gallery are now on loan *from* Tate to Trafalgar Square, though the Edwardses are currently in store.

Jewish Women and Charity

Like Ruth Edwards, who spent prodigiously in her lifetime to promote her contemporary Fantin-Latour, as well as leaving several of his paintings in her will, Constance Battersea's will contained many charitable donations, though these were predominantly for social welfare charities, both Jewish and non-Jewish, rather than artistic causes. She stipulated that a new charity should be set up by her executors Anthony Gustav (1887–1961) and Lionel de Rothschild (1882–1942), the Overstrand and Sidestrand Nursing Association Trust Fund, to support the work of her local hospital with a bequest of £2,500.[54] Her largest legacy, however, was £3,000, which she gave to the Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, a charity she had begun in 1885 with the help of her cousin, Claude Montefiore (1858–1938), and Simeon Singer (1846–1906), the first Rabbi of the New West End Synagogue in Bayswater.[55]The charity would later be run by several prominent female Jewish

[51] Ibid., p. 245.

[52] E. Ruth Edwards to Sir Edward Poynter and the Trustees of the National Gallery, 4 September 1904, annotated as seen by the board at their meeting 15 September 15 and accepted December 1904. NGA, NG3/1952/1.

[53]See *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Edwin Edwards* (now on loan from Tate, L702). In 1907, she bequeathed two still lives: *Roses* (now on loan from Tate to the National Gallery, L703) and *A Plate of Apples* (now also on loan from Tate, L704).

[54] Her charitable bequests totalled £15,150. See folder of 'Receipts for Charitable Legacies', which included: Cromer Hospital, £2,500, 12 Dec 1934, Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, £2,500, 11 Dec 1934, Metropolitan Hospital, Kingsland Road, £2,500, 11 December 1934, Jewish Board of Guardians, £2,500, 11 Dec 1934, Metropolitan Hospital (Convalescence), £1,000, 3 May 1932, Jewish Association for the Protection of Girls and Women, £3,000, 4 May 1932, Willesden Jewish Cemetery (Burial Society of the United Synagogue), £400 for the upkeep of the Graves of the deceased's Father and Mother, Sir Anthony and Lady de Rothschild, and of the deceased's sister Mrs Eliot Yorke, and of the Deceased's own grave, 6 May 1932, United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, £250, 5 May 1932, British Women's Total Abstinence Union, £250, 4 May 1932, National Council of Women, £100, 4 May 1932, Overstrand Churchyard Fund, £150 (for maintenance of Lord Battersea's grave), 4 May 1932. London: Rothschild Archive, RAL 28/305.

[55] Linda Kuzmack was one of the first historians of Anglo-Jewry to record the activities of the JAPWG, see her work, *Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881–1933* (Ohio State University Press, 1990). More recently, Ellery Weill has worked with Kuzmack on several entries for the Jewish Women's Archive on the activities of Battersea and the Union of Jewish Women. See Linda Kuzmack,

philanthropists, and was established to confront the phenomenon of young Jewish women being sold into white slavery, a problem which she believed the Jewish community 'had never attempted to touch, and the presence of which among them had been almost tacitly ignored'.[56] Beyond this cause, she largely gave to hospitals in Norfolk and the East End, temperance charities, and for the upkeep of a public reading room for the villagers of Overstrand., her Norfolk village.

Though six paintings were mentioned in Lady Battersea's will, only one was bequeathed directly to a museum, a contemporary work, Edward Burne-Jones's *The Annunciation* (1887), which had hung in the Music Room at Surrey House, which she left to the Castle Museum in Norwich, closest to her Norfolk home, Overstrand.[57] Constance Battersea's memory was evoked in Trafalgar Square in 1937, in her nephew Anthony's presentation of Anthony van Dyck's sacra conversazione, *The Abbé Scaglia adoring the Virgin and Child* fig. 89).[58] However, while this has been interpreted as an act of remembrance of two Rothschild women, Constance, and her mother Louisa ([née Montefiore], Lady de Rothschild (1821–1910), who were both committed activists [Louisa as founder of the Union of Jewish Women], correspondence in the Gallery's archive revealed that the painting had a different meaning for its female former owners. In 1929, Constance invited Sir Augustus Moore Daniel (1866–1950) to visit her at Connaught Place (fig. 90), to inspect the van Dyck which she was contemplating 'giving [herself] the great pleasure of presenting this picture during [her] lifetime to the nation', having inherited a life interest in it from her mother. As in the case of *The Golden Stairs* now at Millbank, Constance's interest in both painting's donations has not been reflected in scholarship on their provenance.[59]

In contrast to Blanche Lindsay, who mobilised her wide social network to patronise her London gallery, a collector who was part of an influential Jewish family but who largely relied on her own (albeit extensive) financial resources, was Mozelle Gubbay (née Sassoon, 1872–1964). Born in one of the Mizrahi Sassoon family's Indian country houses, Malabar Castle, in an affluent suburb of Mumbai, Mozelle was educated in Paris. The opportunities afforded by extensive travel allowed Mozelle to develop her interests in art. While Esther da Costa Meyer has argued 'diaspora made collectors of the Sassoons', it does not appear that Mozelle was particularly influenced by the interests of her ancestors, who had moved between the Middle East and South Asia.[60] They began traders in spices, wheat and pearls in Baghdad, before diversifying into opium, indigo and aluminium as their business spread into India, then China,

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Gillian Gordon and Ellery Weil, 'Constance Rothschild, Lady Battersea', *Shalvi/Hyman Encyclopaedia of Jewish Women*, 23 June 2021, Jewish Women's Archive, accessed 25 May 2023, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/rothschild-constance-lady-battersea

[56] Battersea (1922), p. 418.

[57] All the other named works went to family members, except for a gift made to Princess Louise, a close friend. See list of 'Provisions of Will not yet fulfilled': 'Gilt cabinet to go to HM The Queen; Picture to be chosen for HRH Princess Louise (Constance's choice of Peter de Wint's watercolour of *Worcester Cathedral* eventually went to her niece Miss Brand instead); Burne-Jones, *The Annunciation* picture to go to the Castle Museum, Norwich; Cecil Lawson picture, *Strayed*, to go to Miss Lucy Cohen, 29 Albion Street, Lorenzo di Credi picture to go to Mrs Constance Barclay. Distribution of family portraits – photographs for Miss Brand, Oil painting by Lady Louisa (in Red Room) to go to Leonard Goldsmid Montefiore'. Constance's niece, Miss Lucy Cohen, was not the same Lucy Cohen (born 1839) who was a benefactor of the National Gallery in 1906 (her death). London: RAL, RAL 28/305.

[58] This work is now in the National Gallery, London, NG4889.

[59] Lady Battersea, 3 July 1929, to 'Sir' [Daniel], Director of the National Gallery (1929–33), in NGA, NG16/290/41.

[60] Esther da Costa Meyer in *The Sassoons* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), p. 62.

before also crossing into Northern Europe. Sassoon David Sassoon (1832–1867) was the first member of the family to settle in Britain, moving to London in 1858.[61]

Mozelle Sassoon's interest in collecting art seemed largely influenced by her adolescence in France, and throughout her life she deviated rarely from her taste for the *dix-huitième siècle* that she probably discovered there. While other members of her extended family also collected Neoclassical French paintings and furniture, notably her first cousin Philip (1888–1939), a trustee of the Gallery, and his mother, Aline de Rothschild (1867–1909), Mozelle also fostered unique interests like antique glass bottles.[62] Frustratingly little is known about where, or from whom, Mozelle learnt about French art, though her frequent stays in France and her later association with the nascent University of London in Paris suggested that continued to develop her interest throughout her life. She kept grand homes in Britain at 6 Hamilton Place, London, Pope's Manor, Berkshire, and at Port-Breton at Dinard, France. On visiting her home at Hamilton Place for a ball in 1904, Almeric FitzRoy (1851–1935), the Clerk of the Privy Council observed, 'there is no sign in this house of the departure of Israel's glory; everything shines with the greatest lustre'; the association of luxury with the home's "Jewishness" was made plain to the reader.[63] While she was known for entertaining, her homes (and the collection within them) were also used for charitable exhibitions and fundraising.[64] In fact, it was most likely Mozelle's own cosmopolitan upbringing that inspired the design and function of what Dinardais referred to as the 'chateau' of Port-Breton, the land for which was acquired in 1908, though the house was not built until 1923, by local architect René Aillerie (1889–1955). One of the few surviving photographs of Mozelle Sassoon shows her arrival in the seaside town in a Mercedes, in 1908 (fig. 91). Mozelle also participated, like Constance Battersea, in local philanthropy, acquiring another house in the town, le Clos des Roses, which she converted into an orphanage and donated to the civic authorities, before it was destroyed during the Second World War.[65]

While her own collection was renowned, and indeed was exhibited through the public opening of Hamilton Place, no items from Mozelle's collection entered the National Gallery until after her death in 1964, as the majority of her possessions were inherited by her daughter, Mrs Derek Fitzgerald (née Violet Leah Sassoon, 1894–1970).[66] A number of significant eighteenth-century works sold by Mrs Fitzgerald were bought for public collections, including Nicolas de Largillière's *la Belle Strasbourgeoise*, 1703 (now Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts), Jean-Baptiste Pater's *Fête Champêtre* (Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum) and Adolf Wertmüller,

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[61] See 'Introduction', *The Sassoons* (2023), pp. 16–22.

[62] Humphrey Wine, 'Mrs Mozelle Sassoon', London: National Gallery, Appendix of 'Former Owners', within *Catalogue of the Eighteenth Century French Paintings in the National Gallery* (online since 2016): https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/research/research-resources/national-gallery-catalogues/former-owners-of-the-eighteenth-century-french-paintings-in-the-national-gallery-1/mrs-mozelle-sassoon, accessed 11 November 2023.

[63] Cecil Roth, *The Sassoon Dynasty* (London: Robert Hale, 1941), p. 186.

[64] Peter Stansky in his otherwise comprehensive family biography, only made a passing reference to Mozelle as a 'London hostess'. See Stansky, *Sassoon* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p.170; p. 206.

[65] Anon., 'Mrs Meyer Sassoon, la reine de Port-Breton', *Ouest France*, 7 August 2013, accessed 30 May 2023: https://www.ouest-france.fr/bretagne/saint-malo-35400/mrs-meyer-sassoon-la-reine-de-port-breton-702720.

[66] See Anonymous review of exhibition at the home of 'Mrs Meyer Sassoon' in *The Times*, which praised the fact that it represented 'not just [as] a collection arranged specifically for an exhibition, but the house as it is used every day'. The Perroneau portrait of *Jacques Cazotte* was singled out for praise, and it was noted that this work had recently been lent by Mozelle to the 1934 *French exhibition* at Burlington House. *The Times*, 12 March 1935, p. 21.

Portrait of Jean-Jacques Caffieri (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).[67] After Violet Fitzgerald's death, the National Gallery acquired Perroneau's *Portrait of Jacques Cazotte* (NG6435), which had formerly belonged to her mother.

Though her first (publicised) benefaction was a new library for the British Institute in Paris, in January 1928, the majority of Mozelle Sassoon's personal philanthropy was directed towards medical research.[68] She fundraised on behalf of University College to build the Elizabeth Garrett Andersen Wing [obstetrics] in 1928, and in 1936, she endowed Bart's Hospital in London with the 'Mozelle Sassoon High Voltage X-Ray Therapy Department' for cancer research, though the 'considerable sum' of £15,000 was not widely publicised.[69] Closely related to healthcare was her decision to build Modernist social housing in South London in 1934. The 'Reginald E. Sassoon House' of twenty-four flats was designed in collaboration with the social reformers Elizabeth Denby (1894–1965) and Maxwell Fry (1899–1987), who had recently built a hospital in Peckham. Mozelle's son, who had died the previous year in a horseracing accident, was memorialised in a Vitrolite glass sculpture above the entrance to the building, by the German Jewish artist Hans Feibusch (1898–1998).[70]

While she was primarily a collector of French art, Mozelle Sassoon's commitment to preserving the national heritage of the British Empire in which she had been born (like Jewish collectors de Pass and the Davises), was demonstrated towards the end of her life in two significant donations. She was one of the largest subscribers to a campaign to restore St Paul's Cathedral after the Blitz, and she contributed £250 to the 1962 National Art Collections Fund acquisition of the Leonardo, *Burlington House Cartoon*, which was bought for the National Gallery.[71]

Jewish Women Collectors and Humanitarian Causes

The frequency with which the Red Cross was mentioned among charities to which Jewish women gave merited further investigation, not least because Jewish art collectors often used their collections as a means of fundraising for the international humanitarian cause. The charity, established by Henri Dunant (1828–1910), after he had witnessed the devastating injuries of combatants at the Battle of Solferino, campaigns for victims of warfare, regardless of their nationality. In 1863, Dunant and a group of four others founded the International

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[67] *La Belle Strasbourgeoise* was acquired from Mrs Fitzgerald's sale in 1965, for £145,000, a record price for a French state acquisition, though Mrs Fitzgerald did accept a small depreciation in the final hammer price. The campaign to acquire the work for the city of Strasbourg was led by the French golfer and Impressionist collector, Cécile de Rothschild (1913–1995). Pater's work, which had an illustrious Rothschild provenance having belonged to Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, was donated by his descendants to the Lord Baldwin Fund, where it was purchased by Mozelle Sassoon. Her daughter kept it until 1979, when it was sold to Paul Rosenberg of New York, who sold it to the Norton Simon Foundation in 1985. Wertmüller's *Portrait of J-J Caffieri*, had been thought to be by Jacques-Louis David owing to a false signature. It was sold by Mrs Fitzgerald in July 1963, where it was sold to F. Kleinsberger Gallery, New York, who sold it two months later to the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, for £67,800.

[68] Anon., 'British Institute in Paris', *The Times*, 19 January 1928, p. 11.

[69] See *The Times*, 7 March 1929, p. 17. The x-ray facility was described in *Nature* journal, 26 December 1936, pp. 1106–7.

[70] da Costa Meyer and Nahson (eds), *The Sassoons* (2023), p. 224. A pair of sculptures by Feibusch, *An eagle and hare* and *A fox and a lamb* (1936) donated by the artist, were sold at the Lord Baldwin Fund for Refugees sale at Christie's, 25 May 1939 (lot. 299). The Hans Feibusch archive is now maintained by Pallant House Gallery, Chichester, having been donated by the artist shortly before his death.

[71] This painting is now in the National Gallery, NG6337.

Committee for the Relief of the Wounded, which soon became known by its symbol, the Red Cross. Despite being international in its outlook and objectives, the Red Cross inspired many national groups, known as Red Cross societies, who campaigned on its behalf in their own countries. An engraving in *The Graphic*, May 1885 (fig. 92) showed one of the first meetings of these smaller groups, known as 'The Working Committee of the Princess of Wales's Branch of the National Aid Society'. Among the thirteen attendees depicted was Miss Lucy Cohen (1839–1906), and her niece Hannah de Rothschild (1851–1890).[72]

The influence and affluence of the female members of the British Red Cross Society was widely recognised. The Chairman of the British Red Cross Society in 1914 was Lord Rothschild (1840-1915), who had been a member of the British branch since its establishment in 1898.[73] He warned in a letter to *The Times* of the risk of factionalism even among members of this supposedly international aid society; some of the blame for which he attributed to the number of female members, whom he accused of engaging in 'overlapping, uncoordinated and disunited work'. He cited as an example their 'starting individual… hospitals of their own', a feat that could only be achieved through independent influence and means.[74] Answering his call for a more organised approach to fundraising or 'a Need for Concentration', one of the most generous respondents was not a British citizen.[75] 'Mrs Otto Kahn' [born Adelaide Wolff in New Jersey (1875–1949)] sent the British branch a cheque for £1,000, matching *The Times'* own contribution.[76]

Like several other Jewish collectors discussed, Constance Battersea left stipulations in her will that some of her paintings be used as assets to raise money for the Red Cross, notably a *Portrait of a Nobleman wearing a lace ruff, sword at his side* by Pordenone (also attributed to Van Somer), from Connaught Place, and a *Madonna and Child with Infant St John* by Titian.[77] As these paintings were sold during the height of the Blitz, they realised very modest prices in respect of their value, and did not reflect the values their owner had hoped to realise for the charity.[78]Perhaps even more pertinent to discussions of Jewish women's involvement in humanitarian fundraising was Blanche Lindsay's contribution of a poem 'For England', for a publication sold by the Red Cross to aid those affected by the second Anglo-Boer conflict

[72] For a discussion of this group's critique of British foreign policy, see Summers (1988), pp. 150–151.

[73] A.K. Loyd, *An Outline of the History of the Red Cross Society, from its Foundation in 1870 to the Outbreak of the War in 1914* (London: British Red Cross Society, 1917), p. 12. Loyd also recounted that N. Rothschild MP, later Lord, was one of the first respondents to donate to an earlier appeal for funds, in 1870, by the National Society for Aid to the Sick and Wounded in War, which would become the National Aid Society, before becoming the British Red Cross Society (p. 7).

[74] Letter from Lord Rothschild to the *Times*, published 14 August 1914, quoted in Moorehead, Caroline, *Dunant's Dream: War, Switzerland, and the History of the Red Cross* (London: Harper Collins, 1998), p. 215.

[75] Lord Rothschild's letter to the Editor of the *Times,* 'A Need for Concentration', was reproduced in full in Loyd (1917), pp. 61–62.

[76] Loyd (1917), p. 66.

[77] School of Pordenone, *Portrait of the Doge Francesco Donato* (Private Collection, sold by Bonhams, 9 July 2014, lot 26) was inherited by Anthony de Rothschild. It was much later lent to the Matthiesen Gallery's *Venetian Exhibition in aid of Lord Baldwin's Fund for Refugees* (February–April 1939, cat. no. 27). Anthony de Rothschild was also the Chairman of the Christie's sale in aid of the same fund, which took place on 24–25 May 1939, and included donations from several Jewish female collectors including Mozelle Sassoon and Hannah Gubbay. Their donations will be discussed in this chapter.

[78]Correspondence between the Inland Revenue and Anthony de Rothschild, dated 25 July 1944, reported that the first painting realised '£11.11', while the second sold for '£105, 12 July 1940'. London: RAL 28/347 (000/916/114).

(1899–1902). Constance Battersea recorded that it raised £300 for the cause.[79] Jewish women continued to support the charity throughout the twentieth century, as Mary Davis made donations to the same charity during the First World War, and Lillian Browse coordinated the 1940 Red Cross Sale.

While one of its early Chairmen may have disapproved of the approach of some of its female members, they made a significant impact on the fundraising methods of the Red Cross, and their influence went beyond 'mere' financial donations. For example, one aspect of the charity's fundraising that has not been examined by historians of the Red Cross was the use of art sales, often hosted by the auctioneers Christie's, who waived their standard transaction fees.[80] The first Red Cross Sale was held in March 1915, after several advertisements in the *Times* called upon both collectors and dealers for their contributions. In fact, Christie's did 'not receive a single object for conventional sale' throughout 1915, such was the depression of the market, so these charitable sales were one of the only ways dealers and collectors could continue to trade.[81] The press noted the disproportionate number of women involved in the first sale as buyers, but earlier advertisements for the sale also stressed that this was a cause that could be supported by those who were not necessarily personally wealthy, 'enabling many people who are financially affected by the war to contribute something in kind', which could have encouraged greater numbers of women to take part in the auction.[82] The advertisement also encouraged: 'collectors… of valuable articles… [to] look out for duplicates… Picture collectors and dealers in objects of all kinds could further a good cause without seriously affecting their collections or stock-in-trade'.[83] While this thesis is not concerned with female collectors of anything other than paintings, it was significant that many female collectors responded to this call for donations with ceramics and furniture, such as Lady Rothschild's 'old Irish silver'.[84] Perhaps it was thought easier for women to find duplicates in their collections if they 'typically' collected Decorative objects and jewellery over fine art.[85] The 1915 sale raised £2,002 through the sale of 132 lots, with *The Times* remarking that as few of the 'big dealers' were in attendance, so the 'amateur had it nearly *his* own way. Many of the buyers were ladies.'[86]

At the next Red Cross Sale, organised only a few months later in March 1916, both the number of donors (715) and lots (over 1,000) had considerably increased. More women acted as consignors, as well as purchasers, with many female Jewish collectors contributing works. Prominent among them was Lady Wernher, born Alice Sedgwick Mankiewicz (1862 –1945), who gave several portrait miniatures and enamels to the first 1915 sale, but this time gave

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[79] Battersea (1922), p.57.

[80] Caroline Moorehead's 1998 study of the Red Cross did not mention any of the charitie's sales in London, and later also in America.

[81] Fox (2015), p. 13.

[82] Anon., 'Red Cross Sale: An Appeal to Collectors and Others', *The Times*, 8 February 1915, p. 6.

[83] Îbid.

[84] Anon., 'Royal Gifts for the Red Cross', *The Times,* 26 January 1915, p. 11.

[85] The literature on gender and consumption is vast, but a useful starting point was Mary Louise Roberts,, 'Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture', *The American Historical Review* vol. 103, no. 3 (June 1998), pp. 817–844, in which the author stressed the significance of a study by Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough eds.), *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley University Press, 1996).

[86] Anon., 'Artists and the Red Cross', *The Times,* 6 February 1915, p. 4. Emphasis is mine.

Spode pottery from her renowned collection.[87] The sale which lasted 12 days brought in £47,418 for the humanitarian cause.[88] In 1916, members of National Gallery staff joined the Pictures Selection Committee: Aitken (Millbank), Holroyd (Trafalgar Square) and Heseltine, a trustee of both galleries. At this sale, Mrs Leopold Rothschild (née Marie Perugia, 1862–1937) presented a 'gold eighteenth century watch and chain, and a Dresden tea service', while Alfred de Rothschild gave a 'sixteenth century crystal goblet'.[89] According to reports, like the November 1915 auction, many 'modest' purchases were made, but notably several collectors also bought with gifts to public institutions in mind. Lady Wernher bought several letters by Dr Johnson 'which [she] intends to present to the British Museum'.[90] She also purchased a seventeenth-century earthenware dish by Thomas Toft, also donated to the British Museum in the same gift.[91] The 1916 sale raised £52,690, followed by another in April 1917 which made £74,523. The final sale, in 1918, made a final profit of over £100,000.[92]

In 1939, the Red Cross auctions were revived, this time with then-Director of the National Gallery, Clark, involved in the selection of donations. In a summary of the year's cultural events, Carter described how the art market had been 'maimed' by the conflict, with the Red Cross Sale of 1940 providing 'relief' to Britain's collectors and dealers alike.[93] He noted that the success of the sale lay in the 'profusion' of jewellery, donations of which were mostly made by 'anonymous women', as perhaps collectors wanted to avoid publicising conspicuous wealth.[94] More significant, perhaps, was Jewish art dealer Lilian Browse's involvement. Browse was asked by the Chairman of Millbank's trustees, Jasper Ridley (1887–1951), to organise several sales of contemporary art for the Red Cross, also held at Christie's in 1940.[95] She wrote that 'once more I got down to my begging letters', as she had done in the earliest days of her career, when she was tasked with organising temporary exhibitions at London's

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[87] For the 'Lady Ludlow' Collection, see Arthur Hayden, *Old English Porcelain. The Lady Ludlow Collection* (London: John Murray, 1932). It was acquired from Alice's descendants at Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, by the Art Fund in 2003, and was allocated to the Bowes Museum, Co. Durham.

[88] Ibid. Edmund Davis was listed as a donor of a sculpture by Swan, *Two Bears Hugging*, but the reporter for the *Times* only gave his name in the list of donors, so it was unclear whether Mary Davis was recognised as a donor in her own right. 'Last Day of the Red Cross Sale', *The Times*, 28 April 1915, p. 11.

[89] *The Times*, 4 March 1916, p. 9.

[90] ibid.

[91] See online catalogue entry for London: British Museum, inv. no. 1916,0506.1.

[92] *The Times*, 17 April 1917, p. 9. In total, the five Red Cross sales during the Great War raised over £400,000 for the charity.

[93] Carter (ed.), *The Year's Art* (London, 1940), p. 6.

[94] On one of the more unusual lots in the 1940 auction, several books formerly belonging to Hermann Göring (1893–1946), Carter wrote: The books and manuscripts section caused several stirring incidents. For example, a person with some imagination had been determined to make Field-Marshal Göring help the Red Cross, willy-nilly. Earlier in the year a refugee took to Sotheby's a pair of horrific books which the Nazi had left behind… They were full of his paranoiac objurgations or falsifying alleged Semitic vilifying unscrupulous aims. These precious evidences of madness were duly presented to the Red Cross, and the Earl of Moray and David Greig fought an auction duel for them, ending in the latter's victory at 350 guineas. Eventually, they will repose in the British Museum, it is for understood, for the edification of alienists seeking some clue to the state of the Nazi mind.' Ibid., 7. Though I made several enquiries at the British Library, the Rare Books reference team could not identify these 'notebooks' in their collection. They may be the same notebooks now in a public collection in Bavaria, as reported in an archived *United press International* from December 1982: https://www.upi.com/Archives/1982/12/09/Six-notebooks-belonging-to-Air-Marshal-Hermann-Goering-chief/8733408258000/ (accessed 9 November 2023).

[95] The extant papers relating to Ridley's trusteeship of Millbank are scant, but there is a large amount of correspondence between Tate and CEMA regarding Browse's *Henry Moore* exhibition, which travelled from Wakefield to Mexico in 1950.

Leger Gallery. She sourced 300 donations from collections across Britain. Perhaps owing to the privations of the war, these 1940 Red Cross auctions raised a modest £9,000 for the cause, the highest lot sold was 170 guineas for an Augustus John landscape.

Like her first cousins, Sybil Cholmondeley (1894-1989) and Hannah Ezra Gubbay (1885-1968), Mozelle Sassoon gave away considerable amounts of money and objects from her collection to charitable sales throughout her lifetime. Among her Sassoon family she was the most generous philanthropist of her generation. One aspect of Jewish philanthropy that has not received much scholarly attention was their support of 'Lord Baldwin's Fund', the fundraising for which included a sale held at Christie's, London in 1939. Former Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947) initiated a public campaign to aid European refugees of Nazism, many of whom were Jewish. In a broadcast by Pathé shown across cinemas in Britain in April 1939, the Archbishop of Canterbury [William Cosmo Gordon Lang] (1864–1945) promoted the aims of the fund and cited ways members of the public could contribute:

> Lord Baldwin has made a national appeal, to give impartially to all victims of persecution. Remember, among them are multitudes of Christians, as well as of Jews … The entertainment industry is making its contribution [on January 14th] when … the cinemas and music halls across the country will generously give ten percent of their receipts, and collections will be made. I ask you all to take your own part in this great work of mercy.[96]

While for many, contributing to this 'great work of mercy' may have meant leaving a donation at their local cinema, many female Jewish collectors responded to an appeal to donate items to the charitable auction, and made significant purchases there. When comparing the proceeds of the Lord Baldwin Sale of 1939 with that of the first Red Cross sales, Carter noted with some regret that 'the world of art' did not embrace the cause by 'manifesting its zeal' in the way it had during the Great War. He pointed out that the most significant buyers were James ["Jimmy"] de Rothschild (1878–1957) and 'Mrs [Mozelle] Meyer Sassoon' but did not stress the fact – perhaps out of sensitivity – that both these collectors came from Jewish families immediately impacted by Nazi persecution. He wrote:

> Notwithstanding the noble gifts of Mr James de Rothschild and Lord Rothschild and the spirited bidding of Mrs Meyer Sassoon, the total £15,647, on May 24–25 cannot be considered as a harbinger of hopefulness … my aim in mentioning this is to stress the urgency of a whole-hearted effort to make the first Red Cross sale, at the end of June 1940, worthy of its exemplar in the last great war.[97]

Alongside her 'spirited bidding', Mozelle Sassoon donated a bust by Jean-Antoine Houdon which realised £441 (fig. 93), and a painting by Guardi.[98] Her Houdon sculpture was used to advertise the sale in the press months before the event, and was the most valuable item, closely followed by Lady Sybil Cholmondeley's pair of Louis XV bowls, which made £225, while Mrs [Hannah] Gubbay's set of four Dresden allegorical figures sold for £115 10s. Gubbay also made one of the larger purchases (a pair of Chippendale armchairs), at £105.[99]The organisation of the two-day sale involved corralling many private donors and art dealers, the majority of

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[96] Archbishop William Lang, broadcast 9 April 1939. London: British Pathé, 1939. My own transcription.

[97] Carter, *The Year's Art* (London, 1941), p. 7.

[98] Anon., 'Lord Baldwin Fund for Refugees', *The Times,* 9 March 1939, p. 11; 25 May 1938, p. 13.

[99] The women listed here were not the only Sassoons to contribute to the sale. See *The Times,* 9 March 1939, p. 11. The other male members of the Sassoon family who donated works were Victor Sassoon (1881-1961) who donated lots 96 and 145, and Philip Sassoon who gave four items (lots 58, 91, 92 & 148). Mrs Derek Fitzgerald, daughter of Mozelle Sassoon, gave lots 32 and 89; the Marchioness of Cholmondeley (née Sybil Sassoon) gave lot 133; Mrs Meyer Sassoon (née Mozelle Sassoon) gave lot 136; and Lady Sassoon (née Léontine Levy) gave lot 70. See 1939 catalogue, passim.

whom were also Jewish, to donate items.[100] 'Mrs David Gubbay', also a member of the selection committee, was among seven members of the extended Sassoon family (five were women) who donated 13 lots to the sale. Though Carter was unimpressed by the total sum raised by the art sale, overall, the Lord Baldwin Fund raised over £500,000 over six months to aid European refugees. [101]

Jewish Women in London's Art World, 1928–45

Like Blanche Lindsay at the Grosvenor Gallery in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century several Jewish women became involved in organising public exhibitions. Though widely discussed in the contemporary art press, they have largely gone unrecognised for this work since. When she decided to open her home, Hamilton Place to the public over three days in 1935, Mozelle Sassoon likely sought advice from her cousin Hannah.[102] 'Mrs David Gubbay' as she was known in the press, had been married to her first cousin, businessman David Gubbay (1865-1928). Like Mozelle, she was widowed at a relatively young age, and formed a pseudo-household with her unmarried cousin Philip Sassoon. Together, Philip and Hannah arranged a series of exhibitions at his London home, 25 Park Lane, which often drew royal patronage and support in the form of loans, owing to Philip's close friendship with The Prince of Wales (who served alongside him on the National Gallery's board from September 1930 onwards). In 1932, during the *Age of Walnut* exhibition, it was reported that Philip, Hannah and Mozelle 'conducted the royal party [Queen Mary]' around the exhibition of British furniture.[103] As Esther da Costa Meyer observed, often privately credited as the driving force behind the Sassoon exhibitions, which began in 1928 with *Early English Needlework and Furniture*, Hannah Gubbay was rarely referenced in the accompanying catalogues.

Philip and Hannah staged these exhibitions to raise money for the Royal Northern Hospital, rather than for cultural charities. The first exhibition [on English needlework] involved the loan of 547 objects from private lenders, and raised £2,215 for the hospital.[104] The thematic exhibitions, which ran until 1938, were so popular with the public that Philip had to call in favours from colleagues on the National Gallery board, 'borrowing' several wardens, and a turnstile [from the Royal Albert Hall] to control the flow of visitors.[105] The crowds can be seen waiting patiently for a glimpse of the Prince of Wales in a press photograph from a royal visit made in 1932 (fig. 94). While no public institutions, apart from the Bank of England, lent any items to these exhibits, the Sassoons were able to request loans from the Royal Collection for every Park Lane exhibition, as well as frequently soliciting loans from the City of London Corporation, and lenders whom Phillip and Hannah knew closely, such as Samuel Courtauld and George Eumorfopoulos (1863–1939).[106]

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[100] List of Committee members in the catalogue, *A Collection of Works of Art Presented to the Lord Baldwin Fund for Refugees, to be sold for the Benefit of the Fund* (London: Christie's, 24-25 May 1939), p. 4.

[101] *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, an American news outlet, reported to its readers that 'more than one million Britons of all races and creeds contributed a total of £522,651 to the… fund'. The campaign which had begun in the winter of 1938 ended on 31 July 1939. See anonymous bulletin from *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, published 4 October 1939 (New York).

[102] See *The Times*, 11 March 1923, advertisement for 'Mrs Meyer Sassoon, Exhibition', for which entry was 5s. p. 10.

[103] Anon., 'Exhibitions', *The Times*, 23 Febraury 1932, p. 17.

[104] Stansky (2003), p. 193.

[105] Ibid., p. 193.

[106] The Duveen Brothers lent to every exhibition organised by the Sassoons at Park Lane, apart from *The Age of Walnut* (1934) and the last (1938). The subjects of the thematic exhibitions were: *Early English Furniture*

Hannah's particular 'diplomatic' skills in sourcing loans was remarked upon in a letter from 'Eddy' Duveen to his brother Joseph, relating to the upcoming *Joshua Reynolds* exhibition in Park Lane (1936):

> I went to see Mrs. Gubbay with your telegram … In the course of conversation, she said she hoped you would try wherever possible to get the lenders of the pictures to pay their own insurance, as it amounts to quite a large sum on some of the pictures.
> She told me that they cleared £7,000 for the Hospital with the last exhibition. While I was there, she took me upstairs, and said "I must show you the beautiful table your brother gave me. I prize it more than anything in my house … She said she had seen the Queen, who told her how much she enjoyed coming to see you, and she particularly wanted to come and see Mrs. Gubbay and look at the table you gave her.[107]

Queen Mary, an avid collector of decorative arts and objects associated with the British royal family into which she had married, had an influential friendship with Hannah Gubbay that historians have begun to acknowledge.[108] Sophie Chessum recognised that the influence was mutual, as Hannah became an '[art] advisor... to Queen Mary's fourth son, Prince George, Duke of Kent, the only one of her children to share the monarch's artistic interests'.[109]The Queen's gifts to Hannah were a testament to their thirty-year friendship, during which they often visited Bond Street's galleries together, and which extended to the royal family's consistent patronage of the Sassoons charitable exhibitions.[110]

Hannah Gubbay made a significant bequest of her entire collection of 450 items of English furniture and European ceramics to the National Trust on her death in 1968, with the proviso that the collection be maintained together in one of its existing properties. The Trust chose Clandon Park and produced an accompanying catalogue written by Gervase Jackson-Stops. Though unquestionably admiring of Mrs Gubbay's taste, he depicted the woman behind the collection as a 'predictable', ill-informed collector who relied on her 'down to earth' instincts rather than 'book learning', comparing her unfavourably to her 'connoisseur' cousin Philip.[111] This comparison was also made by Kenneth Clark in his autobiography. Unable to understand Hannah's *raison d'être*, which seems to have been collecting and organising exhibitions, as apparent in her work at Park Lane, Clark perceived Gubbay as vapid, possessing 'a different kind of education from that which had filled my life at Oxford or I Tatti, an education without books, without information and without ideas… [at her home, Port Lympne] I had a front seat at Vanity Fair'.[112] Implicit in the criticism of the 'small dark lady' was the fact that she could not, having been born into the affluence, possess true discernment, a somewhat rich claim from Clark who came from considerable personal wealth. Even if she developed her collecting skill later on in her life, her ability to distinguish good craftsmanship in items of furniture that were not widely studied or collected, such as early English furniture and glass, was remarked upon

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(1928), *English Conversation Pieces* (1930); *Georgian Art, The Four Georges* (1931); *Three French Reigns (Louis XIV, XV and XVI)* (1932, 1936); *Chinese Porcelains* (1934), *Gainsborough* (1936); *Joshua Reynolds* (1937), and finally *Old London* (1938).

[107]In his reply, dated 29 October 1936, Joseph Duveen wrote that he had lent four paintings to the London exhibition, 'received with love from Hannah'. Los Angeles: Getty Research Centre, Duveen Brothers Records, Exhibition Records, 1925-64, Box 422, Folder 7.

[108]*ibid.,* p. 91. Kathryn Jones, Senior Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, has also given several conference papers about Queen Mary's friendship with several Rothschild and Sassoon women.

[109]Chessum (2002) p. 91.

[110]For example, a German-made ceramic box in the form of a Louis XVI commode was given by the Queen to Hannah Gubbay (National Trust inventory no. NT 1440343). Hannah Gubbay gave Queen Mary a silver and enamel snuffbox by Carl Albrecht Böck for Christmas in 1941 (Royal Collection inventory no. 4405).

[111]Jackson-Stops, Gervase, *Clandon Park* guidebook (National Trust, 1983), p. 11.

[112]Ibid., p. 224.

by her contemporaries.[113] John Pope-Hennessy wrote Mrs Gubbay's obituary in the *Times,* which praised her 'genius' for collecting.[114] More recently, the current curator of Clandon Park, Sophie Chessum, has rewritten a guide to 'Mrs Gubbay's Bequest' which reflected upon the collector's motivations, for instance situating her keen interest in ornithology with her childhood in colonial India.[115]

Though Mozelle Sassoon was notable for her large contribution to the 1967 Leonardo *Burlington Cartoon Fund*, and several élite Jewish women were on the Committee of the *National Loan* exhibition (1913-4) (Chapter 1), Jewish women (like their non-Jewish counterparts) had few opportunities to contribute directly to the National Gallery's running costs. Where they used their collections to raise money, as I have shown, they largely elected to support medical and humanitarian causes. However, during the Second World War a South-African Jewish woman, Lillian Browse, joined the Gallery's staff as an exhibition organiser, at a critical moment when the organisation's function and meaning, its identity was in a state of flux.

Born Lily Browse in Hampstead, Browse's parents Michael and Gladys (née Meredith) moved to an affluent suburb of Johannesburg in 1909.[116] The Browse household was observant of Jewish religious customs, instilled by her London-born mother.[117] On a tour of Amsterdam with her ballet company in her adolescence, she first saw Old Master paintings.[118] Her later taste for modern British painting may have originated in her childhood holidays with her maternal aunt and uncle in Stanley Spencer's (1891–1959) village, Cookham. She later wrote that 'when I met him crossing the moor, I sometimes asked to see what he was painting… I also came to know his brother Gilbert, who was then teaching at the Royal College of Art. Stanley was one of those eccentric painters who have regularly enlivened the British scene, while Gilbert…accomplished landscap[es] in a more traditional manner'.[119] Abandoning a career in ballet, she moved to London and applied for a job assisting Harold Leger at his gallery in New Bond Street, despite lacking formal art historical study, and without any salary. An astute pupil of her colleagues, who dealt largely in Old Master and nineteenth-century European painting, she also introduced them to some of the contemporary painters she had befriended during stays in Paris during her earlier dancing career, including the 'Jewish artist Mané Katz … whose subjects were mostly his own people'.[120] She noted that [Emmanuel] Mané-Katz (1894–1964) was never particularly successful, even 'among the Jewish coterie who were keen on pictures', which suggested that she knew several Jewish collecting

[113]M J., 'For the Connoisseur: Mrs David Gubbay's Collection of Mirrors', *Country Life*, vol. 67, no. 1726, (Feb 15, 1930), pp. 259-262.

[114]John Pope-Hennessy, 'Mrs David Gubbay', *The Times*, 2 March 1968, p. 10.

[115] Sophie Chessum, *Clandon Park* (National Trust, 2002), pp. 90–92.

[116] Michael Browse was a racehorse trainer.

[117] In her memoir, Browse remembers childhood synagogue visits: 'I did not understand anything of the services… conducted in Hebrew… with the possible exception of my mother who tried to listen devoutly, it seemed to me that most of the others were discussing their fine clothes or revelling in the latest bit of gossip.' Lillian Browse, *Duchess of Cork Street: The Autobiography of an Art Dealer* (London: Walter de la Mare, 1999), p. 17.

[118] The Johannesburg Art Gallery was opened by the Duke of Connaught in 1910, following a successful campaign by Florence Phillips to raise funds primarily from German Jewish 'Randlords' operating in South Africa. Its first picture collection, selected Hugh Lane, was largely made up of modern works. Stevenson, 'Old Masters and Aspirations: The Randlords, Art, and South Africa', PhD thesis (University of Cape Town, September 1997), pp. 180–192.

[119] Browse (1999), p. 51.

[120] Ibid., p. 66.

families.[121] Their friendship was immortalised by a portrait of Browse that was given by the sitter to the Courtauld Gallery in her bequest of over forty works in 2006 (fig. 95) (Appendix 4).[122]

The challenge faced by Browse was considerable, as there were very few collectors of modern painting in Britain in the late 1920s. Early on in her career as Leger's assistant, Browse enlisted the help of Marcel Bernheim (1893-1963) to mount a show of impressionist Eugène Boudin's (1824–1898) watercolours, which she borrowed from Bernheim's Paris stock room.[123] Owing to the depression of the market, even the relatively 'safe' Boudins did not make a profit: 'in normal times would have met with a success,' she wrote, 'for the English and especially the Scots, are as loyal in their affection for Boudin as they have remained for Fantin-Latour. But times were not normal and although the top price for any one item did not exceed fifty pounds – I even managed to buy one myself – only a mere handful found owners'.[124] Like her French Jewish contemporary, art dealer Berthe Weill (1865–1951), Browse's efforts to sell modern art were often stymied by the depressed art market of the 1930s.[125]

Browse's first modern exhibition for Leger was a series of views of Paris by the Fauvist Albert Marquet (1875–1947), whose 'liberal welcome' she tried to emulate across the Channel, though she admitted that 'it was just as well Marquet did not cross over… as the show was a complete flop: out of some thirty paintings not one was sold, although none was over £300–£400'.[126] Though she alluded to a lack of foresight by those who did not acquire his paintings, as 'these same pictures would now form a gilt-edged security for any dealer', there was a small market for modern art in London. The Marquet exhibition was followed by another European Jewish painter, Jules Pascin (1885-1930), who was of Italian, Serbian and Spanish Jewish descent, but who had trained in Vienna and was a representative of the 'École de Paris'. Despite admitting that she 'did not then particularly like his work', Browse recognised that 'he was a painter of standing and I was grateful of the opportunity of staging the show', though it resulted in another 'disaster with nothing at all being sold'.[127] Browse was allowed to continue to introduce new artists to Leger's, despite poor sales at these shows.[128]

While diversifying Leger's roster of artists, Lillian Browse also developed a useful network of fellow dealers across Europe. Among them was Franz Zatzenstein (1897–1963), a German Jewish dealer from Hannover, who later changed his name to Francis and that of his gallery to Matthiesen. Browse wrote of the business: 'his son runs his own gallery [in Paris and London] with a similar degree of fastidiousness'.[129] In the spring of 1939, the Matthiesen Gallery held

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[121] Ibid., p. 66.

[122] Katz would go on to give a significant endowment to the city of Haifa upon his own death, and in 1977 a museum was opened in his name. To this day, the Mané-Katz Museum in Haifa operates a policy of offering free entry to any recent immigrant to Israel.

[123] Ibid., p. 70.

[124] Browse (1999), pp. 70-71.

[125] Berthe Weill's 1933 autobiography chronicles her career as a French Jewish female art dealer. Though they dealt in very different artists and movements, Weill wrote of her frequent struggles to fund her own gallery, as unlike Browse, she had no financial backing from other dealers. See Berthe Weill, Lynn Gumpert (ed.), William Rodarmor (trans.), *Pow! Right in the Eye! Thirty Years Behind the Scenes of Modern French Painting* (University of Chicago Press, 2022).

[126] Browse (1999), p.71.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid., p. 73.

[129] See catalogue (London: Matthiesen Gallery, 1939).

an exhibition of *Venetian Paintings and Drawings in Aid of Lord Baldwin's Fund for Refugees*, a loan exhibition which included works belonging to Alfred Mond, and several from the late Robert Mond's collection (1867–1938).

Browse acknowledged that though she had made a name for herself in London by the late 1930s, and 'outgrown Leger's', her success might particularly be attributed to her rarity in the field: 'there were typists in the trade who were my age but the women dealers, very much older had not yet come over from Germany and so… I was… a woman in a world particular to men'.[130]The 'German' female dealers alluded to might have included Lea Bondi Jaray (1880–1967), director of the Würthle Gallery in Vienna from 1913, who arrived in London in 1939, and Annely Juda (1914–2006), originally from Kassel.[131] What set her apart, perhaps even more than her gender, was Browse's originality as a curator. She had introduced thematic exhibitions at the Leger Gallery with a controversial show of nudes: 'to make an entire show of them was daring; moreover, they were notoriously unsaleable'.[132] While she admitted that her exhibitions at Leger's were never profitable, they did draw the attention of both the press and discerning collectors, and taught Browse how to organise exhibitions at very little cost, a skill that would prove useful when she later worked both for the Red Cross and for the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) during the Second World War.[133]

The outbreak of war brought most exhibitions to a halt, as London's museum administrators prepared to remove their collections from the city for safekeeping.[134] Lilian Browse was convinced that others shared her sense of loss, and approached Kenneth Clark several times to request the use of four empty galleries in Trafalgar Square to hold a temporary exhibition. Clark may already have been aware of Browse's work at Leger's, as she donated a watercolour by an artist who had shown there, Edward Ardizzone (1900–1979), to the Gallery in 1938.[135] Initially, Clark was reluctant to entertain her suggestion, but on her fourth attempt he conceded, allowing Browse to stage an exhibition on her choice of theme, of 'around 300' pictures from private collections. She explained that 'evidently… these works] should be by British artists for not only would that boost their morale… in practice it was British work that would be most accessible in time of war'.[136] Browse had already enlisted with the ambulance service, but an official letter from the National Gallery stating that she was now in its employment (and making her in effect its first female curator) granted her exemption from military duties.[137] Before her, only one woman had been employed in research at the National Gallery, Miss Lena

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[130] Browse (1999), p. 60.

[131] James Scott, *The Women Who Shaped Modern Art in Britain* (London: Unicorn, 2021), p. 145. See also Cherith Summers' work on post-war émigré dealers, including a thesis on 'Erica Brausen and the Hanover Gallery (1948–1973)' (University of St Andrews, 2018) and her edited catalogue, *Brave New Visions* catalogue (London: Sotheby's, 17 July - 9 August 2019).

[132]Browse (1999), p. 63.

[133] CEMA was founded in January 1940.

[134] See Shenton (2021).

[135] In reporting the gift of the Ardizzone watercolour (now London: Tate Gallery, N04940), *The Times* called her 'Miss Lily Browse' in error. Anon, 'Gift for the Tate', *The Times*, 3 December 1938), p. 7.

[136]Browse (1999), p. 83.

[137] Tom Stammers noted that 'nationally there were no official female curators until the end of the Victorian era, with Kate Marion Hall at Whitechapel (1894–1909) and then Bertha Hindshaw at Manchester Art Museum in 1912…no female trustees of any major national museum institution before 1956 (a situation remedied at the National Gallery only in 1962, with the first female curator appointed only in 1978)'. The appointment of Browse at the National Gallery, even if it was an informal arrangement lasting approximately three years, contradicts this. See Stammers, 'Introduction to Women Collectors and Cultural Philanthropy, c. 1850–1920', *19* (issue 31, January 2021), p. 29.

Laurie, who was 'attaché' to the gallery from 1930–34, though this was an unpaid position. Though very little is known about her career at the Gallery, she was probably informally employed on the strength of her published guide to the Rijksmuseum, *An Illustrated Guide to the Principal Works of Art* (1929). Unlike Laurie, Browse received a salary of 'two pounds ten shillings a week… [and was] allocated my own office'.[138]

The first temporary exhibition ever held at the National Gallery, *British Painting Since Whistler* (1940), required Browse to write to private collectors across the country, calling upon them to lend their works (and risk their safety in the capital) for the patriotic cause of supporting the Gallery. Browse was cognisant of the dangers posed by her requests for paintings, writing of her last National Gallery exhibition, *French Nineteenth Century Painting* (1942): 'even I shied away from asking the owners to expose their possessions of much greater value to the dangers in the centre of London'.[139] By this point, several other London museums were prepared to support her through loans, perhaps reflecting Browse's growing reputation as well as a desire to promote national morale. She reflected that 'everyone agreed that it would be a *coup* if such an exhibition were possible… The Tate Gallery promised to lend a Cézanne; the National Gallery brought back from Wales a Manet and a Géricault, and the Courtauld [lent three works]'.[140]

One of the collectors of contemporary British art who Browse appealed to for a loan in 1942 was Mary Davis, who described their encounter:

> The woman who was really doing it [with not much more than a benediction and the use of four rooms from Kenneth Clark] runs a Bond Street Gallery… I said "Look here Miss Browse… [the potential loan is] too full of difficulties: don't you think you ought to abandon the idea of having our pictures? She protested that they would be quite safe: but she hadn't any idea how to get them to London, so I just refused to let them go– and she rang off, annoyed and grieved![141]

Mary Davis's characterisation made 'Miss Browse' appear ill-prepared to mount a major loan exhibition, but in truth, transportation was the most difficult factor, owing to a national fuel shortage. While no doubt hampered by practical and financial limitations, Browse's exhibitions were judged a moderate success by Clark and the public. During *British Painting,* the six shillings admission fee (and the four pence catalogue) raised a surplus of £2000, which Browse had planned to spend on acquiring a 'modest' new work for the Gallery, 'as a commemoration of these exhibitions'.[142] The Gallery's depleted operating fund (which the Government had almost entirely suspended) meant that the money raised by the exhibition 'was swallowed up by the Treasury' instead of put towards a commemorative acquisition.[143]

Browse's loan exhibitions marked a change in policy at the Gallery in allowing contemporary paintings to be displayed in its galleries. In the four subsequent exhibitions Browse organised in Trafalgar Square from 1941-2, she often chose to spotlight a single contemporary artist in the otherwise empty museum. She had pre-existing relationships with most of these artists through her work at the Leger Gallery. She arranged a show of drawings by Augustus John

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[138] Browse (1999), p. 84. I am grateful to Zara Moran, for providing information about Lena Laurie's time at the National Gallery.
[139] Ibid, p. 101.
[140] Ibid., p. 101.
[141] Mary Davis to Bottomley, 27 March 1940. London: British Library, Add MSS 88957/1/38 f142.
[142] Browse (1999), p. 84.
[143] Ibid., p. 84.

(1878–1961), then what would be the last show of Walter Sickert's work held in his lifetime (1860–1942). This was followed by a joint show of William Nicholson (1872–1949) and Jack Yeats (1871–1957).[144] In Browse's wake, The War Artist's Advisory Committee (of which Clark was Chairman) continued to use the temporary exhibition galleries, a development Catherine Pearson acknowledged in *Museums in the Second World War* (2017) without any reference to Browse's pioneering alteration of these spaces for exhibitions.[145]. The later success of the Gallery's temporary displays of forty-three different 'Picture[s] of the Month' during the war, in which a collection item was returned from storage to London each month, might partially be attributed to the fact that Browse's exhibitions had drawn curious crowds back to the Gallery.[146]

Browse's exhibitions ran in parallel with Myra Hess's (1890-1961) popular lunchtime concerts, and a third innovation introduced by a woman, the National Gallery's canteen, which was established in the Gallery's Tuscan Room by Lady Irene Gater in 1939.[147] Hess, incidentally, had also grown up in a Jewish family in Kilburn, North London, and was similarly fundraising at the National Gallery, though in this case for the Musicians Benevolent Fund. All three initiatives were popular with 'ordinary' members of the public, as Browse wrote proudly:

> Crowds from the services who were on leave, civilians tired and wan after long nights of the Blitz: they all flocked into the building which, I am sure, the majority had never visited before. Inside they found values true and enduring… During the run of *British painting since Whistler*, over 40,000 people came to see it; Queen Elizabeth was one of our most regular visitors, for not only did she attend the original show but also all those that followed… Sir Kenneth thoughtfully allowing me to conduct Her Majesty.[148]

In *The National Gallery in Wartime,* Suzanne Bosman was dismissive of the impact of [Browse's first] loan exhibition, which she noted was 'well attended by the public, but generally poorly received by the art establishment and the press'. She gave an anonymous quote from a member of the Royal Academy committee: "if British painting were only what is showing at Trafalgar Square, heaven help it".[149] Despite the undeniable popularity of her exhibitions among visitors, Browse frequently faced scepticism from the National Gallery's boardroom. Some of the hostility that Browse experienced might be explained by the fact that,

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[144] Kenneth Clark wrote in a memorandum to his colleague, the Gallery's Keeper William Gibson (1902–1960) that 'Miss Browse was talking to me yesterday about a successor to the John exhibition and suggested among other things that we might have an exhibition of Paul Nash drawings'. This exhibition was never held, perhaps owing to the influence of the Director, who expressed concern: '… I am not sure whether it would be important enough and am a little doubtful about the general principle of a series of one-man shows…' See typescript letter written 15 January 1941 (London: National Gallery Archive), NG16/268/4–6.

[145] Catherine Pearson*, Museums in the Second World War* (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 109. Pearson also described the positive effect of the war on the overall number of female curators in Britain's regional galleries, as 'Museums Association membership records… show[ed] that the number of women curators more than doubled between 1937 and 1942' [from 5% to 10% of the museum workforce]; however, these women's entrepreneurship, such as Browse's championing of loan exhibitions at the National Gallery, went unacknowledged. Ibid., pp. 184-5, p. 250.

[146] The first 'Picture of the Month' was in fact a new acquisition, Rembrandt's *Margaretha de Geer* (NG 5282), donated by the National Art Collections Fund in 1941, which prompted a campaign by sculptor Charles Wheeler in the *Times* for the rotation of works from the Collection to be returned for a month at a time from their exile in Manod, Wales. See Pearson, *Museums in the Second World War* (2017), p. 110.

[147] Kenneth Clark later wrote to Lady Gater crediting the canteen's popular success with improving public relations for the Gallery. See letter from Kenneth Clark, 31 July 1945, London: National Gallery Archive, NG26/290.9.

[148] Browse (1999), pp. 89–90.

[149] Suzanne Bosman, *The National Gallery in Wartime* (London: National Gallery, 2008) p. 91.

by introducing loan exhibitions, she had expanded the Gallery's remit outside of the Board's jurisdiction.

Clark wrote with some criticism of Browse to his Keeper, William Gibson, in June 1941:

> I agree with Crawford that the present *Modern English* exhibition seems to have been open a long time. Perhaps one is more conscious of this because it is not quite as good as the first. Miss Browse rang me up today proposing that it should be followed up by a Sickert exhibition. I would agree to this if it can be done, but I think we ought to consult the Tate who had such an exhibition in mind before the war, and might be rather hurt at our stealing their subject…
> I am afraid I could not agree to Miss Browse's suggestion that the tables and chairs from the canteen should be removed out of the entrance corridor. I think that the canteen is doing very useful work and gives the feeling that the Gallery can be adapted to war-time conditions.

The letter acknowledged Browse as one of 'our' colleagues but was clear that Clark was anxious about the autonomy Lillian Browse had in organising the temporary exhibitions in 'his' Gallery. Browse admitted herself how uncomfortable even positive newspaper headlines like 'ONE WOMAN TO OPEN NATIONAL GALLERY' made her feel.[150] Though her efforts to revive the Gallery during the war were recognised in the press, in James Stourton's *Kenneth Clark* biography*,* her exhibitions were attributed to Clark. This error was made despite the author's suggestion that Clark was 'far too busy' organising the evacuation of the permanent collection, and quoting an anecdote about Clark's admiration for Browse's work ethic which the Director made to the Queen when she visited the 1940 *British Painting* exhibition.[151]

Perhaps at Clark's behest, Browse's last exhibition at the National Gallery, *Modern French Painting,* in 1942, was a return to the popular national survey format. Over 37,000 people visited over thirty days, which was impressive (and expressive of the public's keenness to experience cultural events) as the bombing of London had reached its height.[152] Of all the public lenders who lent paintings, despite the dangers posed, Browse was most impressed by the Courtauld Institute, which 'surpassed everyone else with a Van Gogh, a Degas and a Renoir'.[153] Perhaps it was the show of support from this newer institution that later encouraged Browse, in turn, to become a benefactor (predominantly of painting but also of sculptures, see Appendix 4) to the Courtauld rather than the National Gallery.

Shortly after she stopped working for the National Gallery in December 1942, Browse was offered a role organising travelling regional exhibitions for CEMA [the precursor to the Arts Council].[154] One of her first responsibilities was to organise the provincial tour of the *Nineteenth Century French Art* exhibition. In her new role, Browse found herself asking Clark to extend his own loans to this show 'for a further three months' due to the exhibition's popularity, a request which he denied. Despite her (now considerable) experience, he replied in a patrician tone: 'I must say that I am not in favour of asking owners to lend for more than six months. In my experience, pictures get very battered if they are on the road for as long a period as this. Owners tend to lose track of their pictures, and I fear that if such demands are

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[150] She wrote in her memoir, 'on the 23 February 1940 the *Daily Mail* pieced together the story as it had been given to them verbatim; to my great discomposure huge headlines appeared...' Browse (1999), p. 88.

[151] James Stourton, *Kenneth Clark* (London: William Collins, 2016), pp. 172–3.

[152] Ibid*,* p. 101.

[153] Ibid*.,* p. 101.

[154] Despite dedicating a chapter of *Art for the Nation (*1999) to the development of CEMA, Browse was not mentioned by Brandon Taylor. See also Stourton (2016), p. 172.

made, the collectors… may become less willing to lend in the future'.[155] While denying the extension of his loans, he commended Browse on the exhibition's organisation: 'let me take this opportunity of saying what a great success this particular CEMA exhibition is. I saw it at Leicester and was very much impressed. It is most skilful of you to have got together such a good collection considering the appalling difficulties involved'.[156]

After admitting to Clark that an administrative role at CEMA 'was not what I wanted… in my bones', Browse returned to the commercial art world and joined forces with two émigré art historians she had met at Leger's, to establish a new gallery.[157] Her business partners Henry Roland, born Heinrich Rosenbaum (1907–1993), and Gustav Delbanco (1903–1997) both became naturalised British citizens in the 1930s, but owing to a shortage of formal opportunities gave German lessons to British art dealers, including Browse, while also dealing informally in Old Masters 'from a boarding house' near Swiss Cottage.[158] The trio's new gallery, Roland, Browse and Delbanco, opened at 19 Cork Street in 1945, in what had been Freddie Mayor's eponymous gallery before the war. Despite bringing with her the experience and seniority of organising exhibitions for the National Gallery, Browse cheerfully occupied the basement office of the gallery. On the choice of the company name, she related that 'we concluded that it would be more explicit [to stress the three-way partnership] to use all the three [surnames] in euphonic order. I was particularly in favour of this arrangement which would avoid my repeating that I was not the secretary'.[159]

Despite not having been raised in England, Roland noted that compared with her émigré colleagues, it was Browse's ease with 'English Society which made her invaluable to us'.[160] After hosting two Old Master exhibitions (one of *Three Centuries of English Drawing* (1945) and the other of eighteenth-century French painting), the gallery also began showing modern exhibitions. The first of these was the work of Henryk Gotlib (1890–1966), a Polish Jewish neighbour of Roland's in Hampstead.[161] Two years after starting the gallery, Browse was appointed General Editor of Faber and Faber's 'Ariel Books on the Arts' imprint, which saw her oversee publications for a non-academic readership on Welsh painter *James Dickson Innes* (1946), *Barbara Hepworth* (1946), *Constantin Guys* (1947) and *Eric Ravilious* (1947). The inclusion of Hepworth in this series reflected the direction of her own gallery towards selling sculptures, as well of works by contemporary female artists, like their exhibition of Joan Eardley's paintings of Glasgow tenement children.[162]

While only infrequently referred to in her autobiography, Browse, though not herself religiously observant as an adult, was never alienated from London's Jewish community or from identifying with what she once described as 'the ultimate of birthrights': her Jewishness.[163] Her first marriage, to her first cousin Ivan Harold Joseph ((1910–1989), took

[155] Clark to Lillian Browse, 7 June 1943. London: Tate Galley Archive), TAL 8812/1/1/17.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Browse quoted by Scott, James, *The Women who Shaped Modern Art in Britain* (2021), p. 201.
[158] Scott (2021), p. 148; Cherith Summers (2019), p. 26.
[159] Browse (1999), p. 119.
[160] Henry Roland, *Behind the Façade: Recollections of an Art Dealer* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991), p. 54.
[161] Roland (1991), p. 55.
[162] Ibid., pp. 170–171.
[163] Browse (1999), p. 147.

place in the Liberal Synagogue in St John's Wood.[164] Her Courtauld gift also contained works by Jewish émigré artists – Josef Herman (1911–2000), Gotlib, Mané-Katz and Amadeo Modigliani (1884-1920). Herman, who was represented by Browse's gallery, produced several portraits of Gustav Delbanco that were reported in *The Jewish Chronicle*.[165] Browse and her colleagues' generosity towards Herman was exceptional, as he noted that their thirty percent terms were far more favourable than other London galleries.[166]

Though she had re-entered the private sector, Lilian Browse continued to supply public institutions with works of art while at Roland Browse and Delbanco (which operated until 1977). She noted that within their first five years: 'we had sold forty pictures to public bodies and museums, about a third… comprised works by Old Masters… the Tate bought Gwen John's *Self-Portrait* as well as two Degas bronzes; the Aberdeen Art Gallery had William Nicholson's *Studio in Snow*... and a good early Vlaminck, also a landscape. The V&A and the Leicester museums had canvases by Paul Nash and Innes respectively, and a fine Sickert, *Dieppe*, went to the Sydney Art Gallery'.[167] In 1955, she sold a Stanley Spencer study for *Joachim and the Shepherds* to the Tate (purchased through the Chantrey Fund), and in 1957, a work by Roderic O'Conor (1860–1940), *Still Life with Bottles*, 1892 (fig. 96).[168] As Browse admitted, she could not sell 'Old Masters' to the Gallery, though this was not out of personal choice, as the prices of these had become prohibitive by the early 1960s: 'we sold less and less to museums… limit[ing] ourselves to the more recent schools'.[169] In 1977, when the lease on 19 Cork Street was not renewed, Browse began another gallery with a new business partner, William Darby, becoming Browse and Darby until she retired from art dealing four years later.[170] To this day, her name, though faint, is still visible in the fascia above the Redfern Gallery on Cork Street (fig. 97).

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[164] Wendy Baron [who worked with Browse on her monograph on Walter Sickert, originally published 1943 and re-published in 1953], 'Lillian Gertrude (1906–2005), art dealer and art historian', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, published 7 March 2013, accessed 26 June 2023.

[165] Gustav Delbanco's profile on Ben Uri Research Unit online: https://www.buru.org.uk/record.php?id=665, accessed 26 June 2023.

[166] Nini Herman (ed.), *The Journals of Josef Herman* (London: Peter Halban and the European Jewish Publication Society, 2003), p. xxvi.

[167] The catalogue numbers for the bronze figures by Degas are N05919-20. The allusion to Gwen John's *Self-Portrait* is curious, as the Tate recorded that it was purchased from Ellen Brown (niece of Slade Professor Fred Brown) in 1942, using the 'Knapping Fund'. It may have been the case that Browse acted as an agent on behalf of Brown in selling the work.

[168] The Stanley Spencer drawing now in the Tate's collection is T00048. O'Conor's *Still Life* is T00133.

[169] Browse (1999), p. 158.

[170] Roland (1991), p. 132. Until recently, the Gallery was run under both names by descendants of William Darby. It has now moved to nearby Bury Street, while the former Browse and Darby premises is occupied by the Redfern Gallery.

Fig. 82. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Golden Stairs,* 1880, oil on canvas, 269 x 117 cm (London: Tate, N04005). Bequeathed by Lady Battersea (at the wishes of Lord Battersea), 1924.

Fig. 83. Anon., Photograph of the Staff of the Manchester Museum, including Clara Nördlinger (1871–1970) [front row, left] seated next to her colleague, Freya Ede [front row, right] (Manchester: Whitworth Gallery Archive).

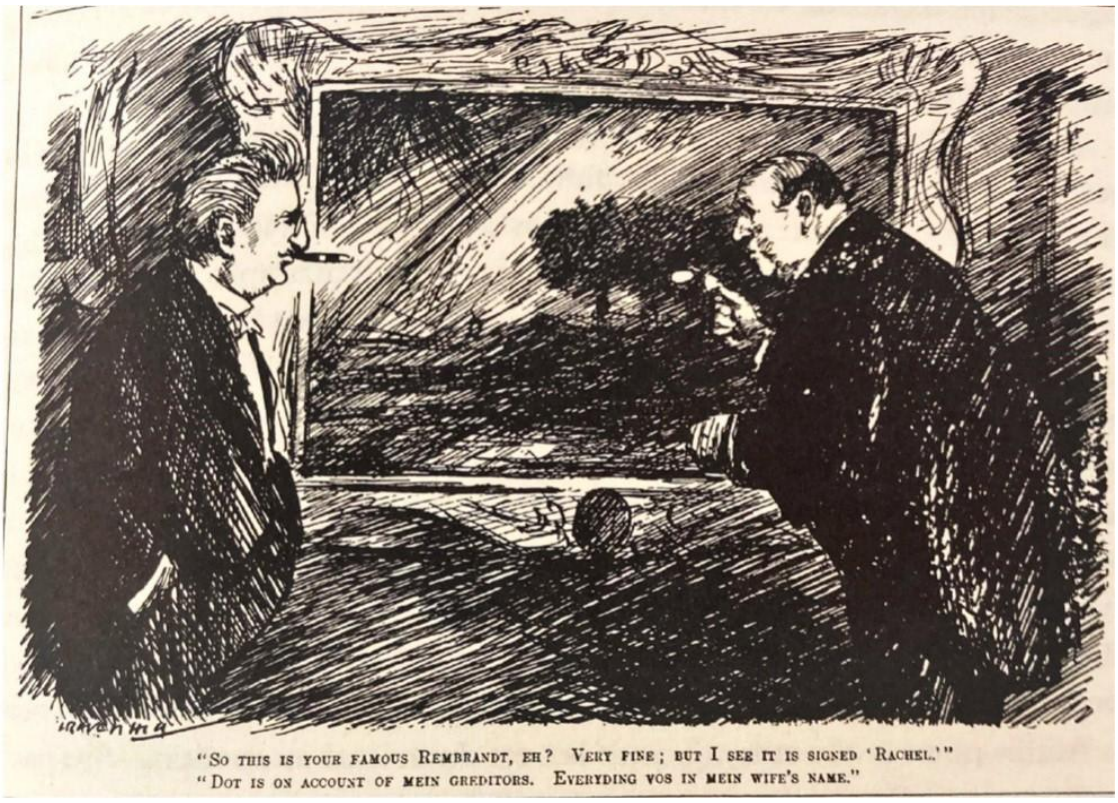

Fig. 84. Leonard Raven-Hill, 'The Rachel Rembrandt', engraving published in *Punch*, or the *London Charivari*, 3 March 1909.

Fig. 85. Henry Dixon and Sons, 'The Central Hall of the Grosvenor Gallery during the Venetian Exhibition', c. 1894–5.

Fig. 86. After Tintoretto (probably 19th century), *The Miracle of St Mark*, oil on paper stuck down on canvas, 42 x 60.2 cm (London: National Gallery, NG2900). Bequeathed by Lady Lindsay, 1912.

Fig. 87

Henri Fantin-Latour, *Mr and Mrs Edwin Edwards*, 1875, oil on canvas, 131 x 98 cm (London: Tate, N01952). Presented by Mrs Ruth Edwards, 1904.

Fig. 88

Elliot and Fry, Photograph of Mrs Edwin Edwards, c. 1904 (London: National Gallery Archive, NG3/1952/7). Donated to the National Gallery by Sir Charles Sherrington, 1934.

Fig. 89. Anthony van Dyck, *The Abbé Scaglia adoring the Virgin and Child*, oil on canvas, 106.7 x 120 cm (London: National Gallery, NG4889). Presented by Anthony de Rothschild in memory of Louisa, Lady de Rothschild, and Constance, Lady Battersea, 1937.

Fig. 90. Anon., Photograph of the Drawing Room of Connaught Place, after the death of Lady Battersea, c. 1934, showing NG4889 above the fireplace.

Fig. 91. Anon., Photograph of Mozelle Sassoon driving a Mercedes in Dinard, France, c.1908. Photo credit: Ouest-France.

Fig. 92. Anon., *Meeting of the Working Committee of the Princess of Wales's Branch of the National Aid Society*, 1885. Miss Lucy Cohen was depicted standing at the far left, with Hannah de Rothschild seated in front of her.

Fig. 93. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Bust of a child*, terracotta, sold by Mrs Mozelle Sassoon in aid of Lord Baldwin's Fund for Refugees, 24 May 1939.

Fig. 94. Anon., Press Photograph of The Prince of Wales arriving at *The Age of Walnut* exhibition, organised by Hannah Gubbay and Philip Sassoon, 1932.

Fig. 95. Emmanuel Mané-Katz, *Portrait of Lillian Browse*, 1936 (London: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, inv. no. P.2006. LB.1).

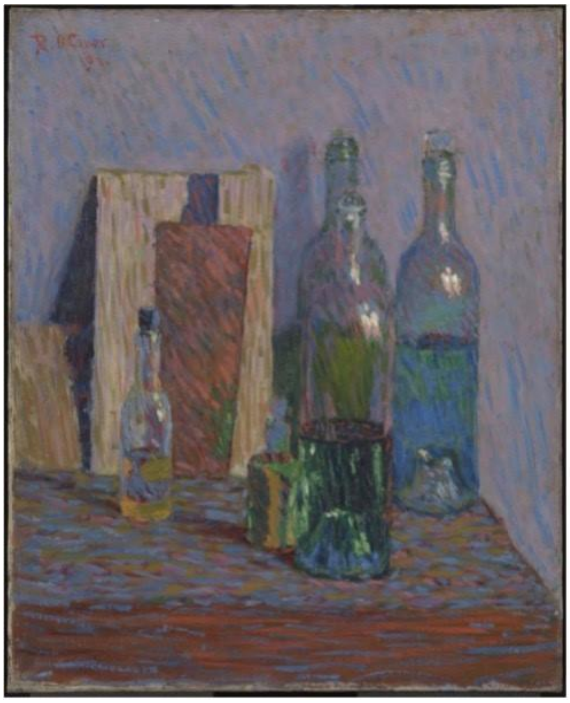

Fig. 96. Roderic O'Conor, *Still Life with Bottles*, 1892*,* oil on canvas, 55 x 46 cm (London: Tate, T00133). Purchased by the Tate (Grant in Aid fund) from Roland Browse and Delbanco, 1957, from an exhibition of the artist's work at their Cork Street gallery.

Fig. 97

Author's photograph of the exterior of 20 Cork Street, London, November 2023.

Conclusion

Half a century after Claude Phillips first articulated Britain's 'debt' to foreign-born collectors who had given away their possessions to the nation, praising several Jewish collectors without naming them as such, Kenneth Clark recognised that among the many collectors he had encountered during his career as a museum administrator, those who had demonstrated the greatest 'zeal' as collectors were Jewish.[1] However, in Clark's perception, which was not without traces of prejudice, the 'difference' that Clark identified as Jewish was these collectors' characteristic abilities to recognise value, and their willingness to invest where their non-Jewish counterparts would or could not. Clark's Jewish collector 'bought the best', a claim which suggested their aesthetic discernment, but also the way that 'the best' of the country's art was increasingly found in Jewish homes.[2]

Clark reserved some of his most telling observations of Jewish 'difference' for his private correspondence, some of which is retained in the Gallery's Registry files, the contents of which have not been catalogued. When writing to Mrs H. Anrep [née Helen Maitland], ex-wife of the Russian mosaicist Boris (1883–1969) about an Italian musician-*cum*-Renaissance painting dealer, Gualtiero Volterra (1901–1967), who worked in London and Florence, Clark warned: ''The firm of Volterra is entirely different. It is one of those Jewish rabbit warren dealers, innumerable velvet rooms each containing three or four brothers, cousins…They practically never have anything of merit … and they pass off, whether consciously or not… forgeries … it would be rather disagreeable to be associated [with Volterra].'[3] Despite the discernible prejudice exposed by his descriptions of Jews in both his private and published writing, Clark's remarks are useful in contextualising historic attitudes towards 'Jewish collectors', particularly in relation to their experiences at the National Gallery. His casual antisemitism did not prevent his support of Jewish colleagues, particularly in the latter half of the 1930s when Clark and his Board found work and refuge for many European (often Jewish) émigrés who had fled to Britain.[4] While not within the scope of this thesis, Balcarres's and Clark's embrace of émigré art historians, conservators and artists during the Second World War showed how discrete forms of prejudice and individual sympathies for Jews co-existed among the Gallery's administrators.[5]

In 1995, Selby Whittingham speculated whether '[the National Gallery] might not have received more in the three-quarters of a century after [Ludwig] Mond's death, when other collections went to the Courtauld [Institute of Art] … if donors had been given more grounds

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[1] Phillips, 'The Mond Collection' (1923), p. 10; Clark (1974), p. 194.

[2] Clark (1974), p. 194: 'Anyone who followed Herr Oppenheimer's advice "Py de pest" would have had a far greater return on his money than the bargain-hunter.'

[3] Letter from Kenneth Clark to Mrs H Anrep, 27 May 1937, marked 'Private and Confidential'. London: National Gallery Archive (hereafter NGA), NG16/290/72. For the persecution of Volterra and other Italian Jewish musicians under Italy's Fascist regime, see Alessandro and Annalisa Carrieri (eds), *Italian Jewish Musicians and Composers under Fascism* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

[4] See Ulrik Runeberg, 'Immigrant Picture Restorers of the German-speaking World in England from the 1930s to the Post-war era', in Behr, Shulamith, Malet, Marian (eds.) *Arts in Exile in Britain 1933–1945: Politics and Cultural Identity* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005) pp. 339–71 and National Gallery conservator, Morwenna Blewett's conference paper 'A Safe Haven: Refugee Restorers and the National Gallery, London', *ICOM-CC: Theory and History of Conservation* (Melbourne: ICOM, 2014), unpaginated.

[5] See letter from Evelyn Antal, wife of Hungarian Jewish art historian Frederick Antal (1884–1954), 25 June 1940, asking Clark to provide a character reference for her husband, who was facing a tribunal as a foreign 'alien' in Britain. NGA, NG16/290/85. In 1955, in memory of her husband, Evelyn gave the gallery a painting by Francesco Solimena, NG6254.

for confidence that their wishes would prevail'.[6] Often absent from discussions of donations to the Gallery (and other national museums in Britain), with the exception of the Mond Gift, was how donors' 'wishes' have been interpreted since their possessions were relinquished. Similarly, there has been little discussion of donors' prior motivations for giving away their art works, money, or time, for cultural or national causes.

This study of Jewish donors to the National Gallery has revealed that among this group of people with a shared ancestry, who often had similar class backgrounds, consonant motivations were often at play. One of the most frequently observed characteristics of the Jewish collectors of fine art studied was their consistent support of living artists through direct patronage, though this aspect of Jewish collecting has been least recognised by other historians (of the National Gallery or of modern-era Jewish history), outside of the avant-garde. The collections I analysed articulated their owners' interests in artists they knew and socialised with, testifying to Jews' considerable involvement in cultural and professional networks throughout Britain and its former empire. Equally, their explicit expressions of patriotism and self-identification with British imperial projects, sometimes using their art collections directly to communicate allegiance, has been widely overlooked. Many of the people I studied lived transnationally, so their interests were not limited to a single country or institution, but that does not mean that they were not invested in imperial projects. In the thesis, I did not dwell at length on Arnold's theories of the Hellenic/Hebraic dialectic, nor its significance for the promotion of 'national' ideals by the National Gallery. I have argued, on the other hand, that the Gallery was largely tolerant of the influence and participation on non-British donors, as it was not particularly successful at maintaining a strong emphasis on nationalism, owing in part to the 'chaotic' nature of its historic administration. Many of its directors actively embraced foreign art (and contemporary or near contemporary foreign artists) and wanted greater administrative control, to move away from being under the thumb of the government Treasury. Jewish donors helped them to achieve this, to a certain degree, by providing unrestricted capital. The Duveen family were the most generous towards the National Gallery, but coincidentally were perhaps most concerned with the idea that they were doing so as patriotic Britons, rather than as a Jewish family (whose ancestors were from the Netherlands). While élite Jewish collectors (and some successful dealers, like the Wertheimers and the Duveens) were members of the same national and global elites as non-Jewish donors to the Gallery, but this does not mean they shared the same world views or behaviours. In presenting portraits of members of their own families, and in specifying funds be made available in their own names (and rooms named after them), these Jewish collectors were perhaps more conscious of their public perception than their non-Jewish counterparts. However, their actions were not appreciated then or now as disinterested patriotic acts, but rather as expressions of their materialism and egotism. This may reflect an Arnoldian bias in the scant literature on cultural philanthropy, which still recognises this act largely as a form of 'culture washing'.

Within the National Gallery, Jewish patrons have been acknowledged infrequently, despite many attempts by Jewish donors and fundraisers to support the Gallery's activities. Examining a single instance of a high-profile donation by a Jewish family, however, demonstrated that the visibility the Gallery could afford a collector was not without risk. This might illuminate why the Gallery has been hesitant to draw attention to its Jewish donors. Studying the reception of a series of family portraits donated by the Wertheimer family in 1922, we encounter an unease about Jews' gaining cultural authority and visibility on a national stage. The year of the

[6] Whittingham, Selby, 'Breach of Trust over Gifts of Collections', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 4, no. 2 (1995), p. 270.

presentation was significant, as outside the Gallery, the presence of Jews as 'controlling' forces in Britain was under wider discussion. For example, the popular right-wing daily newspaper, *the Morning Post*, began serialising articles, known as 'the Jewish articles' and titled *The Cause of the World's Unrest*, which reproduced the antisemitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.[7] These were widely taken up as 'evidence' of Jews' control of certain industries, including the media, by fascist groups as well as by 'ordinary' British readers – circulation of the *Morning Post* increased by almost 100%.[8] Rather than hiding their involvement in the art world, however, Jews used the platform provided by the National Gallery to assert their presence, though this was occasionally met with discomfort from non-Jewish spectators.

Contemporary responses to the Wertheimer family's portraits in Trafalgar Square highlighted how important their owners' Jewishness was to perceptions of the artworks' suitability in the National Gallery. In 1908, Bond Street art dealer Asher Wertheimer (1844–1918) (fig. 98) lent twelve portraits of his immediate family (which had been exhibited separately at the Royal Academy) to the Gallery, their commission a celebration of his silver wedding anniversary with Flora (née Joseph, 1846–1922 was also daughter of Edward Joseph, a Jewish art dealer) (fig. 99). Though they had been welcomed by the Gallery's trustees in 1908, and the Gallery already owned historic paintings sold by Wertheimer, when the paintings were formally accessioned by the National Gallery after Asher's death, they provoked considerable public debate.[9] Charles Holmes carried out a redisplay of the galleries in 1923, in which the Sargent *Wertheimers* hung beside the 'British School' in Room 26. A survey of the press responses to the rehang showed the intensity of the discussion provoked by the 'intrusion' of the modern works (of living Jewish sitters).[10] The *Spectator*'s Anthony Bertram (1897–1978) found the 'unfinished *Alfred Wertheimer* a 'lamentable witness against Sargent', others praised the paintings' 'social interest,' which 'g[a]ve these paintings their ultimate value'.[11]While much of their commentary alluded vaguely to the 'social interest' the paintings recorded, Frank Rutter (1876–1937) was explicit in his emphasis on the donor's identity as the primary source of interest.[12] He questioned whether, 'since the time of Rembrandt, there has been a more striking rendering in paint of … the Jew with a capital "J".' That he was quoting his editor, Mr J. T. Grein, outlined that the sitter's Jewishness had been the reason for his journalistic interest in the artwork. The composition was understood by Rutter to present 'the great Jew, the generous Jew, proud of his race, proud of his family, confident of his taste… so full of learning', the totemic Jew he described bearing the hallmarks of sinister antisemitic ideas of Jewish 'cleverness', as well as admiration. His criticism mirrored the observations of the earlier reception of Sargent's *Portrait of Mrs Carl Meyer and her Children,* exhibited in London in 1896, in which the 'over-civilised' Oriental' could not be contained 'even by Mr Sargent's

[7] Keith M. Wilson, '*The Protocols of Zion* and *the Morning Post*, 1919–1920', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1985, pp. 5–14.
[8] Ibid., p. 5.
[9] Two paintings sold by Asher Wertheimer which were in the Gallery by 1922 were Hobbema (NG2570, via Salting Bequest, 1910) and Paulus Potter (NG2583, also formerly Salting). They were joined by a third, Molenaer (NG5416) in 1943.
[10] Anon., 'The Sargent Wertheimers: Portraits in the National Gallery', *The Times*, 6 January 1923; Anon., 'The Sargent Portraits', *The London Mercury,* April 1923, p. 652. Press cuttings retained in NGA, NG24/1923/1.
[11] Anthony Bertram, 'The Wertheimer Sargents', *The Spectator*, 13 January 1923; Anon., 'Portraits for the Nation', *Pall Mall, 11 January 1923.* Alfred Wertheimer's portrait is now in London: Tate (N03709), transferred from the National Gallery in 1926.
[12] Frank Rutter, 'WERTHEIMER AND SARGENT', *Arts Gazette*, 13 January 1923. Found in NGA, NG24/1923/1.

skill'.[13] The Wertheimers' censure in the press eventually reached the House of Commons, with Conservative MP for Oxford University [Sir Charles Oman, 1860–1946] asking for 'these clever, but extremely repulsive pictures … be placed in a special chamber of horrors … not between brilliant examples of the art of Turner'.[14] Though likely unconscious of the fact that only twenty years before, Turner's 'brilliant examples' had been brought out of the Gallery's store by 'Mr Duveen', the fact that the politician was made so uncomfortable by another Jewish family's interest in British art spoke of the discomfort that some felt recognising Jewish cultural benefactors. For some critics, Jews like the Wertheimers, the Duveens and the Druckers, were paradoxically 'over civilised' and uncomfortably culturally different.

Though criticism of the Jewish donor took place outside of the walls of the Gallery, in the press and in Parliament, the unease provoked by discussions of Jews' visibility might explain why the Gallery has been reticent about celebrating the Jewish identities of other donors. Where Jewishness has been alluded to, it is often *sotto voce*, despite many former donors (like de Pass and the Misses Cohens) proudly recognising their parallel interest in Jewish culture in *other* heritage sites. While Jewish donors often expressed their pride at being recognised by the Gallery, what often went unrecognised was how the act of donating a work (or many) to a national institution related to their lives. Occasionally, their actions may be uncomfortable to accept, as in the case where Jewish patrons' efforts to 'do something for the nation' meant imposing their 'national' perspectives on others. Individual Jewish collectors' participation in maintaining the Empire needs to be addressed, alongside their marginalisation in the historical record. The participation of 'outsiders' in imperial projects exposed the widespread support of 'national' interests, which 'the nation' was reflexively relied upon to realise and uphold.

Jews did not 'have a monopoly' on the problem of being forgotten, as other historians of the museum are demonstrating in their work on *other* overlooked historical actors. However, where their patrons were explicit about their intentions, these should be acknowledged, even when they cannot be honoured. A simple way that this might be achieved could be to highlight when a particular donor gave more than one work to the Gallery, so that the thread of their collection might be followed in the museum, as the Bode Museum recently carried out in its permanent galleries (fig. 100). Rather than imposing a narrative of loss of German Jewish identity it has drawn attention to the work of its largest benefactor, James Simon (1851–1932) prior to the 'Aryanisation' of his belongings under Nazi rule. Though Jewish collections in Britain may now be less visible than their former owners intended, owing to their dispersal through museums across the world, or simply into storage, it has been possible to rejoin the 'links of the chain' to determine that their meanings and influences were plural, rather than exclusively personal, and this should be articulated in interpretation.

Though many of its Jewish (and other) donors are not household names today, the Gallery can tell us a great deal about the interests of those who shaped its collections. Though less immediately recognisable as acts of 'Jewish philanthropy' than a named display like the Mond Room at the National Gallery (fig. 101), the Gallery continues to offer plentiful evidence of its historic donors' cultural interests. As the Gallery renovates its Sainsbury Wing to make the building more accessible to its visitors in its bicentenary year, most of its current visitors are encouraged to use the Portico entrance in the centre of Trafalgar Square. On entering the Gallery, they cross Russian-born artist Boris Anrep's mosaic floor, *The Awakening of the Muses* (1928–33). At the top of the stairs, they might read along its border 'Maud Russell

[13] Kathleen Adler, 'John Singer Sargent's Portraits of the Wertheimer Family', in Kleeblatt (ed.) (1999), p. 25.
[14] HC Deb., 8 March 1923, vol. 161, c726.

donavit – Anrep fecit'. While not a Jewish émigré himself, the artist was supported for many years by Maud Russell, borne Nelke (1891–1982), who had married into the British establishment.[15] Though she had identified little with her Jewish heritage during her early life, 'Mrs Russell' took the cause of German Jews to the highest authorities in Britain during the Second World War, even visiting Germany in December 1938, at considerable personal risk as a Jew, to arrange visas for her relatives.[16] Anreps' portrait of Maud as 'Folly' (fig. 102) in a later mosaic for the Gallery, *The Modern Virtues* (completed in 1952) evokes the artist's intimacy with his patron and her home, Mottisfont Abbey, later given to the National Trust. Though she consented to being depicted within it, Maud Russell chose to make her donation of Anrep's mosaic anonymous. When Director Philip Hendy (1900–1980) wrote with the trustees' thanks, she replied modestly:

> I hear from Boris Anrep that he mentioned to you how very much I dislike publicity where I myself am concerned. The Trustees may know who financed the floor – but if you are asked will you be very kind and leave my name out of it?
> … say there are two or three donors who wish to remain anonymous. I hope the pavement will give pleasure and amusement to a great many people.[17]

Despite her protestations of anonymity, Anrep's own dedication to his patron testifies to the presence of his Jewish patron, as its walls continue to speak of Jews' interests, if only one considers where and how to look for them. While Maud Russell may have been diffident about her patronage of the Gallery, her support for a leading contemporary artist had clear parallels with other Jewish collectors' efforts to introduce living artists to its walls (and floors). As I have shown, the Gallery's historic visitors were often receptive to the shifting tastes of its patrons and followed developments in the collection.

Just as they were keen to see their own tastes represented, Jewish collectors of both contemporary and historic paintings were interested in how their paintings (and other gifts) might be used to 'enlighten' or 'give amusement to' the public (as in the Russell, de Pass, Davis and Phillips cases), to realise diplomatic and imperial objectives (like the Drucker, Spielmann and Duveen families) and to act as permanent reminders of those closest to them. Many of these motivations they shared with their non-Jewish counterparts, drawing praise from their contemporaries even if their reputations as collectors and philanthropists have not endured.

The exercise of looking for Jewish histories in a 'non-Jewish' organisation invites further questions about how much more nuanced its collection may still prove to be, if (or rather when) alternate frames are applied to it. This project will hopefully encourage colleagues at the National Gallery to consider how a Jewish 'spirit and fact' might be articulated for contemporary visitors to the Gallery, alongside other 'alternative' histories of the organisation. In her 1996 review of an exhibition of 'Jewish Women's Art', held at the Barbican Centre, Juliet Steyn warned against reinforcing unhelpful 'myths and fictions of the Subject', by reducing Jews' interests in art to 'identity politics'.[18] However there is little risk of this, if rather than conceiving of donations as one-sided assertions of self-interest, the organisation explores

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[15] Maud Russell's husband Gilbert (1875–1942) was a merchant banker and a cousin of the Duke of Bedford.

[16] See Emily Russell (ed.), *A Constant Heart: The Wartime Diaries of Maud Russell, 1938–1945* (Dorset: Wimbourne Minster, 2006).

[17] Maud Russell to Philip Hendy, 23 November 1952. NGA, NG16/7.

[18] Juliet Steyn, 'Review: *Rubies and Rebels: Jewish Female Indentity in Contemporary British Art*, Barbican Centre, London, 8 October – 10 November 1996', in *Third Text*. vol. 10, no. 37 (1996), p. 99.

the diverse ways in which its Jewish donors have responded to and resisted the expectations of those with whom they interact(ed).

This project may have a legacy of its own, I hope, as I have not adequately explored the wider reception of 'foreign' influences within British cultural life. The lives of the many Jewish émigrés who moved to Britain from 1938–45 have been discussed by Monica Bohm-Duchen, but many of the Jewish historical actors I have discussed here have not been recognised for their roles in shaping the nation's museums and galleries, as well as the careers of many of the artists they patronised. Griselda Pollock recently articulated the value those who may not appear to 'belong' – like Jewish men and women – could bring to the art historical discipline. When we think of Jewish, female, Black and ethnic minority actors, we expose the 'amnesiac history of our common world' as it was conceived by those historians who have been *indifferent* to cultural differences or refused to accept them.[19] We might complicate the idea that the National Gallery's mission has been a patrician assertion of 'national' values when it is revealed that the 'common world' it represents has historically been inclusive of 'different' world views and perspectives than might immediately be visible to the eye.

[19] Griselda Pollock (ed.), *Woman in Art: Helen Rosenau's 'Little Book' of 1944* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2023), p. 342.

Figs. 98 and 99. John Singer Sargent, *Asher Wertheimer*, exhibited 1898, oil on canvas, 147·5 x 98 cm, and *Mrs [Flora] Wertheimer*, exhibited 1904, oil on canvas, 163 x 108 cm (London: Tate, N03705 and 3706). Presented by the Wertheimer family to the National Gallery in 1922; transferred to Millbank in 1926.

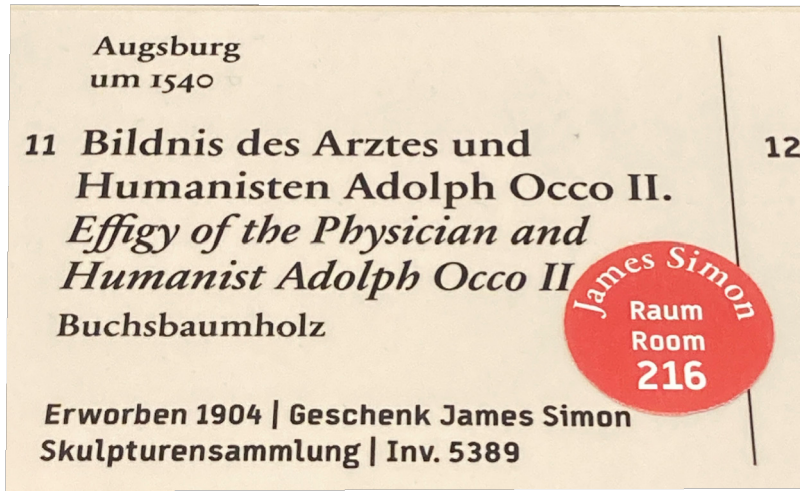

Fig. 100. Author, Photograph of the James' Simon Collection on display at the Bode Museum, Berlin, July 2022.

Fig. 101. Photograph of *The Opening of the Mond Room*, National Gallery, 1923. (National Gallery Research Centre, Photographic Archive, NG neg. M335).

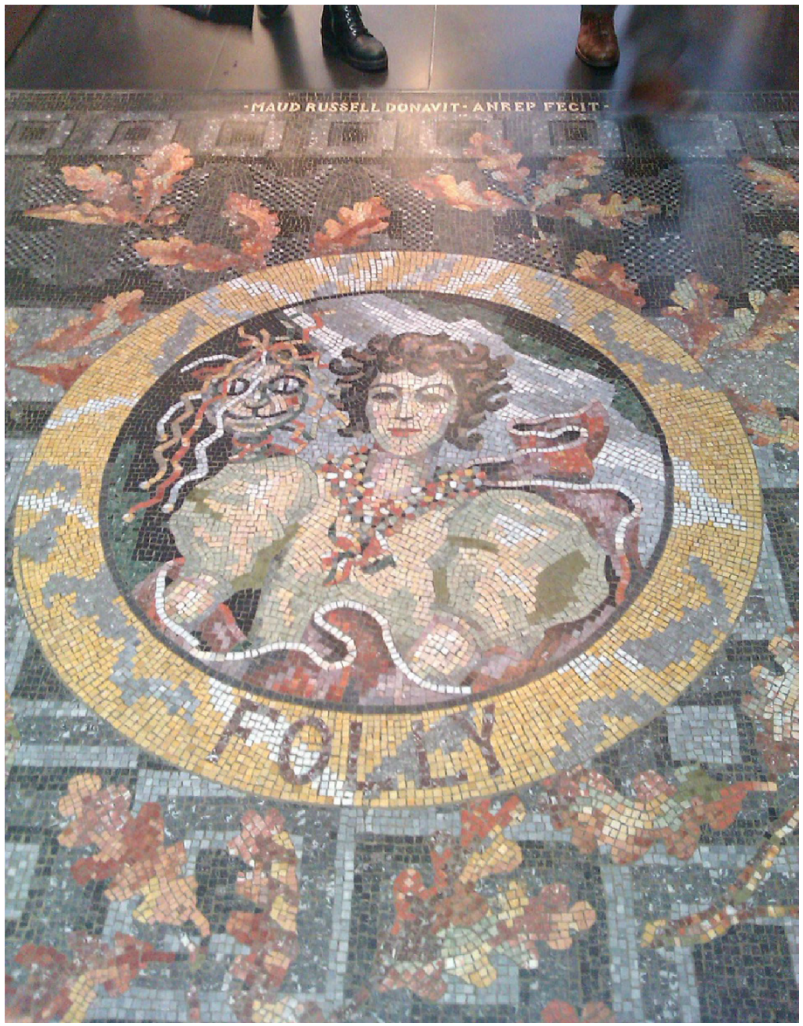

Fig. 102. Anon., Photograph of Boris Anrep's mosaic *The Modern Virtues,* showing Maud Russell as 'Folly', begun 1928, completed 1952.

Figures:

Chapter One:

Fig. 1. William Rothenstein, *Jews Mourning*, 1906, oil on canvas, 127 x100 cm (London: Tate Gallery, N02116) Presented by Jacob Moser, J.P., through the Trustees and Committee of the Whitechapel Art Gallery in commemoration of the 1906 Jewish Exhibition, 1907.

Fig. 2. Detail of 'the Sassoon Collection' from Marion Spielmann's article 'In the World of Art', *The Graphic*, 24 November 1906, p. 692.

Fig. 3. Diego Velasquez, *Portrait of a Man* (now called *Ferdinando Brandani*), 1650, oil on canvas, lent by Edmund Davis to the National Loan Exhibition, 1911 (Madrid: The Prado Museum, inv. no. P007858).

Fig. 4. Titian, *The Virgin Suckling the Infant Christ,* c. 1565-75, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (London: National Gallery, NG3948, Mond Bequest, 1924). Lent by Frida Mond to the National Loan Exhibition, 1913-4.

Fig. 5. Karel Fabritius, *Young Man in a Fur Cap (Self-Portrait?)*, 1654, oil on canvas, 70.5 × 61.5 cm (London: National Gallery, NG4042, 'bought 1924'). Purchased with the [Claude] Phillips Fund, 1924.

Chapter Two:

Fig. 6. Carel Fabritius, *A View of Delft, with a Musical Instrument Seller's Stall,* 1652, oil on canvas, 15.5 x 31.7 cm (London, National Gallery, NG3714, 'Presented by the Art Fund, 1922'). Bought by Lord Duveen for presentation to the National Gallery through the National Art Collections Fund.

Fig. 7. Duveen Family Tree, reproduced from Secrest, Duveen (2004), pp. xx-xxi.

Fig. 8. John Singer Sargent, *Ellen Terry as 'Lady Macbeth'*, 1889, oil on canvas (London: Tate, N02053), 'presented by Sir Joseph Duveen 1906'.

Fig. 9. Alfred Stevens, *John Morris Moore*, c. 1840, oil on canvas (London; Tate, N02132), 'Presented by Sir Joseph Duveen and subscribers through the Art Fund 1907'.

Fig. 10. 'The Turner Galleries', reproduced from *The National Gallery of British Art, Millbank, A Record of Ten Years: 1917-1927*, p. 5. The Gallery was endowed by Joel Joseph Duveen in 1908 and completed by his sons Louis and Joseph Duveen in his memory, in 1910.

Fig. 11. Anon., Detail from 'The Glory of Turner at Last Revealed', *Illustrated London News,* 23 July 1910, p. 128.

Fig. 12. Anon., Cartoon depicting Mr J. J. Duveen presenting "A Wing Portion", in *The Jewish World,* no. 50, 1908, p. 8.

Fig. 13. Emil Fuchs, *Portrait of Sir Joseph Duveen,* 1903 (London, Tate, N05999). Presented by Joseph Duveen, 1910.

Fig. 14. William Edward Stott, *The Good Samaritan*, 1910, oil on canvas, 81.6 x 106 cm (Hull: The Ferens Art Gallery, KINCM:2005.6193). Gift of Lord Duveen, 1910. Photo courtesy of the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull.

Fig. 15. A.C. Cooper for *The Reader's Digest,* undated, Photograph of Gallery 29 of the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank. Los Angeles, Getty Research Centre, Duveen Papers, 2007.D.1 (Box 671).

Fig. 16. The Duveen Paintings Fund (erroneously described as 'Prize') Selection Committee, from an article in the *Illustrated London News*, 1927.

Fig. 17. Photographs of Stanley Spencer's *Resurrection at Cookham*, 1926, purchased for Tate through the Duveen Fund, *Illustrated London News*, 10 December 1932, p. 938.

Fig. 18. Stanley Spencer, *Resurrection, Cookham*, 1924-7, oil on canvas, 274 x 549 cm (London: Tate, N04239). On its completion, the enormous work was 'presented by Lord Duveen', through the Duveen Paintings Fund, to the National Gallery for British Art, 1927.

Fig. 19. Sir Phillip Connard R.A., pictured far left, making final adjustments to the hang of the 'Living British Artists Exhibition' on board the *SS Berengaria*, which sailed from Southampton to New York in November 1928, detail from *The Illustrated London News*, 3 November 1928, p. 30.

Fig. 20. Archibald Hattemore, *The Dead Flamingo, Interior of Bethnal Green Museum,* exhibited at the 'East London Art Club' exhibition, Whitechapel, December 1928, purchased by Lord Duveen. It was given to the Tate immediately, before it was transferred to the Astley Cheetham Art Collection (now Tameside Museums and Galleries Service) as a 'gift from the Duveen Paintings Fund, 1962'.

Fig. 21. The 'Duveen Gallery' for Italian Art, National Gallery, London, photographed in January 1930.

Fig. 22. John Russell Pope, *Revised design for a Bust of Lord Duveen, for the National Portrait Gallery*, c. 1934 (detail). The National Archives, Kew.

Fig. 23. John Lavery, *The Duveen Family at Home*, c. 1937, presented by Lady Duveen to the city of Hull in 1939, 'in memory of her husband'. Photo courtesy of the Ferens Art Gallery, Hull.

Chapter Three:

Figs 24 and 25. Anon., Charles, and Lydia Drucker-Fraser, 1939. Photographs from Engel (1965), p. 2.

Fig. 26. Charles-Francois Daubigny, *St Pauls from the Surrey Side*, c. 1870-3 (London: National Gallery, NG 2876)

Fig. 27. A.C. Cooper, *the installation of Gallery F in the National Gallery, Millbank* (detail), showing NG2876 hanging in the centre of the wall, above Manet'*s Sketch for a Concert in the Tuileries* (NG 3260). Los Angeles: Getty Archive (Box 671, 2007.D.1).

Fig. 28. Anton Mauve, *The Heath at Laren,* oil on canvas, c. 1886. (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2430).

Fig. 29. Jozef Israëls, *The Rabbi*, watercolour, 1886. The painting was bought by Drucker in 1886, lent to the Rijksmuseum in 1907, and donated by the Druckers in May 1912, following the death of the artist. (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2609).

Fig. 30. Jozef Israëls, *The Jewish Wedding,* 1903, oil on canvas, 137 x 148 cm (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2598). Gift of Mr and Mrs Drucker-Fraser, 4 May 1912.

Fig. 31. Jos Cuyper, *Proposal for the Drucker Extension to the Rijksmuseum* (rectangular plan building, centre left of main entrance, with circular window on second storey), May 1906.

Fig. 32. Jacob Maris, *The Truncated Windmill*, signed and dated 1872, oil on canvas, 45 x 112 cm, purchased from A[braham] Preyer (1862–1927) in the Hague in 1895, presented by the Drucker-Frasers to the Rijksmuseum in April 1910 (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, SK-A-2458).

Fig. 33. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *The Sculpture Gallery,* 1874, admired by Drucker at the Gambart Sale, bought by George McCulloch of Glasgow in 1903 (now in Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, inv. no. P.961.125)

Fig. 34. Stanislas-Victor-Edmond Lépine, *Le Pont de la Tournelle*, *Paris*, c. 1862-4, oil on canvas, 13.7 x 24.4 cm (London: National Gallery, NG 2727). Purchased from Christie's and presented to the National Gallery by the Druckers in 1910.

Fig. 35. Description of The Druckers' from Home Office file concerning 'Alien Restrictions' (detail), written by William Haldane Porter, former Secretary of the Aliens Act of 1905, dated 6 January 1916.

Fig. 36. Jozef Israëls, *Old Man Writing by Candlelight ('The Philosopher'),* c. 1885-99, oil on canvas, 65 × 54.6 cm, signed by the artist (London: National Gallery, NG2713), presented by J.C.J. Drucker to the National Gallery, 1910.

Chapter Four:

Fig. 37. Edmund Dulac, *Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon as Medieval Saints*, 1920, tempera on linen, 38.7 x 30.5 cm (Cambridge: Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, PD.51–1966). Bequeathed by Dr Eric Millar, formerly Edmund and Mary Davis Collection (until 1942).

Fig. 38. Constance Penstone (1865–1928), or 'Scalpel', Caricature of Edmund Davis, from *The African World Annual*, 1909, p. 396.

Fig. 39. Tom Titt (Jan Stanislaw De Junosza Rosciezewski) (1885-1956), 'Sir Edgar Speyer', *The New Age*, Volume 12, Number 7, 19 December 1912, p. 168.

Fig. 40. Charles Ricketts, *A Fancy-Dress Party at the home of Edmund and Mary Davis*, *c. 1904*, oil on canvas, 14.2 x 20.2 cm (Carlisle: Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery). Bequeathed by Gordon Bottomley, 1949.

Fig. 41. Charles Conder, *Invitation Card for Dinner Party at 13 Lansdowne Road*, signed but undated, lithograph on cream paper, 18.3 x 25.1 cm (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, inv. no. 170.1999). Purchased with funds from the Australian Collection Benefactors Programme, 1999.

Fig. 42. Jean-Antoine Watteau, *Man Playing a Flute*, c.1717, red and black chalk, 17 x 17.3 cm (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. 2265). Bequeathed by Charles Shannon, 1937.

Fig. 43. Unknown photographer (perhaps Amy Lambert), *The Artist George Washington Lambert as 'Lord [Thomas] Seymour' at the Chelsea Pageant, 1908*, wearing a costume designed by his wife, Amy Lambert.

Figs. 44 and 45. Two drawings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo; *Study of a Man with a Chisel* and *Study for a Nude, Seated on Clouds*, both pencil and ink on paper, given by Edmund Davis to Charles Ricketts in 1903 (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam, inv. nos. 2237 and 2238). Bequeathed by Charles Shannon, 1937.

Fig. 46. Photograph of Edmund and Mary Davis's Bedroom at Belwethers, Cranleigh, featuring 'a bed fit for a doge'. From an illustrated article on 'Belwethers', *Country Life*, 19 June 1919, p. 92.

Fig. 47. Walter Sickert, *The Lion of St Mark*, oil on canvas, 90.2 cm x 89.8 cm, c. 1895-6 (Cambridge: The Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. PD.17-1959). Bequeathed by Guy John Fenton Knowles, 1959.

Fig. 48. Walter Sickert, *"Venice",* in Martin Wood, T., 'The Edmund Davis Collection. Part II', *The International Studio* (New York: John Lane, June 1915), p. 241.

Fig. 49. Anon., Photograph of 'the Inigo Jones Room', c. February 1914, from *Architectural Review.* The pine interior was purchased and installed by Edmund Davis at 13 Lansdowne Road, for use as a dining room. The plaster ceiling with bird motifs was a later addition and has since been deaccessioned from the rest of the panelling. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. nos. W.1:1-1929.

Fig. 50. Anon., *Photograph of [Lady] Mary Davis beside Houdon's Bust of Comtesse de Sabran, c. 1787*, taken in London c. 1909–1915.

Fig. 51. Ambrose McEvoy, *The Music Room at Sir Edmund Davis's House, 1915*, oil on canvas (Private Collection).

Fig. 52. Charles Ricketts, *Portrait of Charles Shannon seated at Kennington Park Road,* c. 1886, oil on canvas. Sold at Christie's, London, July 2021 (Private Collection).

Fig. 53. Anon., Photograph of *Charles Ricketts Seated at Home in Kennington*, c. 1884.

Fig. 54. Anon., Photograph of the *Drawing Room at Lansdowne Road*, home of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, c. 1909. Reproduced from Darracott (1980), p. 111.

Fig. 55. Charles Shannon's *measured plan for a drawing cabinet*, graphite on 'Lansdowne Road' headed paper, 20 x 25.5 cm (London: British Museum, inv. no. 1962,0809.37).

Fig. 56. Charles Ricketts, Donatello's *Martelli David* (detail), from illustrated letter to Edmund Davis, undated. London: British Library.

Fig. 57. Decorative metal light fitting in the bedroom of Edmund and Mary Davis, 11-13 Lansdowne Road, designed by Frank Brangwyn c. 1899. Photograph reproduced in *The Studio*, April 1900.

Fig. 58. Anon., Photograph of Frank Brangwyn's design for the Davis' principal bedroom at Lansdowne Road, the light switch above can be seen in the middle of the room, to the left of the doorway. The bed was also decorated by Brangwyn. Photograph reproduced in *The Studio*, April 1900.

Fig. 59. Photograph of one of the watercolour panels painted by Charles Conder for the Davis's Music Room. Photograph reproduced in *The Studio*, April 1905.

Fig. 60. Charles Conder, *Panel for the Davis' Music Room*, watercolour on silk. Photograph reproduced in *The Studio*, April 1905.

Fig. 61. Photograph of the roof terrace garden built by the Davises at 11-13 Lansdowne Road. This photo was used in a 1971 estate agent's brochure, when the house was put up for sale by its then occupants, the Knights of the Order of Saint Columba. The brochure is now in the Kensington and Chelsea Archives.

Fig. 62. Anon., Photograph of a child patient walking through the Entrance Hall of Middlesex Hospital, in front of the left panel of *The Doctor,* taken c. 1937.

Fig. 63. Charles Ricketts, *Don Juan*, c. 1911, oil on canvas, 116 x 96 cm (London: Tate, N03221). Presented by Sir Otto Beit, 1917.

Fig. 64. Edmund Dulac, *The Opening Ceremony of the Edmund Davis Gift, Paris, 1915*. Davis is shown in the centre, holding an oversized key to the 'Davis Rooms' of the Musée du Luxembourg. Present whereabouts of this work are unknown.

Fig. 65. A full-page article devoted to the Chilham Castle burglary, *London Illustrated News*, 30 April 1938.

Fig. 66. Anon., Photograph of Edmund Davis admiring the recovered painting *Lady Clarges* by Thomas Gainsborough, in the *London Illustrated News*, 28 May 1938.

Fig. 67. English Heritage blue plaque on Lansdowne House, Holland Park. © English Heritage.

Fig. 68. Jonathan Richardson, *Portrait of Alexander Pope,* c. 1737, oil on canvas, 61 x 45.7 cm (London: National Portrait Gallery, NPG1179). Given by Alfred Aaron de Pass, 1898.

Fig. 69. Henry Scott Tuke, *Aaron de Pass, J.P.,* painted c. 1896 [from a photograph] (Cape Town: Jewish Museum). Reproduced from Maria Tuke Sainbury's memoir of her elder brother (London: 1933).

Fig. 70. Anonymous, *Photograph of Henry Scott Tuke, John de Pass and Alfred [Aaron] de Pass at Cliffe House, Falmouth*, c. 1905 (London: Tate Gallery Archive, TGA 9019/1/4/2/14). The photograph was among the papers of Henry Scott Tuke and fellow Newlyn School artist Thomas Cooper Gotch (1854–1931), donated to Tate in 1990.

Fig. 71. August John, *Alfred de Pass*, signed and dated 1899, pencil on paper (Truro: Royal Institute of Cornwall)

Fig. 72 Henry Scott Tuke, *John de Pass*, signed and dated 1902. Present whereabouts unknown.

Fig. 73. Henry Scott Tuke, *Portrait of Alfred Aaron de Pass*, 1902, signed and dated, oil on canvas, 127 x 101.6 cm. Lent by Captain Daniel de Pass to the Royal Cornwall Institute, Truro in 1947.

Fig. 74. Anon. (19th century), *Photograph of the Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth*, showing Alfred Steven's *Portrait of William Blundell Spence*, presented to the National Gallery by Alfred de Pass in 1913 (London: Tate, N02939). The photograph is in Falmouth Art Gallery Archive, inv. no. FAMAG 1000.174.15.

Fig. 75. Anon (19th century), *Photograph of the Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth*, showing Joshua Reynold's *Portrait of James Hodges*, 1765, hanging on the wall. The painting was presented to the National Gallery by de Pass in 1920 (now Tate N03545) (Falmouth Art Gallery Archive, FAMAG 1000 174.17).

Fig. 76. Anon (19th century), Photograph of Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth, 10.5 x 15 cm. Falmouth Art Gallery Archive, FAMAG 1000.174.10. Presented by Catherine Wallace.

Fig. 77. Anon (19th century), Photograph of Interior of Cliffe House, Falmouth, 10.5 x 15 cm. Falmouth Art Gallery Archive, FAMAG 1000.174.1. Presented by Catherine Wallace.

Fig. 78. Anon., Photograph of Alfred de Pass's 'new' display cases for his 'Blue and White' Porcelain ceramics collection 'as exhibited in the museum' (Truro: Royal Institute of Cornwall, Courtney Library). Found among accession files relating to gifts made by de Pass to the museum, 1914-7.

Fig. 79. Photograph from the 1936 catalogue 'De Pass Collection' (Bristol Art Gallery, December 1936), showing the installation of Alfred de Pass's collection in the museum, with catalogue numbers printed below.

Fig. 80. Detail from illustrated letter, Alfred A de Pass [then living at Norfolk Villa, in Rosebank, Cape Town] to Edward Roworth, Honorary Director of the South African National Gallery, 7 July 1943, showing the drawing mounts that de Pass wanted the commission. Reproduced from Tietze (1995), p. 14.

Fig. 81. Robert Broadley (1908–1989), *Portrait of Alfred de Pass*, 1943 (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Works of Art Collection). Bequeathed by Alfred de Pass, 1953.

Chapter Five:

Fig. 82. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Golden Stairs,* 1880, oil on canvas, 269 x 117 cm (London: Tate, N04005). Bequeathed by Lady Battersea (at the wishes of Lord Battersea), 1924.

Fig. 83. Anon., Photograph of the Staff of the Manchester Museum, including Clara Nördlinger (1871–1970) [front row, left] seated next to her colleague, Freya Ede (front row, right). The cataloguer of the photograph, now in Manchester: Whitworth Gallery Archive, described Nördlinger as 'Secretary' of the museum, while Ede was 'Printer'.

Fig. 84. Leonard Raven-Hill, 'The Rachel Rembrandt', engraving published in *Punch*, or the *London Charivari*, 3 March 1909.

Fig. 85. Henry Dixon and Sons, 'The Central Hall of the New Gallery during the Venetian Exhibition', c. 1894–5. Reproduced from Charles Edward Hallé's *Notes from a Painter's Life* (London: 1909).

Fig. 86. After Tintoretto (probably 19th century), *The Miracle of St Mark*, oil on paper stuck down on canvas, 42 x 60.2 cm (London: National Gallery, NG2900). Bequeathed by Lady Lindsay, 1912.

Fig. 87. Henri Fantin-Latour, *Mr and Mrs Edwin Edwards*, 1875, oil on canvas, 131 x 98 cm (London: Tate, N01952). Presented by Mrs Ruth Edwards, 1904.

Fig. 88. Elliot and Fry, Photograph of Mrs Edwin Edwards, c. 1904 (London: National Gallery Archive, NG3/1952/7). Donated to the National Gallery by Sir Charles Sherrington, 1934.

Fig. 89. Anthony van Dyck, *The Abbé Scaglia adoring the Virgin and Child*, oil on canvas, 106.7 x 120 cm (London: National Gallery, NG4889). Presented by Anthony de Rothschild in memory of Louisa, Lady de Rothschild, and Constance, Lady Battersea, 1937

Fig. 90. Anon., Photograph of the Drawing Room of Connaught Place, after the death of Lady Battersea, c. 1934, showing NG4889 above the fireplace.

Fig. 91. Anon., Photograph of Mozelle Sassoon driving a Mercedes in Dinard, France, c.1908. Photo credit: Ouest-France.

Fig. 92. Unknown Artist, *Meeting of the Working Committee of the Princess of Wales's Branch of the National Aid Society*, 1885, engraving (whereabouts unknown). Miss Lucy Cohen was depicted standing at the far left, with Hannah de Rothschild seated in front of her.

Fig. 93. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Bust of a child*, terracotta, sold by Mrs Mozelle Sassoon in aid of Lord Baldwin's Fund for refugees, 24 May 1939.

Fig. 94. Anon., Press Photograph of The Prince of Wales arriving at *The Age of Walnut* exhibition, organised by Hannah Gubbay and Philip Sassoon, 1932.

Fig. 95. Emmanuel Mané-Katz, *Portrait of Lillian Browse*, 1936 (London: The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, inv. no. P.2006. LB.1).

Fig. 96. Roderic O'Conor, *Still Life with Bottles*, 1892*,* oil on canvas, 55 x 46 cm (London: Tate, T00133). Purchased by the Tate (Grant in Aid fund) from Roland Browse and Delbanco, 1957, from an exhibition of the artist's work at their Cork Street gallery.

Fig. 97. Photograph of the exterior of 20 Cork Street, London, taken by the author in November 2023.

Conclusion:

Figs. 98 and 99. John Singer Sargent, *Asher Wertheimer*, exhibited 1898, oil on canvas, 147·5 x 98 cm, and *Mrs [Flora] Wertheimer*, exhibited 1904, oil on canvas, 163 x 108 cm (London: Tate, N03705 and 3706). Presented by the Wertheimer family to the National Gallery in 1922; transferred to Millbank in 1926.

Fig. 100. Author, Photograph of the James' Simon Collection on display at the Bode Museum, Berlin, 2022.

Fig. 101. Anon., Photograph of *The Opening of the Mond Room*, National Gallery, 1923. (National Gallery Research Centre, Photographic Archive, NG neg. M335).

Fig. 102. Anon., Photograph of Boris Anrep's mosaic *The Modern Virtues,* showing Maud Russell as 'Folly', begun 1928, completed 1952.

Appendix 1: Jews at the National Gallery, 1824–1945: a brief chronology

1824 April 2. House of Commons approves £60,000 State grant for the purchase of 100 Pall Mall and the paintings collection of Russian-born businessman John Julius Angerstein (1735–1823), forming the nucleus of the National Gallery's collection.

1854 Death of Jewish MP, **Ralph Bernal** (b. 1783). Three of Bernal's Dutch paintings entered the National Gallery after his estate sale [4,000 lots] (NG818, NG865, NG2547).

1856 National Portrait Gallery established.
The Fine Arts Club in London established (from 1866 its headquarters were opposite Royal Academy, came to be called Burlington Fine Arts Club).

1857 South Kensington Museum founded (later called Victoria and Albert Museum)
The Manchester *Art Treasures* exhibition, to which the Queen lent, showed 1,097 Old Master paintings from private collections to the public. **Sam Mendel** (1811–84) lent a modern painting by W.P. Frith and paid £1000 subscription towards guarantee of the exhibition's costs.

1882 Settled Land Act – this law permitted aristocratic families to sell their 'heirlooms' to the public.

1887 *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* held in April at the Royal Albert Hall, London. The 'architect' of the exhibition was civil engineer **Isidore Spielmann (**1854–1925), brother of the art critic **Marion Harry Spielmann** (1858–1948**)**.

1889 In October, Henry Tate (1819–99) offers Frederick Burton (Director of NG) his collection of British Art, on condition that new premises are built to house it together. Burton refused and suggested Tate make an offer to the South Kensington Museum.

1892 **Alfred de Rothschild** (1842–1918), Director of the Bank of England, appointed National Gallery's first Jewish trustee (until his death).

1894 After offering the Treasury £80,000 for a new building to house his art collection, construction of the Tate begins on the site of the disused Millbank Prison. It is known as the National Gallery of British Art.
Liberal government introduces death duties of between 1-8% for estates in excess of £1m.

1895 National Trust founded.

1897 The Wallace Collection and National Gallery of British Art, Millbank, both open to the public. **Claude Phillips (1846–1924)** is appointed first Keeper of the Wallace Collection (1900).

1901 Whitechapel Art Gallery is founded by Canon [Samuel] Barnett (1844–1913) and his wife, Henrietta (1851–1936). It was opened by Lord Rosebery (1847–1929), former prime minister and husband of **Hannah de Rothschild (1851–90)**.

1903 National Art Collections Fund – originally called 'The National Society for the Friends of the National Gallery' founded, with an initial £200 donation from Christiana Herringham (1852–1929). **Claude Phillips** is appointed its official 'Buyer' of Fine Art. **Isidore Spielmann** became joint Hon. Treasurer in 1904.

1906 *Jewish Art and Antiquities* exhibition held at Whitechapel Art Gallery, curated by Charles Aitken (1869–1936). *Jews at Prayer* given to the National Gallery of British Art. **Charles Drucker** (1862–1944) lent 9 pictures from his collection. **William Rothenstein's** (1872–1945) *Jews Mourning* purchased by Jacob Moser (1839–1922) on behalf of the Jewish community for the National Gallery (now Tate, N02116).
The 'Misses Cohens' [**Lucy Cohen,** 1839–1906, and **Anna Louisa Cohen**, 1835–1902] present the 'John Samuel Bequest' (26 paintings) to the National Gallery.

1907 **Charles Drucker** offers the National Gallery eight modern paintings, of which seven are accepted, including Dutch Jewish artist **Jozef Israëls'** (1824–1911) *Philosopher* (NG2713).

1908 **Sir Joseph Joel Duveen** (1843–1908) offers to build the National Gallery a 'Turner Wing' at Millbank. The construction is paid for by his family in his memory (opened 1910).

1909 Death of **Ludwig Mond** (b. 1839). The 45 **Mond Bequest** pictures were accessioned by the NG in 1924, following the death of Frida Mond (née Lowenthal, 1847–1923).

1915 **Edmund** (1861–1939) **and Mary Davis** (née Halford, 1866–1941) give 37 paintings to the Musée d'Orsay, Paris, all of which were by British artists.

1917 The National Gallery of British Art secured its own Board of Trustees, no longer annexed to the NG's Board.
1917 saw the highest number of individual donations from Jewish collectors (8). **Joseph Duveen** (1869–1939) made 'Honorary Associate'. **Alfred de Pass** (1861–1952) also accepted this honorary role, while **Charles Drucker** declined.

1920 **Alfred de Pass** gave 13 paintings to the National Gallery, in lieu of a financial donation requested by Charles Holmes (1868–1936).

1923 Samuel Courtauld (1876–1947) made a £50,000 fund available for the purchase of Impressionist and post-Impressionist works for the National Gallery of British Art. Joseph Duveen offers to build two new wings of the Gallery (Millbank).

1926 Modern Foreign Wing and Sargent Galleries opened at the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank.

1929 **Joseph Duveen** appointed a trustee of the National Gallery, the first art dealer to be appointed in this role. Sir **Philip Sassoon** (1888–1939) appointed the same year, became Chairman of the Board (1933-5)

1932 Tate Gallery formally adopted its name. The Duveen [Venetian] Gallery opens at the National Gallery. **Walter Samuel, Viscount Bearsted** (1882–1948) becomes Gallery's fourth Jewish trustee (Chairman, 1936, and Tate Chairman in 1938).

1941 **Lilian Browse** (1906–2005) appointed Curator of Temporary Exhibitions at the NG. She was the first woman to be employed as a curator.

1946 **Maud Russell** (1891–1982) pays for Boris Anrep's mosaic floor for the Entrance Hall of the National Gallery (completed 1952).

Appendix 2: 'The Edmund Davis Collection' exhibition at the French Gallery, London, on behalf of The Queen's "Work for Women" Fund, 4 – 25 March 1915.

56 works lent. **Bold** text indicates that the work is now in the Tate, London.

Cat. No.	Artist	Title	Exhibition history & current location
1	Alfred Stevens	*L'Attente*	- Lot 90 in the 1939 Davis Sale was 'Contemplation': A lady in green dress, seated in an armchair'. Possibly State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg - work with the same title was acquired 1918.
2	**Frank H. Potter**	***Lady in Muslin***	**From the collection of Thomas Stirling Lee, member of the *International.* Now Tate, N05364. Acquired 1942 from Davis Sale (no. 132).**
3	Alfred Stevens	*La Femme en Blanc*	Palais de Beaux Arts, 1900, 'Exposition de Alfred Stevens', Burlington House, Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art', 1927 Exhibited at Burlington House, 1933, No. 431. 1942 Davis Sale (no. 156). Private Collection.
4	J.M. Whistler	*Brown and Silver – Old Battersea Bridge*	From the Alexander Ionides Collection. Smithsonian Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington, DC. Gift of C[ornelius] Bliss (1875–1949) 1928.
5	J.M. Whistler	*At the Piano (Lady Seymour Haden, sister of the Artist) and Miss Annie Haden*	Exhibited Burlington House, 1860, purchased by John Phillip, R.A., 1867, Exhibited Paris Salon, 1867. Acquired by Francis Seymour Haden, Woodcote Manor, Hampshire, 1867. Sold by Alexander Reid, Glasgow, 1897, to John James Cowan, Edinburgh, 1897; Purchased by Agnew's, London, May 24, 1899; purchased by Sir Edmund Davis, London, until 1939. 1939 Davis Sale (no. 99 (purchased by M. Knoedler, London and New York. (Acquired by Scott and Fowles, New York, NY); purchased by William Tunstall Semple [1881-1962] and Anna Louise Taft Semple [1879-1961],

			Cincinnati, OH, January 1940; bequest to the Cincinnati Institute of Fine Arts, Cincinnati, OH, 1962; transferred to the Taft Museum of Art, Cincinnati, OH, September 1, 2006. Now Taft Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1962.7
6	J.M. Whistler	*Symphony in White No. III*	Burlington House, 1867, No. 233 International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Engravers, 1904 (Bt. Davis) Memorial Exhibition of the Works of J. McNeill Whistler at the New Gallery, 1905, No. 7.New Gallery, 1909, No. 160 1939 Davis Sale (no. 100), bought by The Barber Institute, University of Birmingham.
7	Alfred Stevens	*Absence*	Palais de Beaux Arts, 1900 Private Collection?
8	Alfred Stevens	*La Dame en Rose*	Not in 1939 or 1942 Davis Sales. Private Collection?
9	Alfred Stevens	*Sketch for "Autumn", executed for the Late King of Belgium* (c. 1877)	The final painting, Autumn, sold Galerie J. Allard, Paris, to Clark, 4 Mar. 1936. Robert Sterling Clark (1936–55); Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1955. Another sketch was bequeathed by Charles Gassiot' to Guildhall Art Gallery, 1902 Private Collection?
10	C.H. Shannon	*Tibullus in the House of Delia*	Exhibited at the Franco-British Exhibition, 1908. 1942 Davis Sale (no. 150). Bought in? Nottingham Castle, bought 1945.
11	G.F. Watts	*The Creation of Eve*	'From Little Holland House'. Sir Edmund Davis, 1899. 1939 Davis Sale (no. 93), sold; to Grenville L. Winthrop [via Martin Birnbaum], New York, NY, bequest; to Fogg Art Museum, 1943 Fogg Art Museum, Harvard (Winthrop Bequest, 1943).
12	Diego Velasquez	*Portrait of a Man*	National Loan Exhibition, Grafton Gallery, 1909 (44) 1939 Davis Sale (no. 126) The Prado, Madrid, acquired from Wildenstein, New York, 2003.

13	Anthony van Dyck	*Queen Henrietta Maria*	From the collection of Lord Lansdowne, exhibited at Burlington House, *Van Dyck*, 1900. Now Private Collection, Cowdray Park.
14	**D.G. Rossetti**	***Paolo and Francesca de Rimini (triptych)***	From the Leathart Collection, exhibited at Burlington House, 1883. **Tate, N03056, presented by Sir Arthur Du Cros Bt and Sir Otto Beit KCMG through the Art Fund 1916.**
15	Rembrandt van Rijn	*Saskia at her Toilet*	Duclos Collection, Paris, Secrétan, Sedelmeyer, Bredius – lent to the Mauritshuis, exhib. Amsterdam, *Rembrandt*, 1898; Burlington House, *Old Masters*, 1898. Burnt in a fire at Chilham Castle.
16	G.F. Watts	*Denunciation*	Sir Edmund Davis, 1899. Exhibited Burlington House, 1905. 1939 Davis Sale (no. 92), sold; to Grenville L. Winthrop, New York, NY, 1939 [through Martin Birnbaum], bequest; to Fogg Art Museum, 1943 Fogg Art Museum, Harvard (Winthrop Bequest, 1943).
17	C.H. Shannon	*Mother and Child*	Exhibited Burlington House, 1902 1942 Davis Sale (no. 149). Private Collection?
18	G.F. Watts	*Thetis*	Watts Gallery, Guildford, gift of Lord Iveagh (1951). Not in either Davis Sale.
19	**William Hogarth**	***The Stay Maker***	From the collection of Charles Fairfax Murray, exhibited at Burlington House, *Old Masters*, 1908 (no. 100). Bt Davis from Agnew (1908). Exhibited at the Sassoon *Exhibition of English Conversation Pieces*, 25, Park Lane, 1930 (no. 121) Exhibited at the *Exhibition of British Art*, Burlington House, 193 (No. 228) Exhibited at *La Peinture Anglaise*, Louvre, 1938 1942 Davis Sale (no. 42). **Tate, N05359 (bought for National Gallery by Art Fund, 1942), transferred 1947.**

20	Sir Joshua Reynolds	*The 12th Earl of Suffolk (1739-1779)*	Exhibited Burlington House, 1870; Guelph Exhibition, 1891 Private Collection, Ft. Worth, Texas.
21	Thomas Gainsborough	*Lady Clarges (née Shrine)*	From the collection of James Price, 1895; Joseph Ruston, 1898; Sir Charles Tennant, 1899. Bt Davis. Exhibited at the New Gallery, 1909 Exhibited at the New Grosvenor Gallery, 1913. 1939 Davis Sale (no. 120) bought in, Mary Davis. 1942 Davis Sale (no. 119) Victoria Art Gallery, Bath, purchased with Art Fund and Heritage Lottery Fund, 1988. On long term loan to Holbourne Museum, Bath.
22	Sir Joshua Reynolds	*Lady Ormonde and Child*	From the collections of the Duke of Westminster; Sir William Agnew, exhibited at the RA, 1871; Grosvenor Gallery, 1884; Royal Academy, 1891 Sold 14 January 1994 Sotheby's New York, 'Portrait of Lady Anne Butler, later Lady Ormonde and her child' (lot 83). Private Collection.
23	Thomas Gainsborough	*Miss Indiana Talbot*	A. N. Garland sale May 1905 (no. 91) bt. In. C. T. Garland sale May 1906 (129) bt. Vicars: Edmund Davis bt. 1913: bt. from Sir Edmund Davis by Viscount Cowdray. Tate Britain, *Gainsborough* exhibition, 2003. Now Private Collection, Cowdray Park.
24	G.F. Watts	*The Mother of Giorgione*	From Little Holland House Exhibited Burlington House, 1905 (no. 29, lent by Edmund Davis Esq.) 1939 Davis Sale (no. 95) Private Collection?
25	**C.W. Furse**	***Lord Roberts***	Exhibited N.E.A.C., 1900 (11) **Tate (T00615), bequeathed by Lady Hudson (1963), former wife of Lord Northcliffe.**
26	James Pryde	*The Doctor*	Exhibited 1909, *International Society*, New Gallery (12 works, "The Human Comedy"), no. 189. 1910 *Twenty Years*

			of British Art, Whitechapel Art Gallery, (no. 525); Royal Glasgow Institute, September 1913 (no. 209); 1939 Davis Sale (no. 86) Burlington House 1941 (193), lent by Leicester Galleries? **Tate (N05172), purchased from Leicester Galleries, 1940, with Chantrey Purchase Fund.**
27	C.H. Shannon	*The Man in the Black Shirt*	Royal Society of Portrait Painters, London, 1898 (no. 8, as 'The Man in a Black Shirt'). British Pavilion, *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1900 (231). National Portrait Gallery (NPG 3107), 1942 (purchased by the NACF).
28	H. Daumier	*The Washerwoman*	Georges Lutz, Paris, until 1902; Morot, Paris; Edmund Davis, London; sold to Alex Reid & Lefevre Gallery, London, April 1927; sold to Knoedler & Co., New York, May 1928; sold to A. Conger Goodyear, 1928; purchased from Goodyear's estate for Albright-Knox Art Gallery with funds from the Mathews Fund, 1964 Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.
29	**C.H. Shannon**	***Two Marmitons***	**1942 Davis Sale (no. 153) Tate (N05363), purchased 1942 (Knapping Fund).**
30	**D.G. Rossetti**	***Borgia***	**Bought by Ricketts before 1916. Tate, N03063, Presented in memory of Henry Michael Field by Charles Ricketts through the Art Fund, 1916.**
31	Auguste Rodin	*L'Eternelle Idole (marble)*	Commissioned from the artist by Eugène Carrière, 1900 [through Leopold Blondin], by descent; to Carrière family, sold; to Sir Edmund Davis, 1907 [via Jean Delvolvé, Carrière's son-in-law], sold; to Grenville L. Winthrop, New York, NY, 1939 [via Martin Birnbaum], bequest; to Fogg Art Museum, 1943.
32	Auguste Rodin	*L'Eternel Printemps ou L'Amour et Psyche*	-

33	Rodin	*Eve (bronze)*	Paris Salon, 1899 Bt Davies, 1916. National Museum of Wales, Gwendoline Davies Bequest, 1952.
34	Rodin	*Les Voix*	-
35	Rodin	*Illusion Brisée*	-
36	Rodin	*Madame Hanako (bronze)*	c. 1907. Scott & Fowles, New York, New York], sold; to Grenville L. Winthrop, New York, New York, 1926, Fogg Art Museum Harvard, Winthrop (1943 Bequest).
37	Rodin	*Mdlle. C (bronze)*	-
38	Rodin	*Les Sirènes (bronze)*	-
39	Rodin	*L'amour qui Passe ou Le Songe (bronze)*	-
40	Rodin	*Faunesses (bronze)*	1939 Davis Sale (no. 16) Private collection?
41	Th. Ribot	*Portrait of Jules Luquet*	1942 Davis Sale (no. 136), bought in by Amy Halford. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, bequeathed by Miss Amy E Halford, 1963.
42	C.H. Shannon	*The Man in the Black Shirt*	Royal Society of ortrait Painters, 1898 Exhibited at the Society of the International, 1899. Paris Exhibition 1900, British Fine Art Not in 1942 Davis Sale. National Portrait Gallery (NPG 3106), bought with assistance from the Art Fund, 1942.
43	C.S. Ricketts	*Christ Before the People*	Exhibited at Burlington House, 1933, (No. 331) 1942 Davis Sale (no. 141). Private Collection?
44	William Orpen	*Solitude*	Goupil Gallery, London, 1907 (as 'Night'); Edmund Davis Esq.;

			London, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, Summer Exhibition: Twenty Years of British Art 1890-1910, 1910, Lower Gallery (no.10) lent by Edmund Davis Esq.; Manchester, Manchester City Art Gallery, Autumn Exhibition, 1910, no.3, lent by Edmund Davis Esq; Barbizon House, London, by 1919; James Howden Hume, Glasgow (President of Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts 1919-24); Thence by family descent; Their sale, Phillip's, London, 7 June 1994 (lot 68). With Sir Michael Smurfit until 2020 (sold via Sotheby's, London, 9 September, lot. 21). Private Collection.
45	C.S. Ricketts	*Death of Cleopatra*	Exhibited at Manchester City Art Gallery, 1910, lent by Davis. Exhibited at Burlington House 1933 (No. 343), lent by Davis. 1942 Davis Sale (139). Southampton City Art Gallery, purchased 1972 (Chipperfield Bequest Fund).
46	**Charles Conder**	***Colloque Sentimentale***	**1942 Davis Sale (no. 33) Tate (N05365), purchased by 'Nicholson' for Tate in 1942 (Benson Fund).**
47	Charles Conder	*Le Lacet Défait*	-
48	Charles Conder	*Au Café*	Produced 1901. 1942 Davis Sale (no. 36)
49	Charles Conder	*L'Assemblée Galante*	1942 Davis Sale (no. 27) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, bequest of Archibald Russell, 1958?
50	Charles Conder	*The Brigand*	-
51	Charles Conder	*Ashes of Roses*	-
52	Charles Conder	*The Romantic Excursion*	-

53	Rodin	*Un Bourgeois de Calais (bronze)*	One of the bronzes was purchased by Sir William Burrell in 1920 from the Barbizon House Gallery. Glasgow Museums (gift of William Burrell, 1944)?
54	Jean-Antoine Houdon	*La Comtesse de Sabran*	- Private Collection.
55	C.S. Ricketts	*The Sphinx*	-
56	Glyn Philpot	*Dead Faun*	- One of several casts, could be this one at the V&A museum, bought from Christies, London in 1996?

Appendix 3: Alfred Aaron de Pass's 1920 gift to the National Gallery

These paintings were selected from Cliffe House, Falmouth, by Henry Collins-Baker with the assistance of Henry Scott Tuke, in June 1920.

Bold text indicates work is now in the Tate, London.

NG no.	Artist	Subject	Date
3536	Bonifazio de' Pitati (style of)	*The Madonna and Child with Saints John the Baptist, Elizabeth and Catherine of Alexandria*	1530–35
3537	Anthony van Dyck	*Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick*	After 1642
3538	Francesco Guardi	*Venice: The Arsenale*	1755–60
3539	French School	*Portrait of a Man*	Probably 16th century
3540	Vincenzo Catena	*Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*	1506–16
3541	Marco Zuppo	*A Bishop Saint, Perhaps Saint Augustine*	c.1432–78
3542	Francesco Zugno (attributed to)	*The Finding of Moses*	After 1740
3543*	Anon., Cretan/ Venetian	*Saint Jerome* [icon on panel]	1400–1450
N03544	**John Downman**	***Lady Delaval?***	**1792**
N03545	**Joshua Reynolds**	***Sir James Hodges***	**1765**
N03546	**British School**	***Portrait of a Man***	**c.1670**
3547	Jan Brueghel the Elder	*Adoration of the Kings*	1598
3548	Jan Olis	*A Musical Party*	1633
N03549	**William Orpen**	***Lady Grace Orpen, the Artist's Wife***	**1907**

* now British Museum, London, presented by the National Gallery in 1994 (BM1994,0501.1).

Appendix 4: Gifts of Lillian Browse to the Samuel Courtauld Trust and the Fitzwilliam Museums, 1982– 2006
(arranged by inventory number)

The Courtauld, London (Samuel Courtauld Trust)
Gift of Lillian Browse, 1982

D.1982.LB.1
Walter Sickert, *Nude Standing at a Washbasin – Sally*, c. 1911, pen and ink on paper.

D.1982.LB.2
Walter Sickert, *Hubby Seated*, c. 1912, charcoal on paper.

G.1982.LB.1
Pierre Bonnard, *Poster for 'La Revue Blanche'*, 1894, ink on paper.

G. 1982. LB.2., 1–5
Pierre Bonnard, *Decorative Screen*, *The Nannies' Promenade*, 1897, lithograph on paper.

D.1982.LB.3
Amadeo Modigliani, *Head of a Girl*, c. 1915–17, graphite and watercolour.

D.1982.LB.4
Copy after James Abbott McNeill Whistler, *Woman Seated, Back View*, 1880–1890, chalk on paper.

D.1982.LB.5
Constantin Guys, *Horseman*, 1800–1899, graphite & brown wash.

D.1982.LB.6
Jean Forain, *Back View of a Dancer in a Tutu*, c. 1890, charcoal on paper.

D.1982.LB.7
Copy after Katsushika Hokusai, *Girl drying herself with a towel, and Girl holding a brush*, c. 1800–1899, brush and ink on paper.

D.1982.LB.8
Arnold van Praag, *Head of Lautrec*, 1964, ink on paper.

D.1982.LB.9
Robin Philipson, *Odalisque and Flute Player,* 1962–3, watercolour.

D.1982.LB.10
Robin Philipson, *Odalisque,* c. 1963, watercolour.

D.1982.LB.11
Leslie Hurry, *Costume for Rothbart from 'Lac des Cygnes'*, 1943, ink and watercolour on paper.

D.1982.LB.12
Joan Eardley, *Hemlock, No. 3*, c. 1960, gouache on paper.

D.1982.LB.13
Joan Eardley, *Corn, No. 1*, c. 1960, gouache on paper.

D.1982.LB.14
Edgar Degas, *Two Seated Dancers*, c. 1897–1901, charcoal on paper.

D.1982.LB.15
Henry Moore, *Shelter Drawing*, 1942, charcoal and watercolour on paper.

D.1982.LB.16
Edgar Degas, *Man on Horseback*, c. 1888, charcoal on paper.

D.1982.LB.17
Eugène Boudin, *Gossip on the Beach*, c. 1800–1899, graphite and watercolour.

D.1982.LB.18
Jules Pascin, *Nude Astride a Chair, Back View,* c. 1910, graphite and charcoal on paper.

D.1982.LB.19
Toyota Hokkei, *Standing Woman*, 1795–1850, brush and ink on paper.

D.1982.LB.20
Josef Herman, *Seated Miner*, c. 1960, charcoal & watercolour on paper.

P.1982.LB.177
Henryk Gotlib, *Morning at Home*, 1942–3, oil on canvas.

P.1982.LB.287
William Nicholson, *Cyclamen*, c. 1937, oil on panel.

P.1982.LB.399
Walter Sickert, *Sweet Violets, White and Blue Violets in a Patterned Bowl*, c. 1884, oil on board.

P.1982.LB.400
Walter Sickert, *Bathing Huts, Dieppe*, c. 1890, oil on panel.

P.1982.LB.401
Walter Sickert, *View of Dieppe with Eglise du Pollet*, c. 1890, oil on panel.

P.1982.LB.402
Walter Sickert, *San Trovaso, Venice*, c. 1904, oil on canvas.

P.1982.LB.403
Walter Sickert, *Reclining Nude, Mornington Crescent*, 1905, oil on canvas.

P.1982.LB.411
Matthew Smith, *Lilies in a Jar*, 1914, oil on canvas.

P.1982.LB.412
Matthew Smith, *Fruit and Egg Cup on Table*, c. 1928, oil on canvas.

P.1982.LB.426
Philip Sutton, *Tree and Landscape, Snape*, c. 1955, oil on canvas.

The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
Bequest of Lillian Browse (Mrs Sidney Lines), CBE, 2006.

PD.34-2006
Josef Herman*, Portrait of Lillian Browse*, oil on canvas.

PD.35-2006
Thomas Newbolt, *Homage to Rembrandt,* 1975, oil on canvas.

PD.36-2006
William Nicholson, *Flamingoes*, 1889, oil on canvas.

PD.38-2006
Robin Philipson, *Conversation: Two Seated Nudes*, oil on board.

PD.39-2006
John Selway, *Two girls on the beach, Viareggio*, 1977, oil on canvas.

PD.40-2006
Bernard Sickert, *Katie*, oil on canvas.

PD.41-2006
Walter Sickert, *The Facade of St. Jacques, Dieppe*, c. 1900, oil on canvas.

PD.42-2006
Walter Sickert, *Chagford Churchyard, Devon*, 1915, oil on canvas.

PD.43-2006
Philip Sutton, *Nellie's Flower Vase, Sweet Peas*, 1972, oil on canvas.

PD.44-2006
Philip Sutton, *Falmouth - White Broom and Poppies,* 1972, oil on canvas.

PD.45-2006
Ethel Walker, *Silence of the Ravine*, oil on canvas.

PD.46-2006
French School, *Portrait of a Woman*, c. 1850–80, oil on canvas.

PD.47-2006
Norman Adams, *The sea between rocky headlands*,

PD.48-2006
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