

**OLD MASTERS AND ASPIRATIONS:  
THE RANDLORDS, ART AND SOUTH AFRICA**

**MICHAEL STEVENSON**

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## ABSTRACT

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a small group of capitalists, many of whom were from middle-class German-Jewish backgrounds, made vast fortunes from exploiting deposits of gold and diamonds in South Africa, using local labour. These mining magnates accumulated their wealth first in Kimberley in the 1870s and, later, in Johannesburg in the late 1880s. Thereafter, most of them moved to Britain, where they lived for the rest of their lives. By the mid-1890s, as their aspirations became increasingly pronounced, the term 'Randlords' was coined in the London press to describe them. In this study, I have used this collective term in reference to the men who took part in the rough-and-tumble scramble for gold and diamonds before adopting an upper class lifestyle in Britain.

Critical discussion of almost all the Randlord collections is hampered by the scarcity of primary material relating to the formation of their collections and, in some cases, even to what was in them. A point of departure for this thesis therefore was to reconstruct an inventory for each of the collections. These inventories (which are included as appendices) list each painting in the collection, possible changes in its attribution (where this is known), its title, its provenance (from whom and when the painting was purchased, and at what price), the present-day whereabouts of the painting (where this is known), and, wherever possible, an appropriate reference to the painting in a *catalogue raisonné* or sale catalogue or, in the absence of the latter, in the art historical literature.

The thesis is primarily concerned with the manner in which the identities of the Randlords were shaped and redefined through the acquisition of works of art and other material goods. It demonstrates that their eventual efforts to construct new upper-class identities were strenuous and pronounced. An integral component of this strategy to assert their social position was to participate in the accumulation and display of highly symbolic goods and properties to convey their new-found status in Britain. Throughout

this thesis, the Randlords' acquisition of art is treated as one facet of their conspicuous consumption. In keeping with this argument, the purchase and furnishing of country



houses, lavish expenditure on entertaining, the ownership of town houses, and the acquisition of titles are considered in relation to their art collections.

The introduction includes a survey of the literature on the Randlords, a brief overview of the history of their involvement in the South African mining industry, an overview of their collections, and the context in which they assembled these collections. This is followed by five chapters focusing on the collections of Sir Julius and Lady Wernher, Alfred Beit and his brother Sir Otto, Sir Max and Lady Michaelis, Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips and Sir Joseph (and Lady Robinson). A range of issues are foregrounded in each of these chapters. For example, the widespread preference for seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings is considered in the Beit chapter, and for eighteenth-century British portraits in the Beit and Robinson chapters. The limited interest in Italian and Renaissance paintings is explored in the Wernher and Robinson chapters, and the strong interest in eighteenth-century French furniture is discussed in the Wernher chapter. Issues relating to philanthropy are discussed in the Michaelis and Phillips chapters, and the Randlords' connections to South Africa are explored through an examination of Michaelis' gift of Dutch and Flemish pictures to the Union of South Africa in 1912, and through Lady Phillips' involvement in founding an art gallery in Johannesburg in 1909.

The thesis argues that works of art served a range of functions for the Randlords - acting as a store of wealth, providing public confirmation of the extent of this wealth, and in this way, assisting them in realising their social aspirations.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### Individuals:

<b>AB</b>	:	Alfred Beit
<b>DP</b>	:	Dorothea (Florence) Phillips, later Lady Phillips
<b>HE</b>	:	Herman Eckstein
<b>HL</b>	:	Sir Hugh Lane
<b>JBR</b>	:	Sir J.B. Robinson
<b>JMS</b>	:	J.M. Solomon
<b>JW</b>	:	Sir Julius Wernher
<b>LP</b>	:	Sir Lionel Phillips
<b>MM</b>	:	Sir Max Michaelis
<b>OB</b>	:	Sir Otto Beit
<b>RLD</b>	:	Robert Langton Douglas
<b>SN</b>	:	Sigismund Neumann
<b>WB</b>	:	Wilhelm von Bode

### Archives and libraries:

<b>BL</b>	:	British Library, London
<b>BR</b>	:	Barlow Rand archives, Johannesburg
<b>CA</b>	:	Cape Archives, Cape Town
<b>JAG</b>	:	Johannesburg Art Gallery
<b>JPL</b>	:	Johannesburg Public Library
<b>LParl</b>	:	Library of Parliament, Cape Town
<b>MC</b>	:	Michaelis Collection
<b>NLD</b>	:	National Library, Dublin
<b>SA</b>	:	State Archives, Pretoria
<b>SAL</b>	:	South African Library
<b>SANG</b>	:	South African National Gallery
<b>ZASMPK</b>	:	Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin
<b>UCT</b>	:	Manuscripts and archives department, Jagger Library, University of Cape Town

## CONVENTIONS

The spelling of artists' names has been standardised according to the spellings used in the Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogues. In the event of an artist's work not appearing in these catalogues, those of the National Gallery, London, have been consulted.

The present location of paintings is not cited in the captions in the text but is listed in the inventories for each of the collections in the appendices.

The book titles cited in the footnotes are, if possible, shortened. The full title is to be found in the bibliography.

In the inventories the location of auction sales is London unless otherwise stated.

## INTRODUCTION

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, a small group of capitalists accumulated vast fortunes through the mining of South Africa's substantial gold and diamonds,<sup>1</sup> using local labour.<sup>2</sup> Once they had accumulated their fortunes in the space of about two decades in Kimberley and, later, in Johannesburg, they almost all moved to Britain, where they lived for the rest of their lives.<sup>3</sup> This thesis examines the art collections they assembled once resident in Britain, and how they used these collections in an attempt to be assimilated into the British upper classes. In this introduction, I provide a survey on the literature on the Randlords, as well as a brief overview of the history of their involvement in the South African mining industry.<sup>4</sup> This is followed by a concise survey of the literature on the history of collecting and how past studies of this kind have tended to ignore the possible significance of socio-economic questions relevant to a consideration of the formation of large private collections. Thereafter those Randlord collectors, who are the focus of this thesis, are considered briefly in relation to other collectors active at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the London press of the 1890s, South Africa's mining magnates were at first referred to as the 'South African millionaires' but, by the middle of the decade, when their

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<sup>1</sup> The Randlords were not the first to mine South Africa's gold. See D. E. Miller, and N. J. van der Merwe, 'Early metal working in sub-Saharan Africa: a review of recent research', *Journal of African History*, 35, 1994, pp.1-36.

<sup>2</sup> It has recently been observed that if 'an ore body similar to South Africa's had been discovered in Australia, Canada, or in the United States, it would almost certainly have been left in the ground because of the inability to mobilise the right type of work force' (J. Crush, A. Jeeves and D. Yudelman, *South Africa's labor empire*, Cape Town, 1991, p.1). The selling price of gold on the open market was fixed at 77s 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> d an ounce, and hence, to ensure profitability, the mine-owners were always very vigilant about costs. The losers were the unskilled black workers who did not have the experience and organisation to oppose the mine-owners' attempts to maximise the supply of workers at the lowest possible wages. On the infrequent occasion when the Randlords did acknowledge the importance of black labour, that acknowledgement was so crudely expressed that a century later a researcher is almost hesitant to quote it. In W.P. Taylor's words: 'The cheery, industrious Bantu must be included among the chief treasures of Africa. He has played a great part in winning mineral wealth from the bowels of the earth for the white man. The dumps of the Rand and the great pit at Kimberley – the biggest hole in the earth's crust ever made by man – are enduring memorials of his labour.' W.P. Taylor, *African treasures*, London, 1932, p.227.

<sup>3</sup> The exceptions include Cecil John Rhodes and Sammy Marks as well as people like Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips and Sir Max and Lady Michaelis who later returned to live in South Africa.

<sup>4</sup> The overview focuses on those issues and individuals that relate most specifically to the arguments developed and does not provide a comprehensive account of the history of mining in South Africa.

aspirations became increasingly pronounced, the term 'Randlords' was coined. In this study, I have used this collective term to refer to the approximately two dozen men who took part in the rough-and-tumble scramble for gold and diamonds before adopting a would-be aristocratic lifestyle in Britain. I have excluded the London- and Paris-based financiers who made large investments in South African mines (such as the Kann brothers and Jules Porgès) and the individuals for whom South African holdings were part of a portfolio of world-wide speculative investments because they did not spend extended periods in South Africa. The definition of the Randlords used in this thesis covers the first generation of South African mining magnates, most of whom were dead by 1914, and not the individuals (such as Sir Ernest Oppenheimer) who later accumulated fortunes by reorganising their mining empires.

For the past century, the biographies of these Randlords and their families have been characterised by anecdotes and narratives of their *belle époque* lifestyles, large houses and philanthropy. It is only recently that the Randlords have started receiving the attention of revisionist historians such as Van Onselen and Bozzoli in relation to the Witwatersrand, and Turrell and Worger with the history of Kimberley.<sup>5</sup> Fifteen years ago van Onselen observed that:

The social history of the Witwatersrand and that of its principal city, Johannesburg, has remained relatively intact ... [from imaginative attack]. In the midst of an industrial revolution, timid historians – lamenting the absence of an indigenous aristocracy – have tip-toed through the tree-lined avenues of the northern suburbs, peering into the homes and lifestyles of the 'Randlords', attempting to put a romantic gloss on the ceaseless pursuit of wealth at a time when elsewhere in the city, the dusty streets were bursting at the seams with a seething mass of struggling humanity.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Texts that have revised our understanding of the history of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand include: B. Bozzoli, *The political nature of a ruling class: capital and ideology in South Africa 1890-1933*, London, 1981; D. Cammack, *The Rand at war 1899-1902: the Witwatersrand and the Anglo-Boer War*, London, 1990; J. Crush, A. Jeeves and D. Yudelman, *South Africa's labor empire: a history of black migrancy to the gold mines*, Cape Town, 1991; C. Newbury, *The diamond ring: business, politics, and precious stones in South Africa, 1967-1947*, Oxford, 1989; R.V. Turrell, *Capital and labour on the Kimberley diamond fields 1871-1890*, Cambridge, 1987; C. van Onselen, *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*: vol 1, *New Babylon*; vol 2, *New Nineveh*, Johannesburg 1982; W. Worger, *South Africa's city of diamonds: mine workers and monopoly capitalism in Kimberley 1867-1895*, New Haven and London, 1987.

<sup>6</sup> C. van Onselen, *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, vol 1, *New Babylon*, Johannesburg, 1982, p.xv.

To date, none of the Randlords whose collections are discussed in this thesis – Sir Julius Wernher, Alfred and Sir Otto Beit, Sir Lionel Phillips, Sir Max Michaelis and Sir J.B. Robinson – has been the subject of a critical study.<sup>7</sup> The only Randlord who does repeatedly attract the attention of biographers, Cecil John Rhodes, did not collect art.<sup>8</sup> Two general studies about the Randlords have been published – Paul Emden’s *Randlords* (London, 1935) and Geoffrey Wheatcroft’s *The Randlords: the men who made South Africa* (London, 1985) – but both studies offer uncritical narratives of the ‘heroic’ men who ‘built’ South Africa.<sup>9</sup> The neglect of the Randlords, especially by recent scholars, is best understood in the light of attempts by revisionist historians to fore-ground the experiences of the lower classes: newly rich businessmen and financiers of the upper-middle-classes have seldom been the subject of studies by these researchers.<sup>10</sup> One group of businessmen who have been studied systematically are the German businessmen active in late nineteenth-century.<sup>11</sup> The research on them provides an example of the potential value of similar studies focusing on the Randlords in that it addresses key socio-economic issues and, hence, the impact these businessmen had on the other classes.

We know very little about many of the Randlords’ backgrounds. They lived the last part of their lives in Britain, but many were born in Germany (and maintained links with that country) and many also remained attached to South Africa, where they had lived for a

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<sup>7</sup> Alfred Beit has been the subject of an anecdotal hagiography, Wernher is discussed in a history of the Wernher family, and the one existing biography of Lady Phillips is a romanticised narrative of her life. See the respective chapters for further details.

<sup>8</sup> See T.R.H. Davenport, ‘The Rhodes industry, 1987-1988’, *S. A. Historical Journal*, 21, 1989, pp.95-100; and I. Phimister, ‘Historians and the Big Hole: Kimberley’s historiography reviewed’, *S. A. Historical Journal*, 20, 1988, pp.105-113.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Emden’s volume on the Randlords (published in 1935) and Geoffrey Wheatcroft’s book on the same subject (1986) are both very readable surveys. Wheatcroft’s research brought together for the first time the bulk of current secondary material but there remains a paucity of primary research on the Randlords.

<sup>10</sup> Dianne Sachko Macleod, in her recent book on middle-class Victorian collectors, also remarks on this historical prejudice against the wealthy businessmen she researched. Macleod refrained from involving herself in a debate about the morality of their business practices, instead focusing on their collecting practices: ‘My reasons for focusing on the so-called culprits of capitalism are neither to celebrate nor to denigrate them’. D. S. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class: money and the making of cultural identity*, Cambridge, 1996, p.7.

<sup>11</sup> See D.L. Augustine, ‘Arriving in the upper class: the wealthy business elite of Wilhelmine Germany’, in D. Blackburn and R. J. Evans (eds.), *The German bourgeoisie*, London and New York, 1991, pp.46-86; and D.L. Augustine, *Patricians and parvenus: wealth and high society in Wilhelmine Germany*, Providence, 1994.



number of years. But fundamental biographical details often remain obscure, particularly concerning their families and formative years. It is however clear that there is a huge gulf between their middle class (and occasionally working class), often Jewish, upbringing in one environment – be it Germany, or London’s East End, or South Africa’s frontier society – and the upper middle-class values and lifestyles they eventually adopted in Britain.<sup>12</sup> While the Randlords may not all have been embarrassed by the contrast between their past and their later life, those who wrote their memoirs seldom drew attention to their backgrounds. Consequently, the bland surviving biographical sketches in which their lives are outlined belie the significance of their decision to move to makeshift mining towns in a distant country at the southern tip of Africa, far from the metropolitan centres of Europe. A passage from John Buchan’s novel, *Prester John* (which was dedicated to Lionel Phillips) – in which a young Scotsman, David Crawford, contemplates his future – provides us with an insight into the limited opportunities that existed for a member of the working class or even the middle class in mid nineteenth-century Europe. It also illustrates why as many as five million Europeans emigrated to the temperate regions of Africa between 1835 and 1935 to exploit the opportunities that existed in the colonies, even with a limited education.<sup>13</sup> As Crawford’s uncle explained to him:

There’s no house in the country that would take you in except as a common clerk, and you would never earn much more than a hundred pounds a year. If you want to better your future you must go abroad, where white men are at a premium.... I met yesterday ... Thomas Mackenzie ... [who] is the head of one of the biggest trading and shipping firms in the world.... Among other things he has half the stores in South Africa, where they sell everything from Bibles to fish-hooks.... You’ll only be an assistant at first, but when you have learnt your job, you’ll have a store of your own.... You may find gold or diamonds up there....<sup>14</sup>

Out of the tens of thousands of such youths who were attracted to South Africa from the late 1860s, when the news of the discovery of diamonds reached Europe,<sup>15</sup> only a

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<sup>12</sup> The issues of Jewish descent (and German birth) will be discussed more fully in chapter 3 in the context of Alfred Beit’s interest (he was a German Jew) in eighteenth-century British portraits.

<sup>13</sup> This is the figure cited in C. Erickson (ed.), *Emigration from Europe 1815-1914: selected documents*, London, 1976, pp.12-13.

<sup>14</sup> John Buchan, *Prester John*, London, n.d. [c.1916], pp.30-3.

<sup>15</sup> Alluvial mining for diamonds was at first undertaken on the banks of the Vaal river before the discovery of the New Rush fields (which later became known as Kimberley). The diamond deposits lay just north of the Cape Colony’s domain. The two Boer republics, the Orange Free State and the

handful ultimately achieved the status of a Randlord. And only a few of those who did succeed – for example, J.B. Robinson and Lionel Phillips – started as penniless fortune-seekers from working-class backgrounds. Most of those who established themselves as Randlords in later life, especially those in the Wernher-Beit coterie, set out to represent wealthy and reputable European diamond merchants on the fields and often came from European mercantile middle-class backgrounds. Their links to their principals, or occasionally, their families, provided them with some access to capital, which meant that they were able to trade profitably, or to purchase claims in the vacillating economy of the diamond fields.

The South African diamond fields provided an abundance of opportunities, either by using surface mining techniques, or through trade in diamonds. As Julius Wernher was able to write to his parents from the diamond fields in the mid-1870s: ‘Not one young man out of a hundred thousand has earned what I have earned at the age of twenty-three.’<sup>16</sup> The most successful group of investors on the diamond fields, and the primary subjects of this thesis, were the individuals in partnership with Jules Porgès, who together, ultimately established one of the world’s largest mineral-based companies: Wernher, Beit & Co.<sup>17</sup> With the Kann brothers, to whom he was related, Porgès provided an integral link between the European financiers and the South Africa gold and diamond mines.<sup>18</sup> Porgès offered Julius Wernher a partnership and he, in turn, introduced Alfred Beit to them. Beit later co-opted Max Michaelis, W.P. Taylor, Charles Rube, Hermann Eckstein and Lionel Phillips, amongst others. Beit also served as the link between Jules Porgès & Co. and Rhodes, thus giving Rhodes the formidable

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Transvaal, as well as the inhabitants of Griqualand West, also laid claim to the territory. Ultimately the area was annexed by Britain and incorporated into the Cape Colony.

<sup>16</sup> JW to his parents, c.1875, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.28.

<sup>17</sup> This firm which began as Jules Porgès & Co., was renamed Wernher, Beit & Co. on the London side after Porgès’s retirement at the end of 1889, while the Johannesburg side was known as H. Eckstein & Co. Wernher, Beit & Co. was an unlisted private company although it offered shares to the public in a number of companies in which it had a controlling interest (for instance, Rand Mines Ltd was floated in February 1893, ‘African Ventures Syndicate’ in October 1903, and the Central Mining and Investment Corporation in 1906). In 1910 Wernher, Beit & Co., which had dominated the South African gold mines for two decades, was dissolved and the partners transferred their holdings in gold mines to the administrative control of Central Mining, and their diamond business to L. Breitmeyer & Co., a private firm.

<sup>18</sup> Jules Porgès (1838-1921), the son of a jeweller with the surname Yehudi, was born in Prague and later moved to Paris where he successfully established himself as a diamond merchant. Porgès himself spent some years in Kimberley in the 1870s.

financial backing necessary to achieve the consolidation of the diamond industry. By the time Wernher left Kimberley in late 1880,<sup>19</sup> after a decade on the diamond fields, Jules Porgès & Co.'s investments were extensive, both in terms of their trading in diamonds and the ownership of claims and mines.<sup>20</sup>

Two years before the amalgamation of the diamond mines in March 1888, the first rumours of the Witwatersrand gold discoveries reached Kimberley. Prospecting for gold in the eastern Transvaal dated back to the late 1860s. However, finds were insignificant until the exploitation of the Barberton and De Kaap gold-fields in the mid-1880s. These discoveries did not fulfil initial expectations and left many investors hesitant to exploit the finds on the Witwatersrand in 1886. Most experts were initially reluctant to venture an opinion as to the extent of the sedimentary deposits of gold in the latter region and, as Phillips recalled: 'In September 1889 no one had any strong faith in the permanence of the auriferous beds. The prophet who had ventured to predict that in less than thirty years hundreds of millions of sterling would be won, would have been laughed at as a harmless lunatic.'<sup>21</sup> Whereas at the outset in Kimberley a single digger working and amalgamating claims had a chance of accumulating some wealth, this was not possible on the Rand because the outcrop deposits of gold were rapidly depleted. An additional difficulty was that the gold deposits were lodged in pyritic ore. Consequently, there remained few opportunities for a small-scale miner: the recovery of the gold required capital-intensive metallurgical processes.<sup>22</sup> It is partly for these reasons that Wernher, Beit & Co., with their close links to European finance, were such successful investors on the Rand.

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<sup>19</sup> Wernher only visited South Africa three times after settling in London: at the end of 1882, in 1903, and in 1909.

<sup>20</sup> Porgès and Wernher founded the *Compagnie Française de diamant du Cap de Bonne Espérance* (known on the fields as the 'French' Company) in 1880, which was the first Kimberley-based joint-stock company to be floated in Europe. Porgès retired from active involvement in the company on 1 January 1890 at the age of fifty-one (and lived on well into his eighties) and it was reconstituted as 'Wernher, Beit & Co.'. Porgès left the company with £750 000 in cash and £1m in shares. A further £500 000 was deposited with Wernher, Beit & Co. to be repaid over the next two years. Wernher, Beit & Co. were left with £1m in cash, diamonds and investments, and about £2m in shares and other interests.

<sup>21</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.103.

<sup>22</sup> The first crash in Rand shares occurred in 1890 after the discovery in mid-1889 that gold-bearing reef from below a depth of about 40 metres resisted amalgamation during the later stages of the recovery process. In the market collapse of 1889-90, share values tumbled from a high of £24 813 200 in February 1889 to £9 421 000 in March 1890. M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, p.8.

The Randlords risked vast sums in establishing the gold mines in the midst of this uncertainty, and received substantial returns on their investments, but the measures they resorted to in order to protect and extend these investments instilled in the public's mind a perception of them as manipulative and ruthless exploiters of South Africa's resources. In the view of the Cape liberal politician, J.X. Merriman, the Randlords viewed South Africa as their private domain and assumed that their wealth and investments entitled them to determine the fate of Johannesburg and its people. At the time of the Chinese labour controversy in the years between 1903 and 1906<sup>23</sup> he remarked that South Africa was in effect 'governed by Park Lane',<sup>24</sup> and that the Randlords treated the Transvaal as a 'close corporation or pocket-borough of Wernher, Beit and Co.'<sup>25</sup> Francis Reginald Statham, an arch opponent of the Randlords, observed in 1897 that the typical South African millionaire was not content to amuse himself with the decoration of a house in Park Lane or with his yacht but

aims at seizing every possible advantage which his position can confer upon him, and is not only willing but eager to make his influences felt in every corner of the social and political structure. He believes ... that money is the one end for which every man lives, and that there is no kind of moral principal which is not to be overridden at an ascertainable price. And while thus cynical as to the moral stability of his equals, the typical South African millionaire is completely careless as to the interests and feelings of his inferiors.<sup>26</sup>

General Smuts shared this opinion. On the eve of the Randlords' much-criticised importation of Chinese labour to work on the gold mines, he wrote to L.T. Hobhouse – the brother of Emily Hobhouse, an unwavering Boer supporter and anti-Imperialist – that he was convinced of their utter and naked selfishness, 'and what is more, we are convinced of their stupidity and want of foresight in all matters of politics. Their general

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<sup>23</sup> To overcome the shortage of black labour to work in the gold mines after the South African War, indentured Chinese labour was brought to South Africa. This controversial plan was advocated by almost all the mineowners as well as Sir Alfred Milner, the governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies. The Chinese labourers were repatriated after the new Liberal Government came to power in Britain in 1906. For an overview of the circumstances surrounding the use of Chinese labour on the mines, see M. Yap, and D. Leong Mann, *Colour, confusion and concessions: the history of the Chinese in South Africa*, Hong Kong, 1996.

<sup>24</sup> J.X. Merriman to J.C. Smuts, 16.9.1905, W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letter no.273.

<sup>25</sup> J.X. Merriman to J.C. Smuts, 13.3.1906, W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letter no.288.

<sup>26</sup> Francis Reginald Statham, *South Africa as it is*, London, 1897, p.196,

interference in the politics of South Africa from the days of the Jameson Raid up to the present contributes one unbroken record of stupendous blundering and miscalculation....'<sup>27</sup>

In the space of almost three decades, between the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand and the outbreak of the First World War, the Transvaal Republic founded on a modest agricultural economy, was as van Onselen points out, 'transformed into a colony boasting the world's largest and most technologically sophisticated gold-mining industry – a traumatic transition which was overseen by four different governments, punctuated by an attempted *coup*, and at one stage completely halted by a bloody conflict lasting two and a half years'.<sup>28</sup> In a similar spirit, George Clarence-Smith noted in his 1988 review of the recent historiography of Kimberley, that the repercussions of the development of the diamond and gold fields included:

the consolidation of South African hegemony within the subcontinent, the economic domination of mining capitalists and overseas financiers, the industrialisation and urbanisation of parts of the interior, the division of the working class on strictly racial lines, the co-option of white workers by the bosses, the consolidation and extension of a subcontinental system of migratory labour, the compounding of black workers and, at the most general level, the hardening of racial discrimination....<sup>29</sup>

The Randlords played pivotal roles in these traumatic events in South Africa's history, in particular the Jameson Raid<sup>30</sup> and the South African War.<sup>31</sup> The issue of the

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<sup>27</sup> J.C. Smuts to L.T. Hobhouse, 13.6.1903, W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letter no.106.

<sup>28</sup> C. van Onselen, *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*: vol 1, *New Babylon*, Johannesburg, 1982, p.xv.

<sup>29</sup> G. Clarence-Smith, 'Kimberley and the Company "worth the balance of Africa"', *Southern African Review of Books*, winter 1987-8, pp.1-2,14. The class conflict that still besets South Africa was solidified on the gold and diamond mines owned by the Randlords. An obvious source of tension was that between the unskilled and impoverished black miners, and the rich white Randlords. Although this simmered for decades, it only erupted much later in the twentieth century. The class conflicts that dominated the Rand prior to this were between the Randlords, with their allegiance to Britain, and the governing Dutch-speaking Boers, as well as the tensions between the skilled and semi-skilled white workers and the mine-owners. See B. Bozzoli, *The political nature of a ruling class: capital and ideology in South Africa 1890-1933*, London, 1981.

<sup>30</sup> The campaign against the Boer government in Pretoria culminated in the notorious Raid on 29 December 1895 although as early as August 1894 Lionel Phillips predicted that 'the only alternative is force, and that will come in time'. LP to AB, 12.8.1894, In M. Fraser, and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.51. See the recent Brenthurst Press publication: *The Jameson Raid: a centennial perspective*, Johannesburg, 1996.

Randlords' relationship to South Africa is further explored in some depth in the Phillips and Michaelis chapters of this thesis where their philanthropic gestures, particularly in terms of art, is discussed.

It is worth exploring briefly the rapidity with which the Randlords accumulated their enormous fortunes because it was this wealth that provided them with the means to acquire works of art on a lavish scale. They formed part of a larger class of financiers and investors centred in London, Paris and Berlin who promoted schemes to build railways, public works, mines and industries in Turkey, the Balkans, Egypt, the Americas and Africa. These projects invariably promised investors spectacular returns, and some certainly delivered phenomenal profits (as was the case with some of the diamond and gold mines in South Africa), but more often than not it was the promoters of these projects who benefited at the expense of the smaller investors. In relation to South African mining companies, a broad distinction can be drawn between those who were primarily orientated towards long-term development, and those who exploited speculative swings in the share markets. Lionel Phillips raised this issue with Alfred Beit in September 1892: 'Which do you think [is] the most profitable way of dealing with good properties? To make shares and sell them, or to work the mines? ... I think in such a continuous formation and regular yielding deposit such as this, and with an article which does not fluctuate in value, *large* fortunes are to be made rather by working [mines] than by selling shares.'<sup>32</sup> His assessment was correct, for the very *large* fortunes were made by the development-orientated companies like Wernher, Beit & Co.,<sup>33</sup> whose mines at the outbreak of the South African War accounted for almost half of the Rand's gold production.<sup>34</sup> This is not to say that the partners in Wernher,

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<sup>31</sup> See I. Phimister, 'Unscrambling the scramble for Southern Africa: the Jameson Raid and the South African War revisited', *S.A. Historical Journal*, 28, 1993, pp.203-220.

<sup>32</sup> LP to AB, London, 10.9.1892, in M. Fraser, and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.32.

<sup>33</sup> One of Beit's lifelong friends and partners, W.P. Taylor, described Wernher, Beit & Co's revolutionary approach to the management of their mines: 'Beit was the master mind in making a success of the gold-mining industry on the Rand. From the first he resolved that the mines under his firm's control were not to be run for share-making and marketing purposes. For in no instance did the firm issue a prospectus. The working capital was always found by the firm and the companies financed until they became dividend paying. The shareholders were informed monthly of everything that happened in the mines – nothing was hidden. It was a complete revolution in mining history, and his lead compelled all other mining companies to follow suit.' G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, pp.92-3.

<sup>34</sup> M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, p.9.

Beit & Co. did not use the swings in the share markets to unload shares in less profitable companies and to extend their investments in other mines,<sup>35</sup> but they did not list fraudulent companies and abscond with the investors' funds. Issues of integrity and deception are thus seldom clear-cut in most Randlord enterprises: as Louis Cohen remarked: 'there's not such a great difference between Park Lane and the breakwater [prison in Cape Town]. If you only knew, the same methods lead to either place; and only a bit of bad luck when you take the wrong turning, so it's a toss up whether you're a "lag" or a magnate.'<sup>36</sup>

Those Randlords who did not own the most profitable deep-level mines, and who wished rapidly to accumulate a fortune, usually resorted to floating dubious companies that served as vehicles for fleecing indiscriminate investors.<sup>37</sup> One example of this – and there were hundreds – is provided by the African Estate Company, which was taken to task in the *Saturday Review* of 29 August 1896 on the occasion of the company's first general meeting. It had spent £34 000 on directors' fees while neglecting to spend another £2 on supplying printed copies of the financial statements for the shareholders.<sup>38</sup> Kubicek singles out three mining houses in particular for selling worthless shares: the J.B. Robinson group,<sup>39</sup> Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) founded by Barney Barnato and managed after his death in 1897 by S.B. Joel, and George Farrar and his associates through the Anglo-French Exploration Company.<sup>40</sup> Louis Cohen provides a vivid description of how the trading in the shares of such companies were stage managed:

This operation was greatly facilitated by carefully devised 'rich' strikes on their magic ground, rumours of amalgamation with a well-known mine, or

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<sup>35</sup> 'We did not miss a chance or a sale in rubbish or doubtful ventures' (JW to Rouliot, 15.11.1895, Wernher Beit papers, BR); and 'there is no pleasure in helping to push values artificially and I am afraid we have not been quite guiltless in that respect on this side; it is tempting but not worthy of a great firm'. JW to LP, 5.12. 1895, Wernher Beit papers, BR); quoted by R.V. Kubicek, 'The Randlords in 1895: a reassessment', *Journal of British Studies*, 11, 1972, p.97.

<sup>36</sup> L. Cohen, *Reminiscences of Kimberley*, London, 1911, p.242.

<sup>37</sup> One contemporary observer claimed that the Randlord fortunes were accumulated so easily because the 'hoarders of old Europe plastered the Rand with their surplus millions, and purses had only to be held open at the proper angle to be filled'. W.C. Scully, *The ridge of the white waters*, London, 1912, p.149.

<sup>38</sup> *Saturday Review*, 29.8.1896, p.215.

<sup>39</sup> See R.V. Kubicek, 'The Randlords in 1895: a reassessment', *Journal of British Studies*, 11, 1972, p.100.

<sup>40</sup> See R.V. Kubicek, 'Finance capital and South African gold-mining 1886-1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 3, 1973-75, p.390.

'nearly completed' arrangements with famous English banking houses. Like spiders in their web, the promoters allured their prey as they dodged amongst the crowd with sly hints.<sup>41</sup>

Even for those Randlords whose success is ascribed to taking a longer-term development-orientated view, the manner in which the companies were structured would not be acceptable in financial markets today. The Randlords usually allotted a large portion of the shares issued to the 'vendors' (consisting of themselves and friends who had initially acquired the mining property and proposed to develop it). The 'vendors' were entitled to special privileges which included receiving a substantial portion of the profits before the distribution of dividends to the other shareholders.<sup>42</sup> Those shares offered to the general public were sold at prices well above par value and the investors who later purchased shares on the stock exchange usually paid prices that had been manipulated by the mine-owners. As a result, the Randlords and their partners created highly leveraged capital structures which provided enormous incomes for the favoured inside few.<sup>43</sup> At the peak of the share market boom in the mid-1890s, the *Economist* estimated the market value of the Rand mining companies, including the land companies, at £215 373 000, even though nominal capital (par value of issued shares) only slightly exceeded £50m.<sup>44</sup>

Once the Randlords had relocated from Johannesburg to London, they formed a distinct group within the economic elite in late Victorian and Edwardian<sup>45</sup> Britain because of

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<sup>41</sup> Louis Cohen's recollections are a storehouse of witty and exceedingly perceptive observations about the Randlords. What he may lack in facts he amply makes up for in capturing the spirit of the times. L. Cohen, *Reminiscences of Johannesburg and London*, Johannesburg, 1976, p.181.

<sup>42</sup> Even a respected holding company, Rand Mines Ltd, established by Wernher, Beit & Co. in February 1893 to raise the capital necessary to exploit the deep-level deposits, had a typically favourable arrangement for the 'Founders'. A provision was inserted in the trust deed which allocated Wernher, Beit & Co., as the Founders, 25% of the 'surplus' profits once 100% of the original capital had been returned in dividends. The Founders were also entitled to claim 25% of the assets of the company (in addition to those which would accrue to them as shareholders) should the company go into liquidation. Six years later these rights were redeemed in return for shares.

<sup>43</sup> See R.V. Kubicek, 'Finance capital and South African gold-mining 1886-1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 3, 1973-75, p.388.

<sup>44</sup> *Economist*, 14.9.1895.

<sup>45</sup> The Randlords have generally been described as Edwardians; however, by the time Edward VII came to the throne, the Randlords were past their first blush of extravagance and dampened by the South African War. If instead, the term Edwardian is representative of the years in which Edward VII as Prince of Wales was prominent in society, then the Randlords certainly are full-blooded Edwardians.



their common South African past and their similar aspirations.<sup>46</sup> They had all acquired their fortunes at the same time and their incomes also fluctuated simultaneously because of their common dependence on the profitability of the South African mines. They arrived in London within the space of a few years of one another, and once in London, they almost all conspicuously took part in the rituals of the lifestyles of the upper classes. However, although the Randlords appeared to outsiders to be a cohesive and homogeneous group, their social and business interactions with each other were not without tension, largely because of the highly competitive behaviour in both spheres. As J.X. Merriman remarked to Smuts: 'There is as much brotherly love among that guild as there is among a pack of wolves on the hunting trail'.<sup>47</sup> In the social context, Goldthwaite's observation – made in reference to the economic elite in Italian cities at the end of the sixteenth century – that the close 'proximity of nobles in the city, where they are continually on view by one another, breeds a keener sense of competition',<sup>48</sup> could partly explain the fiercely competitive behaviour that existed between the Randlords who mostly lived in Mayfair and Belgravia. There are any number of revealing remarks to be found in the Randlords' correspondence, such as the one Florence Phillips made to her husband when they were forced to return to South Africa:

I suppose once ... our goods are scattered to the four winds, your senior partner [Julius Wernher] will be happy – he and his wife. They have always grudged our very existence, I think.<sup>49</sup>

Once the Randlords had settled in Britain, they sought to mask their modest backgrounds and colonial interlude by aping the lifestyles of the British upper classes. The terms 'upper-middle class' and 'upper class' are used frequently in this thesis. Because class terminology is open to interpretation, these terms need to be clarified at

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<sup>46</sup> The Randlord fraternity was unlike the many American millionaires who also started arriving in London in those years, with wealth derived from a multitude of sources across a continent: not only mines but also railroads, banking, real estate, industry and manufacturing.

<sup>47</sup> J.X. Merriman to J.C. Smuts, 22.5.1907, in W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letter no.346.

<sup>48</sup> Giovanni Botero quoted by R.A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the demand for art in Italy 1300-1600*, Baltimore and London, 1993, p.196.

<sup>49</sup> DP to LP, 24.4.1909, LP private papers, BR. Another such example from Florence Phillips' letters: 'I dined with the Neumanns at the Savoy last Saturday. It was not very amusing. He was very kind but she looked more bored than ever. I ... made no pretences to her as she is a common little snob'. DP to LP, 18.1.1892, LP private papers, BR.

the outset. The terms 'upper classes' and 'aristocracy' are used interchangeably throughout the thesis in reference to people who came from families with peerages or baronetcies, or were landed gentry. In contrast to this, the Randlords are characterised as upper-middle class people with upper classes aspirations. This assumption is made because the Randlords certainly were no longer middle class when they settled in Britain, and, using Cannadine's criteria, they also did not belong to the upper classes. Cannadine's criteria for characterising someone as belonging to the British upper classes is divided into three categories: status, wealth and positions of power. In terms of status designations, the Randlords only acquired titles and the end of their lives, and none of them secured a peerage; in relation to wealth, their incomes were not primarily derived from the ownership of land; and, finally, the positions of power the Randlords enjoyed were in the spheres of business, not government. Within a generation some of the Randlords' children enjoyed social pre-eminence, leisured lifestyles, owned inherited estates, and sported armorial crests. Unlike the first generation Randlords, their descendants therefore could be categorised as belonging to the upper classes.<sup>50</sup>

As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, the Randlords' efforts to construct upper class identities were strenuous and pronounced. An integral component of this strategy to assert their social position was to participate in the accumulation and display of highly symbolic goods and properties which would convey their new-found status. H.G. Wells in his novel *Tono-Bungay*, first published in 1909, provided an interesting insight into the conspicuous consumption of his contemporaries. In this novel, in which he demonstrates his concern for the welfare of the community, Wells draws a censorious portrait of an uncle of the narrator, George Porderevo, who by way of manipulating financial markets, had rapidly accumulated enormous riches. Thereafter, with

an immense astonished zest they begin *shopping*, begin a systematic new life crowded and brilliant with things shopped, with jewels, maids, butlers, coachmen, electric broughams, hired town and country houses. They plunge into it as one plunges into a career; as a class they talk, think and dream possessions. Their literature, their press ... guide them in domestic architecture, in the art of owning a garden, in the achievement of the sumptuous in motor-cars, in a elaborate sporting equipment, in the purchase and control of estates, in travel and stupendous hotels.... Acquisition

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<sup>50</sup> See D. Cannadine, *The decline and fall of the British aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990, pp.8-15; and J.V. Beckett, *The aristocracy in England, 1600-1914*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 17-42.

becomes the substance of their lives.... In a brief year or so they are connoisseurs. They join in the plunder of the eighteenth century, they buy rare old books, fine old pictures, good old furniture....<sup>51</sup>

Similarly, contemporaries often remarked on the apparent excess of the Randlords' expenditure, and consequently the public perception of a Randlord was that he was 'a big blatant, self-assertive man who continually smokes expensive cigars, drinks ... champagne, and rushes from place to place in a powerful motor-car'.<sup>52</sup>

The collecting of art forms part of a broader cultural phenomenon of consumption. Therefore, in this thesis, the Randlords' collections are considered within this larger context. More specifically, their purchase and furnishing of country houses (according to Aslet, 'the group most conspicuous as builders of large country houses [in the Edwardian years] were the Randlords....')<sup>53</sup> will be discussed in the Wernher and Phillips chapters,<sup>54</sup> their expenditure on entertaining in the Robinson chapter, on town houses in the Beit and Robinson chapters, while an associated aspect of this strategy to assert their self-importance, the securing of titles, is discussed in the Michaelis chapter.

Contextualising collecting through a consideration of socio-economic issues is a relatively recent approach in studies exploring the history of collecting. Goldthwaite, in

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<sup>51</sup> H.G. Wells, *Tono-Bungay*, London, 1909, p.249.

<sup>52</sup> W.C. Scully, *The ridge of the white waters*, London, 1912, p.149.

<sup>53</sup> C. Aslet, *The last country houses*, New Haven and London, 1982, p.32.

<sup>54</sup> Herewith a list of some the country houses owned by those Randlords whose collections are not discussed at length in this thesis: Sir Sigismund Neumann resided at Invercauld near Balmoral; Abe Bailey lived at Easton Park in Suffolk; Frederick Philipson-Stow bought Blackdown at Lodsworth, Sussex in 1890 and retired to it in 1898; George Farrar acquired Chicheley Hall Buckinghamshire; and Sir Friedrich Eckstein purchased Ottershaw Park, Chertsey, Surrey in 1910. Rhodes in January 1902, just before his death, purchased Dalham Hall Estate, near Newmarket in Suffolk, for which he paid about £100 000 (*South Africa*, 4.1.1902, 18.1.1902; see also W.T. Stead (ed.), *The last Will and testament of Cecil John Rhodes*, London, 1902, pp.45-49). Solly Joel owned a number of country estates which were acquired primarily to serve the needs of his interests in horse racing. He purchased Maiden Erlegh near Reading in 1903, and later acquired Sefton Lodge near Newmarket from Sir Leonard Brassey. In 1922 he purchased Moulton Paddocks and thereafter sold Sefton Lodge. He also acquired Bearwood near Maiden Erlegh to graze and train his horses. Jack Barnarto Joel resided at Childwick Bury in Hertfordshire, the home of the late Sir Blundell Maples. (It was reported in *South Africa*, 9.12.1906, that Solly Joel for some reason had purchased Childwick Bury. In *South Africa*, 28.6.1919, it correctly was referred to being in the possession of Jack Barnarto Joel.) Barnett Lewis resided at Foxbush, Hildenborough, Kent, and Isaac Lewis owned Bedgebury Park and 4436 acres near Tonbridge in Kent. Lewis bought the property from the Beresford Hope family in 1899 for about £100 000 after the death of Lord Beresford and sold it after the First World War (*South Africa*, 4.3.1899).

his research on material culture in the Italian Renaissance, explains this narrow focus in the past as follows:

In a certain sense, the thrust of the evolution of the very definition of art from the Italian Renaissance onward has been to obscure its relation with ordinary things.... To show how wealth and material culture affect the demand for art is not to denigrate one of the greatest achievements of our own civilisation but, on the contrary, to enhance the fascination of art by putting it in its most essential context, one that in fact only further excites our wonderment at the power of art to go beyond the very terms of its existence as a physical object.<sup>55</sup>

Traditionally, art historians have not engaged with issues of consumption, perhaps because of the misguided assumption that the consumption of works of art differs dramatically from the consumption of all other material goods. The first stage of analysing the collections is thus to follow Bourdieu's dictum of abolishing

the sacred frontier which makes legitimate culture a separate universe, in order to discover the intelligible relations which unite apparently incommensurable "choices", such as preferences in music and food, painting and sport, literature and hairstyle.<sup>56</sup>

Although there has been a proliferation of studies on aspects of the history of collecting in recent years, and a vast bibliography has consequently emerged on the subject, much of the writing in this field has been dominated by anecdotal accounts that seldom imaginatively interpret the material relating to collectors and collections. As Haskell has remarked:

there have been many ... explorations [into the history of collecting] – some of the utmost distinction and value – but it can be said, without risk of condescension, that they ... have been confined to the archaeological (as that term used to be understood: that is, to the discovery and classification of new material, followed by inquiries into the light that it can throw on what is already known). All this has been accompanied by a stream of biographical, usually anecdotal, surveys, often characterised by rather superficial attempts at psychological analysis.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> R.A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the demand for art in Italy 1300-1600*, Baltimore and London, 1993, p.2.

<sup>56</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984, p.6.

<sup>57</sup> F. Haskell, 'Parliament of the magpies: history, psychoanalysis and obsession in the art of collecting', *TLS*, 23.9.1994, pp.18-9.

Haskell states that a more systematic approach to research in this field of collecting 'can illuminate, and be illuminated by, much wider aspects of historical inquiry'.<sup>58</sup> One recent study that does fulfil this brief is Macleod's *Art and the Victorian middle class: money and the making of cultural identity* (1996), which considers Victorian businessmen's collections of contemporary art.

The present thesis is not a conventional history of the Randlords' collections structured around a chronological narrative digressing to provide a formal analysis of the works of art they owned. Rather it is an historically-grounded analysis which seeks to consider the Randlords' collecting practices in relation to their overall consumption of material goods, as well as how their backgrounds and aspirations influenced their expenditure. Each of the five chapters focuses on a Randlord collection. This is in contrast to Macleod, who structured her book around six over-arching issues rather than individual collections, possibly because she was dealing with a far larger group of collectors. An underlying objective in this thesis is to follow Pearce's observation that collections are social constructs and that each needs to be considered individually in order to understand the motives and interests of a collector:

Collections are essentially a narrative of experience; as objects are a kind of material language, so the narratives into which they can be selected and organised are a kind of fiction.... Like fiction, collections narrate world-views of knowledge and moral understanding in relation to the individual hero or heroine, family and society, the past and the exotic. Like fiction, too, their ways of creating the narrative flow are open to analysis, and prove to be not a reflection of the nature of things, but a social construct in which apparent sense is created from a range of possibilities and discontinuities. In the view they offer of the human condition ... each [collection] has to be treated on its own terms to yield up what any particular narrator feels to be its significance.<sup>59</sup>

Before discussing the Randlords as collectors, the state of the art market in the 1890s must briefly be considered. In those years, when most of the Randlords arrived in Britain and set about acquiring houses and works of art, the British aristocracy was adjusting to a dramatic fall in income and land values. In Britain, where the wealth of

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<sup>58</sup> F. Haskell, 'Parliament of the magpies: history, psychoanalysis and obsession in the art of collecting', *TLS*, 23.9.1994, pp.18-9.

<sup>59</sup> S.M. Pearce, *On collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition*, London and New York, 1995, p.412.

the aristocracy had been linked to land holdings and rents for centuries, the fall in agricultural prices and the importation of wheat under the banner of Free Trade in the 1880s undermined the whole territorial basis of patrician existence. As Cannadine points out, the easy confidences and certainties of the mid-Victorian period consequently vanished forever.<sup>60</sup> The British aristocratic ideal of handing over estates and assets to succeeding generation intact, and possibly enhanced, became difficult, and sales had to be contemplated. An added burden was the introduction of death duties by the Liberal government in 1894, which were initially pitched at between one and eight percent for estates greater than £1m. To meet these financial demands, the sale of artworks, rather than agricultural lands, was considered, because their value could be more readily realised. The Settled Land Acts of 1882 and 1884 gave impetus to such sales by empowering the Court of Chancery to authorise the sale of assets and heirlooms by trustees, regardless of how strictly a will may have insisted on their preservation by the family.<sup>61</sup> These acts opened the way for a series of well-publicised sales of well-known art collections and provided the art market with a constant supply of noteworthy artworks in the late nineteenth century. As the *Year's Art* remarked in reference to the 1893 season: 'the chief properties submitted [for sale] were those belonging to owners who had felt the severe financial crises which had marked the period 1891-2...'<sup>62</sup>

Those landlords who were seriously interested in collecting works of art were thus presented with an extraordinary array from which to select possible purchases. Apart from George Salting<sup>63</sup> and the future Lord Iveagh,<sup>64</sup> there were few British collectors actively pursuing old masters, and the full onslaught of American collectors on the European art markets only manifested itself at the very end of the nineteenth

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\*<sup>60</sup> D. Cannadine, *Decline and fall of the British aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990, p.27. See also the recent book by Peter Mandler, *The fall and rise of the Stately Home*. New Haven and London, 1997, which also deals at length with these issues.

<sup>61</sup> The capital received from such sales of land and other assets was required by law to be invested and maintained, and only the interest could be drawn.

<sup>62</sup> *Year's Art*, 1894, pp.223-4.

<sup>63</sup> See Stephen Coppel, 'George Salting (1835-1909)', In A. Griffiths (ed.), *Landmarks in print collecting: connoisseurs and donors at the British Museum since 1753*, London, 1996, pp.189-209. Clive Wainwright of the V&A Museum is currently preparing a study on George Salting as a collector.

<sup>64</sup> Lord Iveagh left his collection to the nation and it is on display in Kenwood on Hampstead Heath.

century.<sup>65</sup> Wilhelm von Bode, of the Berlin museums, who bought extensively in Britain, noted after visiting America in 1895 that very few Americans were collecting old masters systematically in those years.<sup>66</sup> The American J.P. Morgan, who was described by the dealer René Gimpel as 'the moving spirit who fostered an army of art lovers',<sup>67</sup> first expressed a serious interest in books and manuscripts in the early 1890s. However, it was only at the turn of the century that he set about assembling an encyclopaedic collection in his personal capacity and on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>68</sup> Aside from the Havemeyers<sup>69</sup> and Isabella Stewart Gardner,<sup>70</sup> who acquired a number of masterpieces in the 1890s, leading American collectors such as Benjamin Altman,<sup>71</sup> Henry Clay Frick,<sup>72</sup> Henry Edwards Huntington,<sup>73</sup> John G. Johnson, and the many others who bought from the dealer Sir Joseph Duveen, only emerged as major buyers early in the twentieth century. By 1902, by which time the Randlords' purchasing had begun to subside, Bode noted that a new type of American collector had appeared in the market. These collectors were exceedingly wealthy and willing to spend large amounts on artworks.<sup>74</sup>

Although the Randlords were arguably the most active group of old master collectors in London in the 1890s, this has seldom been mentioned. Indeed, as a recent exhibition

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<sup>65</sup> See D.A. Brown, *Berenson and the connoisseurship of Italian painting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979; D.A. Brown, *Raphael and America*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1983; Douglas Rigby and Elizabeth Rigby, *Lock, stock and barrel: the story of collecting*, New York, 1944; Aline B. Saarinen, *The proud possessors*, New York, 1958.

<sup>66</sup> Wilhelm Bode, 'Alte kunstwerke in den sammlungen der Vereinigten Staate', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 6, 1895, new series, pp.13-19.

<sup>67</sup> R. Gimpel, *Diary of an art dealer*, London, 1966, p.162.

<sup>68</sup> See Louis Auchincloss, *J. P. Morgan: the financier as collector*, New York, 1990; and Francis Henry Taylor, *Pierpont Morgan as a collector and patron 1837-1913*, New York, revised edn., 1970.

<sup>69</sup> The Havemeyers started collecting in the late 1880s. Aside from a substantial collection of Rembrandt portraits and Spanish paintings, their collection was centred on nineteenth-century French painters, particularly the Impressionists. See Frances Weitzenhoffer, *The Havemeyers: Impressionism comes to America*, New York, 1986.

<sup>70</sup> See Hilliard T. Goldfarb, *The Isabella Stewart Gardner museum: a companion guide and history*, Boston, New Haven and London, 1995.

<sup>71</sup> See F. Haskell, 'The Benjamin Altman bequest', In F. Haskell, *Past and present in art and taste: selected essays*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp.186-206.

<sup>72</sup> See Charles Ryskamp, et al, *Art in the Frick Collection: paintings, sculpture, decorative arts*, New York, 1996.

<sup>73</sup> See James Thorpe, *Henry Edwards Huntington: a biography*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1994.

<sup>74</sup> Wilhelm Bode, 'Die Amerikanische konkurrenz im kunsthandel und ihre gefahr für Europa', *Kunst und Künstler*, 1, 1902-3, pp.5-12; reprinted in *Kunst und Künstler: Aus 32<sup>e</sup> Jahrgangen einer deutschen Kunstzeitschrift*, Mainz, 1972, pp.17-25.

catalogue notes, the Randlord collectors 'constitute one of the more important unwritten chapters in the history of art collecting'.<sup>75</sup> One of the possible reasons why their collecting has been overlooked is that, unlike the American and German collectors, their acquisitions remained in Britain, and consequently their purchases were not the subject of shrill press reports about the 'possessions won in the Dreadnought competition of art' between Britain and Germany (and later the U.S.A.).<sup>76</sup> A character in Henry James' novel, *The Outcry* (1911), remarked that these foreign buyers appeared in Britain as 'a conquering horde [and] ... invaded the old civilisation ... armed ... with huge cheque books instead of with spears and battle-axes'.<sup>77</sup> The National Art Collections Fund was founded in Britain in 1903 to counteract this flow of artworks abroad.<sup>78</sup> The comparatively low profile of the Randlord collectors may also be related to the fact that the dealers through whom they acquired artworks did not disclose their purchases in the way Duveen publicised those of his American clients.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Colnaghi, *Art, commerce, scholarship: a window onto the art world – Colnaghi 1760 to 1984*, exh. cat., London, 1984, p.40.

<sup>76</sup> *Year's Art*, 1910, p.5. Ironically Wilhelm von Bode, who himself was purchasing extensively in Britain for the German museums, also became increasingly concerned about the one-way flow of works from Britain and Europe to America. One would surmise that the British collectors were as concerned about paintings disappearing to Germany as they were about the American purchases. Yet Bode viewed the redistribution of artworks within Europe (preferably towards Germany) as acceptable, but he saw any intercontinental movement of artworks as undermining the European heritage. Bode over a period of about fifteen years wrote a number of articles on the subject of the impact of American collectors on Europe. His changing perceptions about American collectors are worth examining. See the bibliography for a listing of his writings on the subject.

<sup>77</sup> H. James, *The outcry*, London, 1911, p.156.

<sup>78</sup> See Mary Lago, 'Christiana Herringham and the National Art Collections Fund', *Burlington Magazine*, CXXXV, March 1993, pp.202-211; and Mary Lago, *Christiana Herringham and the Edwardian art scene*, London, 1996

<sup>79</sup> Sir Joseph Duveen was a dealer with whom the Randlords had very few transactions, possibly because they had assembled most of their collections by the time he rose to prominence. (An interesting 'potential' connection between the Duveens and a Randlord family was announced in November 1898. Dora Lewis, daughter of Isaac Lewis, became engaged to Joseph J. Duveen. Nothing came of this engagement for the following May she married Julius Weil. See *South Africa*, 12.11.1898, p.325; 27.5.1899, pp.506-7.) On the subject of Duveen's life, see Samuel N. Behrman, *Duveen*, New York, 1952; B. Berenson, and W.R. Valentiner, *Duveen pictures in public collections of America. A catalogue raisonné with three hundred illustrations of paintings by the great masters, which have passed through the house of Duveen*, New York, 1941; James Henry Duveen, *Confessions of an art dealer*, London, 1935; James Henry Duveen, *The rise of the House of Duveen*, London, 1957; Edward Fowles, *Memories of Duveen Brothers*, London, 1976; Alison Luchs, 'Duveen, the Dreyfus collection, and the treatment of Italian Quattrocento sculpture: examples from the National Gallery of Art', *Studies in the History of Art*, 24, 1990, pp.31-38; Colin Simpson, *The partnership: the secret association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen*, London, 1987.



Critical discussion of almost all the Randlord collections is hampered by the scarcity of primary material relating to the formation of these collections and, in some instances, even to their content.<sup>80</sup> The Randlords and their descendants seldom preserved correspondence, insurance valuations and account books, all of which could have been used to reconstruct the character of each collection. The material that has survived has in almost all cases been preserved by people other than the Randlords themselves: their advisors, their dealers and friends. The reason for the loss of family papers is usually ascribed to the Randlords' wish to conceal the more unsavoury aspects of their lives, but it may also be related to the fact that they were first-generation collectors, who lacked the benefit of living in an established country house where their papers would have been stored and preserved almost automatically. This is compounded by the fact that, unlike so many British aristocratic collections, none of the Randlord collections have remained intact and *in situ*.

This scarcity of primary documentation is compounded by the fact that there is only one Randlord painting collection for which catalogues were published in the lifetime of the collector (the Beit collection). This is somewhat surprising, given the extent of the Randlords' aspirations, because catalogues immortalise a collection and its collector by linking together a body of paintings and associating them with one collector in perpetuity. In the absence of such catalogues, a point of departure for this thesis was to reconstruct an inventory for each of the collections. These are included as appendices. Because most of the collections have been dispersed at auction, a substantial portion of the information in the inventories has been drawn from sale catalogue entries as well as contemporary correspondence, articles and dealers' stock-books. These inventories list each painting in the collection, possible changes in its attribution (where this is known), its title, its provenance (from whom and when the painting was purchased, and at what price), the present-day whereabouts of the painting (where this is known), and, wherever possible, an appropriate reference to the painting in a *catalogue raisonné* or sale catalogue or, in the absence of the latter, in the art historical literature. The

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<sup>80</sup> This thesis deals with 'high' collecting, that is collecting works of art which usually have been consecrated over the centuries as 'important' and have a sizable financial value attached to them. This approach is in contrast to 'private' collecting – of ephemera, stamps etc – which is more introverted and inconspicuous.

inventories list each picture, its artist, where known changes in its attribution, its title, immediate provenance (from whom and when the picture was purchased, and at what price), the present-day whereabouts of the picture (when known) and, where possible, a reference to the picture in a *catalogue raisonné* or other art historical literature. These inventories are – to use Haskell’s term – the ‘archaeological’ research of this thesis. It needs to be borne in mind that in order for them to function as stimulating primary material, they should be consulted in conjunction with the text, which provides critical discussions of the collectors and the context in which the paintings were acquired.

Although it is usually possible partly to reconstruct the content of the Randlords’ collections and, to some degree, the context in which they were collected, it is more difficult to gain a clear understanding of their personal responses to works of art. There are very few remarks by individual Randlords articulating their views on art or collecting. The fragmented and circumstantial nature of the surviving primary and secondary material means that a certain degree of conjecture accompanies my reading of their attitudes towards art and the art world.

Even more difficult to grasp is the role of the Randlords’ wives in the formation and display of the collections. There are exceptions (Lady Phillips, for instance), but for the most part they remain shadowy figures and surviving evidence of their involvement in the collections is scarce. In addition to this, private papers that might shed light on the dynamics of their relationships with their husbands have seldom survived. It would in almost all instances appear that the wives of Randlords adopted responsibility for interior decoration, while their husbands concerned themselves with collecting works of art to display in these spaces. Nevertheless, where relevant, I have speculated on their roles in these partnerships, in particular in the Wernher and Phillips chapters.

In studies such as this one, the decision as to which collectors to include and whom to exclude is not easily reached. The Beit, Wernher and Robinson collections are fairly well-known, but almost every Randlord assembled an art collection of some kind. As I have already pointed out, the one conspicuous exception was Cecil John Rhodes, who

expressed almost no interest in art.<sup>81</sup> His secretary recalled that he ‘never had the instincts of the mere antiquarian or collector, but only purchased what he liked and what he thought suited the style of his house.’<sup>82</sup> The architect, Sir Herbert Baker, described Rhodes as not a collector or connoisseur, but a man who ‘took pleasure’ in ‘seeing that each piece had its own purpose and place in the house.’ Rhodes considered paintings the toys of rich men and is reputed to have said that he could build many miles of railway or telegraph wires in the interior of Africa with the large sums paid by other Randlords for artworks.<sup>83</sup>

Comparatively few of the Randlords’ collections, at most ten, are of sufficient complexity or size to warrant an extended analysis. There are instances when the Randlords themselves are interesting from a biographical perspective but formed only small collections, and occasionally the converse applies. With a view to balancing these twin interests, the collectors who will be the focus of this thesis are Sir Julius and Lady Wernher, Alfred Beit and his brother Sir Otto, Sir Max and Lady Michaelis, Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips and Sir Joseph (and Lady Robinson). In the case of the Wernher, Beit and Robinson chapters, there are extensive collections and considerable biographical information. With the Michaelis and Phillips chapters, it is not the collectors themselves or their collections that are necessarily the focus of the discussion, but rather the projects with which they became associated. Michaelis’ gift of Dutch and Flemish pictures to the Union of South Africa in 1913 raises the issue of the Randlords’ benefactions to South Africa; and the Phillips’ ownership of a succession of grand houses, and the fact that they seemed to have lived beyond their means, illustrates, as has already been suggested, the extent of the competitive social behaviour amongst the Randlords. In addition to this, Lady Phillips’ involvement in founding an art gallery in Johannesburg in 1909 provides some insight into the Randlords’ attitudes towards art and South Africa.

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<sup>81</sup> The most prominently displayed old master painting at Groote Schuur was a Sir Joshua Reynolds’ portrait of a young woman which hung over the main fireplace in the dining room. Rhodes acquired this painting because it was an image that he knew from his childhood. He is reputed to have said: ‘Now I have my lady and I am happy’. Philip Jourdan, *Cecil Rhodes: his private life by his private secretary*, London, 1911, p.198. Rotberg tried without success to identify and locate this painting. See R. Rotberg, *The founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*, New York and Oxford, 1988, p.727, footnote 18.

<sup>82</sup> Philip Jourdan, *Cecil Rhodes: his private life by his private secretary*, London, 1911, p.192.

<sup>83</sup> Philip Jourdan, *Cecil Rhodes: his private life by his private secretary*, London, 1911, p.192.

The other Randlord collections, which are briefly mentioned in this thesis but not discussed at length, could be divided into three groups: firstly, those collections formed by lesser-known Randlords; secondly, those assembled by individuals who were closely associated with the Randlords and South Africa and, thirdly, those belonging to financiers of the gold and diamond mines who mostly lived in Paris.<sup>84</sup> The first category consists of men who unquestionably can be classified as Randlords but who were not as wealthy as Wernher, Beit and Robinson, and whose collections were not as substantial. Their collections were often not dissimilar to those belonging to Michaelis and the Phillippes. This group would include Solly Joel, Barnet Lewis and Charles Rudd (whose collections of predominately nineteenth-century British art are briefly discussed below, in the introduction, when the issue of the content of Randlord collections is raised). Sir Abe Bailey, who acquired a very large number of paintings in the 1920s was undoubtedly also a Randlord, but because he was younger and collected a decade or two after most other Randlords, his collection, which is now on permanent loan to the South African National Gallery, is only briefly considered in the context of Michaelis' gift of art to South Africa. Sir Friedrich Eckstein and Louis Breitmeyer<sup>85</sup> business partners of Wernher and Beit, who collected paintings, furniture, china and *objets*, also formed part of the Wernher and Beit coterie and their collections are similar in spirit. Each of the Neumann brothers, Sir Sigismund (1856-1916) and Ludwig, also formed small but noteworthy collections of Dutch and Flemish paintings and French furniture.<sup>86</sup> There is

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<sup>84</sup> The inclusion of the most visible South African mining magnate in later years, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, would not be appropriate as he is a 'second generation' Randlord. Sir Ernest's founding of the Anglo American Corporation was based on the acquisition and reorganisation of the original Randlords' companies and mines. The Oppenheims own a fine collection of paintings and possess the finest private collection of Africana, which is housed in their Brenthurst Library in Johannesburg.

<sup>85</sup> Louis Breitmeyer was born in Stuttgart in 1853 and spent some years in London and Kimberley before joining Porgès & Co. in 1886. He was appointed the Kimberley representative of Wernher, Beit & Co. five years later and was made a partner of the company in 1895. When the company dissolved in 1910 he acquired the diamond interests and founded the firm L. Breitmeyer & Co. in London. He remained prominent in the diamond trade until his death in March 1930 (see his obituaries in *South Africa*, 21.3.1930, p.468; 30.5.1930, p.328). Breitmeyer's collection was sold in June-July 1930 by Christie's. Out of the 92 lots the Hoppner *Portrait of Miss Charlotte Augusta Papendiek, when a child* bought by Duveen for £14 700, was the highlight of the sale. The other pictures, very mixed in quality, realised approximately £36 000. See *Apollo*, 12, July 1930, pp.85-87; *Catalogue of pictures by old masters, the property of L. Breitmeyer, Esq., deceased, late of 11 Connaught Place W., and Ruston Hall, Kettering*, Christie's, London, 27 June 1930.

<sup>86</sup> With regard to Ludwig Neumann's collection see *Catalogue of the collection of fine French furniture ... formed by L. Neumann, Esq. and removed from 11 Grosvenor Square*, Christie's, London, 2-3 July 1919; and *Catalogue of the ... collection of pictures by Dutch masters, the property of L. Neumann, removed from 11 Grosvenor Square ...*, Christie's, London, 4 July 1919. Sir Sigismund Neumann (later Newman)'s collection is listed in 'An inventory and valuation of certain furniture, pictures and ornaments

little surviving evidence to suggest that the Albu brothers, George and Leopold, collected art in any way, but it is probable that they did because their aspirations were akin to those of their fellow-Randlords.<sup>87</sup>

The group of collectors who had close ties with South Africa, and substantial investments in the diamond and gold mines, but whose interests extended beyond these mines, would include Sir Donald Currie and Sir Edmund and Lady Davis (whose collections of mostly nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British pictures are referred to below). The three Mosenthal brothers controlled an enormous mercantile operation in Southern Africa and were also prominent investors in the diamond and gold mines.<sup>88</sup> George, who was based in London, assembled a small collection,<sup>89</sup> but little is known about either Harry's or William's interest in art. Alfred de Pass, who was also from a Cape mercantile family, had limited investments in the mines. He retired early in life in order to devote his time to collecting, and assembled an extraordinarily large and diverse collection. His generosity to galleries and museums in South Africa and Europe has ensured that in recent years his importance as a collector has been acknowledged.<sup>90</sup> Sir Carl Meyer, who was born in Hamburg, had close links with the Randlords by virtue of his role as the Rothschilds' representative in the South African mining industry and his position as vice-chairman of De Beers.<sup>91</sup> The extent of his collection is uncertain, but he did own some valuable pictures and his wife and family repeatedly sat for the leading portraitists of the era.

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at 'Burloes', Royston, the property of the late Sir Sigismund Neumann, Bart., January 1924' [before the fire of 19.2.1931], Newman family papers, Burloes, Royston, Hertfordshire. The catalogue of the 'Neumann gift' to the Johannesburg Art Gallery is not relevant because these paintings were not from his private collection but were bought with funds he donated.

<sup>87</sup> See J.D.F. Jones, *Through fortress and rock: the story of Gencor, 1895-1995*, Johannesburg, 1995.

<sup>88</sup> D. Fleischer and A. Caccia, *Merchant pioneers: the house of Mosenthal*, Johannesburg, 1983.

<sup>89</sup> The value of the works owned by George Mosenthal listed in a nine-page inventory, compiled by Agnew's in 1925, is £8 053. The collection comprised an assortment of school pictures: the most valuable work was the Sargent of Mrs Mosenthal, valued at £1 000 and the portrait, also of her, by Philip de Laszlo, valued at £500. See 'Valuation of pictures, watercolours, drawings and engravings, the property of Mr George Mosenthal, 190 Queens Gate, London, undertaken by Thomas Agnew and Sons, 9 June 1925, Agnew's Valuation Copy Book'.

<sup>90</sup> See Anna Tietze, *The Alfred de Pass presentation to the South African National Gallery*, exh. cat., Cape Town, 1995; and Marianne Joannides, *Exhibition catalogue of master drawings from the De Pass collection, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro*, exh. cat., Phillips, London, 1994.

<sup>91</sup> See Carl Meyer's (?-1922, baronet 1910) letters 1886-1922, 5 vols, in the possession of Sir Anthony Meyer, Bart., M.P., referred to in Youssef Cassis, *City bankers, 1890-1914*, Cambridge, 1994, pp.38.

A separate thesis could be written on the pre-eminent Parisian collectors, Rodolphe and Maurice Kann, who, together with Jules Porgès, were of inestimable importance to the development of the diamond and gold mines. Their unrivalled collections of old masters, which centred on works by Frans Hals, and Rembrandt's late paintings, were bought by the dealer Duveen after their deaths and sold to the richest American old master collectors. Rodolphe Kann's collection, in particular, will be discussed in the context of Alfred Beit's purchases of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings.<sup>92</sup> Their Parisian associate, Jules Porgès, also collected old masters, but not of comparable quality. His collection is discussed briefly in the context of his role in encouraging Sir Julius Wernher to collect works of art.

Before discussing the content of the Randlord collections and their 'tastes' as collectors, the terminology used to describe a set of preferences must be explored. Words such as 'taste' (especially when preceded by adjectives such as 'good' and 'bad')<sup>93</sup>, 'discerning', 'discriminating' and 'connoisseurship' carry multiple meanings as well as often being loaded with class connotations, because, as Bourdieu observes, the socially-recognised hierarchy of the arts – and the genres, schools or periods within

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<sup>92</sup> In the late 1880s Rhodes admired a Rembrandt in the possession of Rodolphe Kann. Rhodes suggested that he should have the picture in the event of Kann dying first, and in the case of Rhodes dying first, he would leave Kann a legacy of £6 000. Rhodes was true to his word and in his will there is a bequest that simply states that this amount be given to 'Kahn of Paris'. (Article 4 of Rhodes's Will: 'I give the sum of £6 000 to Kahn of Paris and I direct that this legacy be paid free of all duty whatsoever.') Kann died four years later in 1905 but his will, which was written in 1891, still included the bequest 'to my friend Mr Cecil Rhodes, now residing at Cape Town, the portrait by Rembrandt of his son Titus, and signed "Rembrandt 1655".' (*South Africa*, 8.7.1905, p.119.) Benjamin Altman later purchased this painting from the dealers Duveen, and bequeathed it to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. A.C. Carter in his memoirs, (*Let me tell you*, London, 1943, p.32) describes a similar sequence of events but states that the painting Rhodes admired was the small Gainsborough portrait *Lady Sophia Charlotte Sheffield* in Rodolphe Kann's collection. (Its companion, *The dancer Baccelli*, belonged to Alfred Beit.)

<sup>93</sup> Charles Wegener succinctly explains the problems associated with the usage of the word 'taste' It is 'inoffensive when used in such phrases as 'the history of taste' or 'eighteenth-century taste' (perhaps even 'modern' or 'contemporary taste'), [but] it becomes a palpable stumbling block when used adjectivally ('tasteful') and almost repulsive when it becomes 'good taste'. In these uses it has associations not only of some specialised standard available only to the instructed and refined and inaccessible to ordinary mortals, but is suddenly redolent of the pretended privileges and superior, more attenuated delights of special social groups: the middle class, driven by the necessity to meet standards of 'good taste' in order to justify pretensions to join the higher reaches of humanity; the leisured and hypercultivated who have the time (and the money) to devote themselves to the pursuit of 'objects of taste and refinement' guaranteed for them by 'connoisseurs' of these rare (and rarified) objects; the aesthetes, whose delicate sensibilities, aroused only by encounters with 'ethereal things', must not be disturbed by passion or impeded by the intervention of moral imperatives.' Charles Wegener, *The discipline of taste and feeling*, Chicago, 1992, pp.27-28.

each of them – correspond to a social hierarchy of consumers which ‘*predisposes tastes to function as markers of “class”*’.<sup>94</sup> Wherever possible, I have attempted to avoid using these terms, except when considering the meanings ascribed to these terms at the end of the nineteenth century when the Randlords assembled their collections.

As will become clear in this thesis, the varied content and character of the Randlord collections (and those of their associates) ensure that very few generalisations can be made about the collectors’ engagement with works of art. It also needs to be stated at the outset that one cannot assume, on the basis of the collectors discussed here, that all the Randlords were as serious and systematic in their collecting as were Wernher, Beit and Robinson. Many of the lesser-known Randlords (some of whom have been mentioned above), apparently gave little thought to their acquisitions. Public perception of most Randlord collectors consequently led to them being characterised as Philistines who seldom made informed choices in their hurried attempts to assemble art collections.

In the view of one writer in the journal *South Africa*:

Their walls are hung with the ‘old masters’, and their libraries stuffed with costly volumes. The ‘old masters’ may be made in America, and the costly volumes may be worthless to the student; but this does not matter, for the type of millionaire of whom I speak keeps them for show and not for use.<sup>95</sup>

Another indication of this superficial interest in art collecting is to be found in a little-known work by the prolific Victorian author, Grant Allen, entitled *An African millionaire*. Although the Randlords had no equivalent of Henry James to immortalise their aesthetic inclinations, Allen provides us with caricatures of their attitudes towards art. His central character, Sir Charles, is a South African who recently settled in England after accumulating a fortune from the mine known as ‘Cloetedorp Golcondas’. The walls of Sir Charles’ castle Seldon, in Rossshire, are covered with the works of Leader and Orchardson. ‘The result was first arrived at by a single accident. Sir Charles wanted a leader – for his coach, you understand – told an artistic friend so. The artistic friend brought him a Leader next week with a capital L; and Sir Charles was so

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<sup>94</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984, pp.1-2.

<sup>95</sup> ‘South African millionaires’, *South Africa*, 24.12.1898, p.653.

taken aback that he felt ashamed to confess the error. So he was turned unawares into a patron of painting.’<sup>96</sup>

Louis Cohen, provides us with countless very funny anecdotes about the Randlords’ forays into art collecting. His favourite target is Barney Barnato who, according to Frederick Eckstein in a letter to Lord Rothschild, was largely responsible for the general perception that the Randlords were Philistines.<sup>97</sup> For example, Cohen recalls an occasion when Barnato was in an art dealer’s ‘sanctum’. ‘An assistant entered and whispered audibly to his employer that “the Constable” had come. As the picture seller hurriedly left the room Barney inquisitively said to me, compressing his lips, “What’s the ‘copper’ here for I wonder?”.’<sup>98</sup> The South African diarist, D. C. Boonzaier, was often scathing about the Randlords’ pretensions, in particular with regard to their libraries, which he regarded as indicative of the ‘true character of the owner’. After visiting Carl Jeppe’s house, Trovato, in Cape Town, he remarked that:

The builder and the architect can relieve you of all troubles when you want a beautiful and expensive house..., the furniture dealer and upholsterer can put tables, chairs, carpets and curtains into your rooms; but alas the library you must select yourself if it is to be of any use to you. It is quite evident that Carl Jeppe selected his own books: if any one helped him it must have been his butler or cook.<sup>99</sup>

This lack of familiarity with cultural conventions is understandable given that the Randlords spent their formative years on the diamond fields amassing wealth, rather than enjoying an unhurried humanist education. None of the Randlords had had the experience of grand tours of Europe or had grown up amidst family collections. Once they had accumulated fortunes, the greater part of their lives were centred around managing their financial affairs. The time they were able to devote to collecting

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<sup>96</sup> Grant Allen, *An African millionaire: episodes in the life of the illustrious Colonel Clay*, London, 1897, pp.61-62.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.115.

<sup>98</sup> L. Cohen, *Reminiscences of Kimberley*, London, 1911, p.59.

<sup>99</sup> D.C. Boonzaier’s diary, 20.12.1912, manuscript, SAL. D.C. Boonzaier also records in his diaries a visit to ‘the millionaire’ Sir Abe Bailey’s house in Muizenberg, and remarked that all the books were bound in a ‘sickly pink’, and ‘appeared to be of the same size and there was a certain stiffness and regularity about their appearance on the shelves which suggested that they had not been read and did not invite perusal. The backs of these books, indeed, suggested at first glance, that they were “dummies”. How different from the appearance of the bookshelves of a man who has personally collected his library and treasures each and every book in it.’ D.C. Boonzaier’s diary, 22.1.1911, manuscript, SAL.



therefore was understandably restricted. D.C. Boonzaier remarked in reference to the Randlords that this limitation was ‘one of the penalties imposed on the millionaire who is seldom able to tear himself away from the multifarious duties he is called to perform in connection with financial schemes of all descriptions.’<sup>100</sup> The Randlords’ field of expertise was finance, not art – they were like the American businessman, ‘Mr X’ (‘a man of substance. Inventor of the Perfect Bath Tub and the First President of the Company’), who explained to the critic C. Lewis Hind: ‘Years of absorption in the task of manufacturing the Perfect Bath have not allowed me to devote as much time as I could have wished to the art and life of Velasquez.’<sup>101</sup> The Randlords’ limited ‘cultural capital’,<sup>102</sup> to use Bourdieu’s term, will be considered in the Wernher chapter in relation to the influence of his background on his collecting practices.

Most Randlords discussed at length in this thesis acknowledged their limitations and realised that the art market was a minefield for the uninitiated. To assist them in their collecting, they regularly sought advice on attributions and values. Wernher, Alfred and Sir Otto Beit, and Michaelis discussed aspects of their acquisitions with Wilhelm von Bode, of the Berlin museums, and Lady Phillips and Michaelis relied on Sir Hugh Lane, an old master dealer and founder of a gallery of modern art in Dublin, to guide them in securing paintings for South African public collections. The *Burlington Magazine* in 1904 remarked on these Randlords’ sensible reliance on advisors, in contrast to the American collectors who rushed headlong into the art market, as follows:

The men ... who had made their money in Africa exercised commendable prudence. They were prepared to pay large sums for really fine things, but they needed assurances of their genuineness, and took measure to secure expert advice, which only two or three Americans had done.<sup>103</sup>

Some generalisations can be made about the content of Randlord collections, especially those considered within the framework of this thesis. The backbone of the collections was, in almost all instances, works by old masters. What is surprising is that the Wernher-Beit circle of collectors would appear to have acquired old masters right from

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<sup>100</sup> D.C. Boonzaier’s diary, 22.1.1911, manuscript, SAL.

<sup>101</sup> C. Lewis Hind, *Art and I*, London, 1921, pp.261,284.

<sup>102</sup> Bourdieu defines ‘cultural capital’ as the cultural awareness of an individual which is related to two formative influences: education and social origin. See P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984.

<sup>103</sup> ‘The consequences of the American invasion’, *Burlington Magazine*, 5, July 1904, pp.353-355.

the outset of their interest in art. This stands in contrast to the later American collectors who usually first filled the picture galleries in their modern palatial châteaux or palazzi with paintings by British academicians, artists of the 'Barbizon school',<sup>104</sup> or French academicians.<sup>105</sup> The Randlords' general interest in old masters also sets them apart from the generation of manufacturers and industrialists from Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham who avidly collected works by contemporary British artists.<sup>106</sup> As will become evident in the course of this thesis, the Randlords seem to have taken their cue from the Rothschilds and the first generation of British-based bankers and merchants – such as the Hopes<sup>107</sup> and the Angersteins<sup>108</sup> – who collected old masters early on in the nineteenth century. The leading Randlords, in their efforts to construct an 'establishment' identity which could function as a statement of their cultural attainment, might well have shared the opinion of a writer in the *Magazine of Art* in 1898 who claimed that the taste for old masters 'certainly only comes by experience, and may be styled the "disease" of the collector's ripe manhood; whilst modern pictures may be the "measles" of the new collector and the *nouveau riche*'.<sup>109</sup>

Most Randlord collectors favoured the works that were by respected and celebrated artists, rather than works by lesser-known artists. Unlike collectors with limited financial resources, who in Bourdieu's view, are able to 'outflank, overtake and displace' wealthy collectors by 'liking the same thing differently, liking different things,

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<sup>104</sup> The artists – Corot, Troyen, Théodore Rousseau, Daubigny, Diáz, Dupré and Millet – were popularised among American collectors by the dealer Samuel Avery. See Samuel P. Avery, *The diaries 1871-1882 of Samuel P. Avery, art dealer*, ed. by M. Fidell Beaufort, H.L. Kleinfield and J.K. Welcher, New York, 1979.

<sup>105</sup> Roger Fry remarked on his arrival in 1905 at the Metropolitan Museum that there was only one aspect of art that was adequately represented in its collection: 'the sentimental and anecdotal side of nineteenth-century painting'. Roger Fry, *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 1905; quoted in C. Tomkins, *Merchants and masterpieces*, New York, 1989, p.106. See also M.F. Beaufort and J.K. Welcher, 'Some views of buying art in New York in the 1870s and 1880s', *Oxford Art Journal*, 5, 1982, pp.48-55; and D. A. Brown, *Raphael and America*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1983, footnote 75 on p.99.

<sup>106</sup> See D. S. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*, Cambridge, 1996; and Pat Starkley (ed.), *Riches into art: Liverpool collectors 1700- 1880*, Liverpool, 1993.

<sup>107</sup> For a history of the Hope collection and a reconstructed inventory see J.W. Niemeijer, 'De kunstverzameling van John Hope (1737-1784)', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 32, 1981, pp.127-232.

<sup>108</sup> The 38 pictures which has belonged to John Julius Angerstein were purchased for £60 000 by vote of the British Parliament on 2 April 1824 as a nucleus national collection. Consequently, they now form part of the National Gallery collection.

<sup>109</sup> 'The art sales of 1898', *Magazine of Art*, 1894, p.351.

less obviously marked out for admiration',<sup>110</sup> the Randlords had no need to reassess artists' oeuvres or re-evaluate the hierarchies of taste, because they could afford to purchase works that were widely regarded as 'important'. In addition, their position in the upper-middle classes was also perhaps too insecure for them to risk collecting art which was obviously different from the old masters prominently displayed in the public galleries and British aristocratic collections. Consequently, it is not often that one encounters preparatory sketches, drawings or prints or even seminal works by little-known artists as the focal points of their collections.

Sir J. B. Robinson, Barnet Lewis, Charles Rudd, Solly Joel and Sir Donald Currie did collect works by nineteenth-century artists, but unlike the Americans, they purchased almost only works by British artists. Barnet Lewis was perhaps the most idiosyncratic of these collectors.<sup>111</sup> This bachelor with 'an artistic temperament'<sup>112</sup> acquired the works of a few artists passionately. He ultimately owned 29 paintings by George Morland and nearly as many by William Henry Hunt, as well as 116 watercolours by Myles Birket Foster, an artist almost forgotten in the present day, but of whom the *Art Annual* claimed in 1890 'there is hardly an artist living who has been received with so many smiles and so few frowns'.<sup>113</sup> Lewis also acquired 13 works by the once very fashionable cattle painter, Thomas Sidney Cooper, 11 watercolours by J.M.W. Turner, and works by John Linnell, Sir John Everett Millais and John Constable among others. Solly Joel competed with Barnet Lewis in forming the largest collection of George Morlands. Although Lewis in the end assembled a larger collection, Duveen is said to have pronounced Joel's to be 'superior in quality'.<sup>114</sup> Charles Dunell Rudd (1844-1916), Rhodes's inseparable partner on the diamond and gold fields,<sup>115</sup> assembled a varied collection of Victorian paintings. When his paintings were sold by Christie's in

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<sup>110</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984, p.282.

<sup>111</sup> *Catalogue of the important collection of ancient and modern pictures and watercolour drawings, the property of the late Mr. Barnet Lewis...*, Christie's, London, 28 February-3 March, 1930.

<sup>112</sup> *Anglo African Who's Who*, London, 1907; see also *South Africa*, 4.10.1929, p.5, 29.11.1929, p.340, 3.1.1930, p.9; *Apollo*, 11, February 1930, p.147.

<sup>113</sup> 'Birket Foster', *Art Annual* (supplement to *Art Journal*), 1890, p.18; see pp.1-32.

<sup>114</sup> S. Joel and L. Meyer, *Age of diamonds*, London, 1958, pp.197-198.

<sup>115</sup> Rudd is best recalled for the agreement that he wrangled out of Lobengula in 1888. The 'Rudd Concession' precipitated Rhodes' development of present day Zimbabwe. Rudd was also the joint managing director of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa for the years 1887-1902. For an overview of his life see Alan Rudd, *Charles Dunnell Rudd 1844-1916*, Ipswich, 1981.

May 1919, they comprised 64 lots and included 11 Myles Birket Foster watercolours and a range of works on paper by nineteenth-century British artists.<sup>116</sup> Sir Donald Currie (1825-1909), who although best known as a shipping magnate and owner of the Castle line of steamers (later known as the Union Castle line) also had substantial investments in the diamond fields,<sup>117</sup> assembled in the years between 1885 and 1908 one of the finest private collections of Turner's work, purchased principally from Agnew's. Agnew's daybooks record the sale of 28 watercolours and oils by that artist to Currie, who also acquired paintings by Sir John Everett Millais, David Cox and J.F. Lewis.<sup>118</sup>

The Randlord collectors discussed in this thesis seldom acquired works by contemporary artists exhibited at the Royal Academy summer exhibitions, not to mention works by Impressionist or later 'modern' artists.<sup>119</sup> The one exception to this trend was Sir Edmund Davis and his wife<sup>120</sup> who assembled an enormous collection of contemporary British art between 1890 and 1930.<sup>121</sup> Apart from their extensive

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<sup>116</sup> See *South Africa*, 10.5.1919, p.265; and *Catalogue of the choice collection of modern pictures and watercolour drawings of the late C. D. Rudd, Esq. of Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire.....* Christie's, London, 2 May 1919. The sale realised £15 252 6s. and one Birket Foster watercolour, *On the Thames at Greenwich, sunset*, sold for £1 680, a record price for a work by Foster.

<sup>117</sup> Sir Donald Currie was closely connected with South African affairs. The 'Randlord press' noted his movements in detail. See Andrew Porter, *Victorian shipping, business and imperial policy: Donald Currie, the Castle Line and southern Africa*, London, 1986. Sir Donald Currie was a generous philanthropist, but his gifts of artworks to South Africa appears to be limited to a painting by Colin Hunter, *The silver of the sea*, given to the Cape Town Art Gallery in 1898. *South Africa*, 29.12.1898, p.231.

<sup>118</sup> *South Africa*, 18.8.1894, p.315; 25.8.1894, pp.336-338, where an interview with Sir Donald Currie in the *Strand Magazine* is reported.

<sup>119</sup> In the case of Sir Julius Wernher, for instance, the only works by a contemporary artist which he acquired and displayed in his Red Room are two small oils by Lord Leighton. Their presence is explained by the fact that both are sketches after old masters: Veronese's *The Last Supper* and Rubens' *Peace and war*.

<sup>120</sup> Sir Edmund Davis (1862-1939) is yet another of those figures in the history of mining in Southern Africa about whom very little is known. Although he made his initial fortune by exploiting mineral resources in Southern Africa, his status as a 'Randlord' is debatable because he was not involved in the Kimberley diamond fields and his investments in the Rand goldfields were passive. He was born in Australia, grew up in Paris, came out to Africa in 1879 and after making successful investments in gold and copper, he chose to reside in London from 1890 until his death almost fifty years later. In these later years he made numerous successful investments in mining across the world. I am grateful to Ian Phimister for allowing me access to his research notes relating to his planned biography of Davis (see I. Phimister, 'The Chrome Trust: the creation of an international cartel, 1908-38' *Business History*, 38, 1996, pp.77-89).

<sup>121</sup> *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, Kent, and 13, Landsdowne Rd., W.11....*, Christie's, London, 7 July 1939; *Catalogue of ancient and modern pictures and drawings: the property of Sir Edmund Davis, J.P., deceased, removed from Chilham Castle, near Canterbury...*, Christie's, London,

purchases of works by living artists, often on the advice of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon,<sup>122</sup> the Davises also commissioned a number of artists to decorate rooms in their London home. The only paintings by contemporary artists that were to be found in most Randlord collections were portraits of themselves by the fashionable portrait painters of Edwardian society.<sup>123</sup> They perceived such portraits as an essential component of the upper class identity they were trying to construct. A scathing contemporary anecdote about a Randlord family's attitude to portraits supports this view:

At the home of a certain South African family now located in London and living in luxurious style, an old friend from South Africa happened to call the other day. In the course of conversation he referred to an oil portrait of the boss on the dining-room wall.... The visitor remarked to the lady of the house that the portrait was a very good one; why did she not have hers done by the same artist? "Oh!" said the grand dame ... "Jim is going to get mine done by one of the 'old masters'".<sup>124</sup>

Like most individuals who commissioned portraits, the Randlords had their own ideas about how they wanted to be portrayed. And like most society portraits through the centuries, those of the Randlords were sophisticated social constructs which tended to celebrate the sitter's social status. A clear case in point illustrating the desire to affirm their new-found status through portraiture is Sir William Orpen's portrait of Otto Beit (Fig. 2.36). It depicts Beit seated in the library of his Belgrave Square house surrounded by shelves of books, opulent furnishings and the Murillo *Prodigal Son* series of six oils. Beit himself is only a small part of the foreground in this 'portrait', and most of the canvas is given over to illustrating his status and achievements through the accumulation of symbols of his own sophistication.

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15 May 1942. Michael Stevenson and Anna Tietze are presently preparing a paper on Sir Edmund and Lady Davis as collectors.

<sup>122</sup> J.G.P. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: a biography*, Oxford, 1990, p.184. See also C. Hussey, 'The Keep, Chilham Castle, Kent [in the grounds of the Davis' home in the country]: a residence of Mr Charles Shannon, RA and Mr Charles Ricketts, ARA', *Country Life*, 55, 21 June 1924, pp.1000-1006.

<sup>123</sup> Sir George Arthur recalls that one critic remarked at the time of the South Africa War that while 'the pick of the Englishmen were being shot in South Africa, the pick of the South African millionaires' wives were being hung at the Academy'. Sir George Arthur, *Not worth reading*, London, 1938, p.141.

<sup>124</sup> 'South African millionaires', *South Africa*, 24.12.1898, p.653.

Sargent, the most highly esteemed portraitist of the period, painted oils of three Randlord wives,<sup>125</sup> sketched in charcoal Sir Max Michaelis and his wife,<sup>126</sup> and painted a large group portrait for Sir Abe Bailey of the First World War generals.<sup>127</sup> Giovanni Boldini, who in the 1890s was the Parisian equivalent of Sargent,<sup>128</sup> painted Rodolphe Kann, Alfred Beit, and Lionel and Florence Phillips. Sir Hubert von Herkomer painted numerous Randlords including Cecil John Rhodes and Dr Jameson (both pictures were exhibited at RA in 1895), Mrs Leopold Albu (at the RA in 1906) and Sir Julius Wernher (at the RA in 1910).<sup>129</sup>

When they did engage with the art of their time by offering patronage, surviving recollections describe the Randlords in many instances as uninformed and culturally unsophisticated individuals who had little respect for the artistic integrity of the artist.<sup>130</sup> A case in point is Rhodes, who perceived art chiefly as a means of furthering

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<sup>125</sup> The subjects of these three oils by Sargent are: Mrs Carl Meyer and children, which was the 'portrait of the season' when exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1897, George Mosenthal's wife, Marguerite, and Mrs Julius Wernher, painted in 1902 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1903. Henry James described Sargent's portrait of Mrs Carl Meyer and children in his review for *Harper's Weekly* of the Royal Academy show: 'The subject ... wears a pale pink satin dress with wonderful gauzy accessories and ... presents to incredulous view a pair of imperceptible feet.... She has round her neck a string of pearls, ineffably painted, that hangs down to her shoes; and one of her hands, raised to rest as she turns against the old, faded, figured tapestry of her seat, holds the hand of one of her two children.... Of these elements Mr Sargent has made a picture of a knock-down insolence of talent and truth of characterization, a wonderful rendering of life, of manners, of aspects, of types, of textures, of everything. It is the old story; he expresses himself as no one else scarcely begins to do in the language of the art he practices.... Besides him, at any rate, his competitors appear to stammer; and his accent is not to be caught, his process, thank heaven, not analysed.' H. James, *The painter's eye*, ed. by J.L. Sweeney, London, 1956, pp.256-257.

<sup>126</sup> Sargent shunned major portrait commissions after 1907 and offered the alternative of charcoal sketches. Robbie Ross arranged for Max Michaelis and his wife to sit for such sketches. MM to RR, 2.12.1912, Ross papers, JAG archives.

<sup>127</sup> Sir Abe Bailey commissioned Sargent, Guthrie and Sir Arthur Cope to paint group portraits of personages of the First World War for presentation to the National Portrait Gallery.

<sup>128</sup> See Gary A. Reynolds, *Giovanni Boldini and society portraiture 1880-1920*, exh. cat., Grey Art Gallery, New York University, 1984.

<sup>129</sup> See J. Saxon Mills, *Life and letters of Sir Herbert von Herkomer C.V.O., R.A.: a study in struggle and success*, London, 1923; and *A passion for work – Sir Herbert von Herkomer 1849-1914*, exh. cat., Watford Museum, 1982.

<sup>130</sup> Two anecdotes about Rhodes's relations with artists serve to suggest that he treated them as if they were mine managers. Rhodes called at the studio of the sculptor Alfred Gilbert to discuss a commission and was infuriated when he found only small wax models. Rhodes said that he was not out to furnish a toy shop. 'I want something big! Big!...' (Edwin A. Ward, *Recollections of a savage*, [London, 1923], p.255). Rhodes expressed his dissatisfaction with an unfinished portrait by the painter Luke Fildes and sent his secretary with a cheque to pay for the portrait with the intention of destroying it. Fildes refused to accept the cheque or hand over the portrait, to Rhodes's fury (L. V. Fildes, *Luke Fildes, R.A.*, London, 1968, p.146); both incidents are quoted by P. Gillet, *The Victorian painter's world*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1990, pp.65,121-122.

his political aspirations or glorifying his conquests and immortalising him and his associates in paint or bronze for future generations to venerate. The three major commissions he gave the sculptor, John Tweed, provide some idea of his attitude towards art and artists. He commissioned two works relating to Jan van Riebeeck – a bronze plaque depicting his landing at the Cape in 1652, for his house at the Cape, Groote Schuur, as well as a large statue of Van Riebeeck to be placed in Cape Town – both of which can be related to Rhodes's intention of winning favour with the Cape politician, 'Onze Jan' Hofmeyr, and the Afrikaner Bond in the Cape Parliament.<sup>131</sup> His other substantial commission was four large plaques which would serve as a memorial to the thirty-five members of Alan Wilson's patrol who died in pursuit of the King of the Matabele, Lobengula, in 1893 in Rhodes's conquest of what became known as Rhodesia.<sup>132</sup> (Rhodes would not allow Tweed to sign either the Van Riebeeck statue or the Alan Wilson Memorial plaques.)<sup>133</sup>

It must also be pointed out, however, that it is unlikely that the Randlords, who were shrewd and successful financiers, would have spent such large sums on works of art without giving some thought to their investment potential. The possibility that they viewed such purchases as a means of diversifying their investments should not be discounted. It is often incorrectly thought that the concept of 'art as an investment' dates back to the post-Second World War years when inflationary trends led to a pattern of purchasing hard assets such as artworks.<sup>134</sup> However, the art press and journals at the turn of the twentieth century regularly included articles on the subject. Even the *Connoisseur* carried an article entitled 'Collecting as an investment',<sup>135</sup> and as early as 1891 an article in the *Art Journal* cautioned about investing in art:

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<sup>131</sup> Lendall Tweed, *John Tweed, sculptor: a memoir*, London, 1936, p.85.

<sup>132</sup> See R.R. Langham-Carter, 'The Shangani Memorials', *Africana Notes and News*, 25, March 1982, pp.1-8.

<sup>133</sup> Lendall Tweed, *John Tweed, sculptor: a memoir*, London, 1936, pp.74-75. Rhodes would not allow Tweed to undertake other work, and when Tweed undertook to sculpt a statue of Rhodes for a committee of Rhodes's supporters in Bulawayo, Rhodes halted his monthly payments for the Wilson Memorial (until Tweed took legal action). Rhodes, at first, even demanded that Tweed should destroy the bust that he had sat for in the past and later insinuated that he would ensure that it would not be erected in 'his' country. See Lendall Tweed, *John Tweed, sculptor: a memoir*, London, 1936, chapter 4.

<sup>134</sup> See Geraldine Keen, *The sale of works of art: a study based on The Times-Sotheby's index*, London, 1971.

<sup>135</sup> W. Roberts, 'Collecting as an investment', *Connoisseur*, 7, September 1903, p.44.

Some collectors, and they are not a few, are so exigent that they look to reap far higher returns from this class of investment than they would readily rest satisfied with in a matter of stocks and shares. ... An investment in Art, if it is to be made from the point of view of a good one, must be approached with as much care as one in a South-African gold-mine, or an American cattle-ranch.<sup>136</sup>

As has been briefly demonstrated in this introduction, works of art served a range of functions for the Randlords. These include the possibility of acting as a store of wealth, providing a public confirmation of the extent of that wealth and, accordingly, assisting them in realising their social aspirations. This wide range of possibilities is related to the fact that expenditure on art (and possibly also philanthropy) do not offer quantifiable financial returns on an on-going basis. For this reason, the motives for purchasing artworks can be manipulated to meet other needs which include, ironically, the masking the materialism that characterises the Randlords' overall patterns of consumption. This is because of the 'symbolic capital' which is associated with the ownership of artworks.<sup>137</sup> As Bourdieu explains:

Symbolic capital, a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical 'economic' capital, produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in 'material' forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> 'The Fine Arts as an investment', *Art Journal*, 1891, pp.159-60.

<sup>137</sup> D. S. Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*, Cambridge, 1996, p.212.

<sup>138</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice*, Cambridge, 1977, p.183.





## CHAPTER ONE

### SIR JULIUS AND LADY WERNHER

Today, most collectors tend to specialise in a clearly demarcated field. One therefore seldom encounters a collection as diverse and large as that formed by Sir Julius and Lady Wernher. At the time of Sir Julius's death in 1912, over 820 objects of 'artistic interest', worth in total about £400 000, were housed in their London mansion, Bath House, and their country house, Luton Hoo.<sup>1</sup> At first glance there is no coherence of theme linking the many facets of the collection. However, as will become clear in the course of this chapter, an underlying structure does emerge when it is acknowledged that the works of art were displayed in distinctly separate public and private spaces: the reception rooms in both houses and Wernher's Red Room in the private apartments in Bath House.

Very few papers which relate to the formation of the Wernher collection have survived.<sup>2</sup> There are a few references in dealers' stockbooks and a number of letters written by Wernher to Wilhelm von Bode, whom he consulted periodically. A particularly useful document which has survived, is a lengthy letter written by Lord Carmichael,<sup>3</sup> a close friend of Wernher, in which Carmichael analyses Wernher's

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<sup>1</sup> At Bath House alone 700 works of 'artistic interest' are listed with a cumulative value of £334 960 of which 64 are paintings worth a third of the total, £111 385. At Luton Hoo 120 pieces are listed worth £66 600, and the 37 paintings are worth approximately half the total, £32 580. Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*; and *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Luton Hoo, Bedford, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescripts. Wernher papers. Luton Hoo.

<sup>2</sup> As is the case with most Randlords, there is a scarcity of private papers relating to Sir Julius and Lady Wernher. In a short memoir of Wernher written years later by Charles Rube, he recalled that the 'correspondence between Rhodes and Wernher was enormous and was carefully preserved by him, but when Wernher felt he was dying he directed his wife to immediately destroy it lest it fall into the hands of biographers and thus sacred confidences be violated – Wernher dealt in the same way with the correspondence with Beit and other friends' (quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.255). The business papers of the London branch of Wernher, Beit & Co. were destroyed in the bombing of London in the Second World War, as were the papers concerning the purchase and alterations of Bath House. I am greatly indebted to Raleigh Trevelyan's very readable history of the Wernher family and their descendants: *Grand dukes and diamonds: the Wernhers of Luton Hoo*, London, 1991.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Carmichael was a close friend of Wernher's and 'an art connoisseur' who also served as a trustee of the National Gallery (1923-1926), National Portrait Gallery (1904-1908), and the Wallace Collection

approach to collecting. Two other valuable sources of information are a group of remarkably detailed photographs of the interiors of Bath House taken by Bedford Lemere in 1911,<sup>4</sup> and inventories of the rooms at Bath House and Luton Hoo compiled by the dealer Charles Davis in 1913.<sup>5</sup> The valuations that Davis placed on each work are important because the prices Wernher actually paid for the items in the collection were seldom recorded, and the valuations provide some insight into late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century notions of attribution and worth.<sup>6</sup>

Although eighteenth-century British and French paintings and seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish works that are to be found both in the collections of Wernher and the other Randlords and their contemporaries, Wernher himself differed in important ways from his fellow Randlord collectors (Fig. 1.1). He was an extraordinarily successful capitalist and financier, and acquired all the symbols of wealth and power that had come to be expected of an individual in his position, but he was not obsessed with the status associated with these symbols. As the socialist and Fabian, Beatrice Webb, observed, he was 'unconcerned with social ambition or desire to push himself by his wealth'.<sup>7</sup> Wernher himself remarked in 1880 after his first flush of success, 'As a merchant I am striving after possessions and affluence, yet I have no insatiable thirst for them'.<sup>8</sup> The effect of this on his collection was to make it different from those of his fellow Randlords both as to the content and the context in which it was displayed.

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(1918-1926). *D.N.B.*, 1922-1930, pp.158-159. A portion of his collection was sold in 1902: *Collection of Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, Bart., Castle Craig, Scotland*, Christie's, 12-13 March 1902.

<sup>4</sup> National Monuments Record, England.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased; Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Luton Hoo, Bedford, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescripts, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>6</sup> These inventories do have limitations. Firstly, they reflect the state of the collection in 1911 and 1913 respectively, yet the collection had been formed over the past few decades and shifted between rooms and houses: hence, we have an insight only at a particular moment in its history. Secondly, the inventories are limited to works of 'artistic interest', which does result in our perhaps getting a skewed view of the collection because the information about the minor works is very fragmented. Both these issues affect certain aspects of the collection more than others; Wernher's collection of Renaissance paintings was not moved between Bath House and Luton Hoo in those years and would appear to have included very few items that were not of 'artistic interest'. This is in contrast to works of the British, French, Dutch and Flemish schools which were shifted between the mansions after Luton Hoo was completed in about 1906.

<sup>7</sup> Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (eds.), *The diary of Beatrice Webb*, London, 1984, vol 3, p.41.

<sup>8</sup> JW to his parents, late 1880, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.41. In a similar vein, he wrote to his parents, still in Germany, prior to leaving Kimberley for London in 1880 that 'I have always tried in spite of all my wealth to keep my needs as modest and as small as possible; even if I am always aware of the vicissitudes of life, need or necessity could never be the touchstone of

The content of his 'private' collection was unusual in relation to the other Randlords for two reasons; firstly, a substantial portion consisted of *objets d'art* as opposed to paintings, and secondly, most of his acquisitions in this aspect of the collection were medieval and Renaissance works of art. Alfred Beit and the Kann brothers all collected *objets*, but these works of art were merely an aspect, rather than the focus, of their collections. The author of the catalogue of Rodolphe Kann's collection makes a comment on Kann's bias which could also apply to Beit: 'Kann was above all a collector of pictures; in the matter of "objet d'art", he bought only things destined to form the decoration of his rooms, of the purest Louis XV style, and restricted himself to works of the finest quality. Objects of earlier periods were only to be found in his study, arranged on his writing table, or round the room.'<sup>9</sup>

The scales of value in the late twentieth century are so dramatically different from those concurrent at the end of the nineteenth century that it is difficult for us to grasp the fact that there was no price differential a hundred years ago between the finest paintings and *objets d'art*. True to his time, Wernher was conscious of this parity in the value of *objet* and paintings, and would appear to have spent more on collecting *objets* than paintings. He owned 329 *objets* and 179 jewels which were valued in 1913 at £113 415 and £51 305 respectively; a sum considerably greater than the valuation placed on the paintings displayed in the same room in Bath House.<sup>10</sup>

Wernher's remarkable array of *objets* is a subject worthy of a study in itself,<sup>11</sup> but since an in-depth discussion of this part of his collection is beyond the scope of this thesis, it will be discussed only briefly in relation to his acquisition of Renaissance paintings.<sup>12</sup>

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my honour. If tomorrow I lost everything, that indeed would not make me happier, but it would not disturb the peace of my soul'. Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London. 1991, p.42.

<sup>9</sup> *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, Paris, 1907, vol 1, p.xxiv.

<sup>10</sup> The 26 paintings in the Red Room were valued in 1913 at £45 875. Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>11</sup> Wernher's collection of *objets* ranks with the finest of such collections assembled by his contemporaries, who included J. Pierpont Morgan (part of his collection entered the Metropolitan Museum), George Salting (in the V & A), the various branches of the Rothschild Family (including the Waddesdon bequest in the British Museum) and the Hertfords (the Wallace Collection). The South Kensington Museum and the British Museum as well as the Berlin museums were also serious buyers of *objets*.

<sup>12</sup> As will become evident in this chapter, paintings were only an aspect of the Wernher collection. However, because this thesis is primarily concerned with the Randlords' collections of pictures, these

(Similarly, Lady Wernher's collection of English ceramics and Lady Phillips' collection of lace also fall outside the parameters of this thesis.)<sup>13</sup> Wernher's collection of *objets*, as well as his paintings (which are discussed below), is spread between works from southern and northern Europe. These included Renaissance bronzes, majolica, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century German, Spanish and Portuguese plate, sixteenth-century German clocks, seventeenth-century French and German watches, a few illuminated manuscripts,<sup>14</sup> a substantial group of sixteenth-century French Limoges enamels, as well as two rare northern Romanesque enamels,<sup>15</sup> and a carefully selected group of Byzantine, Carolinian and Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance and seventeenth-century ivories.<sup>16</sup> From Wernher's choices it is clear that he was fascinated by works of art displaying ingenuity of design as well as virtuosity of craftsmanship and mastery in execution. He had a preference for *objets* executed in precious metals and materials, particularly gold, silver and jewels (as well as bronze and ivory) probably because of his business interests in gold and diamonds. Materials such as wood or stone are rarely encountered in his collection.

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other facets of Sir Julius and Lady Wernher's collection will only be explored in so far as they add to our understanding of their taste for paintings.

<sup>13</sup> Lady Wernher was a serious collector in her own right. Over the years, and especially after her husband's death in 1912, she acquired examples of English porcelain and ultimately assembled one of the finest collections of its kind. The exact location where this collection was displayed in Bath House during her husband's lifetime is not clear. See the sumptuous catalogue by Arthur Hayden and W. Leslie Perkins, *Old English porcelain: the Lady Ludlow collection*, which was privately published in 1932 in an edition of 100 copies. The collection now belongs to the National Art Collections Fund and is on loan to the Luton Hoo Foundation. For a history of the collection after Lady Ludlow's death see R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.399.

<sup>14</sup> Wernher's acquisitions from the Spitzer collection included a magnificent Book of Hours of the School of Bruges, c.1500-1525, comprising twelve finely painted large miniatures and twenty-four small miniatures. See *Catalogue of Western illuminated manuscripts ... comprising ... a sumptuous Book of Hours of the school of Bruges, the property of the late Sir Derrick Julius Wernher, Bt. ...*, Sotheby's, London, 10 November 1952, lot 78. In this catalogue entry, reference is made to it being listed in the Spitzer Catalogue, V, p.141, no.27.

<sup>15</sup> These two works, a North German copper-gilt casket and a gable end of a house shrine are now in the collection of the British Museum. I am grateful to Neil Stratford of the British Museum for drawing my attention to these two enamels. See his catalogue of the collection: N. Stratford, *Catalogue of medieval enamels in the British Museum*, London, 1993, nos.17 and 25.

<sup>16</sup> After the death of Sir Julius's son, Sir Harold, in June 1973, and Sir Harold's widow in 1977, eight ivories and two northern Romanesque enamels were made over to the British nation in 1978 in lieu of death duties. The group was estimated to be worth about £700 000 on the open market. British Museum registration numbers, 1978,5-2,1 - 1978,5-2,10. I am grateful to James Robinson for this information. See R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.437.

Despite the range of Wernher's interests there are a number of avenues of collecting he did not explore. For example, he expressed no apparent interest in prints or drawings,<sup>17</sup> which might have suited his taste for artworks that are best appreciated in the comparatively intimate setting of a private space. This was typical of most Randlords, who tended to subscribe to the notion that oils were superior to prints, drawings and watercolours, and that bronze, rather than clay or plaster, was suitable for sculpture. Wernher did not assemble a cabinet of coins or medals, which is equally surprising, because he certainly favoured intricately detailed miniature works of art. Nor did he acquire any armour, a very fashionable field of collecting in the nineteenth century, possibly because of the space required for its display. Moreover, although he collected Renaissance works of art inspired by the antique, he did not acquire classical antiquities in any form. And, along with his fellow Randlords, he expressed little interest in any objects from the Far East: the only oriental works of art one encounters in the collections are pieces of Chinese porcelain mounted in eighteenth-century French ormolu.<sup>18</sup>

Wernher's interest in medieval and Renaissance works of art and the manner in which he chose to display them, suggests that he considered himself a modern-day heir to a humanist prince of the Renaissance, or a German banker of the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century. His collection of *objets* and paintings, which were grouped together in the Red Room in Bath House, resembled a *Kunstkammer* or *Schatzkammer* such as those favoured by these collectors<sup>19</sup> (Figs. 1.2, 1.3, 1.4). In this space, the large

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<sup>17</sup> There were a large number of prints hanging on the walls of Bath House, but these were primarily after British eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artists, and possibly used as fashionable decoration rather than being the outcome of systematic collecting. See *Bath House, Piccadilly, W.1. Catalogue of the decorative furniture, porcelain, pictures and engravings, the property of the late Lady Ludlow ... and ... Sir Harold Wernher...*, Christie's (at Bath House), 25-26 November 1946, lots 246-269; and *Bath House, Piccadilly, W.1. Catalogue of the remaining contents of the mansion...*, G.F. Hawkings & Son (at Bath House), 11 December 1946, lots 291-308.

<sup>18</sup> For instance see *Catalogue of the collection of pottery and porcelain in the possession of Mr Otto Beit*, London, 1916, pp.130, 160-163.

<sup>19</sup> See Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (eds.), *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*, Oxford, 1985; Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, 1990; Paula Findlen, *Possessing nature: museums, collecting, and scientific culture in early modern Italy*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1994; T. DaCosta Kaufman, 'From mastery of the world to mastery of nature: the *Kunstkammer*, politics and science', in T. DaCosta Kaufman, *The mastery of nature: aspects of art, science and humanism in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1993; and Thomas DaCosta Kaufman, *Court, cloister and city: the art and culture of central Europe, 1450-1800*, London, 1995, chapter 7.

display cases were filled with works of art and the mantelpiece and tables were crowded with sculptures and *objets*, all of which were meticulously arranged according to the size, material and period of each work of art. In marked contrast to the rest of the house, the room was decorated in the Renaissance style with red damask stretched on the walls, richly carved dark furniture, velvet-covered furniture draped with textiles, and eastern rugs on the floors. However, despite the fact that Wernher's Red Room resembled a Renaissance *Kunstkammer* in terms of form and appearance, there is a difference in the meaning conveyed by these respective spaces. A *Kunstkammer* functioned as a display of wealth and as evidence of the breadth of learning of its owner. As such, it was usually considered part of the public space within a mansion or palace, Wernher's Red Room was set apart from the reception rooms in Bath House and hence served as a space for retreat and reflection.

Wernher's treatment of this room may have been influenced by Wilhelm von Bode, who advocated that works of art should be exhibited in 'period' rooms and not in austere neutral galleries. In Bode's view, paintings had to be displayed in unison with sculpture, furniture, *objets* and architectural features (Fig. 1.5).<sup>20</sup> His description in an English periodical in 1891 of the interiors that he planned for the new building for Berlin's Renaissance Museum could well have applied to Wernher's Red Room:

it is our intention ... to bring together a few of the best works, paintings as well as statues ... and to exhibit them in rooms which shall be, in form, lighting and decoration, in the style of the particular time and school represented by the works themselves.... [F]or the Botticellis, Fra Filippos, Donatellos, Desiderios, &c, we shall take a Florentine saloon of the fourteenth century as a pattern and put life into it with a few pieces of the best furniture, tapestry and carpet of the time.<sup>21</sup>

Beatrice Webb recalled that Wernher was a 'real drudger at his business',<sup>22</sup> and the Red Room may well have served as a sanctuary and refuge from the unceasing demands of Wernher, Beit & Co. It was in this clearly demarcated space away from the 'everyday

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<sup>20</sup> See Volker Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur: Forschen – Sammeln – Präsentieren', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, N.F., 34, 1992, pp.105-119.

<sup>21</sup> W. Bode, 'The Berlin Renaissance Museum', *Fortnight Review*, October 1891, pp.506-515.

<sup>22</sup> Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (eds.), *The diary of Beatrice Webb*, vol 3, 1905-24, London. 1984, p.41.

environment' that Wernher was able to consummate what Baudrillard terms the 'passionate enterprise of possession':

Our everyday environment itself remains an ambiguous territory, for, in ordinary life, function is constantly superseded by the subjective factor, as acts of possession mingle with acts of usage, in a process that falls short of total integration. On the other hand, the collection offers us a paradigm of perfection, for this is where the passionate enterprise of possession can achieve its ambitions, within a space where the everyday prose of the object-world modulates into poetry, to institute an unconscious and triumphant discourse.<sup>23</sup>

Wernher acquired pieces for his collection over a period of three decades, although the majority of his purchases were made in the space of about fifteen years. His initial purchases were modest, made in the first decade after he assumed the position as manager of the London branch of Porgès & Co. in 1881 at the age of thirty-one. His years as a major collector date from the early 1890s through to about 1906, with the acquisition of the leasehold of Bath House in April 1896 and the purchase of Luton Hoo in 1903 providing the space (and impetus) for his extensive purchases. Wernher scaled down his buying for the last six years of his life, which is understandable given the burdens of business and the demands of his family in those years. His partner and close friend, Alfred Beit, died in 1906 and, as Wernher wrote to Lady Wernher: 'There is nobody to take his place.... My pleasure in business is certainly gone without Beit but the load remains.'<sup>24</sup> Wernher also had to deal with an ongoing scandal that arose out of Henri Lemoine's claim that he was able to mass-produce gem-sized diamonds which would undermine De Beer's dominance in the diamond market,<sup>25</sup> as well as the

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<sup>23</sup> Jean Baudrillard, 'The system of collecting', in J. Elsner and R. Cardinal (eds.), *The cultures of collecting*, London, 1994, p.8.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.194.

<sup>25</sup> Wernher was at the centre of the Lemoine scandal which provided Proust and Flaubert with endless material for satire. (See Marcel Proust, *L'Affaire Lemoine: pastiches*, ed. by Jean Mily, Geneva, 1995). In 1905 an engineer, Henri Lemoine, approached Beit with the claim that he had a secret formula for the mass-production of gem-sized diamonds. Beit visited Lemoine's 'forge' in Paris and was alarmed to be handed a stone of flawless quality and signed a document certifying that the diamond was authentic. Before Beit's death in July 1906 (and some friends suggested that this experience hastened Beit's death) it had been agreed that Lemoine should be paid for setting up a plant in a remote spot in the High Pyrenees to 'manufacture' diamonds. As Trevelyan points out, this was the only occasion in Wernher's life when he was duped, partly because of Beit's misjudgement. Lemoine's 'process' proved to be fraudulent and a long and drawn-out trial began in Paris in January 1908. He was finally convicted of fraud in March 1910. R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, pp.195,213.



protracted trauma that surrounded his eldest son Derrick's repeated indebtedness to bookmakers and moneylenders.<sup>26</sup>

A formative influence in Wernher's first years as a collector was his lifelong friend and business partner, Jules Porgès (1838-1921).<sup>27</sup> It was Porgès who, in 1871, recognised Wernher's potential and offered him the opportunity at the age of twenty-one to purchase diamonds on his behalf in Kimberley.<sup>28</sup> While Wernher was still on the diamond fields, Porgès sent him as a Christmas gift a Louis XV 'mechanical' travelling-cabinet made by J.B. Oeben.<sup>29</sup> However, Porgès's influence would appear to be related more to initial encouragement and introductions to dealers than to issues of taste<sup>30</sup> because, unlike Wernher, Porgès primarily collected seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, and eighteenth-century French furniture and pictures.<sup>31</sup>

The person who may have had more of an influence on Wernher's collecting practices was Wilhelm von Bode, whom Wernher first approached for advice in the late 1880s (Fig. 1.6). When Wernher (and Beit and Michaelis) first consulted Bode, he was head of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, a position to which he had been appointed in 1890 after serving as the director of the sculpture gallery for seven years.<sup>32</sup> In 1905 he was

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<sup>26</sup> Wernher ultimately placed notices in the London press that he was not responsible for debts incurred by his son. Wernher died two weeks after Derrick's final appearance in the bankruptcy court on 21 May 1912 (he had liabilities of £81 865 and assets of £225). R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, pp.246-247.

<sup>27</sup> Wernher bequeathed a painting by Boilly to 'his old friend and former partner' Jules Porgès.

<sup>28</sup> On Charles Mège's departure in 1873, Jules Porgès offered Wernher a year's contract as his representative on the Cape diamond fields with a 25% share in the profits. He was also permitted to undertake business for his own account which he did with capital initially provided by his family. In 1875 Wernher accepted a three-year contract, conditional upon his being allowed to take leave in Europe in 1877. Porgès visited Kimberley in December 1876 and brought out a clerk, Charles Rube, a fellow-German from Darmstadt, to relieve Wernher in his absence. Wernher returned to Kimberley towards the end of 1877 but the skirmishes in Griqualand and the Anglo-Zulu War in Natal of 1878-9 once again depressed business to the point where in 1880 Wernher intended leaving Africa permanently.

<sup>29</sup> R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.29.

<sup>30</sup> In 1889 Wernher visited Paris, on his return from visiting his mother in Frankfurt, where he purchased works of art while staying with Jules Porgès. R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.74.

<sup>31</sup> Porgès's collection was housed at his mansion at 18 Avenue Montaigne in Paris. I have relied on R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, for information about Jules Porgès which is generally difficult to find. His collection would appear to have been mixed in quality because Beit wrote to Bode in 1897 saying that Porgès had recently visited London and bought, as usual, 'rubbish'. AB to WB, 21.3.1897, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>32</sup> See the growing literature on Bode which includes: Edward P. Alexander, 'Wilhelm Bode and Berlin's museum island: the museum of world art', In *Museum masters: their museums and their influence*.

promoted to Director-General of Museums, a post he held until 1920, after which he devoted himself once again to the Gemäldegalerie, until his death in 1929. Bode was a well-known art historian whose broad-based connoisseurship covered fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian painting and sculpture, seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish Baroque painting, as well as Renaissance furniture, middle-eastern carpets and even picture frames. In his publications, which include more than fifty book titles and five hundred articles,<sup>33</sup> his pioneering scholarship was so major that many of these works have since become canons in art history. Bode substantially augmented the treasures of the Berlin museums by combining 'Prussian method with American enterprise'.<sup>34</sup> As the *Burlington Magazine* observed in 1905: 'It is to the knowledge, the capacity and the energy of Dr Bode and his able assistants ... that Berlin owes what is now one of the finest picture collections in the world.'<sup>35</sup> He was one of the first museum directors to mobilise private wealth to benefit public galleries, and he cultivated relationships with dealers and collectors across Europe and the U.S.A. in the hope of receiving donations of paintings and funding. To this end he founded the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein (in 1897), which enabled him to use private funding to acquire works of art without the interference of the museum bureaucracy.<sup>36</sup>

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Nashville, Tennessee, 1983, pp.205-238; Thomas, W. Gaetgens, 'Wilhelm von Bode und seine Sammler', in *Die Berliner Museumsinsel im Deutschen Kaiserreich, zur Kulturpolitik der Berliner Museen in der Wilhelminischen Epoche*, Munich, 1992, pp.11-28; Cella Margaretha Girardet, 'James Simon', *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 19 1982, pp.77-98; Cella Margaretha Girardet, *Jüdische Mäzene für die Preußischen Museen zu Berlin*, unpublished PhD thesis, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1993; Barbara Paul, "'Das Kollektionieren ist die edelste aller Leidenschaften": Wilhelm von Bode und das Verhältnis zwischen Museum, Kunsthandel und Privatsammlertum', *Kritische Berichte*, 21, 1993, pp.41-64; Volker Krahn, 'Wilhelm von Bode und die Italienische Skulptur: Forschen – Sammeln – Präsentieren', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, N.F., 34 (1992), pp.105-119. See also the host of catalogues and publications that accompanied the exhibitions in Berlin in 1995-6 which commemorated Bode's birth a hundred-and-fifty years ago. These include: Manfred Ohlsen, *Wilhelm von Bode – Zwischen Kaisermacht und Kunsttempel: Biographie*, Berlin 1995; Volker Krahn, *Von allen Seiten Schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock, Wilhlem von Bode zum 150. Geburtstag*, exh. cat., Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Heidelberg, 1995; *Wilhelm von Bode: Museumsdirektor und Mäzen, Wilhelm von Bode zum 150. Geburtstag*, Der Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, exh. cat., Berlin, 1995; Volkmar Enderlein, *Wilhelm von Bode und die Berliner Teppichsammlung*, exh. cat., Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, 1995.

<sup>33</sup> See Ignaz Beth, *Verzeichnis der Schriften von Wilhelm von Bode*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1915.

<sup>34</sup> The Berlin art critic and writer Karl Scheffler, cited in *The Gemäldegalerie, Berlin*, London, 1986, p.21.

<sup>35</sup> 'Editorial: German art and the German character', *Burlington Magazine*, 8, November 1905, pp.77-79.

<sup>36</sup> For reasons that remain unclear, neither Wernher, nor Beit or Michaelis are listed as members of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, although almost all of the collectors whom Bode advised supported this association. The only exception is a Peter Paul Rubens' oil which Alfred Beit is said to have presented through the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein (although it is unclear if he personally presented the painting or if he provided the funds for its purchase). In the 1905-1906 *Bericht* of the Kaiser-

Bode seems to have viewed Wernher's donations to the Berlin museum as inadequate. It is probably for this reason that their relationship was not without tension.<sup>37</sup> Wernher was ultimately the wealthiest Randlord: at the end of 1895, the *Mining World* assessed his share holdings to be worth about £6m<sup>38</sup> and, on his death, his estate was provisionally estimated at £11.5m, the largest estate recorded in Britain by 1912. In his lifetime Wernher was an exceedingly generous philanthropist, especially to education and medicine and, on his death, he left a twelfth of his estate to the King's fund for hospitals.<sup>39</sup> In terms of the Berlin museums, the first gift Wernher offered, in June 1889 on Rodolphe Kann's recommendation, was two paintings by a Netherlandish master circa 1500 (described at the time as by Rogier van der Weyden) from the San Donato collection. Two years later Wernher offered Bode a gift of 5 000 francs to be spent as he thought best.<sup>40</sup> There are three other paintings in the Berlin museum listed as having been given by Wernher: a painting by Willem Kalf, *Stilleben mit Glaspokal und Früchten*;<sup>41</sup> a work by a follower of Hugo van der Goes, *Tod Mariae*<sup>42</sup> from the Sciarra collection, donated in 1894; and the magnificent Hans Multscher 'Wurzach Altarpiece' wings depicting the *Birth of Christ*.<sup>43</sup> This latter work was purchased with a sum of between 10 000 and 12 000 marks, which Wernher offered Bode in June 1900.<sup>44</sup> At the time of this offer Wernher informed Bode that he would not make any other donation in the year ahead.<sup>45</sup> Bode did not respond favourably to Wernher's firm stand against his repeated requests and the following year insinuated that Wernher was

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*Friedrich-Museum-Verein* there is the following remark about the Rubens *Landscape*: 'Die vom KFMV als eigentum erworben und des kgl. museen als Leihgut uwberiesen' in 1898-9.

<sup>37</sup> The fact that Bode never prepared a catalogue of Wernher's collection, which he usually did for the collectors whom he advised, indicates to some degree the lack of intimacy between Bode and Wernher.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.87.

<sup>39</sup> F.K. Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the hospitals of London: the King's Fund 1897-1900*, Oxford, 1992, p.31.

<sup>40</sup> JW to WB, 12.5.1891, Bode papers, ZASMPK. In this letter Wernher regrets not as yet having had the pleasure of meeting Bode, but looks forward to doing so when Bode visits London.

<sup>41</sup> Cat. no.948F.

<sup>42</sup> Cat. no.538B.

<sup>43</sup> Cat. no. 1621 A-G. There is also evidence in the archives of the Berlin collections that in 1899 Wernher presented an 'ivory relief from the collection of Becker in Frankfurt a Main. This ivory (German, carved in 980-90 AD in the reign of Otto III in the Mosel area) is worth more than 3000 marks'. Zentralarchiv, Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum geschekegeben-liste, KFM25H, ref. 13/99.

<sup>44</sup> Bode, who always used every opportunity to its fullest, spent 12 378 marks on the Multscher Altarpiece. JW to WB, 20.6.1900, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>45</sup> JW to WB, 9.6.1900, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

ungrateful for his advice and assistance because he gave relatively little to the museum: an assertion Wernher tersely denied.<sup>46</sup>

Bode's irritation with Wernher possibly also stemmed from the fact that, unlike most of the collectors whom Bode advised, Wernher was not a 'disciple' who unquestioningly accepted his opinions. Wernher challenged him regularly on the aesthetic significance of artworks as well as the prices Bode quoted on behalf of dealers. This independence of mind stands in contrast to that of most of the other Randlords, who not only relied on their advisers for expert opinions, but often also delegated their collecting to them. D.C. Boonzaier's description of the contents of Sir Abe Bailey's house at Muizenberg, Cape Town, encapsulates the route Wernher chose not to follow, much to Bode's annoyance:

This house is considered [to be] the finest in the peninsula next to Groote Schuur, and as in the case of Rhodes, the owner has left the collecting of the art treasures ... to other hands, being presumably either too ignorant, or too busy to select the things which would make his house beautiful and attractive.... [All] the furniture, objects of art etc. seen here had been specially selected and bought for Bailey by Messrs. Baker and Masey, [the] architects ... who also built the house.<sup>47</sup>

Wernher was prepared to consult Bode if he was doubtful about an acquisition, but he did not always consider Bode's opinions as conclusive. As Lord Carmichael recalled: Wernher 'was always willing to listen to anyone in whose knowledge he believed, but I don't think he often took advice unless he was quite convinced himself'.<sup>48</sup> For instance, he did not hesitate to tell Bode that a Dürer portrait he had recommended in June 1900 was in poor condition and overpriced considering the loss of paint on the face.<sup>49</sup> It is all the more surprising, therefore, that on another occasion (for reasons that have not been recorded), Wernher asked the dealers Arthur Tooth & Co. to send to Berlin an inexpensive picture (£300) attributed to the 'Master of The Death of Mary', because he wanted Bode's opinion on it.<sup>50</sup> Ultimately Bode was only involved in the acquisition of a fraction of Wernher's collection. By examining the one surviving notebook in which

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<sup>46</sup> JW to WB, 25.8.1901, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>47</sup> D.C. Boonzaier's diary, 22.1.1911, manuscript, SAL.

<sup>48</sup> Carmichael to Lady Ludlow, 4.2.1925, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>49</sup> Wernher was apprehensive about the success of restoration, and thought the painting was very expensive in view of its condition. JW to WB, 20.6.1900, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>50</sup> JW to WB 21.1.1903; A. Tooth & Co. to WB, 22.1.1903, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

Wernher recorded his purchases of *objets* over five years in the 1890s, this involvement can be placed in perspective: 230 works (excluding paintings) are listed at a cost in excess of £60 000, a vast sum in the art market of the 1890s, and Bode was consulted about only a handful of these.<sup>51</sup>

Wernher's self-confidence as a collector and his independence from an individual as domineering as Bode, is surely related to his background, which would appear to have been fairly unusual among the Randlords. Bourdieu's hypothesis, that cultural awareness is closely related to the two formative influences of education (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and social origin (as measured by the individual's father's profession), certainly would apply to Wernher.<sup>52</sup> He had the benefit of an upbringing in a cultured and respected middle-class Protestant family (his father was an eminent railway engineer),<sup>53</sup> and he was exposed from a young age to a collection of paintings owned by his uncle.<sup>54</sup> Although Wernher did not have the benefit of a tertiary education, and had instead served an apprenticeship with a banking house in Frankfurt-on-Main, he was by all accounts very well-read,<sup>55</sup> and quite astute. The fact that he was able to sustain close friendships with some of the prominent intellectuals of his time, in particular Sidney and Beatrice Webb, attests to his serious interest in politics and culture.

Wernher's self-assurance manifests itself in the manner in which he chose to collect. He formed a collection that did not consist of predictable choices of conspicuous artworks valued highly by the art market, which is the path most plutocrats followed at that time. As Carmichael observed after Wernher's death: 'Perhaps it would be impossible now for any one to find enough objects from which to chose a collection as large as Sir

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<sup>51</sup> Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>52</sup> See P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984.

<sup>53</sup> R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.3.

<sup>54</sup> Wernher wrote to Lionel Phillips at the time when Sir Hugh Lane was selecting paintings for the Johannesburg Art Gallery: 'I remember when I was a boy I was attracted by a few stirring subject pictures in my uncle's gallery and always wanted to see them again and gradually took a taste for other pictures which I could not help seeing.' JW to LP, 29.7.1910, H. Eckstein papers, BR.

<sup>55</sup> For example, in Wernher's first years on the diamond fields he wrote home requesting a supply of books, not novels but biographies, travel books and histories of art. These included a work on Michelangelo, Mommsen's *History of Rome* and Macaulay's *Essays*. R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.21.

Julius formed and which would be as markedly that formed by one man'.<sup>56</sup> The reasons for the collection's distinctiveness are twofold. Firstly, Wernher appraised the individual merits of each work of art that he considered acquiring, a skill which was sharpened by his years of experience as a diamond buyer. They provided him with an acute ability to recognise and respond to the nuances of an *objet* or painting; when assessing the potential of uncut diamonds as he himself remarked, 'every stone has to be judged individually'.<sup>57</sup> Secondly, in addition to this fastidious appraisal of each artwork, he gave careful thought to how it would relate to the works of art he already owned. One does not sense any urgency about his collecting, as compared with Sir J.B. Robinson's for instance, and he did not buy any collections *en bloc*, which characterised J.P. Morgan's and even Beit's acquisitions to some degree. This judicious selection of works of art is confirmed by Lord Carmichael's recollections:

I imagine ... [Wernher] was in a better position to buy things which he wanted than most collectors are and he did collect from a very wide field, [and] his collection therefore was not a small one, but he was remarkable[sic] careful as to what he did buy, certainly after I knew him and from what he told me I fancy this was the case practically all the time he collected, he made a rule of buying nothing which did not seem to him to raise the standard of his collection as a whole....<sup>58</sup>

Arguably more so than in any other Randlord collection, there is therefore ample evidence in Wernher's collection of what Pierre Bourdieu calls 'cultural capital': the ability to decode richly symbolic artworks or to appreciate those whose value derives in a large part from formal qualities.<sup>59</sup>

Wernher was the only Randlord who systematically collected Renaissance paintings.<sup>60</sup> The walls of Wernher's Red Room were crowded with Renaissance paintings hung on brass chains in two tiers, with a row of small pictures beneath the larger paintings, which were selectively lit with individual picture lights. These 26

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<sup>56</sup> Carmichael to Lady Ludlow, 4.2.1925, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>57</sup> In a letter JW wrote to his father from the diamond fields in 1872, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.20.

<sup>58</sup> Carmichael to Lady Ludlow, 4.2.1925, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>59</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984, p.2.

<sup>60</sup> Sir J.B. Robinson did acquire a number of works by Italian artists but these were not the focus of his collection (see chapter 6). The group of Italian school paintings which Alfred Beit owned were minor works which he purchased together with his country house (see chapter 3).

paintings were mostly images of the Holy Family and portraits, about half of which were painted by Italian artists (with the Venetian and Florentine schools predominating), the rest by German, Netherlandish, French and Spanish artists.

In the 1890s, prior to the entry of the Americans into the market, collectors' demands, including the those of the Randlords, remained centred around the best known eighteenth-century British and seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painters, and they tended to overlook the work of most artists from other schools and periods.<sup>61</sup> Although the National Gallery had begun to acquire Italian Renaissance paintings in the mid-1800s and, by the turn of the century, had assembled a very fine collection, collectors in general were slower in expressing an interest in such works.<sup>62</sup> The American collectors, many of whom were advised by the art historian Bernard Berenson (who was in the employ of the dealer Duveen), did not share the Randlords' lack of interest in Italian paintings, which subsequently became an integral aspect of most American old master collections. As Berenson recalled in 1919:

The same collector who thirty years ago would have bought nothing that was not Barbizon, who then had no familiarity with other names in Italian art than Raphael and Leonardo and Michelangelo, will now send out runners to secure him Cavallinis, Margaritones, Vigorosos and Guidos, Berlinghieris and Deodati – or at least pictures of their glorious epoch, whether in each case correctly attributed or not.<sup>63</sup>

Amongst Wernher's Renaissance paintings there are very few canonical works by what were then regarded as the leading old masters, and it would seem that Wernher was aware of this fact. It was not a case of misguided purchases, or dealers misleading him: for the most part, according to contemporary valuations placed on the works, they were acknowledged to be by lesser-known painters and not pictures optimistically attributed to leading artists. Ironically, on the few occasions when he did pay a substantial price for a Renaissance painting by a prominent artist (for instance, the Titian, *Portrait of Giacomo di Agostino Doria*), the attributions have in the present day been called into

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<sup>61</sup> See F. Russell, 'Early Italian pictures and some English collectors', *Burlington Magazine*, 136, February 1994, pp.85- 90.

<sup>62</sup> See Denys Sutton, 'The English and early Italian art', *Apollo*, 131, April 1965, pp.254-256; and David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian art world*, Princeton, 1978.

<sup>63</sup> B. Berenson, 'A Newly Discovered Cimabue', (written in 1919) in *Studies in medieval painting*, Oxford and Yale, 1930.

question, yet those few works which are now considered to be of major significance (especially the Albrecht Altdorfer, *Christ taking leave of His mother*, and Bartholomé Bermejo, *St Michael triumphant over the devil*) are by artists that were hardly known to the art market and were acquired by Wernher for modest sums.

Approximately half of Wernher's Renaissance paintings were altarpieces, devotional panels and tondos. The symmetrical display on the long wall of the Red Room was centred around a tondo attributed to Botticelli, *Virgin and Child with saints*, which he purchased from the London dealers, Bromley Davenport, in 1897.<sup>64</sup> Beside it hung a painting of the *Virgin and Child with St Joseph and two angels* painted by an artist of the Florentine school, possibly Lorenzo di Credi, purchased from Colnaghi's in 1899. Its mirror image in this symmetrical display was a *Holy Family* by a Northern Italian artist circa 1500, possibly Gian Francesco di Maineri. Further along this wall hung a large tondo by Filippino Lippi, *Rest on the flight to Egypt*, which Wernher bought from Agnew's in 1898 for £3 300.<sup>65</sup> An altarpiece depicting the *Annunciation* by an artist of the Venetian school circa 1500 (also unattributed according to the 1913 inventories, although it bore the relatively large valuation of £3 000) hung above the fireplace and formed a focal point of the display on that wall (Fig. 1.7). In a corner, beneath a Bronzino portrait, hung a work by Francesco Francia, *Virgin and Child between Saints Nicholas and Cecilia*, which Wernher purchased in June 1901 from Agnew's for £1 700 (Fig. 1.8).<sup>66</sup>

The Netherlandish images of the Holy Family displayed in the Red Room included two works attributed to Mabuse of the *Virgin and Child* (one of which is now considered to be after Joos van Cleve and the other now attributed to the 'Master of the Legend of St Ursula'), a painting attributed to Quentin Massys of the *Virgin and Child seated in an interior*, and a work by a German artist circa 1550 of the *Madonna and Child*

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<sup>64</sup> JW to WB, 16.10.1987, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>65</sup> Wernher was most likely influenced in his decision to acquire this work by its immediate provenance: it had only recently been acquired by Rodolphe Kann from Agnew's for £2 500, and he traded it back two months later for £3 000, upon which Wernher purchased it, presumably on Kann's recommendation.

<sup>66</sup> Agnew's had purchased this painting from Boussod Valadon for 18 700 francs (£747) in November 1900 and paid 'Dr L' (possibly Lippmann) a commission of £385, roughly half the purchase price. One wonders whether 'Dr L' was paid for introducing the painting to Agnew's, or for recommending its purchase to Wernher, or for his certificate 'authenticating' the painting. Agnew's stock-books, Agnew's, London.



*surrounded by putti playing music in the gardens of a mansion.* Also amongst this group was a painting of the *Virgin and Child* attributed to Hans Memling, an artist whose works Wernher had on a number of occasions declined to purchase because of the 'ludicrous' prices asked for them.<sup>67</sup> He eventually relented in 1905 and acquired this work through Bode for 32 000 marks (equivalent to £1 600). Characteristically, Wernher did not hesitate to express his reservations about its quality to Bode when it arrived.<sup>68</sup>

In later years Wernher became increasingly selective in his acquisition of images of the Holy Family. When Bode drew his attention to such works, he invariably declined to acquire them because, as he said, he already owned a large number, and asked Bode instead to bear him in mind for Renaissance portraits.<sup>69</sup> Through Bode and other sources he ultimately did assemble a small collection of portraits, but none of them are in the present day considered to be particularly distinguished. These included two small portraits of men by the French artist Corneille de Lyon (now considered 'style of') and a few German and Italian portraits. Two German works flanked the fireplace: a work by Hans Holbein the Younger (now considered German school), *Portrait of a young man in striped grey tunic*, purchased from Sedelmeyer in about 1897, and a Lucas Cranach the Elder (now attributed to Christoph Amberger), *Portrait of a bearded man wearing a black hat*.

The two Italian portraits in Wernher's display in the Red Room were a Bronzino (now considered to be painted by an artist in the circle of Bronzino) a three-quarter length *Portrait of a young man in black*, and Titian's *Portrait of Giacomo di Agostino Doria*.<sup>70</sup> The latter, the focal point of the arrangement on the long wall, was purchased from Agnew's in July 1898 at a price of £8 000. This was possibly Wernher's most expensive acquisition. In the inventory prepared in 1913 it was still considered to be the most valuable painting in the collection, worth £10 000. The price Agnew's commanded for the painting was an enormous sum: most works by Titian sold for a few

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<sup>67</sup> JW to WB, 20.6.1900, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>68</sup> Wernher described the Memling to Bode as a pleasing but not very significant picture. JW to WB, 25.7.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>69</sup> JW to WB, 3.3.1900; 11.3.1900; 9.6.1900, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>70</sup> Giovanni de Pellegrini, 'Mr Wernher's Titian', *Burlington Magazine*, 2, July 1903, pp.267-268.

thousand pounds in those years, aside from the spectacular *Rape of Europa* sold to Isabella Stewart Gardner for an unprecedented £20 000 at the end of 1895.<sup>71</sup> The unexceptional quality of the Doria portrait suggests that it not an autograph work.<sup>72</sup> In retrospect it would seem to be a rare instance where Wernher might have been misled by the provenance and high price commanded for the work.

Wernher seldom selected paintings with narrative or thematic subjects; there are very few works illustrating a biblical passage or an event in the life of a saint in his collection. Yet amongst these few are to be found the two paintings which are now considered to be the most significant paintings he owned:<sup>73</sup> the Albrecht Altdorfer, *Christ taking leave of His mother* (Fig. 1.9), and the work by the Spanish artist Bartolomé Bermejo, *St Michael triumphant over the devil* (Fig. 1.10).

Bermejo's painting of St Michael, with his gold-embroidered cope and gleaming jewel-encrusted armour silhouetted against a gold ground, reveals an aspect of Wernher's attitude towards attributions which deserves to be explored further. Even today few collectors are prepared to purchase unattributed works and, in this instance, Wernher knowingly acquired a painting which was by an unidentified artist. Even the issue of in what country or region it was painted was uncertain. Five years after he bought the work, he lent it for an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904, on which occasion the critics were unable to decipher the signature (painted on a piece of paper placed in the foreground) and incorrectly suggested that it originated from Southern France. It was only the following year that the art historian Herbert Cook in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* rediscovered the Hispano-Flemish master Bartolomé Bermejo and identified his signature on Wernher's painting.<sup>74</sup>

This *St Michael triumphant over the devil* had originally hung in the parish church of S.Miguel, Tous in Valencia in Spain, and was commissioned in about 1470 by Antonio

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<sup>71</sup> G. Reitlinger, *The economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, pp.464-467.

<sup>72</sup> H.E. Wethey, *The paintings of Titian: complete edition*, London, 1971, vol 2, no.25.

<sup>73</sup> The less important works in this genre were a pair of small works by the Antwerp Master, *The entombment* and *The descent from the cross*, which also flanked the fireplace.

<sup>74</sup> H. Cook, 'Identification of an early Spanish master', *Burlington Magazine*, 8, November 1905, p.129. See also J. Pijoan, 'A signed triptych by Bartolomé Bermejo at Acqui', *Burlington Magazine*, 22, October 1912, pp.17-25.

Juan of Tous, who is depicted as the kneeling patron in the painting.<sup>75</sup> It passed through the hands of a number of dealers in the nineteenth century prior to Wernher's purchase. Bode's colleague, and the director of the print room at the Berlin museum, F.W. Lippmann, drew Wernher's attention to it after finding it in London in October 1899 with the dealers Dowdeswell.<sup>76</sup> Wernher bought it from them for what was presumably not a great sum of money because, in addition to not carrying a firm attribution, it also appears to have been in need of restoration.<sup>77</sup> Wernher displayed the Bermejo in the Red Room where its visual qualities complemented his interest in Renaissance jewellery.<sup>78</sup>

Wernher's acquisition of Albrecht Altdorfer's *Christ taking leave of His mother* in 1904 was also a very atypical purchase for a collector at the turn of the century.<sup>79</sup> Even Robert Langton Douglas, an art historian of Italian painting from whom he bought the work, had only recently learnt of Altdorfer's work.<sup>80</sup> Douglas wrote to Bode when he first acquired the painting that he was 'ashamed of my ignorance of Altdorfer [when I recently visited Berlin, whereafter] I set to work to study him, spending much time with his pictures, and buying the photographs of them, and all books relating to the

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<sup>75</sup> Eric Young, *Bartolomé Bermejo*, London, 1975, pp.33-38, 137-138.

<sup>76</sup> It is often stated that Wernher acquired the Bermejo on a visit to Berlin in 1890 (R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.65) but this would appear to be incorrect. In Wernher's letter to Bode (19.10.1899, Bode papers, ZASMPK) he mentions that he had acquired a painting of St Michael in London and there is no other painting of this subject in his collection. This London provenance correlates with a contemporary report that stated that the work was acquired from the London dealer Charles Dowdeswell. H. Cook, 'Identification of an early Spanish master', *Burlington Magazine*, 8, November 1905, p.129.

<sup>77</sup> Wernher then asked Bode for advice about its restoration which Dr Lippmann recommended, but about which Wernher had reservations because he did not want the painting to look 'too new'. JW to WB, 19.10.1899, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>78</sup> Wernher collected about two hundred pieces, mostly German and Spanish, including finger rings, enamelled cap-badges, jewelled appliquéés and dress ornaments, cameos and intaglios. See H. Clifford Smith, 'Renaissance jewellery in the Wernher Collection at Luton Hoo', *Connoisseur*, 125, May 1950, pp.76-81,132.

<sup>79</sup> Surprisingly, the Altdorfer was not displayed in the Red Room but instead hung on the staircase in Bath House, along with the Goya portrait, a pair of 'large views of towns by rivers' by Jacob van Strij and a 'large decorative painting of two girls representing sculpture and painting in a carved and gilt Louis XVI frame'. Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo, no.510.

<sup>80</sup> Robert Langton Douglas had been a Church of England chaplain at Sienna prior to focusing on art history and operating as a private art dealer. See the four issues of *Apollo*, 109-110, April-July 1979, which contain a series of articles by Denys Sutton about Robert Langton Douglas.

artist.’<sup>81</sup> Wernher’s interest in the Renaissance would have provided a broad reason to acquire this painting but it would not be unreasonable to suggest that Wernher’s own Germanic roots contributed to his decision to buy the Altdorfer as well as the other northern Renaissance works which he had acquired. Although he had chosen to reside in London after leaving the diamond fields,<sup>82</sup> and had adopted British citizenship in 1897, Wernher did not sever his attachment to Germany, as did many other plutocrats who sought to establish an anglicised identity.<sup>83</sup> He wrote in his first letter to Bode in 1889 that although he lived in England, part of his heart remained in Germany.<sup>84</sup> Langton Douglas’s letter to Wernher, in which he stressed the painting’s importance in terms of German art, surely struck a chord: ‘It is now generally recognised that, after Dürer and Holbein, Altdorfer is the greatest master of the German school. This picture is his masterpiece, and is, therefore one of the most important works in the whole range of German painting.’<sup>85</sup>

Bode recommended Altdorfer’s *Christ taking leave of His mother* to Wernher after Douglas first offered it to the Berlin gallery in his capacity as the British buying agent for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. Ultimately they rejected it because they considered his price excessive for a little-known artist. Douglas described the painting and justified its price to Bode and Max J. Friedländer (at that time a curator of paintings at the

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<sup>81</sup> RLD to WB, 2.12.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>82</sup> Wernher was the first of the Randlords to move back to Europe and he chose to live in England where he was later joined by almost all the Randlords, regardless of their country of birth. His reasons for residing in London were related to the fact that business in Germany was ‘a chain of intolerable nuisances’ as compared with England which had a more felicitous environment for trade and finance. His parents questioned his decision but, as he explained to them, his achievements in business argued against his settling in Germany. ‘If I had remained a little wheel in a huge machine in London it would have been easy to go back to Germany. But early in life I became independent and a moving force unquestioningly I might say the centre of important interests unquestioningly and I cannot now shake that off. Thus I belong in everything that means business on the grand scale, in everything that demands the power of man and the sharpness of intellect in a foreign land.’ JW to his parents, 22.1.1880, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, pp.38-40.

<sup>83</sup> Wernher was born in Darmstadt, Hesse, Germany.

<sup>84</sup> In this first letter from Wernher to Bode, Wernher presented two paintings to the Berlin museums. In the letter he expressed concern that these two works were perhaps not of sufficiently high quality to be accepted by the Berlin galleries, in which case he asked Bode to suggest to which museum he should donate them. JW to WB, 22.6.1889, Bode papers, ZASMPK; see also W. Bode, *Mein leben*, Berlin, 1930, p.88.

<sup>85</sup> RLD to JW, 17.12.1904, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

museum, and an esteemed expert in early Netherlandish and German painting),<sup>86</sup> in a letter written in December 1904:

I have now succeeded in finding what to my mind is the finest Altdorfer in existence not excepting the 'Battle of the Arabela'. I have found and bought the picture of Christ saying farewell to His mother on the road to Calvary formerly in the Fuller-Russell collection and before that in a church in Ratisbon.<sup>87</sup> It is in a splendid state of preservation and its glorious richness of colour has not been harmed by over cleaning, restoration or ill-treatment. It is, as you know, a large picture and fine in composition and sentiment.

I had to pay a very high price for the picture. I am telling you of my possession before anyone else. As you have shown me so much kindness and I want to give you the chance of acquiring it. I know that if it goes to Germany there may be some outcry, but I am willing to run the risk of this. It cannot be denied that Altdorfer is one of the greatest of German artists and that his native country has a kind of prescriptive right to his greatest works. Besides the picture was taken from Germany by the English.

For public, then, as well as for private reasons I give you the first offer of this masterpiece which would form a good centre to your group of Altdorfers. Surely some rich ... German will give it to your gallery.

This picture is probably the only work of any importance that is in private hands. It is scarcely possible that a fine Altdorfer will ever again be offered for sale. I know of two collectors who want such a picture, and of course there are important public galleries which have not an Altdorfer. My price for the picture is £4 000. But I will offer it to you for £3 000. I am sorry to say that I *cannot* take less. And I only make this offer because you have been so good a friend to me.<sup>88</sup>

Although Bode rated Altdorfer's work very highly, he had not yet reached a decision a week after this letter, and Douglas wrote that he planned in a week's time to raise the price of the picture to £3 500 or £4 000 because private collectors would be interested in it.<sup>89</sup> Bode did not take note of this threat because he thought it was overpriced to begin

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<sup>86</sup> See F. Winkler, 'Max J. Friedländer 5.6.1867-11.10.58', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 1, 1959, pp.161-167.

<sup>87</sup> This does not correlate with the present known provenance of the painting. It was first recorded in 1809 in the collection of Coelestin Steiglehner, Prince Abbot of St Emmeram, in Regensburg. Its whereabouts prior to this remains unknown. I am grateful to Dr Susan Foister of the National Gallery for her assistance. See also Alistair Smith, *Albrecht Altdorfer: Christ taking leave of His mother*, exh. cat., National Gallery, London, 1984.

<sup>88</sup> RLD to WB, 2.12.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>89</sup> RLD to WB, 9.12.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

with, and declined to purchase it.<sup>90</sup> All Douglas's self-assurance about the ease with which he would be able to dispose of the picture now evaporated. He asked Bode to assist him in selling the Altdorfer<sup>91</sup> at a price of £4 000 and assured Bode that he would not fail to show his gratitude to him for his assistance.<sup>92</sup> Bode immediately wrote to Wernher recommending the painting.<sup>93</sup>

The final price Wernher paid for the painting was not disclosed, but it was presumably in the region of the sums mentioned. This is a modest amount given the scarcity of his work and the prices that works by highly-regarded Renaissance artists realised. In addition to this, as Douglas himself wrote to Wernher: The 'Christ Leaving His Mother' is ... the only known painting by the master in north-western Europe, that is to say in Great Britain or France, except the 'St Hubert' in the Glasgow Gallery.<sup>94</sup> Douglas added that there was no work by Altdorfer at the National Gallery or at the Louvre, or in any of the great American galleries.<sup>95</sup>

The decor in Wernher's Red Room contrasts strongly with the interior decoration of the reception rooms, at both Bath House (Figs. 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, 1.14) and Luton Hoo. The Wernhers chose the French eighteenth-century style of decoration for these rooms, which was a common choice also among the other Randlords for their reception rooms. As Osbert Lancaster later remarked: 'With the arrival of the South African millionaires the style Rothschild, which had always proclaimed itself eighteenth-century in

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<sup>90</sup> Douglas asked Bode to bear three facts in mind: 'First that my Altdorfer is ten times as big as some of yours at Berlin, and is one of the two most important examples of the master in the world; secondly, that no fine Altdorfer is likely to come into the market again, and certainly no picture of this size and importance; thirdly, that the prices of such pieces are going up here in England by leaps and bounds, and are likely to increase enormously in the next two years. Financial booms are expected in South Africa, in ... Australia and in America. Next season will be a good season in London.... I want to sell this picture as I am anxious to buy several things I have seen in my recent travels. But I cannot sell it for less than £3 000. In fact, after next Monday the price will be £4 000 and I shall get it. Do not fear that I shall not offer you things at low prices.... But first of all I must sell the Altdorfer at a profit.' RLD to WB, 10.12.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>91</sup> RLD to WB, 12.12.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>92</sup> RLD to WB, 12.12.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>93</sup> It is unlikely that Wernher and Douglas were acquainted before this date, because in mid-November 1904 Douglas mentioned to Bode that he would be 'deeply grateful' for an introduction (RLD to WB, 17.11.1904), and a few days later remarked to Bode: 'I wish that Mr Wernher or Mr Beit would appoint me to find things for them'. RLD to WB, 20.11.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>94</sup> RLD to JW, 17.12.1904, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>95</sup> RLD to JW, 17.12.1904, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

inspiration, enjoyed a new lease of life...' <sup>96</sup> However, the Randlords, along with Victorian and Edwardian interpreters of the French style, tended not to be concerned with recreating authentic interiors in the manner of Louis XIV, Louis XV or Louis XVI, but instead were preoccupied with creating spaces which would serve as a stage for their displays of wealth and social status. Consequently, the reception rooms of their houses were usually filled to capacity with intricately-made pieces of furniture with ormolu mounts and inlays of rare materials, the floors were covered with carpets, every ledge and table was crowded with *objets*, vitrines housed collections of ceramics, and oil paintings in ornate gilded frames hung on the silk-covered walls.<sup>97</sup> The overall effect was overwhelming and left no doubt in the mind of a visitor that the owner was a person of means. Such was the response of the critic C. Lewis Hind after a visit to a 'wealthy cosmopolitan connoisseur' in his French-style drawing-room at the turn of the century:

The world had been ransacked for the spoils that stood in crowded magnificence in the rooms where I sat. A French king had written at that bureau; a Princess had used that console-table; that marble group had been ravished from an Italian palace; no power of will or money could duplicate that cabinet of china.... [For the] *escritoire*, inlaid with so many shining woods, a ... workman had given seven years of his life. The eye wandered over these things, resting nowhere, dazzled by the pomp and glory of the art world. I touched the shining woods of a cabinet. The surface was ever-perfect workmanship. I removed the heavy gold key from the lock. It was made of gold.<sup>98</sup>

In any Randlord French-style interior, the primary audience, beyond the family, for their eighteenth-century French furniture and decorative *objets* were the other Randlords and European and American financiers in their circle. Auslander's observation, that furniture can be viewed 'not only as a source of sensual pleasure, but as a means of social differentiation and as media to communicate those differences'<sup>99</sup> could partly explain why almost all the Randlords competed against one another in collecting French furniture. It arguably served as a very visible means of asserting their new-found status

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<sup>96</sup> Osbert Lancaster, *Home sweet homes*, London, 1939, p.48.

<sup>97</sup> See for instance the Randlord Ludwig Neumann's collection of French furniture and *objets d'art* which was sold by Christie's in 1919 for a total of £70 272 6s. *Catalogue of the collection of fine French furniture ... formed by L. Neumann, Esq. and removed from 11 Grosvenor Square*, Christie's, London, 2-3 July 1919.

<sup>98</sup> C. Lewis Hind, *Adventures among pictures*, London, 1904, pp.50- 51.

<sup>99</sup> Leora Auslander, *Taste and power: furnishing modern France*, Berkeley and California, 1996, p.14.

because, as a group, they were all aware of the significance and cost of such pieces of furniture.<sup>100</sup> Their demand for French furniture provided a further impetus to an already booming market, to the point where a writer in *Burlington Magazine* in 1904 thought the prices commanded were nonsensical: The 'taste for French furniture and decoration of the periods of Louis XIV, XV and XVI has ... reached a pitch which in the opinion of many is unwarranted by its artistic merits.'<sup>101</sup>

The Randlords and their contemporaries were not the first to reinterpret the French style in Britain. Their adoption of this style is consistent with Veblen's suggestion that emergent social elites tended to imitate those wealthier than themselves, 'until ... all canons of reputability and decency, and all standards of consumption, are traced back ... to the usages and habits ... of the highest social and pecuniary class – the wealthy leisure class.'<sup>102</sup> In the case of the Randlords, those above them in the British social hierarchy were the Rothschilds (who were also the Wernhers' neighbours in London),<sup>103</sup> who were originally of German-Jewish descent but who had been living in Britain for three generations by the late nineteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Their taste, in Gere's view, was 'the epitome of monied achievement'.<sup>105</sup> From the 1860s, the Rothschilds themselves had emulated the British aristocracy's interest in the French style (in particular Hertford, Pembroke, Hamilton and Dudley), who had in turn modelled their interiors on George

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<sup>100</sup> This concurs with Bourdieu's argument that consumption with reference to art forms is a 'process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code': 'The conscious or unconscious implementation of explicit or implicit schemes of perception and appreciation which constitutes pictorial or musical culture is the hidden condition for recognising the styles characteristic of a period, school or an author, and, more generally, for the familiarity with the internal logic of works that aesthetic enjoyment presupposes. A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason.' P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984, p.2.

<sup>101</sup> 'The consequences of the American invasion', *Burlington Magazine*, 5, July 1904, pp.353-355.

<sup>102</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class* (first published in 1899), New York, 1931, p.104.

<sup>103</sup> The 1896 *Boyles Court and Country Guide* lists Miss Alice de Rothschild resident at no. 142 Piccadilly, Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild at 143, Baron Albert de Rothschild at 145 and Lord Rothschild at 148. The other Randlord who had a house in the 'Rothschild Row', Sigismund Neumann, lived at 146 Piccadilly. Giovanni Botero's observation that living close together in a city 'changes the terms of that competition so that the urban nobility spends more lavishly than the rural nobility...' would certainly appear to be relevant in this instance. Quoted by R.A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the demand for art in Italy 1300-1600*, Baltimore and London, 1993, p.196.

<sup>104</sup> See Pauline Prevost-Marcilhacy, 'Rothschild architecture in England, France, Germany, Austria and Italy', in Georg Heuberger (ed.), vol 2: *The Rothschilds: essays on the history of a European family*, Frankfurt am Main, 1994, pp.245-264; Pauline Prevost-Marcilhacy, *Les Rothschilds: bâtisseurs et mécènes*, Paris, 1995; and Vivian B. Mann and Richard I. Cohen (eds.), *From Court Jews to the Rothschilds: Art, patronage and power, 1600-1800*, Munich, 1996.

<sup>105</sup> C. Gere, *Nineteenth-century decoration: the art of the interior*, London, 1989, p.270.



IV's decoration of Carlton House (when he was still Prince of Wales) in the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>106</sup>

Arguably the most impressive interiors in the French style constructed in Edwardian England are to be found in the Wernhers' country house, Luton Hoo.<sup>107</sup> Its entire interior was reconstructed in the Louis XVI style<sup>108</sup> by the builders George Trollope & Son under the direction of the French architect Charles Frédéric Mewès and his English associate Arthur Davis. (Figs. 1.15, 1.16) This group had also designed the interiors for the Paris Ritz (Wernher, Beit & Co. were part of the syndicate that financed its construction),<sup>109</sup> as well as a gigantic château for Jules Porgès and his wife Anna at Rochefort-en-Yvelines outside Paris,<sup>110</sup> and they later supervised the Randlord, Sir Friedrich Eckstein's, lavish remodelling of Ottershaw Park in Surrey.<sup>111</sup> For Luton Hoo, the interiors and most of the elaborate decorative work was executed by the

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<sup>106</sup> See G. de Bellaigue, 'George IV and French furniture', *Connoisseur*, 195, June 1977, pp.116-125.

<sup>107</sup> It is worth noting that Sir Julius Wernher's 'private' collection, part of which is to be seen at Luton Hoo in the present day, was only moved there at the beginning of the Second World War. Bath House and Luton Hoo passed to Sir Julius Wernher's second son, Major-General Sir Harold Wernher, who also inherited the baronetcy on the death of his elder brother in 1948. Harold Wernher married Zia Torby, the daughter of Grand Duke Michael (a grandson of Tsar Nicholas I and a cousin of the last Tsar Nicholas II) and Countess Sophie de Torby in 1917. In 1948 Sir Harold and Lady Zia decided to open Luton Hoo to the public. This was effected in 1950 and the collection was installed in the northern section of Luton Hoo, while the family continued to reside in the south section. Sir Harold and Lady Zia were collectors in their own right. They assembled a large collection of silver and English furniture, most of which has been sold by their descendants in recent years. See *Furniture, silver, paintings and works of art from the collection of the late Sir Harold Wernher, Bt., G.C.V.O., Luton Hoo*, Sotheby's, London, 24-25 May 1995; and *Important old master pictures*, Christie's, London, 4 July 1997 [includes paintings from the Wernher collection].

<sup>108</sup> Osbert Lancaster puts into context the absurdity of taking inspiration from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France in England in the early twentieth century: 'For although few people are actually called upon to live in palaces a very large number are unwilling to admit the fact and so a style devised for the further glory of a seventeenth-century French monarch has been eagerly adopted from time to time not only by other royalties great and small but also by English noblemen, Jewish business men, South African diamond kings, American millionaires and film stars of all nations.' Osbert Lancaster, *Home sweet homes*, London, 1939, p.22.

<sup>109</sup> R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.146.

<sup>110</sup> R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, pp.145-146.

<sup>111</sup> Ottershaw Park, an eighteenth-century house, was clad in stone, raised a storey, 'enriched with the choicest marbles from Carrara, the finest woods procurable in the Empire', and extended to include a sculpture gallery, winter garden and swimming pool at a cost of nearly half a million pounds. *South Africa*, 13.6.1930, p.402. Sir Friedrich Eckstein used the architects Niven and Wigglesworth for the alterations. Eckstein's son, Bernard, was a more determined collector than his father. The extensive collection was spread over a range of sales at Sotheby's in 1949 after the first sale in December 1948 (*Catalogue of an important collection of choice paintings by English and Continental masters, the property of the late Sir Bernard Eckstein, Bt., ...*, Sotheby's, London, 8 December 1948). From the provenances cited in the catalogues, it would appear that most of the paintings were purchased in the 1920s and 1930s.

Parisian decorator George Hoentschel of Maison Leys, who had also decorated the reception rooms at Bath House. The remodelled Luton Hoo is undeniably impressive, and in Pevsner's opinion, it has the finest Edwardian French interiors to be found in an English country house. 'The combination of Edwardian riches with an exacting French training brought about interiors which are of the very highest quality in their own terms....',<sup>112</sup>

Because the wives of wealthy businessmen invariably bore the responsibility of entertaining in Edwardian Britain, they often played an important role in decorating the public spaces in the town and country houses owned by their families. The high value Edwardian Britain placed on social competition and social success and, therefore, on a woman's ability to attract and entertain important guests can hardly be overestimated. Lady Wernher (Fig. 1.17), in particular, needed to fulfil this role because her husband was ultimately the most highly regarded Randalord in Edwardian society. He was on intimate terms with Edward VII's closest friends, Sir Ernest Cassell, Lord Esher and Sir Horace Farquhar, and he was a generous supporter of the King's charities.<sup>113</sup> He stayed at Sandringham in June 1897, as did Alfred Beit, and Edward VII lunched at Luton Hoo.<sup>114</sup> Wernher was also the first Randalord to receive a baronetcy, in the birthday honours list of 1905, which he apparently did not solicit.<sup>115</sup>

It would not be unreasonable to suggest, however, that Lady Wernher's approach to fulfilling her social commitments – by arranging appropriate spaces for entertaining – extended beyond her obligatory responsibilities.<sup>116</sup> The most substantial evidence for

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<sup>112</sup> N. Pevsner, *The buildings of England: Bedfordshire and the county of Huntingdon and Petersborough*, Harmondsworth, 1968, pp.119-121.

<sup>113</sup> Clive Aslet's observation that the use of the French style in the country implied that the owner aspired to be associated with the social elite surrounding Edward VII is the case with the Wernhers and their reconstruction of Luton Hoo. See C. Aslet, *The last country houses*, New Haven and London, 1982, p.266.

<sup>114</sup> King Edward VII was invited for lunch on Sunday 18 February 1907 but arrived two hours late after a burst tyre.

<sup>115</sup> JW to his brother-in-law F. Mankiewicz, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.177.

<sup>116</sup> Beatrice Webb in her diaries repeatedly criticised Lady Wernher for her materialism. After attending a dinner-party at Bath House in July 1906 she noted that Lady Wernher's 'possessions and the petty power that these gave her were always with her, making her restless, rushing about from place to place, hard-headed, thinking only of material things'. Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (eds.), *The diary of Beatrice Webb*, London, 1984, vol 3, p.42.

her excessive concern to impress contemporaries is the pressure she placed on her husband to acquire Luton Hoo in 1903 for £250 000<sup>117</sup> and to remodel it at a cost of nearly £150 000<sup>118</sup> (Figs. 1.18, 1.19). At the time of Wernher's marriage to Alice Sedgwick Mankiewicz<sup>119</sup> in June 1888, he wrote to her that it was his intention 'to secure for ... [her] a comfortable home and the fulfilment of her every conceivable wish.'<sup>120</sup> Wernher was visiting South Africa in 1903 when it became apparent that the cost of rebuilding Luton Hoo would far exceed the estimates.<sup>121</sup> A letter Lady Wernher wrote to her husband at the time confirms this:

You bought the place under protest (I persuaded you), you alter[ed] it under greater protest (again I persuaded you) therefore you are naturally less inclined to spend large sums on it than if you had been keen on it yourself or than a man who longed for his own country place, & having got it, did not mind what he spent so that it was perfect. *I* know I shall love Luton Hoo, & feel it more my *home* than Bath House....<sup>122</sup>

Wernher remained true to his word and allowed his wife the freedom to remodel Luton Hoo and entertain there on a lavish scale. More than any other Randlord mansion, it exemplifies the conspicuous consumption that characterised the lifestyles of many of the Randlords. Although the Wernhers did not live there, it was maintained all year round by a large complement of staff in anticipation of its periodic use as an impressive venue for entertaining (Fig. 1.20).<sup>123</sup> Beatrice Webb, who with her husband Sidney

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<sup>117</sup> Wernher first acquired a short lease of Luton Hoo in the summer of 1900 at a cost of £3 000 a year. Previous to this, the Wernher's had rented Kimpton Hoo, Lord Hampden's Hertfordshire seat, and later Swallowfield in Berkshire. *South Africa*, 12.5.1900, p.302; 1.2.1902, p.279.

<sup>118</sup> This included architects' fees of £8 786, construction work of £94 207, and interior decoration of £43 915. R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, pp.165-166.

<sup>119</sup> Lady Wernher, who was briefly married to Lord Ludlow after Wernher's death, lived on in great style until 1945. In later years she was known for her liking of the colours mauve, lilac and purple: her servants were dressed in these shades and her five Rolls Royces were painted accordingly.

<sup>120</sup> JW to his future wife, mid-1888, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.63.

<sup>121</sup> In July 1905 Wernher declined Bode's request for a donation because of what he termed 'nonsensical expense' of rebuilding Luton Hoo. JW to WB, 25.7.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>122</sup> Lady Wernher to JW, 2.12.1903, quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.163.

<sup>123</sup> The remodelling of Luton Hoo 'caused a great deal of gossip in the London papers unquestioningly – some of it of the ill-natured sort' (*South Africa*, 17.9.1904, p.861). Wernher who was ill-at-ease with this expenditure could not have been comforted by a remark in the *Clarion* soon after the South African War: 'South African gold mines are not paying so well as formerly, but the patriotic Anglo-Saxon-cum-Semitic millionaires manage to make ends meet. At Luton Hoo a quarter of a million is to be spent on the work. It is not true, however, that Mr Wernher is going to turn the mansion into a retreat for maimed and out of work soldiers who fought for him and his brother plutocrats in South Africa'. Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.146.

wrote their Minority Report for the Royal Commission on the Poor Law while (ironically) resident in a cottage on the Luton Hoo estate, provides a glimpse into what she called this 'futile expenditure of wealth':

The family spend some Sundays at Luton Hoo and a few months in the autumn, but all the rest of the 365 days the big machine goes grinding on, with its 54 gardeners, 10 electricians, 20 or 30 house servants and endless labourers.... The great mansion stood closed and silent ... no one coming or going except the retinue of servants, the only noises the perpetual whirring and calling of the thousands of pheasants, ducks and other game that were fattening ready for the autumn slaughter. At the gates of the park, a bare half-mile distant, lay the crowded town of Luton – drunken, sensual, disorderly – crowded in mean streets, with a terrific infant mortality. The contrast was oppressively unpleasant, and haunted our thoughts as we sat under the glorious trees and roamed through wood and garden, used their carriages, enjoyed the fruit, flowers and vegetables, and lived for a brief interval in close contact with an expenditure of thirty thousand a year on a country house alone.<sup>124</sup>

Paintings formed an integral part of the decoration of the public spaces in Luton Hoo and Bath House. But in contrast to the carefully selected works for the Red Room, the underlying reason for their acquisition would appear to have been the decorative function they served in these interiors, alongside the tapestries and mirrors. This is a characteristic trait of most of the collectors in the circle of the Randlords and their associates: as the writer of a contemporary article on Rodolphe Kann's collection noted, his 'good' eighteenth-century French and British pictures were acquired not for his gallery but 'for the decoration of his house which is built and furnished in the eighteenth-century style'.<sup>125</sup> Works by artists from these two schools, as well as works by seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish artists, formed a large part of the collections assembled by the Randlords, the Kann brothers, and the English Rothschilds.<sup>126</sup> In Wernher's case, as he explained to Bode, he could not have 'religious' pictures all over the house and therefore he acquired British paintings for the reception rooms and Dutch pictures for the billiard room.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Wernher offered Beatrice and Sidney Webb the use of a cottage in the grounds of Luton Hoo in May 1908. Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (eds.), *The diary of Beatrice Webb*, London, 1984, vol 3, pp.95-6.

<sup>125</sup> M.J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157.

<sup>126</sup> See Michael Hall, 'The English Rothschilds as collectors', in Georg Heuberger (ed.), vol 2: *The Rothschilds: essays on the history of a European family*, Frankfurt am Main, 1994, pp.265- 286.

<sup>127</sup> JW to WB, 19.10.1899, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

Wernher's selection of Dutch and Flemish paintings does not include highly acclaimed works like those found in the Beit and Kann collections. His choices appear to have been somewhat haphazard and includes such a range of schools, styles and subjects that it is difficult to reconcile this with the fact that, in other fields, he was a serious and systematic collector. Wernher's selection do not coincide with either the traditional 'Victorian' taste for Dutch and Flemish pictures or the 'modern' preferences for works by the more painterly artists of these schools.<sup>128</sup> Bode did offer him the opportunity to acquire some outstanding Dutch and Flemish paintings which he chose not to buy, perhaps because he thought the enormous prices commanded for such works were in excess of what he was prepared to spend on paintings meant for the public areas of Bath House and Luton Hoo.<sup>129</sup> Lord Carmichael suggested that Wernher was aware that the 'merely decorative objects' he was 'obliged' to buy owing to the size of his houses 'were not as desirable as he would have wished them to be'.<sup>130</sup> This is borne out by statistical analysis of contemporary values placed on the paintings in the reception rooms. The average value of such pictures in Bath House is considerably lower than that of the works of art housed in the Red Room. The works on display in Luton Hoo were on average worth even less than those in the public rooms in Bath House.<sup>131</sup>

A summary of the seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish works on display in the billiard rooms, and eighteenth-century British pictures hung in the reception rooms, in both houses illustrates the points just raised. As will be discussed, the only noteworthy exception is to be found amongst the Wernhers' eighteenth-century French paintings. At

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<sup>128</sup> For a discussion of the terms 'traditional' and 'modern' collectors in the context of Alfred Beit and Rodolphe Kann's taste for Dutch and Flemish pictures in the 1890s, see chapter 3.

<sup>129</sup> We know of two occasions on which Wernher turned down the opportunity to acquire substantial Dutch and Flemish works. Bode offered to include him in the allocation of paintings from the stupendous Lord Clinton-Pelham-Hope collection. They were offered for sale in 1898 in a complicated transaction co-ordinated by Bode, and, in contrast to Beit, Wernher made no acquisitions (AB to WB, 1.10.1898). In March 1900 Bode urged Wernher to examine a Rembrandt at Colnaghi's, but he declined to purchase it owing to his 'strained financial circumstances' at the time of the South African War (JW to WB, 28.3.1900; 16.4.1900; 30.4.1900, Bode papers, ZASMPK).

<sup>130</sup> Carmichael to Lady Ludlow, 4.2.1925, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

<sup>131</sup> The average value of the paintings at Luton Hoo listed in the 1913 inventory was £880 as against £1 740 for the paintings at Bath House. At Luton Hoo eleven Dutch and Flemish paintings, displayed in the billiard room, were worth £20 050 and three British portraits in the drawing room were valued at £5 200. The remaining 23 paintings bore a total valuation of £7 330 (an average value of approximately £320 a picture) and were mostly large works, often with vague attributions or by lesser-known artists. Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Luton Hoo, Bedford, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

Luton Hoo the Dutch and Flemish works included a painting by Gabriël Metsu, *Lady and gentleman at a harpsichord* (Fig. 1.21); a work now attributed to Gerard Dou, *The good housewife*; a Willem van de Velde the Younger, *A States yacht at anchor firing a salute, with many other vessels*; an Aelbert Cuyp, *Landscape with cows*; a Jan van Goyen, *River landscape*; a Salomon van Ruysdael, *River landscape with barges and figures*; a large oil by F. Molenaer, *Village feast besides a river*; an Adriaen van Ostade, *Peasants quarrelling over cards*; a work attributed to Cornelius Dusart, *The pipe-smoker* (now attributed to Adriaen van Ostade); and a work by A. de Pettenkogen, *Hungarian village fair*. The selection of Dutch and Flemish paintings in the billiard room at Bath House included two views of the interiors of cathedrals by Pieter Neeffs, a Philips Wouwermans, *Hunting party setting out* (acquired from Sedelmeyer in 1897); an oil attributed to De Heem, *Plate of oysters* (which Wernher bought at Christie's in March 1897 for £315); and a small landscape by J. Wynants, which was displayed alongside a large landscape by Zuccarelli, two river landscapes by Canaletto and a coastal landscape attributed to Claude Lorrain. Three more Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century paintings were displayed in the smaller Pink Drawing Room at Bath House: a Pieter de Hooch, *Dutch interior*; a half-length portrait of a woman by Sir Anthony van Dyck; and a rare Isaak van Ostade, *Scene outside an inn*,<sup>132</sup> together with a large number of undistinguished paintings of other schools.<sup>133</sup>

The Wernhers subscribed to the late nineteenth-century fashion for eighteenth-century British portraits of women and children. These were hung together in the style of a portrait gallery in the larger Yellow Drawing Room at Bath House.<sup>134</sup> In the 1911 Bedford Lemere photograph of this room it appears surprisingly uncluttered, although it was decorated in the French style, with walls stretched with a yellow fabric between

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<sup>132</sup> This probably was Wernher's most expensive Dutch or Flemish picture, purchased from Agnew's in March 1899 for £5 250.

<sup>133</sup> Although Wernher generally expressed little interest in the works of nineteenth-century British artists, three such paintings were displayed in the Pink Drawing Room: an oil by James Payne, *A view of Eton college*; A.W. Callott, *Italian landscape*; and W.P. Frith, *Portrait of Nora Creina*; as well as Sargent's portrait of Lady Wernher, three small oils by Francesco Guardi and an oil in the style of Nicolas Lancret of a *Fête galante*.

<sup>134</sup> The eleven eighteenth-century British portraits displayed in the Yellow Drawing Room bore a valuation of £38 350. Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo.

white and gilded panelling and wainscoting (Fig. 1.22). Wernher, even more than Beit, resisted the acquisition of portraits by Gainsborough, although other well-known eighteenth-century British artists were included in this display. The collection of paintings in this room included one imposing full-length portrait, Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Portrait of the Countess of Bellamont*,<sup>135</sup> which was flanked by a pair of ornate standing candelabra, and which served to balance a large arched overmantel mirror reflecting the enormous crystal chandeliers on another wall. The other paintings were arranged symmetrically: the large Reynolds portrait was flanked by a Richard Cosway half-length *Portrait of Mrs Richard Grace* and another smaller oil by Reynolds, *Portrait of Mrs Quarrington as St. Agnes*. To the right of the large overmantel mirror were grouped three works with a John Hoppner, *Portrait of The Hon. Henrietta Hanbury-Tracey as a child*, in the centre, flanked by another Hoppner, a half-length *Portrait, reputedly, of Lady Elizabeth Foster, later Duchess of Devonshire*, and a George Romney half-length *Portrait of Mrs Farrer*. The space to the left of the mirror is unfortunately not shown in the Bedford Lemere photograph of the room but, according to the inventory, a full-length oil by Romney (now attributed to Hoppner), *Portrait of Hon. Maria Pelham-Carlton as a child*, was flanked by a half-length unidentified portrait of a woman attributed to Hoppner, and a Romney, *Portrait of Miss Turner*. On either side of the window (not included in the photograph) hung a Reynolds, *Portrait of Lady Caroline Price*, and a Sir Henry Raeburn, *Portrait of Mrs Balfour*.

The British eighteenth-century portraits at Luton Hoo were often of unidentified sitters and most bore vague attributions. In the staircase hall hung an oval half-length portrait of a man by Reynolds (now considered 'circle of'); over the mantel in the study hung a Peter Lely (now attributed to Willem Wissing), *Queen Anne as Princess*; a three-quarter length *Portrait of Nell Gwynne*, presently attributed to school of Lely, was displayed in the corridor; and in the library hung a Francis Lemuel Abbott, a half-length *Portrait of the Admiral Sir Edmund Affleck, Bart.*, and a half-length *Portrait of the Rev. Christopher Wyvill* attributed to Hoppner. The three larger works in the drawing room,

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<sup>135</sup> This Reynolds, *Portrait of the Countess of Bellamont*, is said to have come from Robert Langton Douglas at a cost of £8 000 in 1905 and to have hung at Luton Hoo since that date. The latter statement is certainly incorrect, and if it was acquired from Langton Douglas it is surprising that there is no mention of this picture in Douglas's correspondence with Bode.

perhaps because it was a reception room, were similar to those on display in Bath House and were all of women and children: a full length *Portrait of a girl standing in a landscape with a dog* painted by an artist in the circle of Hoppner; a three-quarter length *Portrait of a lady dressed in pale blue* by an artist in the circle of Kneller; and a full-length oil by Sir William Beechey, *Portrait of a lady standing in a landscape holding a bird*.

Whereas most other Randlords acquired a group of eighteenth-century French paintings for their reception rooms, Wernher only acquired two such works, but they were arguably the most noteworthy French paintings acquired by a Randlord collector. His two choices are unlike the repetitive and formulaic renditions of *fêtes galantes*, or the sentimental portraits by Jean-Baptiste Greuze, that his associates collected.<sup>136</sup> Wernher's two works were Jean Antoine Watteau's *La gamme d'amour* (Fig. 1.23), which Agnew's bought on Wernher's behalf at Christie's in 1895 for 3350gs, and an oil by Claude Lorrain, *A cove at sunset with boats and an artist sketching*, which came from the same collection as the Watteau.<sup>137</sup>

Wernher bequeathed Watteau's *La gamme d'amour* to the National Gallery in London (which at the time had no works by that artist in its collection). This was the first of three of his pictures to enter the National Gallery collection. The Altdorfer *Christ taking leave of His Mother* was sold through private treaty to the gallery in 1981 to provide an endowment for the Luton Hoo Foundation.<sup>138</sup> Its price was rumoured to be in the region of £3m,<sup>139</sup> a sum higher than the then world record auction price for a painting. The Bermejo, *St Michael triumphant over the devil* was sold by Wernher's descendants,

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<sup>136</sup> The sale of the residual effects of Bath House in 1946 included a large number of over-doors by French eighteenth-century artists. See *Bath House, Piccadilly, W.I. Catalogue of the decorative furniture, porcelain, pictures and engravings, the property of the late Lady Ludlow ... and ... Sir Harold Wernher...*, Christie's (at Bath House), 25-26 November 1946, lots 271-276.

<sup>137</sup> It is not known where the Watteau was displayed because it was bequeathed to the National Gallery and hence excluded from the inventories prepared after Wernher's death. It is not evident in the surviving photographs of the interiors of Bath House and Luton Hoo.

<sup>138</sup> The Luton Hoo Foundation was established 1981 with a gift from Wernher's descendants of approximately half the collection and a long-lease on the house. The balance of the collection is on loan from the family and the Lady Ludlow collection of porcelain is on loan from the National Art Collections Fund. In the years between 1981 and 1991 the foundation undertook a major restoration and reinstallation of the collection at Luton Hoo.

<sup>139</sup> The National Heritage Fund contributed £825 000; the National Art Collections Fund, £75 000; and the Pilgrim Trust, £900 000.



also by private treaty, to the gallery in 1995 for a sum in the region of £10m.<sup>140</sup> These three paintings, which are now regarded as canonical works, overshadow Wernher's less memorable purchases in the fields in which his fellow Randlords avidly collected, and affirm his status as an individualistic and insightful collector.

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<sup>140</sup> See *Art Newspaper*, 52, October 1995, pp.2-3.

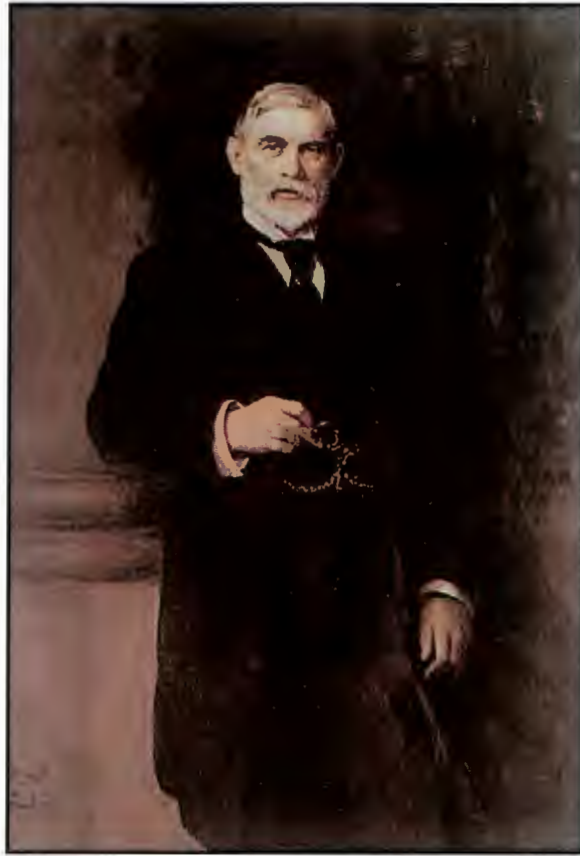


Figure 1.1  
Sir Hubert von Herkomer, *Sir Julius Wernher*, 1912



Figure 1.2  
Bedford Lemere, *The Red Room in Bath House*, 1911



Figure 1.3  
Bedford Lemere, *The Red Room in Bath House*, 1911



Figure 1.4  
Bedford Lemere, *The Red Room in Bath House*, 1911





Figure 1.5  
Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, James Simon Room, 1904



Figure 1.6  
Wilhelm von Bode, circa 1890





Figure 1.7  
Venetian school, circa 1500, *Annunciation*



Figure 1.8  
Francesco Francia, *Virgin and Child between Saints Nicholas and Cecilia*



Figure 1.9  
Albrecht Altdorfer, *Christ taking leave of His mother*



Figure 1.10  
Bartolomé Bermejo, *St Michael triumphant over the devil*.





Figure 1.11  
Bath House, Piccadilly, London



Figure 1.12  
Bedford Lemeré, *The reception rooms Bath House*, 1911



Figure 1.13

Bedford Lemere, *The reception rooms Bath House*, 1911



Figure 1.14

Bedford Lemere, *The reception rooms Bath House*, 1911





Figure 1.15  
Hall, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, England



Figure 1.16  
Hall, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, England





Figure 1.18

The west front of Luton Hoo, before the Wernhers' remodelling of the house



Figure 1.17

John Singer Sargent, *Lady Wernher*, 1904



Figure 1.19

The west front of Luton Hoo, circa 1905, at the time of the Wernhers' remodelling of the house





Figure 1.20  
An aerial view of Luton Hoo from the south west



Figure 1.21  
Gabriël Metsu, *Lady and gentleman at a harpsichord*





Figure 1.22  
Bedford Lemere, *Yellow Drawing Room at Bath House*, 1911



Figure 1.23  
Jean Antoine Watteau, *La gamme d'amour*



## CHAPTER TWO

### ALFRED AND SIR OTTO BEIT<sup>1</sup>

Alfred Beit (Fig. 2.1) lived in Germany until he was twenty; two years later he went to South Africa, where he lived for fourteen years. At the age of thirty-six he moved to Britain, which served as his base until his death seventeen years later when he was fifty-three.<sup>2</sup> Beit remained attached to all three of these countries, and although he identified strongly with Cecil John Rhodes's (Fig. 2.2) imperialist vision of Anglo-Saxon supremacy, he remained loyal to Germany and often visited Hamburg, where he built a large house for his mother as well as regularly assisting the Hamburger Kunsthalle with acquisitions.<sup>3</sup> His substantial investments in southern Africa ensured that he remained

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion in this chapter concentrates on Alfred Beit's art collection, and not on what is known as the Beit collection in the present day. As it stands now, the Beit collection is the cumulative product of three collectors: Alfred Beit, Sir Otto Beit and Sir Alfred Beit. Alfred Beit, like Rhodes and Jameson, never married. After his death in 1906 his collection passed to his brother Sir Otto. Otto Beit was a collector in his own right and his acquisitions distinctly altered the character of the collection, which is discussed at the end of this chapter. On his death in 1930, his son, Sir Alfred, inherited the bulk of the collection and he, in turn, has reshaped aspects of it. In 1952 Sir Alfred and Lady Beit purchased the house Russborough in county Wicklow, Ireland, where the collection was installed in 1954. In 1987 they presented to the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin seventeen of the most important works in the collection, on the condition that the pictures would be returned to Russborough during the summer when the house is open to the public. The balance of the collection was transferred to the Alfred Beit Foundation to which Russborough also belongs. See A. Le Harivel, R. Mulcahy and H. Potterton, *The Beit collection*, National Gallery of Ireland, 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Beit is frequently mentioned in the histories of the gold and diamond fields and in the biographies of other Randlords, but no critical or biographical research has been published on Beit himself. The sole biography, or rather hagiography, was written by a friend and offers limited insight into Beit's life and times. The reasons for this neglect may lie in the fact that there is no body of 'Beit papers': the bulk of his correspondence was destroyed after his death by Sir Julius Wernher in his capacity as executor. This dearth of private papers is exacerbated by the fact that Beit was 'an illusive (sic) figure, seldom seen in the limelight, always well in the background, always shielding himself behind a great reticence and reserve' (General Smuts, in the foreword to G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, p.14). Fort, in his biography on Beit, refers to Beit's correspondence with his mother which I have not been able to locate. See G. Seymour Fort, *Alfred Beit: a study of the man and his work*, London, 1932, pp.88-91. For Beit's biographical details I have relied heavily on the recent private publication, Eric Zinnow, *The Beit chronicle: the history of a family from its origins to the present day*, trans. by Neil Munro, Würzburg, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> In the years between 1890 and his death in 1906, Beit had made numerous gifts to the Hamburg Kunsthalle at the instigation of Alfred Lichtwark. Lichtwark was a man of remarkable energy who almost single-handedly transformed the Hamburger Kunsthalle from its status as a provincial gallery to one of the leading museums in Germany after his appointment as director in 1886 (*Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vierzehnter band, Berlin 1985, pp.467-469). Beit and Lichtwark were friendly, and when Lichtwark visited London in April 1901, Beit showed him his own collection and Baron Alfred Rothschild's collection (A. Lichtwark, *Briefe an die Kommission für die verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, vol 11 (1901), Hamburg, 1902, pp.101-102).

closely connected with the economic and political sequence of events on the sub-continent, to which he returned a number of times after he had settled in England.<sup>4</sup> As

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In accordance with Lichtwark's aims, almost all of Beit's gifts to the Hamburger Kunsthalle were works (both by contemporary and old masters) which had some historical connection to Hamburg. The only exception to this was the first work he donated, a painting attributed to Frans Hals, *Man with a Herring Barrel*, in 1891. The attribution was later doubted and the museum de-accessioned the painting in 1931 (it is now in the Städtische Kunstsammlungen in Augsburg). In 1894 Beit gave three works by Matthias Scheits (1630-1700) and a work by his son Andreas Scheits (1655-1735); both of whom were born in Hamburg. (See *Katalog der Alter Meister der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Hamburg, 1966: Andreas Scheits: no. 265: *Stilleben*; Matthias Scheits: no. 247: *Der Kesselflicker und Seine Familie*, no. 252: *Gartenwirtschaft*, no. 253: *Alter Schützt vor Torheit Nicht*).

In the summer of 1905 Beit visited Alfred Lichtwark at the Hamburg Kunsthalle. In the course of their discussion, Beit learnt of Hamburg's loss of the Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg's collection (see O. Millar, 'The Brunswick art treasures at the Victoria and Albert Museum: the pictures', *Burlington Magazine*, 94, September 1952, pp.267-268), and discovered that Sir Godfrey (Gottfried) Kneller was born in the vicinity of Hamburg. Later in the year, a London dealer, Durlach, informed Lichtwark that Beit had asked him to send as a gift to the museum a portrait of a lady by Kneller. Lichtwark remarked to a friend that he found it very touching that a man with so much on his mind should respond in this way (A. Lichtwark, *Briefe an Leopold Graf von Kalckreuth*, Hamburg, 1957, pp.160-164; A. Lichtwark, *Briefe an die Kommission für die Verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, vol 13 (1905), Hamburg, 1908, pp.289-291. I am grateful to Dr Jenns E. Howolt of the Hamburg Kunsthalle for bringing these letters to my attention). The museum de-accessioned the painting in 1924.

There are also fourteen paintings by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artists in the Hamburg Kunsthalle donated by Alfred Beit. Two were given in 1890, another two in 1901, five in 1905, three in 1906 and, posthumously, one each in 1908 and 1911 (see *Katalog der Meister des 19Jh in die Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Hamburg, 1969: no.1833, no.1824, no.1637, no.1823, no.1803, no.1660, no.1664, no.1591, no.1593, no.1697, no.1828, no.1727, no.2246, no.1699).

Just before his death, Beit anonymously donated 40 000 marks to the Hamburger Kunsthalle for the purchase of portraits of notable Hamburg citizens and topographical views of the town and its surroundings. This gift was reported in the British press as a donation by a 'German gentleman living in London' to support 'one of the pet hobbies of the director ... Lichtwark, to further, by means of art, the interest taken by people in their immediate surroundings, and secondarily, to thus call forth a new local school of art if possible'. Pictures by four local painters, Kalckreuth, Trübner, Liebermann and Slevogt were immediately commissioned, to be paid for out of this gift. Beit forgot about this promised gift and only arranged payment when he was literally on his deathbed (AB to A. Lichtwark, 19.5.1906, Hamburger Kunsthalle archives). After Beit's death, Lichtwark was irritated by the fact that this donation was incorrectly reported in the press to have been 200 000 marks (Alfred Lichtwark, *Briefe an Leopold Graf von Kalckreuth*, Hamburg, 1957, pp.173-176). See also Helmut Rudolf Leppien, *Kunst ins Leben: Alfred Lichtwarks Wirken für die Kunsthalle und Hamburg von 1886 bis 1914*, Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1986; Hans Präffcke, *Der Kunstbergriff Alfred Lichtwark*, (*Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*, vol 37), Hildesheim and New York, 1986.

After Alfred Beit's death, Alfred Lichtwark, the director of the Kunsthalle in Beit's hometown, Hamburg, entertained the idea that his collection would be left to his gallery. Lichtwark visited Beit at Wiesbaden in his last days, at a time when Beit was heavily drugged with morphine to relieve his pain, but Lichtwark was not able to see him. However, Bode had been able to see Beit and discuss this matter, and, according to Lichtwark, this meeting set Beit's health back (A. Lichtwark, *Briefe an die Kommission für die Verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, vol 14 (1906), Hamburg, 1908, pp.170-171). Soon after Beit's death, Lichtwark mistakenly thought that the collection had been bequeathed to the Berlin museums, as a result of the Kaiser's intervention the previous year. He was upset that the collection was not coming to Hamburg because he had tried to convince Beit that his collection was well-suited to the smaller Hamburger Kunsthalle (A. Lichtwark, *Briefe an Leopold Graf von Kalckreuth*, Hamburg, 1957, pp.173-176).

<sup>4</sup> Beit maintained his links with his South African investments through extensive correspondence with his partners in South Africa and occasional visits to that country. He returned to South Africa in June 1889 to



will be demonstrated, Beit's close ties with these three different countries, which are obviously interwoven with his origins and aspirations, play a discernible part in his approach to collecting.

The bequests in Beit's will stand as evidence of his split loyalties.<sup>5</sup> The largest bequest (£1.2m) was intended to help realise Rhodes's dream of extending the British Empire north of South Africa.<sup>6</sup> His other major bequests were directed towards higher education, once again revealing the influence of Rhodes, who had bequeathed a large part of his estate to fund students from the British colonies and America to study at Oxford University. Beit's interest in furthering tertiary education in South Africa, Britain and Germany could possibly also be related to the fact that he himself had never attended a university.<sup>7</sup> His educational bequests amounted to approximately £640 000, which included £200 000 to be used for educational purposes in Southern Rhodesia, £200 000 for a university in Johannesburg, £160 000 to University College, London, £50 000 for education in South Africa, besides smaller amounts for institutions in Hamburg. This was in addition to the donations Beit made in his lifetime: he had endowed a Chair of Colonial History at Oxford; presented his estate 'Frankenwald' in Johannesburg, valued at £80 000, to the Transvaal government to be used for educational purposes; and he donated £100 000 towards the founding of a university in Hamburg.<sup>8</sup> Alfred and his brother Sir Otto Beit gave the King's Fund, which benefited

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inspect the progress on the gold fields and again in 1891 to view the development of the British South Africa Company (in the company of Lord Randolph Churchill). In 1895 he visited South Africa twice – once to give evidence in a trial in Cape Town, and later in the year to make final arrangements for the Jameson Raid. Beit's last visit was in the English winter of 1902-3 after he had rejoined the board of the Chartered Company, and on its behalf he set out to tour Southern Africa to inspect its activities and the gold and diamond mines.

<sup>5</sup> To place Beit's gifts and bequests in the context of the philanthropy of successful Edwardian bankers and businessmen, see P. Alter, 'German-speaking Jews as patrons of the arts and sciences in Edwardian England', in W.E. Mosse (ed.), *Second chance: two centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Tübingen, 1991, pp.208-219.

<sup>6</sup> 'I believe that by the promotion, construction and furtherance generally of railways telegraphs (including wireless telegraphy) and telephones and kindred or other methods of transmission of persons goods and messages civilization will be best advanced and expedited in Africa for the benefit of the inhabitants thereof whether native or immigrant. And I know from experience how difficult it is at times to find the funds for the construction of such methods in new and undeveloped countries. ... [The proceeds of the Trust are to be used] in establishing what is known as the Cape to Cairo railway and the Cape to Cairo telegraph system including telephones.' See A. Beit and J.G. Lockhart, *The Will and the way*, London, 1957, pp.94-97, for an extract from the Will.

<sup>7</sup> Beit served an apprenticeship with the diamond merchants M. Robinow & Sons in Amsterdam.

<sup>8</sup> See G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, appendix VI.



hospitals in London, £125 000 over the years and, in 1929, Sir Otto donated £50 000 specifically for the purchase of radium.<sup>9</sup>

The tensions that arose from his divided allegiances were compounded by the gulf between his origins and aspirations. Beit was born in 1852 in Hamburg into an established Jewish mercantile family<sup>10</sup> which had converted to the Christian faith the year before his birth.<sup>11</sup> In later life, his ancestry was nevertheless perceived as German-Jewish, which, in addition to his profile as an enormously successful financier and prominent plutocrat, hindered his attempts to associate himself with the British aristocracy and gentry. (This will be explored further in relation to his purchases of eighteenth-century British portraits.) An epitaph for Beit, written in July 1906 by Edmund Garrett (the editor of the *Cape Times* in the late 1890s), captures the spirit of the paradox between Beit's unwavering loyalty to Britain and its Empire, and public perceptions of him as a German-Jewish financier who relied on the British government to support his investments:

He gave by stealth, nor rose a new-made Knight.  
He worked for England, to be dubbed 'Herr Beit.'  
The friends he loved, he served through good and ill;  
The man struck down, he served the memory still;  
Nor, toiling, asked more recompense of fame  
Than to be coupled with another's name.  
Thus, in despite of that hard Scripture which  
Shuts up the poor man's heaven against the rich,  
Devotion learned from Dives to be true,  
And Britons to be patriots from a Jew:  
A monument which envy cannot shake,  
Which millions never made, nor can unmake.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> F.K. Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the hospitals of London: the King's Fund 1897-1900*, Oxford, 1992, pp.30,116-117.

<sup>10</sup> Alfred Beit's father, from a family of merchants, set up on his own as an importer of French silks from Lyons. Alfred Beit's aunt (his mother's sister) married into the Lippert family who owned Lippert & Co. (who imported wool and later diamonds from the Cape), to whom Alfred Beit was apprenticed in 1870. For details of Beit's family, see Sir A. Beit and J.G. Lockhart, *The Will and the way*, London, 1957, pp.1-7; and Eric Zinnow, *The Beit chronicle: the history of a family from its origins to the present day*, trans. by Neil Munro, privately published, Würzburg, 1995.

<sup>11</sup> Beit's parents were baptised into the Christian faith in St Peters Church, Hamburg, in 1852, the year after their marriage. M. Kaplan, *Jewish roots in the South African economy*, Cape Town, 1986, p.52.

<sup>12</sup> First published in the *Westminster Gazette*, 20 July 1906; reprinted in E. T. Cook, *Edmund Garrett: a memoir*, London, 1909, p.273.

In Beit's first years in London he lived in a modest apartment in Prince's Chambers in Pall Mall before purchasing the leasehold of 26 Park Lane from the Duke of Westminster in 1893.<sup>13</sup> The following year he bought the adjoining southern plot to avoid having fellow-Randlord Barney Barnato as a neighbour.<sup>14</sup> Goldthwaite's observation, made in relation to the Italian Renaissance, that 'a palace – provided its builder with a focus for establishing a public identity',<sup>15</sup> could also be applied to Beit. His decision to live at this address, amongst the town houses of the British aristocracy and the richest plutocrats, would suggest that he actively sought to establish himself amongst the upper classes, because, 'in both fact and fiction, no London address was so sought after during the mid-Victorian period as Park Lane'.<sup>16</sup> Over the years, a number of other Randlords also chose to settle in Park Lane. Barney Barnato (while renting Spencer House in St James Place)<sup>17</sup> built a Renaissance-style palace<sup>18</sup> which was still uncompleted at the time of his death;<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Eckstein bought Whitaker Wright's

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<sup>13</sup> Beit paid £6 000 for the leasehold of the north stand of 26 Park Lane and £7 000 for the south stand. There is an often-quoted anecdote that the Duke of Westminster, who had been difficult about selling the lease of the site, at the last moment insisted upon the sum of £10 000 being spent on the house. Beit is supposed to have replied that he intended to spend that amount on the stables alone! (G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, p.156). This story does not bear close scrutiny: the remark is out of keeping with Beit's character, and the contemporary press credibly attributed it to Barney Barnato (*South Africa*, 12.10.1895, p.91, which notes that the *Sun* had recently reported the story; and L. Cohen, *Reminiscences of Johannesburg and London*, Johannesburg, 1976, p.269, who also ascribes the story to Barnato). Beit and Barnato were by 1893 the two foremost contenders for the lease of the site, but despite repeated applications, Barnato was unacceptable to the Duke because he 'does not stand in a high position in South Africa, and he is a land speculator'. See *Minutes of the Grosvenor estate board*, 1049/5/25, p.435, City of Westminster archives.

<sup>14</sup> In November 1894 Beit acquired the leasehold for the adjoining plot. The construction was undertaken by George Trollope and Sons from 1894 onwards. *Minutes of the Grosvenor estate board*, 1049/5/26, p.97, City of Westminster archives.

<sup>15</sup> R.A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the demand for art in Italy 1300-1600*, Baltimore and London, 1993, p.213.

<sup>16</sup> *Survey of London*, vol 40: *The Grosvenor estate in Mayfair. Part II: the buildings*, London, 1980, p.265.

<sup>17</sup> See Joseph Freidman, *Spencer House: chronicle of a great London mansion*, London, 1993, chapter 30, 'The Great Barnato'.

<sup>18</sup> Barnato purchased the the site from John Malcolm in mid-1895. (*South Africa* 8.6.1895, p.514) 'Some idea of the place can be given by saying that the freehold cost £70 000. the building £41 000 more, and the interior decorations nearly £30 000. It is a five-storey structure, built of Portland stone .... The work preparing the site begun in October, 1895 .... The house includes a ball room – a magnificent one with 2 000 square feet of dancing floor – two drawing rooms, a conservatory, winter garden, dining, reception, morning, and billiard rooms, and a splendid hall'. See 'Barney's Mansion in Park Lane', *South Africa*, 10.6.1897.

<sup>19</sup> The house was sold to Edward Sassoon who was 'determined ... to make a clean sweep of the statuary with which the late Mr Barnato's unique taste had adorned his house in Park Lane. The five figures are to be altogether removed, and dumped down in Preston Park, Brighton, by way of a gift to the Corporation.... The result of this prudent eviction of these comic songs in stone and of some other

mansion at 18 Park Lane at the turn of the century;<sup>20</sup> Sir J.B. Robinson acquired the leasehold of Dudley House in 1895; and Barnet Lewis and Leopold Albu lived at Hamilton Place, near the corner of Park Lane and Piccadilly.<sup>21</sup>

Even in the context of the other ostentatious mansions in Park Lane, the mansion that Beit chose to build on this double plot was an extraordinarily substantial house (in fact, more so if one takes into account that he was a bachelor) (Fig. 2.3). Although, as we shall see, people were seldom impressed by this mansion, in the opinion of someone writing in the journal *Architecture* in 1898, the year he took occupation,<sup>22</sup> Beit's home was 'the most important town house to be erected in London during the last decade':

Park Lane itself is an inconsequential medley of inconsequential buildings, picturesque indeed on a dim March morning .... Mighty men of millions are its people, and like the greater herd of humanity, many of them know very little of the art of Architecture, and honour it still less, so that when a rich and worthy citizen [like Alfred Beit], uninfluenced by the dictates of bank balance, came forth and boldly purchased a vast and valuable site, and instructed a couple of talented practitioners to erect him thereon a lordly dwelling house, much was to be expected, and the result falls but very little short of that expectation.<sup>23</sup>

This is one of the rare occasions on which the stylistic qualities of Beit's mansion were praised and not scorned. It would appear that Beit wanted a substantial town house with references to the past, but according to most contemporary accounts, its design lacked a sense of stylistic unity because of its excessive reference to historical styles. In fairness to Beit, it is difficult to establish the extent of his influence over the design because he was forced to use the Grosvenor estate architects, Eustace Balfour and Thackeray Turner. They ultimately provided Beit with a house (and an adjoining single-story

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changes will dissociate the house from the description formerly applied to it: "That was a cross between a music-hall and a new restaurant".' *South Africa*, 13.11.1897, p.309.

<sup>20</sup> *South Africa*, 13.7.1901, p.99; 16.11.1901, p.373.

<sup>21</sup> The interiors in the French style were decorated by A.N. Prentice. See N. Cooper, *The opulent eye: late Victorian and Edwardian taste in interior design*, London, 1976, plate 178.

<sup>22</sup> Bode wrote that Beit only took occupation in 1900 (W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin 1904, p.2), although 1898 is the more probable date. A writer in *South Africa* on 14.12.1895 (p.596) noted that the external edifice was complete, but the house would not be ready for occupation for another year. In 1898 it was reported that 'Mr Beit's residence is now being decorated, and the Italian workmen are engaged upon the ceiling work, which is of a very elaborate design (*South Africa*, 8.1.1898, p.85). In April 1896 Beit complained to Bode about how slowly work was proceeding with the house (AB to WB, 6.4.1896, Bode papers, ZASMPK).

<sup>23</sup> 'Mr Alfred Beit's house in Park Lane', *Architecture*, III, 1898, pp.109-116.

winter garden and billiard-room on the southern plot) which even Beit's hagiographer viewed as a cross between a 'glorified bungalow and a dwarf Gothic country mansion.'<sup>24</sup> In the opinion of E.B. Chancellor, whose book on the 'private palaces' of London was published in 1908, Beit's mansion had been designed 'in the manner of an old English country house ... built of stone on which the lichen seems already to have almost taken its hold, and which only requires Park Lane to be turned into a moat to make [it] still more realistic.'<sup>25</sup> More recently, Beit's mansion has been described as 'a curiously muddled and archaic Cotswold manor house with touches of French pretensions and classical bombast.'<sup>26</sup> It needs to be borne in mind that Beit's mansion was not the only Randlord house to be ridiculed. As Chancellor remarked:

the more modern erections for which South African finance has been responsible, such as the late Mr Barnato's house, now the residence of Sir Edward Sassoon, and the late Mr Alfred Beit's representation of an old English country mansion, are a sight to see, as well as an objective for vituperation on the part of stump-orators in the adjacent Park.<sup>27</sup>

This conglomeration of styles extended into the interiors of 26 Park Lane.<sup>28</sup> Although no photographs appear to have survived, contemporary descriptions indicate that these domestic spaces were opulently decorated in the fashion typical of late Victorian plutocrats, who often had each room furnished in a different historical style. When the artist Charles Ricketts visited Beit's house in 1905, he described the interiors as 'a heavy upholstered translation of costly styles in bad taste.'<sup>29</sup> The rooms on the ground floor were arranged in the French eighteenth-century style: the gilded, the opulent and the ornate predominated, while the dining room and the library showed the 'English development of this period.'<sup>30</sup> The author of the article in *Architecture*, who had admired the façade of Beit's mansion, also had some reservations about the interiors. In his view, the initial 'vigorous British treatment' in the extensive oak panelling had been corrupted by the 'French influence': 'The dining room is French to the backbone. The

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<sup>24</sup> G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, p.155.

<sup>25</sup> E.B. Chancellor, *The private palaces of London*, London, 1908, p.292.

<sup>26</sup> D. Pearce, *London mansions: the palatial houses of the nobility*, London, 1986, p.130.

<sup>27</sup> E.B. Chancellor, *The private palaces of London*, London, 1908, p.250.

<sup>28</sup> See 'Mr Alfred Beit's house in Park Lane', *Architecture*, III, 1898, pp.110-111 for plans of the ground and first floors.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Ricketts papers, 21.1.1905, typescript v.1, 1903-1906, British Library, Add. MS 61714.

<sup>30</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.5.

walls are panelled in oak, carved and enriched in places. This unhappily has been painted white.<sup>31</sup>

This same conformist and traditionalist approach carried through into Beit's collection of paintings.<sup>32</sup> Like most other Randlords, he preferred old master paintings. His first purchases were made soon after his arrival in London, but he started acquiring more important and expensive old masters once his mansion neared completion.<sup>33</sup> In Beit's decade of active collecting, he was not, as Bode noted, 'falsely parsimonious,'<sup>34</sup> perhaps because he realised that a masterpiece is seldom available at a bargain price, but also because he could afford to buy the most expensive works available. The hundreds of thousands of pounds<sup>35</sup> that he spent on works of art was only a fraction of his overall wealth: at the end of 1895, the journal, *Mining World*, estimated his shareholdings to be worth £10m,<sup>36</sup> and his estate was officially valued at £8m (at a time when share prices were depressed), which would have made him one of the richest men in the world at that time.<sup>37</sup> On a number of occasions he paid in the region of £10 000 for a painting which, in the 1890s, was a price that was only commanded by a handful of paintings at the top end of the market. For example, Beit paid Agnew's £11 000 for Meindert Hobbema's *The path on the dyke* (Fig. 2.4) in 1895, an enormous price even given the fact that Victorian collectors were fanatically fond of Meindert Hobbema's work and

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<sup>31</sup> 'Mr Alfred Beit's house in Park Lane'. *Architecture*, III, 1898, pp.109-116.

<sup>32</sup> This chapter about Alfred Beit's collection concentrates on his old master paintings. Although Beit acquired very fine collections of Renaissance bronzes, Italian majolica and Hispano-Moresqueware, they are largely omitted from this discussion, not because they are unimportant, but rather because works of this kind are beyond the scope of this thesis. Alfred Beit also acquired paintings and works of art for the house that he built for his mother in Hamburg at 113 Mittelweg in the early 1890s, but we have a only a scant knowledge of this collection, and hence it will not be explored here. A pair of portraits from this part of the collection formerly attributed to Paulus Moreelse were presented by Sir Otto Beit in 1920 to the Johannesburg Art Gallery after his mother's death in memory of Alfred Beit.

<sup>33</sup> Although Beit's biographer remarks that the period between his move to London and his visit to Southern Africa in July 1893 was an oasis in his life in which he had the time and resources to further his interest in art, the bulk of his purchases dated from the mid-1890s through to the first years of the new century. Thereafter his purchases were made reluctantly. For instance, Beit told Bode on 12 July 1904 that he did not really wish to make further purchases and on 25 November 1905 Beit declined to purchase a Velasquez for 'financial reasons'. Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>34</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.2.

<sup>35</sup> This would be the equivalent of tens of millions of pounds in the present day. With Agnew's alone his purchases totalled close on £90 000, besides which he spent large sums with other dealers and concluded a few substantial private treaty purchases.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.87.

<sup>37</sup> W.D. Rubenstein, *Men of property: the very wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution*, London, 1981, p.44. The resworn estate was worth £8 049 616 (*South Africa*, 12.11.1910). Emden estimated a figure of 'not much under ten million pounds' (P. Emden, *Randlords*, London, 1935, p.303).

that this is an unusually large work.<sup>38</sup> Agnew's had purchased it three years earlier at the sale of the Earl of Dudley's collection, and had paid a price of 9 600gs (£10 080), which was a record price realised for a painting sold by auction in London in the 1890s.<sup>39</sup> This is not to say that Alfred Beit was extravagant and wasteful in his expenditure on art; his middle-class German background with its concern for thrift<sup>40</sup> ensured that he discussed values and prices with Bode, and on occasion declined works on offer for reasons of price. But his willingness, generally, to pay the large prices commanded for masterpieces has also ensured that, a century after he made these purchases, the authenticity of only a handful of his acquisitions has been called into question.<sup>41</sup>

It was not only his enormous wealth that enabled Beit to form a noteworthy collection, although this obviously did play a crucial part in his choice of works. He also relied on the advice and guidance of two individuals who were knowledgeable about art: his close friend and business associate, Rodolphe Kann, and the prominent art historian and museum director, Wilhelm von Bode.<sup>42</sup> Beit's biographer remarked that he never 'completed the purchase of any important picture without asking the advice of his friend Rudolph(sic) Kann.'<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> This Meindert Hobbema was the first work Beit ever purchased from Agnew's and also the most expensive work he was ever to buy from them. The fact that their profit was so slight on the sale of this painting can possibly be explained by a realisation on Agnew's part that they had overpaid for the painting, and saw its sale to Beit as an opportunity to attract Beit as a client and profit from his subsequent purchases.

<sup>39</sup> G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, p.338.

<sup>40</sup> See G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, p.50.

<sup>41</sup> The paintings in the Beit collection which no longer carry certain attributions are mostly works that he bought in the last few years before his death when he had acquired a reputation in the art trade for being miserly. For example, Murray Marks wrote to Bode on 10 August 1904: 'Mr Beit has just been here, and I sold him a beautiful Caffagiolo dish, and an early Italian pot, at a very reasonable price, but he insists on having a "bargain".' Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>42</sup> As the artist and connoisseur Charles Ricketts noted when he visited the collection in 1905: 'most things in the house are genuine and under proper names. That is due to Bode....' Charles Ricketts papers, 21.1.1905, typescript v.1, 1903-1906, British Library, Add. MS 61714. Bode's prominence in the art world is discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>43</sup> G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, p.125.

Rodolphe Kann was born in Frankfurt<sup>44</sup> and moved to Paris at an early age, where he and his brother, Maurice,<sup>45</sup> established themselves as successful financiers. The South African gold and diamond mines formed a substantial part of their investments, and they even visited South Africa for short periods. But they lived in Paris, not England where the Randlords were based.<sup>46</sup> Rodolphe Kann's significance as a collector tends to be overlooked although, after his death, his 'modern' old masters<sup>47</sup> (bought *en bloc* by the dealer Duveen) formed the foundation for a generation of American old master collections.<sup>48</sup> Kann, who started collecting in about 1880, ultimately owned over a hundred Dutch and Flemish paintings besides a number of Italian and British works.<sup>49</sup> Apart from paintings, he also collected bronzes, tapestries, old master drawings and bibelots (small ivories and jewelled boxes). Bode compiled two lavish catalogues<sup>50</sup> of this collection, which was described in 1901 as being the finest private collection on the continent aside from that of Prince Liechtenstein in Vienna.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> W. Bode, 'Rudolf Kann und seine Sammlungen', *Kunstchronik*, new series, 16, 1905, pp.291-294. Haskell suggests that Rodolphe Kann was born in Hamburg. F. Haskell, 'The Benjamin Altman bequest', in F. Haskell, *Past and present in art and taste*, New Haven and London, 1987, p.190.

<sup>45</sup> Maurice Kann ( - 6.5.1906). See Auguste Marguillier, 'Collection de feu M. Maurice Kann', *Les Arts*, 88, April 1909, pp.1-32; *Catalogue des tableaux anciens ... oeuvres importantes des écoles Flamandes & Hollandaises du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, portraits de l'école Anglaise du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle provenant de la collection Maurice Kahn*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 9 June 1911. See his obituary in *The Times*, 12.5.1906.

<sup>46</sup> Rodolphe at first lived in Rue Murillo in Paris, before the size of his collection necessitated the building of a palatial home in the Avenue d'Iena). Rodolphe's home adjoined that of his brother Maurice on the first floor with the idea that at a later date their galleries could be made into one. They are said to have been no longer on speaking terms in their old age because of their fierce competition for the same masterpieces. *The Times*, 10.2.1905; C. Simpson, *The partnership*, London, 1987, pp.107-112.

<sup>47</sup> The term 'modern' old masters is discussed later in the Beit chapter.

<sup>48</sup> N.H.J. Hall (ed.), *Colnaghi in America*, New York, 1992, p.15. See also J. Mesnil, 'Die verspreide verzameling van Rudolf Kann', *Ons Kunst*, 7, 1908, pp.121-124; W. Bode, 'Erwerbungen aus der Sammlung Rudolf Kann für die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums', *Ämliche Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXIX, February 1908, pp.113-125; W. Bode, 'Der Verkauf der Sammlung Rudolf Kann in Paris nach Amerika', *Die Kunst*, 23, 1908, pp.16-22.

<sup>49</sup> See M. J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157; 'Die Galerie Rudolf Kann zu Paris', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 12, new series, 1901, pp.139-144; E. Michel, 'La galerie de M. Rodolphe Kann', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, third series, 25, 1901, pp.385-400, 493-506; A. Bredius, 'De verzameling Rudolph Kann te Parijs', *Woord en Beeld*, 7, 1902, pp.26-35; 'Collection de M. Rodolphe Kann', *Les Arts*, 13, January 1903, pp.1-9; 14, February 1903, pp.19-31; 15, March 1903, pp.2-7; W. Bode, 'Rudolf Kann und seine Sammlungen', *Kunstchronik*, new series, 16, 1905, pp.291-294; C.J. Holmes, 'From the Kann collection. I - Pictures of the Dutch and Flemish schools', *Burlington Magazine*, 12, 1907-8, pp.197-205; and M. Nicolle, 'La collection Rodolphe Kann', *La Revue de L'Art*, 23, 1908, pp.197-204.

<sup>50</sup> W. Bode, *Die Gemälde-Galerie des Herrn Rudolf Kann in Paris*, Vienna, 1900; *La galerie de tableaux de M. Rodolphe Kann*, trans. by Auguste Marguillier, Vienna, 1900; *The collection of Mr Rudolf Kann in Paris*, Vienna, 1900; see also *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907.

<sup>51</sup> M.J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157.

Unfortunately, Kann's role in advising Beit is not entirely clear because no correspondence between them on the subject of collecting is known to have survived<sup>52</sup> (even though a large quantity of their business correspondence still exists).<sup>53</sup> But some idea of their interaction can be gleaned by comparing their respective collections and interpreting the occasional reference to Kann in Agnew's stock books. Kann and Beit were certainly intimate friends. Kann stayed with Beit when visiting London, where he purchased a large portion of his collection,<sup>54</sup> and he acquired a number of paintings on Beit's behalf in Paris. There were also a few paintings in Beit's collection which were previously owned by Kann.<sup>55</sup> One such painting is Aelbert Cuyp's *Summer morning: on the banks of the Maes* which Kann traded back to Agnew's after which it entered the Beit collection. Although Beit disliked the picture,<sup>56</sup> he only disposed of it shortly after Kann's death. Another example of the intimacy of their dealings is to be found in the anecdote attached to Beit's acquisition of a small Thomas Gainsborough with virtuoso brushwork. Kann and Beit saw this oil sketch, *The dancer Baccelli*<sup>57</sup> (Fig. 2.5), and a companion portrait of *Lady Sophia Charlotte Sheffield* on exhibition at Agnew's<sup>58</sup> and tossed a coin to decide which of the two works each would acquire.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, after Kann's death in 1905, Beit was closely involved in negotiations to secure Kann's collection for the Hamburg Kunsthalle.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> In the correspondence between Beit and Bode, Kann's name is repeatedly mentioned and occasionally Beit even asks Bode's advice on behalf of Kann. For example in March 1891 Beit asked Bode if he thought it worth Rodolphe Kann's while to travel especially to London to see a Van der Neer at Agnew's. AB to WB, 25.3.1891, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>53</sup> In the Wernher-Beit papers, BR.

<sup>54</sup> A number of Kann's letters to Bode are written on the letterhead of Beit's London house at 26 Park Lane. Kann letters, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>55</sup> According to Agnew's stockbooks, two Rembrandts and a Cuyp that Beit acquired were from Kann's collection.

<sup>56</sup> Beit told Bode that he was pleased to be rid of the Cuyp after returning it to Agnew's. AB to WB, 8.12.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>57</sup> Beit's oil by Gainsborough of *The dancer Baccelli* is the sketch for the life-size portrait now in the Tate Gallery. Beit evidently acquired it before 1899 because it was lent by him to a loan exhibition, 'Exhibition of pictures by masters of the Flemish and British schools....', at the New Gallery, Regent Street, London, in 1899-1900, no.182. Beit's other Gainsborough, *Portrait of the Countess Waldgrave*, was also included in the exhibition as no.196.

<sup>58</sup> There is no reference to these paintings in Agnew's stock books.

<sup>59</sup> A.C. Carter, *Let me tell you*, London, 1943, p.32.

<sup>60</sup> Rodolphe Kann died in March 1905. Beit assisted both Bode and Lichtwark in their attempts to secure it for Berlin and Hamburg, respectively. Kann had for some time been preoccupied with the fate of his collection, and asked Beit in October 1904 what he thought would be the best alternative. Beit's response is not known, but when he wanted to raise the matter with Kann again in December 1904, he found him too ill to discuss the matter (AB to WB, 15.3.1905, Bode papers). Bode recalled that Kann had expressed



Kann introduced Beit to Bode in the late 1880s with whom he remained close friends until his own death in 1906.<sup>61</sup> Bode considered himself 'partly responsible for the contents and character' of the Beit collection and stated that he had been able to 'stimulate' Beit's interest in works of art and had assisted him with 'practical

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the intention of sharing out his collection: the 'primitives' to the Louvre, the Dutch and Flemish paintings to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, and the French paintings, perhaps, to his home town, Frankfurt. Bode relates in his autobiography that he was disappointed to discover that the Berlin museums were not the beneficiaries of any part of Kann's collection (and nor were any other museums named as beneficiaries) because 'for almost twenty years I helped Kann with advice in the location of art objects, as much as with Alfred Beit. I helped him to get his most beautiful Rembrandts, van Dycks, and several of his primitive Dutch and Italian paintings, and edited not one but two catalogues of his collections. It never entered Kann's mind to show his gratitude to me personally nor to the Museums, though I managed to extract from him with great effort a few insignificant pictures. I therefore could expect that he would remember our collections in his will, especially as he had given expression to this effect to a colleague of mine, Dr Lippmann.' According to Bode, Kann refused to make a second will, and when his doctor told him that he had only a few days to live, he asked for a notary to record some personal legacies and the destination of his art collection. The notary recorded the personal legacies at once, but because of Kann's weak condition, postponed the latter issue until later. However, he did not reappear until after Kann's death, and did not divulge the intentions of the deceased; he himself died a few days later. Kann's brother, Maurice, also never disclosed Rodolphe Kann's final wishes (W. Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930, pp.187-188; WB's account is similar to that described by AB in a letter to him on 15.3.1905. Bode papers).

Because Rodolphe Kann died intestate, his son, Edouard, was the natural heir. But the estate could not be settled to the satisfaction of the French courts until an accommodation had been reached between Rodolphe's executors and the increasingly infirm Maurice Kann. While the dispute was being settled, Maurice died and Edouard was also named his uncle's heir. When Beit himself was on his deathbed he wrote to Bode saying that now, after the death of Maurice Kann, he thought that the entire collection would come up for auction and the best pieces would end up in America (AB to WB, 19.5.1906, Bode papers). Ultimately the collection was sold *en bloc* to a consortium of art dealers led by Nathan Wildenstein who entered into a partnership with the Duveen brothers and Gimpel for £1m (\$4.2m, including legal fees and commissions). J. Pierpont Morgan provided finance in exchange for first choice from the collection (*Daily Telegraph*, 7.8.1907; reprinted in the *Year's Art*, 1907, pp.367-372). The Duveen brothers bought out the other partners, and the collection provided the Duveens with stock for decades. This syndicate also purchased paintings from Maurice Kann's collection for \$2.5m, and the remainder of the collection was sold by auction (See E. Samuels, *Bernard Berenson*, Harvard, Mass., and London, 1987, pp.51,91; R. Gimpel, *Diary of an art dealer*, London, 1966, pp.301-302; C. Simpson, *The partnership*, London, 1987, pp.107-113).

An interesting side issue to the Rodolphe Kann collection is that Alfred Lichtwark had hoped that it could be secured for the Hamburger Kunsthalle, and Beit acted on their behalf in the negotiations. Lichtwark wrote to Beit in March 1906 that if it would take five or six million (?marks) to secure the collection, Lichtwark believed that he could persuade the city of Hamburg to undertake its purchase. However, at a price of twelve or fourteen million, it would not be possible unless Beit purchased the collection and donated it to Hamburg (Alfred Lichtwark to AB, 14.3.1906, Hamburg Kunsthalle archives, AO76). The determination of the art dealers to purchase the collection, coupled with Beit's precarious health and his death later in 1906, meant that Lichtwark's dream never materialised (A. Lichtwark, *Briefe an die Kommission für die verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, vol 15 (1907), Hamburg, 1908, p.155).

<sup>61</sup> Bode's recollection that he met Beit through Wernher is incorrect. (W. Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930, p.88). In a letter Wernher wrote to Bode in May 1891, Wernher regretted that they had not yet met. He also reminded Bode that Beit's rooms were at his disposal when he was in London, and that he, Wernher, looked forward to meeting him on his next visit (JW to WB, 12.5.1891). The earliest surviving letter between Beit and Bode is dated 25 March 1891, and by the tone of the letter it would appear that Beit and Bode were already well acquainted (AB to WB, 25.3.1891). Bode papers, ZASMPK.

advice'.<sup>62</sup> Bode's influence is easier to assess than that of Kann because of the survival of a number of Beit's letters to Bode dating from 1891 to the year of Beit's death in 1906.<sup>63</sup> From this correspondence it is clear that Bode's involvement in the Beit collection extended far beyond offering Beit art historical advice. A case in point was Bode's ambiguous role in securing paintings for Beit from Lord Pelham-Clinton-Hope's collection of eighty-three Dutch and Flemish paintings (then on loan to the South Kensington Museum) when his conduct bore closer resemblance to that of a dealer-intermediary than an art historian-advisor. Bode structured a complex financial transaction in 1898 to purchase the entire collection before dividing the paintings between the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and the collectors he advised.<sup>64</sup> Acts of this kind were characteristic of Bode who, if given the opportunity, would coordinate every aspect of the formation of a collection. An independently-minded collector such as Kann consequently found Bode to be meddlesome and over-bearing, and limited his dealings with him accordingly.

In Beit's first years of collecting he relied heavily on Bode for advice. Bode frequently bought unseen objects on his behalf, and arranged for the goods and the account to be sent to him.<sup>65</sup> According to Bode, Beit 'always made his selections with calmness and deliberation and in doing so has ever listened to good advice'.<sup>66</sup> For this reason Beit is probably best described as an informed amateur: he knew enough about art history and the art world to realise that he required advice on attributions and the intricacies of the art market. After the mid-1890s, however, Beit's dependence on Bode lessened as his self-confidence grew and as he gradually learnt to trust his intuitive responses in certain fields. From then on, he increasingly acquired works of art independently of Bode and

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<sup>62</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.3.

<sup>63</sup> Bode's papers are housed in ZASMPK, Berlin.

<sup>64</sup> Robert von Mendelssohn advanced £121 550 to a consortium managed by Otto Gutekunst of Colnaghi's to purchase the paintings. Colnaghi's and the dealer Asher Wertheimer disposed of the paintings which the Berlin Museum and Bode's friends did not acquire. For a history of the Hope collection and a reconstructed inventory see J.W. Niemeijer, 'De kunstverzameling van John Hope (1737-1784)', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 32, 1981, pp.127-232. Beit's acquisitions from the Hope collection comprised the outstanding pair by Gabriel Metsu: *A man writing a letter* and *A woman reading a letter*, a pair by Willem van de Velde the Younger: *Heavy sea* and *Stormy sea*, and Philips Wouwermans: *A village festival*.

<sup>65</sup> For instance Beit wrote to Bode in 1891 acknowledging that Bode had selected objects at dealers to the value of £7 800. AB to WB, 6.4.1891, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>66</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.2.

informed him of these purchases later. His requests to Bode in these years tended to be more specific: for example, did Bode support an attribution, or was a price reasonable? Even so, the dynamics of their relationship is not entirely clear because there are instances when one would have expected Beit to consult Bode, such as on the purchase from Lord Dudley of the six Murillos depicting the parable of the Prodigal Son in the mid-1890s (Figs. 2.19, 2.20), and a large group of Beit's genre and landscape paintings acquired *en bloc* in about 1895<sup>67</sup> from the collection of the late John Walter, who was proprietor of *The Times*,<sup>68</sup> but these are not mentioned in the surviving correspondence. How these substantial acquisitions were negotiated and who assisted Beit in the negotiations has yet to be established.

It is also worth noting that Beit developed very clear preferences for particular schools and periods of painting which did not correlate with Bode's interests. Bode's fields of expertise were fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian painting, seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting, and, in addition, European sculpture, ceramics, bronzes, furniture, and near-Eastern carpets. In paintings, Beit's and Bode's preferences only overlap in the area of Dutch and Flemish seventeenth-century oils, while Beit's appreciation of British eighteenth-century paintings was only accepted hesitantly by Bode. Beit spent a substantial sum of money on a dozen eighteenth-century British portraits (his expenditure with Agnew's, who supplied him with most of these paintings, amounted to about £40 000), but in Bode's 1904 catalogue of the collection the reader is left with the impression that Bode was less than forthcoming in providing a readable text to accompany the illustrations. Beit's antipathy towards Italian Renaissance paintings no doubt frustrated Bode as well. Bode simplistically ascribed Beit's lack of

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<sup>67</sup> All the paintings bought by Beit are included in the 1884 valuation of the Walter collection at Bearwood but they are not listed in the next inventory prepared in about 1895. Walter papers, D/EWL F12/1, F12/8/2, Berkshire County Record Office, Reading. I am grateful to Katie Willis of the Record Office for her assistance in locating these inventories.

<sup>68</sup> These purchases included (values accorded to them in the 1884 inventory in parenthesis): two works by Adriaen van Ostade: *Peasant at a window* (£50) and *The adoration of the shepherds* (£400); two by Isaack van Ostade: *Traveller at a cottage door* (£350), and *The ford* (£350); Jacob van Ruisdael, *Bentheim Castle* (£2 500); Jan Steen, *Marriage feast at Cana* (£600); Jan van der Heyden, *At the town gate* (£50); and Nicolaes Maes, *The milk maid* (£400). Bode in the catalogue of the Beit collection suggests the David Teniers the Younger, *Peasant feast before the gates of Antwerp*, is also from the Walter collection but this would appear to be incorrect. See the footnote adjacent to the discussion of this painting in the text. See the 1884 inventory, Walter papers, D/EWL F12/1, F12/8/2, Berkshire Record Office, Reading.

interest in works of this kind to their scarcity, but this could only in part explain his avoidance of art of the Renaissance.<sup>69</sup> The dealers serving the American collectors a decade later managed to secure a large number of Italian paintings, and Bode in the 1890s purchased numerous such works both for the Berlin museums and for other collectors whom he advised. Thus, as will become increasingly clear, Beit collected works of art with some degree of independence from Bode's advice, especially after the 1890s.

Although a discussion of bronzes and ceramics is beyond the scope of this thesis, Bode was probably more successful in influencing Beit's collection of Renaissance bronzes, Italian majolica and Hispano-Moresque ware. The fact that he started to acquire such pieces soon after his arrival in London from South Africa must surely be ascribed to Bode's influence because these were all fields in which Bode was particularly knowledgeable.<sup>70</sup> Bode had effectively inaugurated the modern study of Renaissance bronzes.<sup>71</sup> According to Bode, Beit 'developed an enthusiasm for this form of Art',<sup>72</sup> and ultimately Beit's array of Italian bronzes, aside from George Salting's collection (which was later bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum), was 'the

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<sup>69</sup> 'It must moreover be borne in mind that the number of purchasable pictures by Raphael, Titian, Corregio, and other Italian Masters of the period when art in Italy was at its highest development, was very small indeed, as compared with the number of obtainable works by Rembrandt, Rubens, Ruysdael and the Dutch painters.' W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.7.

<sup>70</sup> Although bronzes are a field in which it is notoriously difficult to ascertain attributions and authenticity, Beit, as an experienced diamond buyer, presumably had an eye sensitised to the nuances and subtle differences of the various castings. In 1891 Beit acquired *en bloc* a collection of bronzes and majolica from the collection of Isaac Falcke. The purchase of this collection was arranged through Bode who divided it between the Berlin museum and Beit. Bode's version in the 1904 catalogue is incorrect: 'This was due to the fact that in 1889 [should be 1891] there was a sale [by private treaty] in London of Mr Jacob [should be Isaac] Falcke's collection comprising of (sic) numerous works of art of many periods. The most valuable of these were probably the Bronze Statuettes, and Mr Beit shared in their purchase with the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The greater number went to that city [Berlin] ... while some of the remainder were taken over by Mr Beit...' (W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.31; W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.51). In letters from Isaac Falcke to Bode on 29.1.1891 and 19.2.1891 a price of £20 000 is mentioned for the purchase of the collection. How the collection was divided between the museum and Beit is uncertain, and also if the price of £20 000 included Beit's portion. Although Beit remained in the market for bronzes until his last years, Beit became ever more selective and in 1900 declined to purchase the Pfungst collection because he only wanted a single piece from it. The probability is that if this collection had become available in his early years of collecting he would have purchased it *en-bloc* (Murray Marks to WB, 3.11.1900, 17.11.1900). Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>71</sup> The first two volumes of W. Bode's *The Italian bronze statuettes of the Renaissance* was published in English in 1908 (in German in 1907), and the third volume in 1912; see the revised edn ed by James David Draper, New York, 1980.

<sup>72</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, London, 1904, p.31.

most important private collection in England'.<sup>73</sup> Bode was also a noted authority in the field of Italian majolica: he had personally been collecting majolica from the 1880s, he had assembled one of the finest private collections and he later published a seminal text on the origins of majolica in Tuscany.<sup>74</sup> Beit's own collection of majolica was to become one of the 'finest of its kind in private ownership in England,'<sup>75</sup> while his collection of Hispano-Moresqueware is also noteworthy: William Valentiner, whom Bode sent to catalogue Beit's collection, thought that there were only two other collections of comparable size, that of Don Osma in Madrid, and that of Archer Huntington in New York.<sup>76</sup>

Bode produced flattering catalogues for most of the collectors he assisted, including Beit.<sup>77</sup> A folio-sized volume, printed on Japanese hand-made paper in an edition of 50 English and 50 German copies, lavishly recorded for posterity Beit's achievements as a collector. As Gaskell has noted, Bode offered this service to those collectors who had relied on him to assemble a collection under his guidance.<sup>78</sup> In return for advice and such catalogues, Bode expected collectors and dealers to donate artworks and/or funds to the Berlin museum, and always hoped that collectors would bequeath their entire collections to the museum. In this way, Bode overcame the limitations of a state-allocated budget and added an extraordinary array of artworks to the collection in his years as a curator and director of the museum. The collectors he advised varied in their generosity: Kann, for instance, resisted donating works or funds and much to Bode's

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<sup>73</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, London, 1904, p.31. In Bode's 1904 catalogue there were 68 bronzes in total, comprising 1 antique bronze, 16 Florentine bronzes, 21 works by the Paduan school, 14 from the Venetian school, 7 other Italian bronzes of the 16th and 17th centuries, 1 by a 17th century Netherlandish artist, 1 French 16th century bronze and 7 works by 18th and 19th century French artists. In Bode's 1913 catalogue 121 bronzes are listed: 1 antique bronze, 25 Florentine bronzes, 26 from the Paduan school, 27 from the Venetian school, 15 other Italian bronzes, 9 'after the antique', 5 Flemish bronzes, 9 of the 18th and 19th century, 3 other French bronzes, and 1 German 16th century bronze.

<sup>74</sup> W. Bode, *Die Anfänge der Majolikakunst in Toskana*, Berlin, 1911; and see also Richard Graul, 'Eine Majolika-Publikation von Wilhelm Bode', *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 69-71.

<sup>75</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.51.

<sup>76</sup> M. Sterne, *The passionate eye: the life of William R. Valentiner*, Detroit, 1980, p.78.

<sup>77</sup> Bode first offered to compile a catalogue in 1901, but Beit wrote to him that he was unable to accept: he did not wish to saddle Bode with this enormous amount of work which might endanger his health (AB to WB, 16.9.[1901]). Bode responded promptly with a repeated offer, and within a fortnight of Beit's declining Bode's proposition, he accepted it with gratitude (AB to WB, 30.9.1901). Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>78</sup> I. Gaskell, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting*, London, 1990, p.30.

distress bequeathed nothing to the museum.<sup>79</sup> In contrast, the Berlin collector, James Simon, presented his collection to the museum and continued to donate further works of art thereafter. Beit falls between these two extremes. He acknowledged Bode's assistance by regularly responding to his requests for donations to purchase works of art for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum and funds to support Bode's other projects (including the *Burlington Magazine*, then in its infancy),<sup>80</sup> but did not bequeath his collection to the museum. The total value of his gifts is difficult to determine, but it would appear to have been sizeable.

One of Beit's first gifts to the museum was a number of works of art purchased at Bode's insistence at the famous Spitzer sale in 1893 specifically for presentation and valued at 8 000 marks.<sup>81</sup> Other gifts include a work ascribed to a follower of Jan van Eyck, *Portrait of a young man with a rose*, which was presented in 1900 and estimated at the time to be worth 5 000 marks;<sup>82</sup> a Rubens, *Landscape with the shipwreck of Aeneas*, presented in 1899 (through the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum-Verein);<sup>83</sup> and on the occasion of the opening of the extensions to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (the building

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<sup>79</sup> Bode wrote in his autobiography that it never entered Kann's mind to show his gratitude either to Bode personally or to the museum for all his assistance. He did manage to extract from Kann, with great effort, a few insignificant pictures. W. Bode, *Mein leben*, Berlin, 1930, pp.187-188.

<sup>80</sup> Bode also encouraged Beit to acquire a shareholding in the *Burlington Magazine* (C. Holmes, *Self and partners*, London, [1936], p.215), along with American millionaire collectors prompted by Bernard Berenson and Roger Fry. (Fry also tried to coerce Charles Ricketts into asking the 'part-Randlord' Edmund Davis for support but without success. See J.G.P. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: a biography*, Oxford, 1990, p.154.) The first issue of the magazine appeared in March 1903; it was founded with the intention of occupying 'the same position as the leading art periodicals on the Continent .... and [to] fill the place thus left vacant in English periodical literature.' However, the magazine's finances were soon in a precarious state, and in the autumn of the same year the urgent need for capital became apparent to all concerned. Although the exact details of how Beit was drawn into the rescue are not known, he was allotted 743 Preference Shares and 7 Ordinary Shares in the *Burlington Magazine Ltd.* in July 1904 (*Burlington Magazine* to AB, 16.7.1904, Wernher Beit private papers, BR). After Beit's death, the magazine devoted an editorial to him and wrote kindly of his support of the magazine and his widespread generosity (*Burlington Magazine*, 9, August 1906, p.295). See also 'Fifty years of the Burlington Magazine', *Burlington Magazine*, 95, March 1953, pp.63-65; and Denys Sutton (ed), *Letters of Roger Fry*, London, 1972, vol 1, no.126,127. I am grateful to Caroline Elam of the Burlington Magazine for answering my queries about Beit's involvement in funding the magazine.

<sup>81</sup> This was the equivalent of £400. Alfred Beit's gifts to the museum from the Spitzer sale are listed in Ref. 2435/93, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum Geschehen-Liste, KFM25, ZASMPK.

<sup>82</sup> This was the equivalent of £250. Even at the time of the gift the attribution was questioned. Ref. 3485/00 4.10.1900, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum Geschehen-Liste, KFM25, ZASMPK. Presently cat. no. 523D in the Berlin Gallery.

<sup>83</sup> The 1905-1906 *Bericht* of the *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum-Verein* says of this Rubens *Landscape*: 'Die vom KFMV als Eigentum erworben und des kgl. Museen als Leihgut überwiesen' in 1898-9. Presently cat. no. 776E in the Berlin gallery.

now houses the Bode Museum), a full-length Gainsborough, *Portrait of Squire John Wilkinson*,<sup>84</sup> which he had bought especially from Agnew's for £5 000.<sup>85</sup> In his autobiography Bode recalled that he had always hoped for a major bequest to the museum because Beit had never married.<sup>86</sup> With this in mind, Bode even went so far as to decline an offer in 1904 from Beit to purchase a collection of Hispano-Moresqueware for the museum because he did not wish to spoil the chance of Beit bequeathing his entire collection.<sup>87</sup> Ultimately Beit bequeathed two valuable works of art to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum: a Reynolds (lost in the Second World War) and a Florentine bronze, *Hercules resting*, by Antonio Pollaiuolo.<sup>88</sup>

A further aspect of Bode's relationship with Beit that needs to be explored is Bode's intimate involvement in the art trade, which tainted the impartiality of his advice.<sup>89</sup> This issue arises repeatedly, not only in relation to Beit, but also with Sir Max Michaelis, at which point it will be discussed further.<sup>90</sup> It was customary for dealers to offer Bode artworks for the museum in acknowledgement of his recommendation of their goods to collectors. A case in point occurred after Bode advised Beit to acquire the collection of Hispano-Moresqueware in 1904 from the London dealer Murray Marks<sup>91</sup> for £8 000.<sup>92</sup> After the sale was concluded, the dealer asked Bode: 'Is there

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<sup>84</sup> Now in the Bode Museum, Berlin.

<sup>85</sup> Agnew's sold the painting at cost, presumably because it was destined for the museum. The museum valued the gift at 100 000 marks, the equivalent of £5 000. Ref. 3450/04, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum Geschenkgeben-Liste, KFM25, ZASMPK.

<sup>86</sup> There was a rumour in circulation about 1900 that Alfred Beit was to marry an American, Mrs Ladenburg, whose husband had been lost at sea (DP to LP, 4.3.1898, Private papers of LP, BR). There is also a reference to the intended marriage in R.D. Blumenfeld, *RDB's Diary 1887-1914*, London, 1930, p.135 (9 November 1900).

<sup>87</sup> W. Bode, *Mein leben*, Berlin, 1930, p.186.

<sup>88</sup> W. Bode, *Mein leben*, Berlin, 1930, p.186. In a letter from the London dealer Charles Davis to the executors of Alfred Beit's estate, the Reynolds *Portrait of Mrs Harriet Boone and her daughter* was valued at £12 500 and the bronze *Hercules resting* was valued at £2 500. 22.9.1906, Bode-papers, ZASMPK. In a recent catalogue which lists the donations received in Bode's years at the museum, the following sculpture is listed which could be the same one: 'Maffeo Olivieri (1484-1543/44), *Adam mit dem Grabscheit*, bronze, h: 24cm, inv. Nr.3041). See *Wilhelm von Bode: Museumsdirektor und Mäzen, Wilhelm von Bode zum 150. Geburtstag*, Der Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, Berlin, 1995.

<sup>89</sup> Such acknowledgements are often to be found in the introductions to Bode's books, for example: 'For help in my work I have particularly to thank the greatest Italian dealers in antiques through whose hands, for the past ten years, the ... best Italian furniture has passed, and especially Messrs. Stefano Bardini, Elia Volpi, and Luigi Grassi of Florence'. W. Bode, *Italian Renaissance furniture*, New York, 1921 (1st pub. 1902), p.6.

<sup>90</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>91</sup> There is a letter dated 10.1.1891 from Murray Marks to Bode informing him that Beit had bought a 'Venetian dish' for £100. Bode continued to receive similar letters for the next fifteen years (Bode papers,



anything in our stock that you would like to have for your museum?’<sup>93</sup> In this instance, Bode would not appear to have acted unprofessionally, but there are instances where his close contact with dealers compromised his neutrality as an advisor. This was repeatedly the case with the works he offered to Beit belonging to Robert Langton Douglas, who operated as the London agent of the Berlin museum from 1904.<sup>94</sup> Douglas’s letters to Bode indicate how very dependent he was on Bode for clients and advice to the point where it sometimes appears that Bode is an agent for Douglas rather than the reverse.<sup>95</sup> Bode was party to all his schemes and dealings. Douglas regularly asked Bode not only for art historical advice, but also what prices he should charge and how he should go about concluding a sale. Although only a small proportion of paintings in the Beit collection was ultimately bought from Douglas, all of these works now have uncertain attributions which is in stark contrast to the rest of the collection. Moreover, Bode was aware that Douglas’s stock, which he emphatically recommended to Beit, was problematic – in one letter he suggested to Douglas that he should acquire fine paintings selectively instead of always owning a multitude with optimistic attributions.<sup>96</sup> In addition to supporting the attributions of an assortment of minor paintings, Bode also offered Douglas advice on the prices he should ask

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ZASMPK). Murray Marks of the dealers Durlacher Bros. was a specialist in the field of bronzes, but he was also intimate with many of the prominent Victorian artists in the Pre-Raphaelite and Morris circles. Beit purchased objects from Marks soon after his arrival in London and continued doing so to his last days. See G.C. Williamson, *Murray Marks and his friends: a tribute of regard*, London, c.1925.

<sup>92</sup> The collection was presumably acquired to be displayed at Tewin Water. It is not possible to establish which of those works were acquired by Alfred and which by his brother Sir Otto, but in the 1916 catalogue of the collection thirty-nine pieces are listed, most of which are works of the fifteenth century. *Catalogue of the collection of pottery and porcelain in the possession of Mr Otto Beit*, London, 1916, pp.1-41.

<sup>93</sup> Murray Marks to WB, 17.6.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK. Bode mentions a price of £7 500 for the collection in his autobiography. W. Bode, *Mein leben*, Berlin, 1930, p.159.

<sup>94</sup> Robert Langton Douglas had been a Church of England chaplain at Sienna prior to focusing on art history and operating as a private art dealer. See Denys Sutton, ‘Robert Langton Douglas’, *Apollo*, in four parts: 109, April, May, June 1979, pp.248-475; 110, July 1979, pp.2-56.

<sup>95</sup> It must be borne in mind that because his letters to Bode have survived, there is more unfavourable material relating to Douglas than to any of the other dealers from whom Beit purchased paintings. Similar issues may have arisen with Beit’s other purchases through Bode, but the primary material is incomplete.

<sup>96</sup> For instance: ‘Please do not think that I do not see the justice of your reproof of me. I have bought too many interesting little pictures: I ought to have spent my money only on fine things by great masters. I am now ready to sell some of these smaller pictures at very moderate prices. I believe that the value of works by Palamedes and I.S. will go up, as really fine things became more and more difficult to find. Do you not think that Mr [Otto] Beit, or some other friend might not be induced to buy the really good pictures of *this class* for a country house at small prices?’ (my emphasis) RLD to WB, 19.3.1908, Bode papers, ZASMPK.



Beit.<sup>97</sup> Such incidents cloud Bode's substantial and worthy contribution to the formation of Beit's collection, and although he did not benefit personally from his engagement with the art market in the way that Bernard Berenson did, it does encourage one to question Bode's integrity as an adviser.

One example out of the half-a-dozen instances of such transparent schemes found in the Bode-Langton Douglas correspondence will serve to illustrate this problem. Douglas wrote to Bode on 21 December 1905 with the news that he had an opportunity to buy 'one of Hobbema's most important works.... It is a great chance.'<sup>98</sup> A few days later Douglas not only asked Bode to obtain the highest offer he thought possible, but also indicated that he might require Beit to finance the purchase of this picture:

I shall be deeply grateful to you if you will tell me in confidence what is the best price Mr Beit would give for a work of art of this kind. I promise that I will not ... make any large, and certainly not any exorbitant, profit. I shall be content with a sum amounting to a moderate commission. But if I am able to get the picture it is necessary to make a really good offer, as the owner is not bound to sell and will not let the picture go cheaply. Please mention as liberal a sum as you or Mr Beit can give for a picture of this kind and I will give you the first refusal of the picture if I can get it.<sup>99</sup>

Douglas's approach begs an important question: was he hoping to buy the painting into stock and sell it to Beit, or did he imagine that he was acting in an agency capacity for Beit? If the latter, it could be expected that Beit should support his offer, but it seems to have been more a case of the former: the dealer expected Beit to finance the purchase of a painting that Douglas hoped to own and that Beit might then buy. 'I am reserving this Hobbema entirely for you and Mr Beit... I hope, that Mr Beit will, if I require it advance me something to enable me to purchase this week. By doing so he will not pledge himself or you to take the picture and he will be repaid as soon as the picture is sold.... I will see that it is insured. I will write if I am in sudden need of money for this purchase.'<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> For instance: 'What do you think would be a good price to ask for them. Can I get more justly?' RLD to WB, 26.3.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>98</sup> RLD to WB, 21.12.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>99</sup> RLD to WB, 29.12.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>100</sup> RLD to WB, undated, Dec.1905/Jan.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

Douglas further attempted to coerce Bode by using as a carrot the prospect of 'important' works he promised to purchase and offer to the museum provided he profited from the sale of the Hobbema: 'If I can sell the *Hobbema* well, I shall be able to offer you some of the most important pictures I have yet found. I hope that Mr Beit will treat me quite frankly about the Hobbema and will name the highest price he is prepared to give.'<sup>101</sup> Unfortunately Bode's letters to Beit do not survive. For this reason, we have no idea of how Bode presented Douglas's schemes to Beit, nor do we know whether he was more candid with one than the other. Ultimately, this particular transaction did not materialise, possibly because Douglas (and Bode?) were not able to muster Beit's support before Lord Ashburton 'changed his mind' and 'decided to retain the Hobbema'.<sup>102</sup>

Judging from his acquisitions, Beit appears to have expressed little interest in issues of 'connoisseurship', be it attribution debates surrounding works by well-known artists, or the discovery of lesser-known artists. This is perhaps because he viewed collecting as a pleasurable escape from the pressures of his vast business interests. The task of managing three enormous enterprises – De Beers' with its dominance of the Kimberley diamond mines and the sale of diamonds; the largest gold mines on the Witwatersrand; and the British South Africa Company's expansion into what became known as Rhodesia – was stressful and demanding. This contributed to regular breakdowns in his health<sup>103</sup> which necessitated regular cures at European spas,<sup>104</sup> cruises in the Mediterranean<sup>105</sup> and long rest periods away from work. As Bode wrote after Beit's death:

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<sup>101</sup> RLD to WB, 1.1.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>102</sup> RLD to WB, 20.1.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>103</sup> As early as 1893 Lionel Phillips remarked to Wernher about Beit's overwork and its effect on his health: 'If only Beit would content himself with watching progress and not worry about new business, he could do a lot of good here without wearing himself to death. I really don't want new business. We shall have still to go in for a few things from time to time to complete our big scheme, but I think an enormous profit on the Rand Mines is a dead certainty....' LP to JW, 4.2.1893, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.42.

<sup>104</sup> For instance in July and August of 1897 Beit was with Lionel Phillips at Bad Homburg. In September it was reported in London that 'Mr Beit, say the Homburg holiday-makers, has been giving a series of luncheons and dinners and receptions, "such as even Homburg has never dreamt of"'. *South Africa*, 11.9.1897, p.539.

<sup>105</sup> The autumn after the Jameson Raid Inquiry in 1897 Beit hired Sir Donald Currie's yacht *Iolaire* for a three-month cruise with a party that included Rhodes, Jameson and J.B. Taylor around the Mediterranean and up the Nile. At the beginning of December 1898 Beit left London for a three-month yachting trip on the *Iolaire*. He visited all the noteworthy ports and sites in the company of Jameson, J.B. Taylor and

He was not long permitted to enjoy his treasures and the collections which he had formed, nor was he able to complete them as he would have wished. The storm and stress of life in South Africa, the struggle for the supremacy of the British Flag, and for the incorporation with the Empire of a new and vast colonial dominion, among the founders of which Mr Alfred Beit must certainly be reckoned, had undermined his health.<sup>106</sup>

This might help to explain why he wished to avoid challenging imagery and the uncertainties that often surround works which do not have incontestable attributions.<sup>107</sup> The absence of paintings with mythological or historical images with complex iconography and symbolism could possibly also be explained by the fact that, although Beit was born into a middle-class family, he had had neither a formal training in art history nor the kind of education that would have provided a framework for the appreciation and understanding of such paintings. As his biographer remarked: 'because of his busy life he was not, in any literary sense, a widely read man'.<sup>108</sup> On the few occasions when he did purchase religious images, they were paintings in which the artist had painted the subject as a genre scene rather than as a devotional image of, for example, the Madonna and Child. For instance, Adriaen van Ostade's *The adoration of the shepherds* (Fig. 2.6) is primarily a scene of peasant life, and in Jan Steen's *Marriage feast at Cana* (Fig. 2.7), the secularised setting and the contemporary Dutch dress, accentuated with numerous humorous caricatures, cloak the religious nature of the subject. Beit's series of six Murillos illustrating the parable of the Prodigal Son, a subject which was frequently painted by Dutch and Flemish artists, is also characterised by a strong narrative which, together with the artist's genre-like treatment of the subject, ensures that the images are not obviously religious. The same could be said for the two

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Henry Robinow. It was reported that at Constantinople they requested to see the Imperial Treasury. However, the Sultan evidently thought that they had seen enough gold and diamonds and withheld permission. Instead they were allowed to visit the Imperial stables. *South Africa*, 11.3.1899, p.483.

<sup>106</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.vii.

<sup>107</sup> This issue of the uncertainty of the attributions of so many Renaissance works was brought to the fore through a public controversy provoked by Berenson's questions concerning the attribution of Venetian works in British private collections which were exhibited in 1895 at the New Gallery in London. The paintings were mostly from aristocratic collections and exhibited with the attributions provided by their owners which Berenson publicly questioned, to the consternation of all concerned. This affair rocketed Berenson to prominence and he remained the most celebrated art historian in the field for almost another fifty years. See D.A. Brown, *Berenson and the connoisseurship of Italian painting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979, p.14.

<sup>108</sup> G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, p.159.

early works attributed to Rembrandt, *St. Francis* (Fig. 2.10) and *The tribute money*, which Beit also acquired, as will be discussed below.

Beit's preference for paintings with uncomplicated imagery might also account for the scarcity of works by Italian artists in his collection. The only Italian works that Beit displayed in 26 Park Lane were three unimposing topographical views by Guardi,<sup>109</sup> and a painting attributed to Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of Alessandro Alberti and his page* (Fig. 2.8), which hung in the hall at 26 Park Lane. This picture was appropriate for this space because it was decorated in the 'Renaissance' style with a 'splendidly coloured marble fountain' from the Palazzo Borghese, and a marble chimney-piece by a 'Florentine master after the manner of Benedetto de Revazzano'. But as Charles Ricketts noticed when visiting the collection, this oil of 'unusual distinction' which he attributed to Moroni, was 'evidently in disgrace' because it was not hung in the reception rooms.<sup>110</sup> In his last years as a collector Beit did acquire a few minor Italian fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings, but these were bought specifically for his country house, Tewin Water (in Hertfordshire), which was furnished in the Renaissance style, and which he leased from 1902 (Fig. 2.9).<sup>111</sup>

Beit favoured seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings. His choices in this field are perhaps best understood if seen in relation to what was then termed the 'modern' taste in old masters, which both Kann and Bode advocated. Their preferences

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<sup>109</sup> Although Canaletto's work had been popular with British collectors since the eighteenth century, Guardi's work had been neglected. Whistler, in the 1880s, was one of the first artists to reconsider Guardi's oeuvre, and as collectors' interest developed, the prices for his work adjusted to the point in the 1890s when his paintings for the first time realised prices comparable to those paid for Canaletto. See F. Haskell, 'Francesco Guardi and the nineteenth century', *Problemi Guardeschi*, Venice, 1967, pp.58-61; G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, p.335.

<sup>110</sup> Charles Ricketts papers, 21.1.1905, typescript v.1, 1903-1906, BL, Add. MS 61714.

<sup>111</sup> No title deeds or inventories relating to Tewin Water (for this period) are held at the Hertfordshire County Record Office. However, it would appear from the Earls Cowper estate accounts and letter books that Sir Otto Beit purchased 394 acres of property from Lord Desborough (whose wife 'Ettie' had inherited the estates from the last Earl Cowper in the early part of the century) on 24 June 1919, of which 120 acres comprised Tewin Water mansion and adjacent lands and a further 100 acres had been previously leased by Beit. The account between vendor and purchaser seems to have been finally settled on 23 July 1919 (letter to Messrs Nicholl, Manisty & Co. of that date). The precise sum involved for the purchase is unclear but was probably £55 000. This is the amount stated in a letter from the estate agents to John Oakley, surveyor, of 24 October 1918; and a letter from the same to the same, dated 30 October 1918, records how Beit declined to increase his offer to £60 000. I am grateful to Kathryn Thompson of the Hertfordshire County Record office for this information.

were very different from those of Beit, whose taste corresponded closely to that of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British collectors of old masters, who had preferred naturalistic and finely painted images, particularly those with a narrative subject. Beit's preference for such highly finished works could be related to Macleod's assertion, with reference to contemporary art, that the identity of the Victorian middle class constructed for itself through 'finish', as an aesthetic element, 'signalled tangible evidence of painstaking labour, pride in the work ethic, and corroboration of money well spent.'<sup>112</sup> Among later nineteenth-century collectors, however, the advent of the Barbizon and Impressionist schools of painting (together with the research undertaken by art historians such as Bode, and the demand created by collectors such as Kann), the taste for Dutch and Flemish works shifted away from 'painters of finished execution like Gerard Dou or Frans van Mieris; witty raconteurs like Jan Steen and Philips Wouwermans, or masters of landscape art such as Jan Both, Ludolf Bakhuizen and many others' to those artists whose work reflected 'the modern spirit in painting – with its leaning towards breadth of pictorial handling and telling effects of light and atmosphere'.<sup>113</sup>

This 'modern' taste in old masters also emphasised those artists whose work was painterly and whose bold brushwork visibly displayed evidence of the artist's creative process. As Bode wrote in relation to Rembrandt's late work: 'The extraordinary breadth of treatment, in which the attempt is made to render the clearest possible form with a single stroke of the broad bristle brush, gives to this work of Rembrandt's an unique clarity and uniformity of presentation'.<sup>114</sup> Kann's approach to collecting was governed by this taste for expressive brushwork: describing his seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, Max Friedländer remarked that he had an empathy 'for the great and free art and a dislike of trivial smoothness and too much going into detail...'.<sup>115</sup> In contrast to these two collectors, Beit tended to prefer 'studied' images rather than 'spontaneous' works. In addition to this, the 'modern' collectors of old masters favoured those artists whose work had suffered critical neglect, either in their

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<sup>112</sup> Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*. Cambridge, 1996, p.16.

<sup>113</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.4.

<sup>114</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, pp.8-9.

<sup>115</sup> M.J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157.

lifetime or after their death, in what amounted to an extension of the nineteenth-century Romantic notion of an artist as a solitary, unrecognised. Consequently these 'modern' collectors and art historians construed biographical and/or stylistic evidence to conform to this idea: the literature at the time is replete with tales of struggling old master painters whose work had been unappreciated by collectors in the past. As will become evident, the few purchases that Beit made of painterly works by seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish artists and eighteenth-century British painters, were therefore invariably prompted by Kann.

Beit's hesitant attitude to the 'modern' taste in old masters also manifests itself in the manner in which he displayed his collection. He did not include a separate picture gallery in his plans for 26 Park Lane, choosing to hang his paintings in the reception rooms and upstairs living rooms in the house.<sup>116</sup> In Bode's opinion, a guiding principle in Beit's collecting was 'to embellish his rooms from an artistic point of view, and he has therefore always taken into consideration the pleasing effect and decorative value of those works to which his attention has been directed'.<sup>117</sup> Consequently, Beit's choices of paintings were 'confined to examples by painters whose works were more particularly adapted to the decoration of the reception and other rooms, that is to say [the] Dutch schools of the XVII century, and of the English and French schools of the XVIII century'.<sup>118</sup> This approach is distinct from that of a 'modern' old master collector such as Kann, who displayed a large portion of his collection in a picture gallery and who would have viewed what Bode called the 'decorative' qualities of pictures as almost irrelevant.

Beit's collection was centred around landscapes and genre scenes. This is in contrast to both Bode and Kann's preferences. In Kann's collection the genre painters<sup>119</sup> appeared 'modestly in second place'.<sup>120</sup> Unlike Kann, Beit acquired no still-life paintings and

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<sup>116</sup> The issue of the Randlords' display of paintings in domestic spaces as compared with separate picture galleries is discussed further in the Robinson collection in chapter 6.

<sup>117</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.2.

<sup>118</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, 1913, p.1.

<sup>119</sup> Within the narrower parameters of genre painting, Kann owned works by the following artists: Adriaen van Ostade (3), Isaack van Ostade (1), Paulus Potter (1), Jan Steen (2), Gerard ter Borch (2), Philips Wouwermans (2). See *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907.

<sup>120</sup> M.J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157.



also no portraits, unless they were by a suitably important artist such as Rembrandt. (Kann acquired thirteen still lifes<sup>121</sup> and at least twelve portraits.)<sup>122</sup> What are also conspicuously absent in Beit's collection are works by seventeenth-century Dutch Mannerists as well as Flemish painters aside from David Teniers the Younger. Kann owned six paintings by Anthony van Dyck and five by Peter Paul Rubens (in both cases a mixture of portrait, mythological and religious subjects), and Bode in these years purchased numerous paintings by Van Dyck and fifteen works by Rubens for the Berlin museum.<sup>123</sup> Beit only acquired one work by Rubens, an unimposing half-length *Portrait of Philip IV of Spain* which he purchased after he had acquired the bulk of his collection.<sup>124</sup>

Beit's preferences, as well as the obvious omissions in his collection, will now be explored further in relation to the seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings which he actually acquired. These acquisitions will be discussed in roughly the same order that Bode used in his catalogue of the collection: that is, firstly those artists whose work exemplified the 'modern' taste in old masters, Rembrandt, Frans Hals and Johannes Vermeer, followed by the artists of landscapes and genre scenes whose work tend to be identified with the more 'traditional' late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century taste in the field. In Bode's catalogue this structure is not entirely successful, mainly because he focused his accompanying text around the work of Rembrandt, whose paintings were not the centre point of the Beit collection, thus implying that Beit's group of genre scenes were not comparable to the work of the 'great master'. In the text of the catalogue Bode often passes judgement on a painting by comparing it unfavourably to an aspect of Rembrandt's oeuvre: for instance, he remarked with

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<sup>121</sup> Kann acquired still lifes by the following artists: Jan Fyt (8), Frans Snyders (1), Adriaen van Utrecht (1), Abraham van Beyerem (1), Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1), Willem Claesz. Heda (1). See *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907.

<sup>122</sup> Aside from paintings by Rembrandt and Frans Hals and the painters of genre scenes, Kann owned the following portraits: Anthony van Dyck (3), Peter Paul Rubens (3), Nicolaes Pickenoy (2), Thomas de Keyser (1), Michiel van Miereveld (1), Johannes Verspronck (2). See *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907.

<sup>123</sup> H. Bock, 'The history of the collection', in *The Gemäldegalerie, Berlin*, London, 1986, p.22.

<sup>124</sup> The Rubens is mentioned as a recent purchase in W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.22. Beit also considered the purchase of another unidentified Rubens that was on offer in 1904 for £4 500, but was unable to make up his mind, even though he was a seasoned collector. After approaching Bode for advice, he in the end did not acquire it. AB to WB, 9.12.1904; 15.3.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

reference to Nicolaes Maes' choice of subject that it was similar to that painted by Rembrandt but 'without ... that sacred glow which Rembrandt, in his imaginative genius knew how to spread over his canvas.'<sup>125</sup>

For Bode, Rembrandt was unequivocally the most important Dutch artist, on a par with Michelangelo and Raphael, 'the mighty ones of the earth who must be measured by their own standard.'<sup>126</sup> In his book, *Great masters of Dutch and Flemish paintings* (1909), Bode opens with the statement:

At the centre of Dutch art – in point both of time and importance, as well as from the extent of his production – stands Rembrandt van Rijn.... No other painter ... has a more extended range of treatment; above all, he is unrivalled in the breadth and profundity of his ideas, no less than in their pictorial rendering.'<sup>127</sup>

Rodolphe Kann shared Bode's fervour for the work of Rembrandt, and acquired eleven works by the master for his collection. As Max Friedländer observed: 'The greatest genius, the poet among Dutch artists, rightly claims by far the largest space [in Kann's collection], giving dignity to the house, earnestness and majesty to the gallery.'<sup>128</sup> Moreover, 'modern' collectors such as Kann and Bode were very particular about which of Rembrandt's paintings they acquired. They preferred the painter's late work. In Kann's collection not one of the Rembrandts was painted before 1650,<sup>129</sup> and Friedländer wrote in the 1907 catalogue of the Kann collection that Rembrandt was not, 'as in former collections ... represented by a few fashionable portraits, of the kind he painted in his first period; he appears as the sovereign overlord, with works in which he is fully himself, examples in which he may be studied at the apogee of his pictorial powers and of his genius'.<sup>130</sup> Three reasons for this preference can be suggested. Firstly, on stylistic grounds, Rembrandt's late works, with their expressive brushwork, appealed to Kann and Bode because they disapproved of the 'tendency in painting' prior to 1850 with its 'predilection for severe drawing, careful execution, and themes

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<sup>125</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.10.

<sup>126</sup> W. Bode, *Great masters of Dutch and Flemish painting*, London, 1909, p.32.

<sup>127</sup> W. Bode, *Great masters of Dutch and Flemish painting*, London, 1909, p.1.

<sup>128</sup> M.J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157.

<sup>129</sup> M.J. Friedländer, 'Mr Rudolf Kann's picture gallery in Paris', *Art Journal*, 1901, pp.155-157.

<sup>130</sup> *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907, p.i.

abounding in illustrative detail'.<sup>131</sup> Secondly, Bode and Kann's preference for the late works may have stemmed from the fact that such paintings had in the past suffered critical neglect. The fact that they now actively sought out such works no doubt contributed to their perception of themselves as 'discerning connoisseurs' whose taste was more 'advanced' than other collectors. Thirdly, it is possible that they may have believed (along with many of their contemporaries) that the biographical details of the artist's last decade – in which he battled both emotionally and financially – confirmed his genius because he was not at one with the world around him.

Alfred Beit ultimately owned four paintings attributed to Rembrandt. Two of these were dark and sombre three-quarter length portraits of men painted in the artist's late period, and the other two were earlier works: a painting entitled *The tribute money*, which was dated 1629, and one of *St Francis* (Fig. 2.10), dated 1637. In Bode's view, most of Rembrandt's earlier works were 'curiosities' which were of 'value in so far as they help to illustrate a phase in the development of Rembrandt's art'.<sup>132</sup> He placed Beit's *St Francis*, acquired from Sedelmeyer in Paris in about 1896, in this category because it lacked 'the delicacy of conception, the executive care, and the marked brilliance of tone...' that is to be found in the later works.<sup>133</sup>

Beit bought the other very early work, *The tribute money*, in February 1906 from Robert Langton Douglas, surprisingly on Bode's recommendation. Douglas wrote to Bode with news of his purchase of the work in January 1906:

I have just bought from a remote country house a very charming early Rembrandt signed and dated. It is quite unknown, and has been in the country whence it came from time immemorial. It bears the signature to be found on other works of his Leyden period, the monogram of the letters R.H.L. and the date 1629. It measures 16.5 x 13 inches. The subject is *The Tribute Money*. ... Except for Mr Beit, I have told no one of this picture. ... I do not want dealers to know that I possess it. I will send you photographs as

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<sup>131</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.6.

<sup>132</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.8.

<sup>133</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.8.

soon as possible. The picture could go very well with Mr Beit's Adrian van Ostade. ... P.S. Many thanks for writing again to Mr Beit.<sup>134</sup>

It seems likely that the primary reason for Bode's insistence that Beit buy the painting lay in his close and problematic relationship with Douglas. Why else would he recommend a work painted in a period of Rembrandt's career he generally disliked? Bode himself had written only a year before, in the 1904 catalogue of the collection, Rembrandt's oil sketches (of which *The tribute money* is one) 'are somewhat ill-balanced, and are merely designed to give the roughest illustration of a certain light-effect, tone or expression.'<sup>135</sup> It is worth noting in this regard that Douglas unabashedly offered Bode a discount on a purchase for the Kasier-Friedrich-Museum if Bode persuaded Beit to pay a 'full' price for the painting: 'I wish indeed that I may get £5 000 for the Rembrandt. If I do get that sum, or even £4 000, I will certainly make a reduction in the price of the Pesellino [for the museum] – a very substantial reduction.'<sup>136</sup> Beit did buy the painting, but if the price he paid was close to what Douglas was asking, it requires explanation because, in the 1904 catalogue of the Beit collection, Bode stated that such early works 'are often of so slight and unfinished a character that the £2 000 or more, which is now asked for them and generally paid, is altogether above their value'.<sup>137</sup>

Beit acquired both of his late Rembrandt portraits from Agnew's. He bought the first, optimistically described by both Smith and Agnew's as a *Portrait of the artist* (Fig. 2.11), for £6 000 in February 1896. The second work, entitled *Portrait of a man* (Fig. 2.12), cost £10 000 three years later. It was one of the artist's last dated works (and the only one of Beit's four Rembrandt paintings whose attribution has been retained by the Rembrandt Research Project).<sup>138</sup> Significantly, Rodolphe Kann was directly involved in the acquisition of both of these works. According to Agnew's stock books, on both occasions the works were first sold to Kann who traded them back after a short

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<sup>134</sup> RLD to WB, 30.1.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>135</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.8.

<sup>136</sup> RLD to WB, (?)20.1.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>137</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.8.

<sup>138</sup> Rembrandt's *Portrait of an elderly man* in the collection of Lord Cowdray is also dated 1667; and aside from self portraits, this painting and the one belonging to Beit are the two latest dated works by the artist.

interval, at which time they were immediately sold to Beit. These two works are so unlike any other paintings in Beit's collection that it seems plausible that an explanation for this sequence of events is related to Beit's lack of confidence about acquiring such 'modern' old masters, and that Kann, as a close friend, shepherded Beit into acquiring them. A remark that Beit made to Bode just after the purchase of the first portrait appear to bear this out: he said that he bought the painting 'because Kann thought that it was particularly beautiful'.<sup>139</sup>

Beit considered the purchase of two other major Rembrandt portraits but in both instances lacked the confidence to reach a decision and relied on Bode for advice. On the first occasion, two months after his purchase of the *Portrait of the artist*, Colnaghi's offered Beit, through Bode, a painting entitled *A standard bearer*. Beit's response was laden with conditions. He stated that he would only purchase it if Bode thought it to be more attractive than the *Portrait of the artist*, and only if the earlier purchase could be sold.<sup>140</sup> Beit also considered the purchase of one of the five Rembrandts in the Lord Pelham-Clinton-Hope collection which came onto the market in 1898. According to Beit, the dealer Wertheimer was asking 'horrendous' prices for paintings, and an unidentified Rembrandt was available for £10 000. Beit offered £9 000 and asked Bode if he should increase his offer to £9 500.<sup>141</sup> In any event, he did not acquire this work, even though marginal increase in his offer would surely have secured the painting.<sup>142</sup>

Another artist whose work both Kann<sup>143</sup> and Bode held in high esteem was Frans Hals. As Bode wrote in 1909: 'Today his name stands, together with Rembrandt, at the head of Dutch painting'.<sup>144</sup> The reasons for their interest lay once again both in the stylistic traits of Hals's work and in the critical neglect that his oeuvre had suffered before the

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<sup>139</sup> AB to WB, 6.4.1896, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>140</sup> AB to WB, 6.4.1896, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>141</sup> AB to WB, 1.10.1898, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>142</sup> It was later reported that the dealer Charles Wertheimer had acquired the Warwick Castle Rembrandt, *A standard bearer*, by private treaty for a sum of around 10 000gs (*Art Journal*, 1896, p.284; *Magazine of Art*, 1896, p.424). It was included in Sedelmeyer's 1896 catalogue as no.30.

<sup>143</sup> Rodolphe Kann owned four works by Frans Hals. The Hals, *Portrait of a woman*, previously in Maurice Kann's collection is now arguably the most important Dutch seventeenth-century painting in a public collection in South Africa. It formed part of Max Michaelis's gift to the Union of South Africa in 1913.

<sup>144</sup> W. Bode, *Great masters of Dutch and Flemish painting*, London, 1909, p.33.

critic, Thoré-Bürger, initiated a rediscovery of Hals's work after his artistic legacy had been overlooked for almost two centuries following his death.<sup>145</sup> Bode had contributed to this re-evaluation by submitting a doctoral dissertation in 1871 on the subject of Hals and his school,<sup>146</sup> and in 1914, he published, together with Binder, a *catalogue raisonné* of Frans Hals's work. The three paintings attributed to Hals that Beit did buy were among his first acquisitions. Although the purchase of works by Hals in the years around 1890 was no longer adventurous because by then 'modern' old master collectors had been collecting his work for two decades, it was not an obvious choice for a collector who had just arrived in London after fifteen years in South Africa. In all likelihood Beit was strongly influenced by Kann and Bode in these purchases because in later years, when he was a more confident collector, he never again acquired any works by Hals. He gave one of these three works, a *Man with a herring barrel*, to the Hamburg Kunsthalle in 1891, suggesting that it may have been bought with the specific intention of making this presentation. One of the two other works, the *Portrait of a young girl*, was reattributed by Bode in 1904 to Judith Leyster. The reason Bode gave for this change in attribution is worth noting: he felt that as an 'actual work of the great master himself, the conception and treatment are somewhat too simple.'<sup>147</sup> (Furthermore, in his view, the works of Judith Leyster, placed near Hals's own works, 'appear somewhat tame, have a sort of ladylike prettiness and attractiveness in colouring and treatment; and for that very reason they please the public taste'.)<sup>148</sup> The other painting, a small circular *Laughing boy holding a flute* (Fig. 2.13), displayed all the characteristic virtuosity that attracted 'modern' old master collectors and contemporary artists to Hals's work. In Bode's words: 'By a few simple, broad thick strokes of the brush the feathers are clearly and strongly depicted in the unique Velasquez manner.'<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> See F.S. Jowell, 'Thoré-Bürger and the revival of Frans Hals', *Art Bulletin*, 56, 1974, pp.101-117; F.S. Jowell, 'The rediscovery of Frans Hals', in Seymour Slive (ed.), *Frans Hals*, London and Munich, 1989, pp.61-86; F.S. Jowell, 'Thoré-Bürger – a critical rôle in the art market', *Burlington Magazine*, 138, February 1996, pp.115-129.

<sup>146</sup> Wilhelm von Bode's dissertation, *Frans Hals und seine Schule*, was reprinted in *Zahn's Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 6, Leipzig, 1871, pp.1-66.

<sup>147</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.22.

<sup>148</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.22.

<sup>149</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.22.



Johannes Vermeer, who had also been rediscovered by Thoré-Bürger after two centuries of critical neglect, was the third Dutch artist who complied with Kann and Bode's notion of a 'modern' old master. In Bode's view, Vermeer was 'a precursor of our modern bright and clear style of painting'.<sup>150</sup> But whether Beit was attracted to Vermeer for these reasons is debatable. In the context of his preference for detailed and carefully finished genre scenes, it is probable that he was attracted to the artist's genial depiction of domestic life, and not the qualities emphasised by Bode (and presumably by Kann). Kann was instrumental in securing Beit's two paintings attributed to Vermeer.<sup>151</sup> The first, *A lady at a spinet* (Fig. 2.14), was purchased on Beit's behalf in April 1892,<sup>152</sup> which would qualify Beit as one of the first collectors of Vermeer's work in Britain.<sup>153</sup> In his 1904 catalogue of the collection, Bode questioned its attribution and although it has not subsequently been accepted into Vermeer's oeuvre, it must have appeared to be an authentic work because René Gimpel, the art dealer and diarist who studied Vermeer's work closely, noted in his diary that 'he would not be surprised if [this work in]... the Beit Collection wasn't signed on the music book.'<sup>154</sup> In contrast to the first picture, Beit's other Vermeer, *A lady writing a letter* (Fig. 2.15), is one of the largest works by the artist and one of the few to contain life-size figures. Kann purchased it on Beit's behalf in Paris in 1904 at a cost of £8 000, a price which Beit described as 'very high', but which seems very reasonable considering the enormous prices the dealer Duveen commanded for Vermeer's work a few years later.<sup>155</sup>

Beit also owned a pair of oils by Gabriel Metsu which bear some resemblance to Vermeer's treatment of interior spaces. They were painted in the mid-1660s and display

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<sup>150</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.11.

<sup>151</sup> Beit wrote to Bode in April 1892 that he was expecting the Delft Vermeer from Paris which he had not yet seen. AB to WB, 25.4.1892, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>152</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.9.

<sup>153</sup> Prior to the National Gallery's purchase of Johannes Vermeer's *Young woman standing at a virginal* (NG1383) also in 1892, the only other Vermeer in England was a work hanging high up, not attributed to Vermeer at this stage, in the corner of a bedroom at Windsor Castle. C. Holmes, *Self and partners*, London, [1936], p.134.

<sup>154</sup> R. Gimpel, *Diary of an art dealer*, London, 1966, p.224.

<sup>155</sup> AB to WB, 12.7.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK. Paintings by Johannes Vermeer were realising prices in the hundreds of pounds in the 1870s, a few thousand pounds in the 1880s and 1890s, and only early in the new century with the entrance of the Americans in the market did the prices rise astronomically. The Beit Vermeer realised £2 580 at the Secrétan sale in Paris in 1889. See G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, pp.483-484.

the artist's astonishing attention to detail and light. These two paintings, *A man writing a letter* (Fig. 2.16) and *A woman reading a letter* (Fig. 2.17), were acquired through Bode from the Lord Pelham-Clinton-Hope collection in 1898 and receive the same attention as the two late Rembrandts in Bode's catalogue.<sup>156</sup> In keeping with the 'modern' old master collectors' tendency to romanticise the hardship in their favoured artists' lives, Bode pointed out in the catalogue entry for these two pictures that Metsu's 'art suddenly ... declined, and, as he died in October 1668, at the age of 37, it can be said of him, as Goethe says of every man of genius who dies young: – "Providence wisely took care that he completely fulfilled his task in his brief life-time"<sup>157</sup>

Besides the two works attributed to Vermeer and the pair by Metsu, Beit owned a number of other works in the same genre. These included an interior scene 'in the style of De Hooch' which Bode attributed to the recently rediscovered painter Simon Kick<sup>158</sup> (later thought to be in the style of Nicolaes Maes);<sup>159</sup> a large oil by Nicolaes Maes, *The milk maid* (Fig. 2.18);<sup>160</sup> a small Gerard ter Borch, *The mandolin player*;<sup>161</sup> and a Pieter de Hooch, *A lady standing besides a cello player*. Bode thought that this latter oil was undistinguished and stated that it was only in the collection because it had been opportunely acquired along with other more valuable paintings.<sup>162</sup> Writing on De Hooch, Bode again provided the standard romanticised biography favoured by 'modern' old master collectors: 'the wonderful works of his earlier period were painted by De Hooch whilst he was a footman to an adventurer of noble descent, for by painting alone he could not make a living.'<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, pp.11-13.

<sup>157</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.12.

<sup>158</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.10.

<sup>159</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.9.

<sup>160</sup> It is often stated that Beit acquired the Nicolaes Maes, *The milk maid*, soon after his arrival in London when still occupying a suite of rooms in Ryder Street (A. Beit, and J.G. Lockhart. *The Will and the way*, London, 1957, p.17). Bode contradicts this and notes that it was from the John Walter collection (W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.9), which is substantiated by an 1884 inventory of Walter's collection (Walter papers, D/EWL F12/1, F12/8/2, Berkshire Record Office, Reading).

<sup>161</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.11.

<sup>162</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.9.

<sup>163</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.11.

These genre scenes of middle-class life were still within the realms of the seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish art that Bode considered significant, but in his catalogue of the collection he was unable to hide his disappointment that Beit had chosen to collect such paintings. Beit was attracted to these 'scenes of everyday life'<sup>164</sup> – of serene middle-class interiors and jovial lower-class life indoors and outdoors – perhaps because, as Robert Witt explained in his book *How to look at pictures* (1902) (which was 'intended for those who have no special knowledge of pictures and paintings, but are interested in them'),<sup>165</sup> they depict 'ordinary men in ordinary situations, not heroes in moments of crisis. Their subjects were those that spoke most directly to the spectator. They demanded no knowledge of history or archaeology, no religious belief, no book-learning. They appealed to the common man and woman with intimate confidence, and they did not appeal in vain'.<sup>166</sup> The complex allegorical and emblematic meanings in Dutch and Flemish genre scenes which are in the present day being debated by art historians would appear to have been overlooked by late Victorian collectors such as Beit and even by art historians<sup>167</sup> such as Bode and his colleague, Max Friedländer, who was an authority on Netherlandish art. Friedländer, who was 'universally recognised as being probably the greatest living expert, notably of course, on early Netherlandish and German masters',<sup>168</sup> wrote in his book *On art and connoisseurship*:

A genre picture reminds me of domestic happiness, of homely cosiness, of gay parties – of conditions and experiences of my own reality. Landscape pictures call up memories of travel and excursions, of parts in which I have loved to stay or else have experienced something tragic. ... Art creates a second world, in which I am not an actor but a spectator, and that world resembles paradise.<sup>169</sup>

A further aspect of these genre works that may have appealed to Beit, but which is difficult to articulate, is the latent sentiment that is often found in them. This preference for emotive images was not unusual among collectors; as Witt observed with reference

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<sup>164</sup> See Peter Sutton (ed.), *Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting*, exh. cat., Philadelphia, Berlin, and London, 1984, p.xiv.

<sup>165</sup> R.C. Witt, *How to look at pictures*, London, 1902, introduction.

<sup>166</sup> R.C. Witt, *How to look at pictures*, London, 1902, p.89.

<sup>167</sup> See Peter Sutton (ed.), *Masters of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting*, exh. cat., Philadelphia, Berlin, and London, 1984.

<sup>168</sup> M. J. Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, Oxford, 1942, p.9.

<sup>169</sup> M. J. Friedländer, *On art and connoisseurship*, Oxford, 1942, pp.27-28. Although this book was published almost four decades after Alfred Beit's death, the ideas it expresses are germinated in Friedländer's years under Bode in the Berlin museum earlier in the century.

to contemporary Victorian art: 'Judging from the annual exhibitions of paintings ... it would appear that genre is the most popular art of the day. In England at least it holds almost undisputed sway, especially in the form of anecdotal or literary genre in its feeblest and most sentimental aspect'.<sup>170</sup> These sentimental qualities are not only to be found in Beit's seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre scenes but also in his eighteenth-century British and French portraits – all of which are of women and children<sup>171</sup> – and in his seven Murillos: the wistful *Madonna and Child with St John* as well as the series of six oils depicting the parable of the Prodigal Son (Figs. 2.19, 2.20), which he bought from the Earl of Dudley in 1896. As Frank Harris, an acquaintance of Beit, recalled:

Mr Beit gave an enormous sum for all the Dudley Murillos, simply because Murillo's type of sentimental Southern beauty appealed to him immensely. He thought a certain long-limbed angel with uplifted eyes a sort of perfect ideal or model of the beautiful, and was astounded to find that one rather disliked it. At bottom Mr Beit was a sentimentalist.<sup>172</sup>

These Murillos are another facet of Beit's taste for genre and confirm his status as a 'traditional' collector of old masters. Murillo's paintings had been exceedingly popular with late eighteenth-century and early Victorian collectors and Beit, in his purchases of Spanish old masters, avoided works by artists such as Goya, El Greco or Velasquez<sup>173</sup> that a 'modern collector' would have rated highly. Beit displayed them in the library at 26 Park Lane where, together with his other Murillo, they formed, in Bode's view, 'a strikingly beautiful adornment for a room'.<sup>174</sup>

Beit's Dutch and Flemish genre and landscape paintings will be examined in two parts: firstly those artists whose work is within the traditional definition of genre scenes – Jan Steen, David Teniers the Younger and Adriaen van Ostade – and secondly, those who

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<sup>170</sup> R.C. Witt, *How to look at pictures*, London, 1902, p.91.

<sup>171</sup> Interestingly the Randlord, Solly Joel (1865-1931), also owned only British eighteenth-century portraits of attractive women and children (and twenty-four works by George Morland).

<sup>172</sup> *John Bull*, 28.7.1906.

<sup>173</sup> In May 1904 he contemplated the purchase of a Velasquez portrait of the *Countess Ruffo Bonneval de la Faro* in the possession of (?)Coats. A price of £10 000 was mentioned and Beit sent Bode a photograph for confirmation of the attribution. However, he did not purchase it. AB to WB, 20.5.1904, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>174</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, pp.6-7.

incorporated genre details into their landscapes – Isaack van Ostade, Philips Wouwermans, Paulus Potter, Aert van der Neer and Aelbert Cuyp.<sup>175</sup>

Given his low opinion of genre scenes, Bode described Steen as an artist whose drawing was frequently ‘careless and even slovenly, [his] expression verges on the caricature, the colouring is hard and garish, and in sentiment, in spite of the semblance of morality with which he seeks to invest his pictures ... he sometimes degenerates into laxity and even coarseness.’<sup>176</sup> As is evident in this passage, Bode, for different reasons – related to style, content and character – questioned Steen’s qualities as an artist. Bode nevertheless suggested that Beit’s large Steen, *Marriage feast at Cana* (see Fig. 2.7), from the Walter collection, with nearly fifty figures included in the scene, was among the artist’s most important works. ‘The particular genius of the master is perhaps manifest more fully and with greater effect in this [painting] than in any other of his pictures.’<sup>177</sup> Beit owned two other works by Steen: a small work, *The patient*, painted somewhat in the style of Frans van Mieris, and *The interior of an inn* (also known as *The broken eggs*) (Fig. 2.21), a medium-sized raucous tavern scene. Surprisingly this latter picture was in fact recommended to Beit by Bode, even though Bode had such strong reservations about Jan Steen’s work. The reason he suggested its acquisition possibly once again related to Bode’s touting of Robert Langton Douglas’s stock. A letter from Douglas to Bode, written in August 1905, once again suggests that Bode was functioning as an agent for the seller rather than as an adviser to Beit. ‘I am hoping that Mr Beit will buy the Jan Steen.... I shall be deeply grateful to you if you will do what you can for the Jan Steen. It is really a very fine thing and *in a beautiful state*.... It is a particularly clean, pure picture, it is very interesting as it contains portraits of Jan Steen, his wife and Van Goyen.... Please try to get me a good price....’<sup>178</sup> Beit did acquire the

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<sup>175</sup> Almost all of these artists were firm favourites with late eighteenth-century and early Victorian collectors. Beit’s numerous purchases of their works thus places him, as has been discussed, firmly within the realm of collectors with ‘traditional’ taste, and apart from ‘modern’ old master collectors such as Kann and Bode. David Teniers’ work, and to a lesser degree the work of Adriaen van Ostade, were amongst the most expensive of all paintings in late eighteenth-century England (G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, pp.458-459). Their works were also the Academicians’ favourite paintings in the Dulwich Picture Gallery in the 1840s. See G. Waterfield, *Rich summer of art*, exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1988, p.11.

<sup>176</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, pp.13-4.

<sup>177</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.14.

<sup>178</sup> RLD to WB, 17.8.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

work for £1 000<sup>179</sup> but Douglas's identification of the figures has not been fully accepted by later art historians.<sup>180</sup>

Beit owned two works by David Teniers the Younger, both of which he purchased from Agnew's: a relatively large oil, *A rural fête* (Fig. 2.22), for which he paid £2 750 in 1896<sup>181</sup>, and a 'cabinet picture on copper', *A peasant teaching a shepherdess to play the pipes*, which cost £450 in 1901.<sup>182</sup> The three works by Adriaen van Ostade in Beit's possession were, in Bode's words, all 'fine and distinguished specimens of the master's work.'<sup>183</sup> The largest work, *Peasants dancing in a tavern* (Fig. 2.23), was acquired from Sedelmeyer in Paris in 1896 and was 'certainly one of the chef d'oeuvres of the artist'.<sup>184</sup> Two other works, both from the John Walter collection, were a small oil, *A peasant at a window*, and one of Van Ostade's rare biblical works, *The adoration of the shepherds* (see Fig 2.6). Beit also acquired two works by Adriaen van Ostade's brother, Isaack, from the John Walter collection: *Traveller at a cottage door* (Fig. 2.24), and *The ford* (Fig. 2.25), a serene image of a group of peasants, horses, a donkey and a cart crossing a brook, which is one of the most significant works that the artist produced in his short working life.

Beit acquired one work by Philips Wouwermans, *A village festival* (Fig. 2.26), from the collection of Lord Pelham-Clinton-Hope collection. He may have paid the enormous price of £8 000 but the painting is unquestionably a canonical work.<sup>185</sup> Wouwermans

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<sup>179</sup> RLD to WB, 29.8.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>180</sup> Jan Steen's *Interior of an inn* was bequeathed to the National Gallery, London, by Sir Otto Beit (NG 5637). The features of the central figure bear some resemblance to the artist. See N. MacLaren and C. Brown, *National Gallery catalogues: the Dutch school 1600-1900*, London, 1991, pp.430-431.

<sup>181</sup> Bode in his two catalogues of the Beit collection states that this painting's provenance is the John Walter collection. This would appear to be incorrect. There is no corresponding painting in the 1885 inventory of the Walter collection (Berkshire Record Office, D/EWL F12/8/2), and Beit bought a painting with a description fitting this painting from Agnew's in 1896. The painting supposedly from the John Walter collection Bode called *Before the inn*, with dimensions of 56.5 x 77cm, and the painting Beit bought from Agnew's, *Rural fête*, has dimensions of 55 x 75cm, which would suggest that they are one and the same painting.

<sup>182</sup> Beit purchased at the same time a Missal Book of Hours (£2 550) from the Felix collection which Agnew's had acquired from Rodolphe Kann the same day for £2 447.

<sup>183</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.14.

<sup>184</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.15.

<sup>185</sup> Beit wrote to Bode asking his advice as to which paintings he should purchase from the Hope collection and at what prices. He told Bode that Wertheimer was asking £8 000 for a Philips Wouwermans [*A village festival*] and would not accept less than £7 500. Beit said that Bode had valued this painting at £3 000 and although the difference in value was so large, he particularly liked this



was not an artist that Bode or 'modern' collectors particularly favoured because his pictures 'are too often heavy in tone, inharmonious in colour and too much finished.'<sup>186</sup> Yet Bode made a strong case for this painting in the catalogue of the collection and attempted to assure 'modern' collectors of its significance. In Bode's view, *A village festival*

is vivid and realistic to an extraordinary degree, so much so that the observer lives again the emotions depicted. From the point of view of the moderns, however, this is sufficient reason for the picture to be regarded with great suspicion. But he who has regard for power of imagination, accurate drawing, perfect mastery of arrangement and scenic effect, qualities which still are justified in art and should ever remain so – will share with us the greatest pleasure in this picture.<sup>187</sup>

There are a number of works amongst Beit's landscapes which can be viewed as an extension of his taste for genre scenes. One of these is a rare winter landscape by Jan van de Cappelle, *Winter scene in a village* (Fig. 2.27), another is a small Jan van der Heyden, *At the town gate* (from the John Walter collection), as well as three characteristic oils by Aert van der Neer: a large *Landscape at evening*, *Moonlight landscape*, and *Winter landscape*. Bode had reservations about Aert van der Neer's work and disparagingly described him as 'a specialist by [way] of his regular repetition of certain moods in his landscape'.<sup>188</sup> However, he thought that the three paintings in Beit's collection were finer than most of the artist's works, particularly the *Winter landscape* of people skating on a canal adjacent to a village.

Beit collected a small group of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish landscapes and seascapes in which the tensions between 'modern' taste and 'traditional' taste are evident. For the most part his preferences lean towards the 'modern' taste in this field. As a result, the landscape and seascape paintings Beit and Rodolphe Kann chose to collect are strikingly similar.<sup>189</sup> Beit expressed little interest in the idealised classical landscapes by the Dutch Italianate painters which the 'traditional' collectors in the late

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painting. Wertheimer also had a small Wouwermans of 'a chase with a falcon' [*The hawking party*] for which he was asking £2 200. AB to WB, 1.10.1898, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>186</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.20.

<sup>187</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.20.

<sup>188</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.18.

<sup>189</sup> See *Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had regarded so highly. Nineteenth-century artists, in particular John Constable in England, had led this shift in taste away from idealised Italianate landscapes bathed in golden light and with picturesque groupings of figures by, amongst others, Aelbert Cuyp, Nicolaes Berchem, Karel Dujardin, Paulus Potter and Jan Both.<sup>190</sup> Some indication of how the critical stance towards the Italianate painters had altered by the late nineteenth century is apparent from the fact that there is no mention of Nicolaes Berchem, Jan Asselijn or Adam Pijnacker in Bode's *Studien zur Geschichte der Holländischen Malerei*, published in 1883. Beit owned two works that fall into this category: an Aelbert Cuyp, *Summer morning: on the banks of the Maes*, which he later exchanged for a Paulus Potter, *Landscape with four oxen*. However, both works were by painters who were Italianate in terms of their treatment of light rather than in their choice of subject matter, which were often romanticised views of the Italian peninsula.

The first landscapes that Beit acquired are by artists whose work cannot be clearly identified with either 'traditional' or 'modern' taste. These purchases for his small rooms in Princes Chambers, when he 'was only laying the foundation of his collection',<sup>191</sup> included two paintings by Regnier Nooms (called Zeeman), *Stormy sea* and *Calm sea*,<sup>192</sup> a work by Ludolf Bakhuizen, *Stormy sea with boats*,<sup>193</sup> and a Joris van der Haagen of a *View of 'Huis ten Bosch' in a wooded landscape*. It is such works, together with a collection of portrait miniatures<sup>194</sup> and other smaller paintings, that possibly formed part of Beit's 'private' collection. He displayed them on the first floor of his mansion, a space in which he lived rather than entertained. This area could have been described as a modest equivalent of Wernher's Red Room. On this floor, Beit had reproduced the plan and disposition of the Chambers in Pall Mall, where he had lived before, and there rehung his first acquisitions. Once Beit had the space to display larger

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<sup>190</sup> C. Brown, *Scholars of nature*, exh. cat., Ferens Art Gallery, Hull, 1981, p.8.

<sup>191</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.26.

<sup>192</sup> This Reiner Nooms (called Zeeman) may be the work referred to in a letter dated 30 May 1892 from Colnaghi's to Bode: 'The price of the Zeeman is £24.... We thank you for troubling yourself so much on our behalf.' Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>193</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.21.

<sup>194</sup> These works included Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Portrait of an elderly woman with long hair*; Caspar Netscher, *Portrait of a young woman*; F. Bisét, *Portrait of a young man in a blue robe*, Frans Pourbus the Younger, *Portrait of a fair young lady*. W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.23.

paintings, he acquired imposing oils of landscape and seascape which were hung on the silk brocade-covered walls of the billiard-room at 26 Park Lane.<sup>195</sup> A writer for the magazine, *Architecture*, described it as the 'finest apartment in the house'.<sup>196</sup>

The 'modern' old master collectors avoided works by the Dutch Italianate artists and instead favoured works by more naturalistic painters such as Jan van Goyen, Jacob van Ruisdael and Meindert Hobbema. Works by these artists had not been neglected by collectors in the past in the same way as Hals and Vermeer, and an artist like Hobbema had also been admired by early Victorian collectors.<sup>197</sup> Where the influence of the attitude of 'modern' old master collectors becomes apparent is in their romanticisation of biographical details. In the case of Hobbema, Bode suggested in the catalogue of the Beit collection that his work was not appreciated in his own time and therefore he 'was obliged, in order to support himself, to apply for a post in the Customs.'<sup>198</sup> Beit acquired one painting by this artist, *The path on the dyke* (see Fig. 2.4), painted in 1663 (with the staffage by Adriaen van de Velde), which had been held in very high esteem by Victorian collectors. Waagen's description of this work when it was still in the Dudley collection in the 1850s illustrates this point:

A masterpiece of Hobbema, both for extent and excellence; a picture which is equal to a whole gallery. For striking truth of Nature, delicacy of aërial perspective, effect of bright afternoon sun, and masterly lightness of execution, there are probably very few pictures in the world that can bear comparison to this.<sup>199</sup>

In Bode's view, Jacob van Ruisdael, who was a leading exponent of the new trend in Dutch landscape painting that originated in Haarlem before the mid-century, brought landscape painting 'to a pitch of development which has not been exceeded to this day.'<sup>200</sup> He went on to say that 'In spite of our modern impressionist, he still occupies a leading position, if only for his delicacy and mastery in the atmospheric effects of his

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<sup>195</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, 1904, Berlin, p.16.

<sup>196</sup> 'Mr Alfred Beit's house in Park Lane', *Architecture*, 3, 1898, pp.111-112.

<sup>197</sup> C. Brown, *Scholars of nature*, exh. cat., Ferens Art Gallery, Hull, 1981, p.9; G. Waterfield, *Rich summer of art*, exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1988, p.11.

<sup>198</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.11.

<sup>199</sup> Quoted in the catalogue of the sale of paintings from the Earl of Dudley Collection, Christie's, London, 25 June 1892, lot 7.

<sup>200</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.17.

landscapes.<sup>201</sup> Beit owned two works by Jacob van Ruisdael: *Rough sea* (Fig. 2.28), which he bought from Colnaghi's and *Bentheim Castle* (Fig. 2.29), from the John Walter collection, which is one of a number of versions of a subject that the artist returned to repeatedly. Beit bought another work attributed to Jacob van Ruisdael, possibly the *Hilly landscape with a waterfall*, from Robert Langton Douglas, on Bode's recommendation. After its purchase Sir Walter Armstrong, an art historian<sup>202</sup> and director of the National Gallery of Ireland, questioned the attribution. The painting was sent to Berlin for comment,<sup>203</sup> and he presumably supported the attribution because the work remained in the collection.<sup>204</sup> Beit also owned a large oil by Jacob van Ruisdael's uncle, Salomon van Ruysdael, *A river landscape* (Fig. 2.30), painted in 1650. He acquired four paintings by Jan van Goyen, two of which were held in high regard by Bode.<sup>205</sup> In the catalogue of the collection, Bode described Jan van Goyen as a 'genius among pioneers in Dutch landscape painting', but does not elaborate on why he held the artist in such high regard.<sup>206</sup>

Although Alfred Beit started collecting seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings soon after his arrival in London, his first purchases of eighteenth-century British portraits were made only in 1895, when his house in Park Lane was nearing completion. Beit's collection of British portraiture was centred on three formal and grand portraits of women and children by Sir Joshua Reynolds.<sup>207</sup> He paid enormous

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<sup>201</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.17.

<sup>202</sup> Sir Walter Armstrong's books written at the turn of the century include *Thomas Gainsborough*, London, 1894; and *The Peel collection and the Dutch school of painting*, London, 1904.

<sup>203</sup> AB to WB, 15.3.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK. When Bode queried this attribution, Douglas responded that it came from Lord Arundel's collection and that it 'was formerly called a Hobbema but Dr Waagen decided it was by Ruysdael. Now however much Waagen has blundered in the case of certain early Flemish pictures, it cannot be denied that he was a good expert on Ruysdael'. The letter continues: 'You will find his account of this picture in the supplement (vol IV) of his great works.' RLD to WB, 20.3.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>204</sup> It is not known what attribution the Jacob van Ruisdael, *Hilly landscape with a waterfall* (Bode, 1913, no.53) now carries. It was sold by Mrs Arthur Bull at Christie's, London, 25.10.1946, lot 33, for 252gs.

<sup>205</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.21. One of the Jan van Goyens may be a work referred to in a letter dated 30 May 1892 from Colnaghi's to Bode: 'The price of ... the seapiece by Van Goyen is £170. We thank you for troubling yourself so much on our behalf.' Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>206</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.21.

<sup>207</sup> In the field of British art, Beit owned in addition to the portraits, Richard Parkes Bonington's *Figures on the seashore* bought from Sedelmeyer, John Constable's *Forest landscape* and an early (?)Turner, *Banquet in the Guildhall*. Beit also made three minor purchases from Agnew's in the South African War years which are not included in Bode's catalogues of the collection (either he considered these paintings not worthy of inclusion, or perhaps Beit purchased them as presents) George Morland's *Choosing a horse*

prices for his three Reynolds' portraits, which he acquired at four-year intervals, perhaps influenced by the fact that such works had formed a prominent part of the British aristocracy's display of wealth and taste. His first purchase was a 'Royal full-length' *Portrait of Lady Talbot* (Fig. 2.31) in April 1896 from Agnew's at a cost of £10 650. This commanding painting was hung above a fireplace in a reception room at 26 Park Lane.<sup>208</sup> In June 1900 he acquired Reynolds' *Portrait of Lady Cockburn as Caritas and her three eldest sons* (Fig. 2.32) for the reputed price of £22 000.<sup>209</sup> The price was perhaps justified by the painting's provenance: the National Gallery. It had been bequeathed amongst others to the gallery in 1892 by Lady Hamilton and after her death it was proved that she had no right to dispose of it. The painting was surrendered by the trustees of the National Gallery to the co-heiresses of Sir James Cockburn and they sold the painting through Wertheimer's and Agnew's<sup>210</sup> to Beit.<sup>211</sup> Beit purchased his third Reynolds oil, a *Portrait of Mrs Harriet Boone and her daughter*, in June 1904 for a price of about £12 700. He paid for it by paying £5 000 and returning the only large Gainsborough, *Portrait of Countess Waldegrave, Duchess of Gloucester*, which he ever acquired.<sup>212</sup> He had originally purchased this three-quarter length portrait from Agnew's in March 1898 for £7 750.<sup>213</sup> Perhaps Gainsborough's disavowal of Reynolds's theatrical rhetoric and opulence, coupled with his constant undermining of

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costing £850, James Stark's *Woodland scene* for £220, and a George Frederick Watts, *Joan of Arc*, for which Agnew's, on commission from Beit, paid 160gs at Christie's.

<sup>208</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, p.25.

<sup>209</sup> *South Africa*, 30.6.1900, p.682.

<sup>210</sup> There is no record of the painting in Agnew's stockbooks.

<sup>211</sup> G.S. Fort, *Alfred Beit*, London, 1932, p.221; *South Africa*, 30.6.1900, p.682.

<sup>212</sup> It would appear that Beit acquired another Gainsborough which cannot now be identified. Sir Hugh Lane wrote to Bode on 6 July 1905 thanking him for writing to Beit about the painting. Lane's zealous attempt to bring modern art to Dublin rested on this sale: 'I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter and for having written to Mr Beit about the 'Gainsborough'. I think that Mr Tweed (the sculptor), [and] Mr Claude Phillips have already spoken to him about it and that he has said that he wanted a *large* Gainsborough! ... I had intended bequeathing it to the Dublin Gallery, but I am obliged to sell it now to pay for the 'Forbes' pictures which have been purchased as a nucleus of a *Modern Art Gallery* (HL to WB, 6.7.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK). Beit in a letter to Bode himself mentioned that he planned to see Lane about a Gainsborough and that he would take up Bode's suggestion and consult Sir Walter Armstrong for his opinion (AB to WB, 4.7.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK). There is a further undated letter from Lane to Bode which would indicate that Beit did purchase this unidentified painting. Lane wrote: 'I am already greatly indebted to you for saving the Dublin Modern Gallery scheme from failure, by your introduction to Mr Beit' (HL to WB, undated). Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>213</sup> After Beit exchanged this Gainsborough with Agnew's, they sold it to the Parisian dealers Sedelmeyer at a loss of almost £2 000 which suggests Beit was right in thinking it was a problematic painting.

the notion of grandeur in portraiture, contributed to Beit's indifference to Gainsborough's portraits and his decision to dispose of this one.<sup>214</sup>

Most Randlord collectors tended only to purchase society portraits by the most prominent eighteenth-century British artists – Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hoppner, Romney, Raeburn, Beechey and Lawrence – overlooking works by artists such as Joseph Wright of Derby, Zoffany, Arthur Devis, Hogarth or Francis Hayman. The reason for this preference could perhaps relate to the fact that these latter artists did not convey the same sense of affluence and aristocratic importance that is immediately evident in the works by the more prominent artists. Beit's other purchases follow this pattern and he acquired a small full-length portrait of the famous tragic actress *Mrs Siddons*, by Sir William Beechey, a *Portrait of a young lady* by Allan Ramsay, and a John Opie, *Portrait of Master Henry Leverton*, which he bought from Agnew's in July 1904 for £725. Two of his four paintings by Romney which he acquired were a pair, *Portrait of Master Thomas Thornhill* and *Portrait of Miss Thornhill with a dog*, the latter work purchased from Agnew's for £1 500. His other two works by this artist were 'a lovely three-quarter length' *Portrait of Mrs Henry Ainslie and child* purchased in May 1898 from Agnew's for £3 350, and *Lady Hamilton as Serena*, which he bought from the same dealers in June 1904 for £2 100 and later traded back.<sup>215</sup> His two Hoppner oils were also of women, *Portrait of the Countess of Poulett* and *Portrait of Lady Coote*, as was his only work by Lawrence, *Portrait of Mrs Hillyer*, which he bought in October 1905 from Agnew's for about £2 300.

Beit also acquired a few French eighteenth-century paintings, which he displayed in the reception rooms at Park Lane alongside his portraits by British eighteenth-century artists.<sup>216</sup> Two works by J.M. Nattier, *Portrait of the Duchesse de Chartres as Hebe* and *Portrait of Madame Victoire, daughter of Louis XV* (Fig. 2.33), hung in the dining

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<sup>214</sup> For a discussion about the changing taste for the work of Gainsborough and Reynolds, see *Gainsborough and Reynolds: contrasts in royal patronage*, exh. cat., Queen's Gallery, London, 1994.

<sup>215</sup> Beit traded back this work the following year, and Agnew's eventually disposed of it at a loss a year and a half later for £950, which would suggest that Beit was right in thinking that it was a problematic painting.

<sup>216</sup> In September 1904 Beit also purchased three works by Angelica Kauffmann from Agnew's for £850: *Judgement of Paris*, and a 'pair of upright paintings', which Sir Otto Beit later returned to Agnew's on 12.7.1911.

room at 26 Park Lane. Predictably, Bode, whose taste hardly extended to the eighteenth century, was also unmoved by the Nattiers, and his sole remark about them was that he thought they added a 'festive touch to the general tone of the room'. The Nattier, *Portrait of Madame Victoire*, was another painting which had belonged to Rodolphe Kann before Beit bought it from Agnew's for £2 500.<sup>217</sup> Beit's work by Jean Baptiste Greuze, *Portrait of a little girl* (Fig. 2.34), once again attracted scorn from Bode, who was critical of the artist's 'decadent' use of 'false sentiment'.<sup>218</sup>

If it is correct to assume that in the field of Dutch and Flemish painting Beit was not particularly partial to portraiture, why then did he collect British (and French) eighteenth-century portraits so avidly? As I have already indicated, the reasons for his (and other plutocrats') purchase of such paintings may be sought in the symbolic value they seem to have ascribed to these paintings. They were prominently displayed in the reception rooms of their houses where they offered any visitor to a Randlord mansion unabashed allusions to wealth, class, ancestry and allegiance. The Edwardian hostess, Lady Dorothy Nevill, recalled that the plutocratic collectors of the late nineteenth century surrounded themselves 'with the beautiful eighteenth-century portraits of the class they have conquered'.<sup>219</sup> These society portraits, which came from the collections of the increasingly impoverished British aristocracy, were readily associated with a 'British' heritage and thus could be deployed in the plutocrats' strategies to construct a visible British identity to counteract their marginal status in their adopted country.<sup>220</sup> In the case of Beit, he did not conform to British perceptions of status on four scores: he was German-born, he had Jewish ancestry,<sup>221</sup> his enormous fortune was *new*, and he was closely associated with the ruthless exploits of plutocrats such as Rhodes.

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<sup>217</sup> It is worth noting how tastes change – Alfred Beit's nephew gave this painting to a YWCA charity sale in Cape Town in 1949 – no doubt because he did not consider it a particularly valuable part of the collection.

<sup>218</sup> W. Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit*, Berlin, 1904, pp.24-5.

<sup>219</sup> Lady Dorothy Nevill, *Reminiscences*, London, 1906, p.105.

<sup>220</sup> See Gertrude Prescott Nuding, 'Britishness and portraiture', in Roy Porter (ed.), *Myths of the English*, Cambridge and Oxford, 1992.

<sup>221</sup> Although Beit's parents had converted to Christianity, the public at large perceived him as Jewish; for example, Olive Schreiner in her book, *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (London, 1897, p.51), refers to Alfred Beit as a Jew.



Beit was one of the many Germans who established themselves in Britain in the last decades of the nineteenth century,<sup>222</sup> and who succeeded in establishing themselves in business and social spheres in London. This ascendancy of German-born immigrants in London society prompted a foreign resident to remark in the mid-1880s:

Great Britain is now suffering from an invasion of Germans.... [In] society there are opulent Teutons who, having made large fortunes in the United States or in the colonies of England, have settled in London, and exercise their supremacy over a gradually extending area. Every grade of English life, from the royal family to the domestic servant, is leavened by the German element.<sup>223</sup>

The German-born Randlords and other plutocrats had to be contend with press that was increasingly hostile against Germany and Germans in the years from the 1890s through to the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>224</sup> Apart from the rivalry in the race for arms and a superior navy, the trade wars provided a constant and additional reminder of the Anglo-German tension in those years.<sup>225</sup> Beit was very conscious of the growing antagonism between the land of his birth and his adopted homeland and, in 1905, along with Sir Edgar Speyer and Sir Ernest Cassel, founded the Anglo-German Union Club to foster relations between the two nations. Beit also met with Kaiser Wilhelm II at the Neues Palais at Potsdam in December 1905 to discuss Anglo-German tensions. The surviving accounts of this interview reveal that Beit identified with and justified the British perspective.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> A writer in the mid-1880s estimated that there were 250 000 Germans resident in England, of which at least two-fifths lived in London. Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *Society in London, by a foreign resident*, London, 1885, p.95. For a concise overview of German immigrants in Britain in the nineteenth century, see Panikos Panayi, *The enemy in our own midst*, Leamington Spa, 1990, chapter 1.

<sup>223</sup> Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *Society in London, by a foreign resident*, London, 1885, pp.94-5.

<sup>224</sup> See P. M. Kennedy, *The rise of Anglo-German antagonism 1860-1914*, London, 1980, pp.220-221.

<sup>225</sup> For instance see the polemic by Ernest Edwin Williams, *'Made in Germany'*, London, 1896.

<sup>226</sup> The ostensible reason for the interview on 29 December 1905 was for Beit to be invested with the Order of the Red Eagle for his generosity towards the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. As he was now a British citizen he was able to decline the offer without offence. Beit opened the interview with the presentation to the Kaiser of a catalogue of his art collection. For accounts of this meeting see *The journals and letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher*, London, 1934, vol 2, pp.134-139; *Memoirs of Prince von Bülow*, London, 1931, vol 2 (1903-1909), pp.183-189; and *The history of The Times*, vol 3, *The twentieth-century test, 1884-1912*, London, 1947, pp.460-462. Alfred Beit was also a member of the 'Anglo-German Union Club' founded in 1905 with the express purpose of facilitating Anglo-German relations. See also P. M. Kennedy, *The rise of Anglo-German antagonism 1860-1914*, London, 1980, p.304.

As a group, the German-born Randlords, with their enormous investments in South Africa, played a formative role in the fate of the sub-continent and could undoubtedly have furthered Germany's cause in the colonisation of Southern Africa, yet all aligned themselves with Britain. Beit not only identified with British colonialism, but along with Rhodes, he actively opposed Germany's attempts to extend its influence over Southern Africa. As Lionel Phillips observed: 'Beit, although German by birth, was a keen imperialist',<sup>227</sup> and Lady Phillips (on the eve of the First World War) noted, 'in the development of the Empire abroad and in the governance of England itself, Germans have done a great service to the British race'.<sup>228</sup>

In view of this, it is all the more ironic that Beit had played a pivotal role in an event which had contributed to the gradual breakdown in Anglo-German relations: the Jameson Raid. Beit, who remained a German citizen until 1898,<sup>229</sup> funded this 'British offensive' which, besides provoking an anti-German outburst in the British press after it became public knowledge that the German Emperor had sent a telegram of support to President Kruger, resulted in Beit's integrity and commitment to Britain and the Empire being openly questioned in the years ahead. For example, Henry Labouchere, a Radical M.P. who edited the periodical *Truth*, described Beit in his 'minority report' to the Select Committee as 'a German subject, living under the protection of our laws, and profiting by our hospitality to pursue his remunerative calling.'<sup>230</sup>

Beit<sup>231</sup> and those of his fellow Randlords who were of Jewish descent, were part of a generation in which Jews were accepted, only grudgingly, into the upper reaches of British society. As a foreign resident in London writing in 1885 observed: '[The] plutocracy is to a large extent Hebraic in its composition. There is no phenomenon more noticeable in the society of London than the ascendancy of the Jews.... [In] that kind of society which is known as "smart" you will soon discover that the Israelites are the

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<sup>227</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.141.

<sup>228</sup> Lady Phillips, *A friendly Germany: why not?*, London, 1913, p.48.

<sup>229</sup> *Second report from the select committee on B.S.A.* London (House of Commons), 1897, p.486.

<sup>230</sup> *Second report from the select committee on B.S.A.* London (House of Commons), 1897, vol 9, esp. p.lix; cited in G.R. Searle, *Corruption in British politics 1895-1930*, Oxford, 1987, p.67.

<sup>231</sup> There is a debate as to whether Beit was from a family of Sephardim or Ashkenazim Jews. Zinnow, in his recent history on the Beit family suggests that Beit's ancestors were Ashkenazim Jews and not Sephardim as is often said. See Eric Zinnow, *The Beit chronicle: the history of a family from its origins to the present day*, Würzburg, 1995.

lords paramount.<sup>232</sup> That Randlords were generally perceived to be mostly Jewish is not correct: only about half of the leading mining magnates of the 1880s and 1890s were of Jewish descent.<sup>233</sup>

Yet, this perception certainly hindered their aspirations to advance socially in upper-class London society, which was sometimes blatantly anti-Semite. Daisy, Countess of Warwick, recalled that she and her friends 'resented the introduction of the Jews into the social set of the Prince of Wales; not because we disliked them individually, for some of them were charming as well as brilliant, but because they had brains and understood finance. As a class, we did not like brains. As for money, our only understanding of it lay in the spending, not in the making of it.'<sup>234</sup> Referring more specifically to the Randlords, the press baron, Lord Northcliffe, ordered the editor of the *Daily Mail* to see that his 'Society' correspondent kept the Jews out of the social column because 'with the Ecksteins, Sassoons and Mosenthals, we shall soon have to set the column in Yiddish.'<sup>235</sup>

The Randlords who were of Jewish descent and/or had German ancestry were preoccupied with what has been termed (in the context of the German Jewish economic elite who remained in Germany) 'the twin problems of identity and integration'.<sup>236</sup> The resistance on the part of the British establishment to the incorporation of the German and/or Jewish Randlords into the ruling class actually encouraged them to forsake their past.<sup>237</sup> Lady Phillips remarked on this when she suggested that the German-born Randlords 'have looked upon the British as a kindred race by sinking their own nationality in ours and becoming loyal subjects of our power.'<sup>238</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that none of the Randlords were prominent in the Anglo-Jewish organisations and institutions that were then actively in these years assisting Jewish immigrants from

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<sup>232</sup> Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *Society in London, by a foreign resident*, London, 1885, pp.86-87.

<sup>233</sup> M. Kaplan, *Jewish roots in the South African economy*, Cape Town, 1986, p.77.

<sup>234</sup> Frances Greville (Countess of Warwick), *Afterthoughts*, London, 1931, p.40.

<sup>235</sup> Northcliffe to Marlowe (copy), 6.10.1912 (British Library, Northcliffe papers, Dep.4890/46), quoted by G.R. Searle, *Corruption in British politics 1895-1930*, Oxford, 1987, p.26.

<sup>236</sup> W.E. Mosse, *The German-Jewish economic elite, 1820-1935*, Oxford, 1990, p.331.

<sup>237</sup> On the subject of the stereotype of a German Jew in Victorian Britain see Pauline Paucker, 'The Image of the German Jew in English Fiction', in W.E. Mosse (ed.), *Second chance: two centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Tübingen, 1991, pp.314-333.

<sup>238</sup> Lady Phillips, *A friendly Germany: why not?*, London, 1913, p.48.

Eastern Europe.<sup>239</sup> It is in fact quite possible that the arrival of these Eastern European immigrant Jews, and the anti-Semitism which their presence kindled, contributed to the Randlords' reluctance to identify publicly with the Jewish community in Britain. As a result, the descendants of the Randlords were moulded by the rituals of the political, religious and educational institutions of England.<sup>240</sup>

A hereditary title, which formed a crucial component of this integration with the British upper-classes, was secured by most Randlords within the space of a generation, leaving their families with baronetcies.<sup>241</sup> In some respects, this assimilation was possibly too successful because almost no Randlord was succeeded by his son in managing the company he had founded. As Lady Dorothy Nevill observed: 'the sons of the [South African] millionaires in several instance do not conceal their dislike for business, and lead an existence of leisured and extravagant ease, which would not compare unfavourably with that of a "blood" of the eighteenth century'.<sup>242</sup> This transition from a German and/or Jewish background to a British upper middle-class identity is perceptively captured by W. Somerset Maugham in the short story, *The alien corn*. In one passage, Ferdy Rabenstein, a bachelor of German-Jewish descent, who was born in South Africa and moved to England at the age of twenty, is questioned about his family, to which he replies:

'Adolph is my nephew.'

'Sir Adolphus?'

'It suggests one of the bucks of the regency, doesn't it? But I will not conceal from you that he was named Adolf.'

'Everyone I knows calls him Freddy.'

'I know, and I understand that Miriam, his wife, only answers to the name of Muriel.'

'How does he happen to be your nephew?'

'Because Hannah Rabenstein, my sister, married Alfons Bleikogel, who ended life as Sir Alfred Bland, first Baronet, and Adolf, their only son, in due course became Sir Adolphus Bland, second Baronet.'<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> See E.C. Black, *Social politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880-1920*, Oxford, 1988.

<sup>240</sup> The Randlords were seldom members of the Anglican church, and none except Rhodes were products of public schools or Oxbridge, and very few were actually Members of Parliament (although the Randlords were generally close to politics).

<sup>241</sup> The issue of Randlords and titles is be discussed in the Michaelis chapter.

<sup>242</sup> Lady Dorothy Nevill, *Reminiscences*, London, 1906, pp.101-102.

<sup>243</sup> W. Somerset Maugham, 'The alien corn', in *The complete short stories*, London, 1951, vol 2, p.535.

As has been mentioned, Beit was closely involved with the Jameson Raid, which entrenched in the public mind a view that he was a scheming and greedy plutocrat.<sup>244</sup> Henry Labouchere suggested in a speech in the House of Commons, as well as in a letter to the Parisian paper *Le Gaulois* in early May 1896, that Beit and other Randlords had profited from the timeous sale of shares on the eve of the Jameson Raid. Although the Select Committee exonerated Beit from these insinuations, they resulted in a great deal of adverse press. The outbreak of the South African War in 1899 intensified the public image of the Randlords as foreign Jewish capitalists who were manipulating the British government to protect their investments in South Africa. John Swift MacNeill, an Irish Nationalist, spoke in Parliament of 'a Stock Exchange Government promoting a Stock Exchange war for Stock Exchange purposes',<sup>245</sup> and F.W. Hirst, who described the war as a Stock Exchange ramp, asked in the *Economist*: 'How is democracy to know or even suspect that its ministers are a row of puppets, and that a board of international financiers sitting in Paris or Berlin or London pulls the wires, especially if that same board controls a great part of the press?' Hirst was also caustic about 'certain organ-voices which always sing private interests to the accompaniment of patriotic airs such as "God save the Queen and enrich Baron Glückchild", "Rule Britannia and ennoble Herr Oppenbeit."<sup>246</sup> The articles written by J.A. Hobson, published in the *Manchester Guardian*<sup>247</sup> are perhaps the clearest expression of this belief that the South African War was being fought under the cloak of 'British patriotism'.<sup>248</sup> Another prominent critic of the Randlords was the Liberal MP, Arthur Markham, who delivered a speech in the House of Commons in March 1901 in which he denounced Wernher and Beit as being 'nothing more than a gang of common thieves and swindlers'. He repeated these assertions at a meeting in Mansfield on 7 May 1901 and challenged Beit to respond to them. A writ for slander followed, and after protracted proceedings, judgement was delivered against Markham in December 1901. The lines of Hilaire Belloc's *Verses to a Lord* probably expresses the prevailing

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<sup>244</sup> See *South Africa*, 30.8.1902, p.589; 26.7.1902, pp.262-263.

<sup>245</sup> *Parliamentary Debate*, 4th series, LXXXII, 8 May 1900.

<sup>246</sup> F.W. Hirst, G. Murray, and J.L. Hammond, *Liberalism and the empire*, London, 1900, pp.59,30.

<sup>247</sup> Later published as: J.A. Hobson, *The war in South Africa: its causes and effects*, London 1900.

<sup>248</sup> See Colin Holmes, 'J.A. Hobson and the Jews', In *Immigrants and minorities in British society*, London, 1978, pp.125-157.

sentiment about South African financiers at the time of the South African War best of all:

You thought because we held, my lord,  
An ancient cause and strong,  
That therefore we maligned the sword:  
My lord, you did us wrong.

We also know the sacred height  
Up on Tugela side,  
Where those three hundred fought with Beit  
And fair young Wernher died.

The daybreak on the failing force,  
The final sabres drawn:  
Tall Goltman, silent on his horse,  
Superb against the dawn.

The little mound where Eckstein stood  
And gallant Albu fell,  
And Oppenheim, half blind with blood  
Went fording through the rising flood –  
My Lord, we know them well.  
The little empty homes forlorn,  
The ruined synagogues that mourn,  
In Frankfort[sic] and Berlin;  
We now them when the peace was torn -  
We of a nobler lineage born –  
And now by all the gods of scorn  
We mean to rub them in.<sup>249</sup>

This unrelenting questioning in the liberal press of the integrity and allegiance of Randlords such as Beit, in addition to his (and often their) German-Jewish background, undoubtedly contributed his (and their) sense of insecurity in Britain. In these circumstances, Beit's purchases of British paintings could be read as a very visible affirmation of his loyalty to Britain. His own efforts to overcome the prejudice against German-Jewish immigrants in part succeeded: he was the only Randlord to attend the Duchess of Devonshire's celebrated Ball in 1897<sup>250</sup> (Fig. 2.35), and the Prince of Wales

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<sup>249</sup> A.N. Wilson, *Hilaire Belloc*, London, 1984, p.96.

<sup>250</sup> Beit went dressed as Frederick Henry of Nassau. See S. Murphy, *The Duchess of Devonshire's ball*, London, 1984, p.55.

invited him to stay at Sandringham.<sup>251</sup> An additional and emphatic statement of his ties to Britain was his decision in 1904 to present to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin an unmistakably British painting: Gainsborough's *Portrait of Squire John Wilkinson*. Furthermore, on his death he bequeathed to the same German museum Reynolds' *Portrait of Mrs Harriet Boone and her daughter*,<sup>252</sup> as well as leaving a Reynolds, *Portrait of Lady Cockburn as Caritas and her children*, to the National Gallery in London.<sup>253</sup> In addition to this Reynolds, there are other pictures in the National Gallery from the Beit collection which his brother, Sir Otto, bequeathed.<sup>254</sup>

On the death of Alfred Beit, his brother, Sir Otto (Fig. 2.36), inherited almost all of his art collection as well as 26 Park Lane, which he later sold because it was an idiosyncratic bachelor's mansion unsuitable for him and his family.<sup>255</sup> Sir Otto Beit,

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<sup>251</sup> Beit and Wernher stayed at Sandringham in June 1897 and later both were guests of the Prince and Princess of Wales at Marlborough House. Wernher wrote to his wife from Sandringham on 9 June 1897: 'I do not know many of the people but one talks to everybody *sans gêne* and I suppose I will find out their names bye and bye. The evening finished by Beit playing in a bowling match – Lord W. Beresford having backed the other man for a pound. The whole thing was really a joke as both men previously had played very badly. It was amusing how the fact of a match aroused the Prince [of Wales] and he chalked for Beit whilst the Prince of D[enmark] chalked for the other man. I am glad B[eit] won!' Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.110.

<sup>252</sup> This statement must be qualified by the point that Bode for some time had desired to supplement the collection with works by Reynolds. In a letter to Bode the dealer Asher Wertheimer wrote on 19 January 1900, 'It was mentioned to me some time since that you were desirous of acquiring for your museum a representative work by Sir Joshua Reynolds.' He offered Bode a painting belonging to his brother which depicted the Marquis of Granby 'with his house and black servant' for £12 000. Bode papers, ZASMPK. I am grateful to Prof Dr Henning Bock of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin for assisting me in identifying Beit's gifts to the Berlin museums and also for information about their present whereabouts.

<sup>253</sup> Beit also gave £2 500 to the National Gallery in 1904 towards the cost of Titian's *Portrait of Ariosto* (now titled *Portrait of a man with a blue sleeve* (NG1944) (*South Africa*, 20.8.1904, p.605). Sir George Donaldson sold the painting to the National Gallery for £30 000 and private donors contributed half this amount. See 'Titian's Portrait of Ariosto', *Burlington Magazine*, 5. September, 1904, p.516. See also R. Fry, 'Titian's Ariosto', *Burlington Magazine*, 6. November 1904, pp.136-138.

<sup>254</sup> Sir Otto Beit bequeathed the Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of a young girl at a table*, to the National Gallery in London. Lady Beit had a life interest in Jan Steen's *The broken eggs*, Gainsborough's *Portrait of Margaret Gainsborough*, John Opie's *The peasant's family*, Raeburn's *Portrait of Mrs. John Cay*, and Reynolds' *Portrait of Lady Talbot*, and these paintings were handed over to the National Gallery in the early 1940s. He bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum works of art from his collection to the value of £5 000, and the museum chose two drug-pots of Hispano-Moresque ware, one majolica dish and three bronzes. The three bronzes are (1) 'Atropos', statuette in bronze by Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico (c.1460-1528); Mantua about 1500. V&A Inv. no. A.16-1931; (2) 'A boy and girl with a goose', group in bronze; Florentine, possibly 18th century, V&A inv. no. A.17-1931; (3) 'Girl bathing', bronze; acquired as Italo-Flemish, second half of the 16th century, but possibly a modern French cast. V&A inv. no.A.18-1931. I am grateful to Ms Peta Evelyn of the V&A Sculpture Collection for this information. (Bode nos.215, 218, 281)

<sup>255</sup> Sir Otto Beit chose not to move into 26 Park Lane because it had too few bedrooms (OB to WB, 29.7.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK) and remained in Belgrave Square (OB to WB, 3.1.1907, Bode papers, ZASMPK). To make the house more saleable, he applied and received permission to extend 26



younger than Alfred by thirteen years,<sup>256</sup> was not a creative financier and entrepreneur; Lionel Phillips remarked to Wernher in 1908 that he lacked 'the imagination to rise to the great responsibilities he inherited with his wealth'.<sup>257</sup> This verdict could equally well apply to Sir Otto Beit's approach to collecting. He did not significantly alter the character of the collection in terms of both paintings<sup>258</sup> and *objets d'art* such as bronzes,<sup>259</sup> majolica and Hispano-moresque ceramics.<sup>260</sup>

Of all the Randlords, Sir Otto Beit possibly had the most time to devote to collecting because he retired from active business in 1906 to devote himself to the management of his brother's bequests and other charitable and public enterprises.<sup>261</sup> His years as a collector date from soon after his brother's death in 1906, although he had acquired a

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Park Lane. A protest from residents in Park Lane halted his plan to extend the house and he eventually sold it in January 1912 for £30 000 to Captain Frederick Edward Guest, M.P., and his American wife Amy née Phipps. *South Africa*, 13.1.1913; *Survey of London*, vol 40: *the Grosvenor estate in Mayfair, part II: the buildings*, London, 1980, p.268.

<sup>256</sup> Sir Otto Beit moved to South Africa in 1890 where he remained until 1896 when he settled in England. Until 1898 when he joined the stockbroking firm of Ludwig Hirsch & Co, who handled a substantial portion of the trade in South African shares, he worked within the Wernher, Beit & Co. group. Beit married the American mining engineer Hamilton Smith's niece, Lillian Carter (1874-1946), in 1897.

<sup>257</sup> LP to JW, 16.11.1908, quoted in M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.95.

<sup>258</sup> Sir Otto Beit did collect Japanese prints which is the one field in which his brother had not collected. Most of the prints were from the collection of S. Bing in Paris. In 1924 Beit commissioned a catalogue of these prints and other engravings: *Japanese colour-prints and other engravings in the collection of Sir Otto Beit, Bart, K.C.M.G. in London and at Tewin Water, Welwyn*, London, 1924. The Japanese prints were sold by Sir Otto Beit's descendants at Sotheby's, 24 October 1946, lots 110-136.

<sup>259</sup> Bode mentions that Sir Otto Beit, like his brother, was an enthusiastic collector of bronzes. The 1913 catalogue lists about a third more bronzes than the 1904 catalogue. It is not possible to determine which of these works were purchased by Alfred Beit between the publication of the 1904 catalogue and his death in 1906, and which were purchased by Sir Otto Beit between 1906 and the publication of the 1913 catalogue. After George Salting's collection of bronzes was bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert museum, Bode regarded the Beit collection as the most important in private ownership in England. W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.51.

<sup>260</sup> In the catalogue of ceramics in the Beit collection, mention is made of the fact that the 'unique qualities of Hispano-Moresque' also appealed to Sir Otto Beit and that he had added to his brother's collection with 'judgement and success'. Sir Otto Beit also made additions to his brother's collection of European ceramics and added 'a considerable number of fine pieces' to his brother's collection of majolica. As was the case with Alfred Beit, Sir Otto Beit was 'guided in his choice by decorative value and beauty of colour or drawing rather than by archaeological or historical considerations [which] has resulted in a gathering of fine works of craftsmanship which appeal no less to lovers of beautiful things than to specialists and connoisseurs.' See *Catalogue of the collection of pottery and porcelain in the possession of Mr Otto Beit*, London, 1916.

<sup>261</sup> Sir Otto Beit remained a director of the BSA Co. and Rhodesian Railways but not of De Beers or Central Mining Company, although he was at one stage the largest shareholder in the latter company. A. Beit and J.G. Lockhart, *The will and the way*, London, 1957, p.54.

few inexpensive pictures from Agnew's before this date.<sup>262</sup> He thereafter regularly bought paintings from Agnew's<sup>263</sup> and Knoedler's as well as from Sir Hugh Lane<sup>264</sup> and Robert Langton Douglas<sup>265</sup> until the outbreak of the First World War. In the years after the war until his death at the age of 65 in 1930, his acquisitions were sporadic. When he renewed contact with Bode in 1923, he mentioned that he had bought very little since the war: a work by Antonio Moro from Robert Langton Douglas, and the occasional piece of majolica.<sup>266</sup>

Sir Otto Beit also established a close relationship with Bode. A few months after Alfred's death, Bode helped him install the collection in his London house at 49 Belgrave Square, which was also decorated in the French eighteenth-century style by Mewès and Davis.<sup>267</sup> More so than he had done with Alfred, Bode advised Sir Otto on many issues other than art historical concerns such as the colour of walls, architectural details, furnishings, and the positioning of pictures. Bode also prepared another sumptuous catalogue of the collection for Beit in 1913<sup>268</sup> and arranged for the

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<sup>262</sup> Sir Otto Beit's first recorded purchases were from Agnew's: in December 1898 he acquired Lord Frederick Leighton's *Phoebe* for £650, and in February 1900 he bought Patrick Nasmyth's *Harbour scene: on the Thames* for £200. In November 1905 Alfred Beit purchased, on his brother's behalf, a large John Opie, *The peasant's family*, from Agnew's for £900; and in 1905 Sir Otto Beit asked Bode to bear him in mind for a 'beautiful eighteenth-century French portrait.' OB to WB, 29.10.1905, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>263</sup> Over the years spent in total £67 000 with Agnew's, of which about £52 000 was for paintings by British artists. Agnew's stockbooks, Agnew's, London.

<sup>264</sup> Lane and Sir Otto Beit were evidently very friendly, judging by a letter Beit wrote to Lane in 1911 requesting an appointment: 'Welcome back! I was not certain about your return, else I would have caused a triumphal arch to be erected outside your house.' OB to HL, 15.1.1911, NL Dublin, Ms 27775.

<sup>265</sup> Robert Langton Douglas, as before, comes across in the surviving correspondence as an opportunistic and expedient dealer. Hardly a month after Alfred Beit's death he urged Bode to introduce him to Sir Otto Beit: 'I shall be glad to have an introduction to Mr Otto Beit when he returns to London. I am hoping that he will decide to make up the gaps caused in his brother's collection by bequests and gifts' (RLD to WB, 9.8.1906). In October 1906 Douglas became more demanding: 'I am very anxious to obtain Mr Otto Beit for a client and I shall be deeply grateful to you if you would recommend me to him. It will be to my credit that I sold his brother the last fine picture he bought, the Rembrandt, at a very cheap price (RLD to WB, 9.10.1906). And the following week Douglas wrote to Bode: 'I see that Mr Otto Beit is selling the house in Park Lane. Perhaps if he will not buy any pictures he will exchange some of them. I am quite willing to give him some fine things in exchange for the little Rembrandt! I hope that he will not fall into the hands of the dealers before you arrive' (RLD to WB, 17.10.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK).

<sup>266</sup> OB to WB, 16.3.1923, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>267</sup> W. Bode, *Mein Leben*, Berlin, 1930, p.189; OB to WB, 29.7.1906, Bode papers, ZASMPK. Sir Otto Beit informed Bode in 1907 that he intended to build an extra room with a skylight to serve as a gallery for the large collection and asked his advice about the plans. OB to WB, 14.1.1907, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>268</sup> The 1913 catalogue was privately printed on handmade Japanese paper in an edition of 125 copies. W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913.

compilation of a catalogue of the ceramics in the collection.<sup>269</sup> In acknowledgement of Bode's assistance, Beit gave generously to the Berlin museum. In 1907 he offered 5 000 marks for purchases of oriental works of art,<sup>270</sup> and in 1913 he presented 100 000 marks to Bode's Jubilee Celebration Fund, a sum which was almost two-fifths of the total donations. (The next most generous donor was the dealer Duveen who gave 50 000 marks.)<sup>271</sup>

Bode's advice on the purchase of paintings related principally to works of the seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish schools. Like Alfred, Sir Otto did not consult Bode on British eighteenth-century portraits; he mentioned to Bode only in passing that he had acquired the Gainsborough, *The cottage girl*, from Agnew's (Fig. 2.38).<sup>272</sup> In the field of Italian pictures, however, Sir Otto relied entirely on Bode.<sup>273</sup> It was a field in which he seemingly had little interest or knowledge. These paintings were always purchased specifically for Tewin Water, presumably because it was already decorated in the Italian Renaissance style.<sup>274</sup> Like Alfred, he acquired mostly inexpensive works by Renaissance artists. He was fully aware of their uncertain attributions and often problematic state of preservation: as he wrote to Bode, 'I bought the so-called Lotto which has been heavily restored for a reasonable sum'.<sup>275</sup> And in 1912, when his walls

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<sup>269</sup> The comprehensive folio catalogue of the pottery and porcelain in Sir Otto Beit's collection was privately printed by the Chiswick Press in 1916. It was divided into three sections, each with a long introductory essay followed by a listing of the works in the collection. The section on Hispano-Moresque pottery was based on an article by Dr W.R. Valentiner published in 1906, reworked by A. van de Put. Bernard Rackham catalogued and edited the sections on 'Italian Majolica' and 'German and other Porcelain'. *Catalogue of the collection of pottery and porcelain in the possession of Mr Otto Beit*, London, 1916.

<sup>270</sup> OB to WB, 24.9.1907, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>271</sup> *Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum geschekgeben-Liste*, KFM25, ref. 2828/13, ZASMPK; OB to WB, 17.10.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>272</sup> OB to WB, 20.12.1908, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>273</sup> In Bode's 1913 catalogue, in which the Italian paintings at Tewin Water were included, forty-six Italian paintings, mostly of the quattrocento and cinquecento, and predominantly by Florentine and Venetian artists, are listed. There are no discernible preferences in subject matter: the numerous images of the Holy Family and Virgin and Child are interspersed with portraits and allegorical and mythological scenes.

<sup>274</sup> Like Alfred Beit, Sir Otto displayed the works by Italian artists in Tewin Water, with the exception of the eighteenth-century views of Venice by Guardi and Bellotto which were hung in reception rooms at 49 Belgrave Square. The only other Italian painting in the London house was the work attributed to Veronese which he had inherited and which was displayed in the hall. W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.35; OB to WB, 20.5.1907, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>275</sup> OB to WB, 20.9.1909, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

were full, he informed Bode that he was no longer in the market for Italian pictures.<sup>276</sup> As Bode himself explained:

It was not his purpose to acquire works by definitive masters of the first rank, nor did he aim at any system of completeness; but he secured whatever presented itself in the shape of good paintings of the Italian Renaissance which would harmonize itself well with their surroundings. Hence several of these pictures, including some of the best examples, still await definite classification, and are consequently of special interest to the art historian.<sup>277</sup>

Aside from these Italian paintings, Sir Otto Beit, even more than his brother, was a 'masterpiece collector'. He chose highly finished oil paintings and valuable works by those artists canonised by the art market of his own day. Although he did not go to the same extremes as Mr Bender in Henry James' novel *The outcry*, who 'wouldn't take a cheap picture, even though a "handsome one" – as a present',<sup>278</sup> it would appear that price was an important component of his assessment of the 'significance' of a painting. He could afford to use price as a criterion of quality because he was enormously wealthy (at the time of his death in 1930, the value of his estate was provisionally sworn at £3 784 342).<sup>279</sup> Because Sir Otto Beit collected a decade later than his brother or Wernher and Robinson had done, he had to compete with the vigorous buying of the American collectors and consequently on a number of occasions paid higher prices than any other Randlord had paid for paintings. The Frans Hals (now attributed to Judith Leyster) *The lute player* (Fig. 2.37) cost Beit \$245 000 in 1910 (approximately £50 000)<sup>280</sup> and he paid £23 000 for Gainsborough's *The cottage girl* (Fig. 2.38) in 1908.

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<sup>276</sup> OB to WB, 17.10.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>277</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.42.

<sup>278</sup> H. James, *The outcry*, London, 1911, p.258.

<sup>279</sup> *The Times*, 29.1.1931.

<sup>280</sup> Knoedler's were asking £60 000 for the Frans Hals which Beit thought excessive, even though Lane tried to convince him otherwise. Beit asked Bode's advice about the value of the 'dark Rembrandt' [*Portrait of the artist/ Portrait of a young man*] with a view to using it in part payment for the Hals (OB to WB, 20.12.1908, Bode papers, ZASMPK). Knoedler's stock books record the purchase of a share in the painting from Colnaghi's in May 1910 and the sale of the painting to Sir Otto Beit on 31 October 1910 for \$245 000 (approximately £50 000). Knoedler's no. 12077, Knoedler's archives, New York. I am grateful to Melissa de Medeiros for her assistance in establishing the details of Sir Otto Beit's purchases.

Sir Otto Beit often used works he already owned as part payment for his new acquisitions, possibly because he inherited a large collection, and did not start collecting from scratch like all the other Randlords. These exchanges were prompted by space restrictions in his house, which meant that each purchase had to be accompanied by a disposal. This practice of exchanging paintings, usually with Agnew's, irritated the dealers because it usually involved a complicated transaction in which they would only realise their profit after selling the returned pictures. A few examples amongst the many such transactions will illustrate this pattern: when Beit decided to acquire a Francesco Guardi, *Santa Maria della Salute*, from Agnew's in December 1908 at a cost of £2 000, he informed Lockett Agnew: 'I take this as part exchange for the Paul Potter I want you to take back'.<sup>281</sup> Agnew's accepted the picture back, but Lockett Agnew explained to Bode that there would be a delay with the £150 donation promised to the Berlin museum in acknowledgement of Bode's recommendation of the Guardi to Beit: 'So you and I will have to wait the realisation of the Paul Potter and [as] I know you do not believe in this picture I shall have to rely on my own resources'.<sup>282</sup> Even a major purchase like Hals's *The lute player* was paid for in part by an exchange: in this instance the Rembrandt *Portrait of the artist/ Portrait of a young man*,<sup>283</sup> and Gainsborough's *The cottage girl* was in part paid for by the return of another Gainsborough, *Landscape with figures* (worth £525), a John Opie, *Portrait of Master Henry Leverton* (£725), and a Paulus Potter, *Landscape with four oxen* (£4 000).

Sir Otto Beit's additions to the collection were in most instances works by artists favoured by the 'modern' old master collectors which his brother had not actively acquired. In the field of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, his major acquisition was the Frans Hals *The lute player* which exemplified the 'modern' taste in old masters with its close resemblance to Hals's *The laughing cavalier* in the Wallace collection. In terms of landscapes he purchased a Jacob van Ruisdael, *The cornfield* (Fig. 2.39), from Knoedler's in June 1910<sup>284</sup> and an Aelbert Cuyp, *Cavaliers halting*

<sup>281</sup> Lockett Agnew to WB, 21.2.1907, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>282</sup> Lockett Agnew to WB, 21.2.1907, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>283</sup> On 5.11.1910 J.H. Robinson of M. Knoedler & Co., 15 Old Bond Street, London, wrote to Bode: 'We are glad to know that you advised Mr Otto Beit to buy the Hals and we are much obliged to you although we felt the congratulations are due to Mr Beit for having obtained a wonderful picture and got rid of a less desirable picture at a very good price.' Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>284</sup> OB to WB, 20.12.1908, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

*outside a castle*, from Agnew's in June 1914 for approximately £5 500.<sup>285</sup> In contrast to Alfred Beit, Sir Otto sought works by Anthony van Dyck and Rubens, and acquired in the last years of his life two Rubens oils from Agnew's, a *Head of a Dominican monk* in 1927 (for which he paid £5 500) and a *Portrait of a man* for £4 250 in July 1930. He also purchased an imposing pair of portraits ascribed to Marten van Heemskerck, and a pair by Anthony van Dyck. Other portraits he acquired included an Anthonis More van Dashorst, *Portrait of Giovanni Battista di Casteldo* (now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection), and Quiringh Brekelenkam's *Portrait of a lady*.<sup>286</sup>

In the field of Spanish art, Alfred Beit had concentrated his collecting around works by Murillo and had expressed little interest in those artists such as Goya and Velasquez, who were highly rated by 'modern' old master collectors.<sup>287</sup> Sir Otto Beit purchased Velasquez's *The kitchen maid*<sup>288</sup> (Fig. 2.40) some time before 1913, possibly from Sir Hugh Lane.<sup>289</sup> In later years, after it was cleaned, it became evident that in the top left corner a window with Christ seated at a table had been overpainted, and that its title was therefore changed to *Kitchen maid at Emmaus*. Beit's Goya, *Portrait of Doña Antonia Zárate* (Fig. 2.41), which he bought from Knoedler's in 1910 for £10 000, was in his

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<sup>285</sup> Colin Agnew to WB, (?)20.5.1914; and 1.6.1914, thanking Bode for recommending Beit's purchase of the Cuyp; Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>286</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, 1913, London, nos 157 and 158. The copy in the Michaelis library, Cape Town, is annotated with these additions.

<sup>287</sup> The work of Velasquez was almost unknown prior to the 1840s, and thereafter the price of his paintings rose to a few thousand pounds. After the purchase in 1906 by the National Gallery of the *Rokeby Venus* for £45 000, Velasquez was firmly placed in the upper echelons of the old master hierarchy. G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, pp.477-479.

<sup>288</sup> Roger Fry wrote of Velasquez's painting (which he called *The cook*) at the time of the exhibition of Spanish painting at the Royal Academy in 1920: 'I know no work of Velasquez that moves me more intensely, and alas, I have no method of analysis which will enable me to say why just these objects, placed just so, stir the imagination so deeply. Just those intervals of space, just that disposition of three or four dull white patches on the prevailing dark warmth of the general tone, just those intervals between lights and darks, just that peculiarly sober and yet intensely plastic modelling, in fact, just this particular sequence of relations have the effect on one of a profoundly significant harmony. It is as absolute and definite a creation as the most splendid flight of invention' (Roger Fry, 'Review of Spanish painting exhibited at the Royal Academy', *New Statesman and Nation*, 6.11.1920).

<sup>289</sup> Beit may well have purchased the Velasquez from Sir Hugh Lane, because the painting was in his possession in 1909 and Sir Otto and Sir Hugh met about this time through Florence Phillips. It was included in the exhibition of Spanish old masters at the Grafton Gallery in 1913, and in December in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* it was said to be in the possession of Sir Otto Beit. A. De Beruete Y Moret, 'A hitherto unknown Velasquez', *Burlington Magazine*, 24, December 1913, p.127.

opinion, the 'most magnificent in England'.<sup>290</sup> In the catalogue of the collection, Bode remarked that Whistler would have entitled it 'symphony in yellow and black'.<sup>291</sup>

Sir Otto Beit displayed the Goya portrait together with his numerous acquisitions of British eighteenth-century portraits in the dining room of the house in Belgrave Square.<sup>292</sup> This is the aspect of the collection that was most noticeably changed by his purchases and exchanges. Because two of the most valuable portraits that Alfred Beit had acquired were bequeathed to public galleries, Sir Otto needed to acquire other imposing works as replacements. Three of the larger portraits were Raeburn's double *Portrait of Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik* (Fig. 2.42), purchased privately from a descendent of the sitters in 1911 through Robert Langton Douglas;<sup>293</sup> Reynolds's *Portrait of Lady Decies and her son John* from the Hope collection;<sup>294</sup> and the large Gainsborough, *The cottage girl*, bought from Agnew's in December 1908. Other works included the Gainsborough, *Portrait of the Hon. Mrs Watson*, bought from Knoedler's at the same time as the Goya in June 1910;<sup>295</sup> another Gainsborough, *Portrait of Margaret Gainsborough*; a Hoppner, *Portrait of Charlotte, Mrs Sympson*; a Reynolds subject picture, *Ino and the infant Bacchus* (which Beit later returned); and a three-quarter length Raeburn, *Portrait of Mrs John Cay*, which was displayed at Tewin Water.<sup>296</sup> He also 'repurchased' the Romney, *Portrait of Master Thomas Thornhill*, which his brother had bequeathed to his secretary Franz Volklein, for 5 800gs at Christie's in April 1913.

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<sup>290</sup> OB to WB, 20.12.1908, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>291</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.30.

<sup>292</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, pp.vii,2.

<sup>293</sup> OB to WB, 15.1.1911, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>294</sup> There are conflicting provenances for this painting – Knoedler's record the receipt on 28 February 1911 of a commission from Colnaghi's who sold the painting to Beit. The explanation may be that the three dealers were in some way all part-owners of the painting.

<sup>295</sup> He acquired the Gainsborough, *Portrait of the Hon. Mrs Watson* as a surprise for his wife and displayed it in the dining room which he had decorated in the 'new French style.' OB to WB, 29.9.1910, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>296</sup> W. Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913, p.37.





Figure 2.1  
Giovanni Boldini, *Alfred Beit*, 1904



Figure 2.2  
Cecil John Rhodes and Alfred Beit





Figure 2.3  
26 Park Lane, London



Figure 2.4  
Meindert Hobbema, *The path on the dyke*



Figure 2.5  
Thomas Gainsborough, *The dancer Baccelli*



Figure 2.6  
Adriaen van Ostade, *The adoration of the shepherds*





Figure 2.7  
Jan Steen, *Marriage feast at Cana*



Figure 2.8  
Attributed to Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of Alessandro Alberti and his page*



Figure 2.9  
Tewin Water, Hertfordshire, England



Figure 2.10  
Rembrandt, *St Francis*





Figure 2.11  
Rembrandt, *Portrait of the artist*



Figure 2.12  
Rembrandt, *Portrait of a man*



Figure 2.13  
Frans Hals, *Laughing boy holding a flute*



Figure 2.14  
Attributed to Vermeer, *A lady at a spinet*





Figure 2.15  
*Vermeer, A lady writing a letter*



Figure 2.16  
*Gabriël Metsu, A man writing a letter*



Figure 2.17  
Gabriël Metsu, *A woman reading a letter*



Figure 2.18  
Nicolaes Maes, *The milk maid*





Figure 2.19

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Prodigal Son receiving his portion*,  
from the series of six depicting *The parable of the Prodigal Son*



Figure 2.20

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Prodigal Son feasting*,  
from the series of six depicting *The parable of the Prodigal Son*





Figure 2.21

Jan Steen, *The interior of an inn* (also known as *The broken eggs*)



Figure 2.22

David Teniers the Younger, *A rural fête*



Figure 2.23

Adriaen van Ostade, *Peasants dancing in a tavern*



Figure 2.24

Isaack van Ostade, *Traveller at a cottage door*





Figure 2.25  
Isaack van Ostade, *The ford*



Figure 2.26  
Philips Wouwermans, *A village festival*





Figure 2.27  
Jan van de Cappelle, *Winter scene in a village*



Figure 2.28  
Jacob van Ruisdael, *Rough sea*



Figure 2.29  
Jacob van Ruisdael, *Bentheim Castle*



Figure 2.30  
Salomon van Ruysdael, *A river landscape*





Figure 2.31  
Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Lady Talbot*



Figure 2.32  
Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Lady Cockburn as Caritas and her three eldest sons*



Figure 2.33

J.M. Nattier, *Portrait of Madame Victoire, daughter of Louis XV*



Figure 2.34

Jean Baptiste Greuze, *Portrait of a little girl*



Figure 2.35

Alfred Beit dressed as Frederick Henry of Nassau at the Duchess of Devonshire's Ball in 1897



Figure 2.36

Sir William Orpen, *Portrait of Sir Otto Beit in his study*





Figure 2.37

Frans Hals (now attributed to Judith Leyster), *The lute player*



Figure 2.38

Thomas Gainsborough, *The cottage girl*





Figure 2.39  
Jacob van Ruisdael, *The cornfield*



Figure 2.40  
Velasquez, *Kitchen maid serving supper at Emmaus*



Figure 2.41

Francisco de Goya, *Portrait of Doña Antonia Zárate*



Figure 2.42

Sir Henry Raeburn, *Portrait of Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik*



## CHAPTER THREE

### SIR LIONEL AND LADY PHILLIPS<sup>1</sup>

Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips assembled an art collection which pales in terms of size and significance beside that of Sir Julius Wernher and Alfred and Sir Otto Beit. In retrospect, the Phillipses were aware of this fact: as Lady Phillips remarked at the time of the sale of their collection in 1913, 'most of the pictures are second-rate'.<sup>2</sup> Evidently, therefore, their collection bore resemblance to that of a 'regular old-fashioned squire's place', as described by Hilaire Belloc in *The missing masterpiece: a novel* (1929): it boasted 'half a dozen good pictures, a score of nondescripts, and any number of watercolours and drawings, engravings and little curiosities of all shapes and sizes, with no more than a domestic interest.'<sup>3</sup> In this respect, the Phillipses' acquisitions are representative of a whole group of collections formed by less wealthy Randlords who, in business, were closely associated with Wernher and Beit. Like these other Randlords, their choice of artworks, as well as their ownership of a succession of grand houses confirms their aspirations to live a lifestyle akin to that of the richest Randlords, even though they did not have the financial means to match these ambitions. Lionel Phillips was an employee and, later, partner of Wernher, Beit & Co. (and its successors). For thirty-five years it provided him with an ample income, but not with the enormous capital that his senior partners accumulated.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Phillipses are almost the only Randlords whose papers have in part survived. Lionel Phillips's business papers, some of which have been published (M. Fraser, and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered: selected correspondence of Lionel Phillips 1890-1924*, Cape Town, 1977), would provide all the material needed for an in-depth biography. The bulk of Lady Phillips' correspondence was destroyed soon after his death. Those papers which have survived are at BR. There are typescripts of these letters, presumably made by Thelma Gutsche, at the AM. Lady Phillips has already been the subject of a lengthy biography which is of limited use because of its uncritical approach and the absence of references to the sources (Thelma Gutsche, *No ordinary woman: the life and times of Florence Phillips*, Cape Town, 1966). The correspondence relating to their houses and art collection is less plentiful but enough survives to provide us with some understanding of their attitudes and aspirations.

<sup>2</sup> DP to LP, 5.1.1912, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>3</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *The missing masterpiece: a novel*, London, 1929, p.11.

<sup>4</sup> Lionel Phillips benefited from the fact that the partners in Eckstein & Co. were permitted to undertake private investments, which he very successfully did with his part-ownership of the claims for the Bonanza mine. The 'Lionel Phillips block' consisted of claims on the farm Turffontein which Phillips had bought with some friends (as he himself did not have the necessary £10 000) in October 1889 after the firm, H. Eckstein, had declined to buy the half share in it they did not own. The Bonanza Gold Mining Company Ltd. was floated on 2 May 1894 for £200 000 (of which £75 000 was working capital) to acquire the whole undertaking. It ultimately paid dividends of £1 325m and as Phillips wrote, for 'his' syndicate which held a half share a return of '£662 500 for £10 000 is not bad business'. For a breakdown of his

What distinguishes the Phillipses from the other Randlords and their wives is the fact that Lady Phillips was the only one whose interest in art extended into the public sphere. She made a concerted effort to provide the residents of Johannesburg, a city whose welfare was dependent on the investments held by the London-based Randlords, with an opportunity to see original works of art. The centrality of her role in founding an art gallery in Johannesburg will be discussed at length in the second half of this chapter.

Lionel Phillips (Fig. 3.1) was born in London in 1855 to a family of lower middle-class Jewish merchants. They were among the small but growing group of anglicised Jews who played a part in Britain's phenomenal economic growth in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> His education in the east of London had been 'slight' and his 'chief scholastic equipment', as he called it, was the result of part-time studies, comprising 'a fair knowledge of the French language, of no use in South Africa, and a respectable groundwork in chemistry'.<sup>6</sup> Phillips sailed for the Cape in 1875, at the age of twenty, and arrived at the diamond fields with no financial resources. He accepted a position with J.B. Robinson and worked as a handyman, sorted and classified diamonds, kept the accounts, and later supervised operations on Robinson's diamond claims.<sup>7</sup> After seven years on the diamond fields, but before returning to England for a short break, Phillips resigned his post with Robinson and accepted a position as manager of the Griqualand West Diamond Mining Company. In the next few years, his fortunes fluctuated in tandem with the economic vacillations of the diamond fields, before his fortuitous contact with Alfred Beit and, later, Julius Wernher and Cecil John Rhodes.<sup>8</sup> When a drought in 1885 undermined his sub-contracting haulage operation for the French & d'Esterre Company, owned by Porgés and his associates, Phillips approached Beit, and Beit, recognising his abilities, offered him a position as manager of the 'French' Mine.

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financial worth see the letter LP to JW, 19.6.1911, M. Fraser, and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.112.

<sup>5</sup> It is estimated that there was a population of 18 000-20 000 Jews residing in London and 15 000 in the provinces in the mid-nineteenth century. See Harold Pollins, *Economic history of the Jews in England*, London and Toronto, 1982, table 3, p.243.

<sup>6</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.xvi.

<sup>7</sup> LP to F. Eckstein, 19.5.1893, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.45; L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, pp.23-26.

<sup>8</sup> Rhodes later offered Phillips the position overseeing his mining concessions north of the Limpopo River. Phillips instead chose to move to Johannesburg and represent Wernher and Beit.



When this mine was absorbed in the amalgamation battles, as discussed in the introduction, he inspected the prospects of the Transvaal gold fields on behalf of Wernher and Beit, and settled in Johannesburg as their representative. His meteoric rise in the gold mining industry and his subsequent (though modest) fortune can be ascribed to his realisation that prosperity on the Witwatersrand gold fields would be dependent on acquiring claims for future deep-level mines.<sup>9</sup>

It was on the diamond fields that Lionel Phillips met his wife, Dorothea Sarah Florence Alexandra Ortlepp. (Fig. 3.2) South African by birth, she had spent the first years of her life in the Karoo, where her father worked as an itinerant land surveyor, living an impecunious existence in frontier society. Seeing an opportunity to seek his fortune almost on his doorstep, he joined the scores of settlers who moved to the diamond fields soon after the diggings had started in the early 1870s. Florence's parents managed to provide her with a solid middle-class education by sending her, first, to a private school of fifteen pupils in Cape Town and, thereafter, to a school in Bloemfontein.<sup>10</sup> Florence Phillips, as she was generally known in later years, returned to the diamond fields in the early 1880s, where she met Lionel Phillips in 1883.

In Johannesburg, Lionel Phillips' success in business circles – he was offered a partnership in Eckstein & Co. (the Johannesburg subsidiary of Wernher, Beit & Co.), and was elected the President of the Chamber of Mines for the years 1892 to 1895 – coupled with Florence Phillips' energy and skills in entertaining, ensured that they rapidly assumed the status of leading citizens of the town. In accordance with their new status, they demanded a substantial residence from Wernher, Beit & Co.<sup>11</sup> Hohenheim

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<sup>9</sup> As early as January 1890, he informed Wernher, Beit & Co. in London that the 'more I see of the Rand the more I become convinced that deep levels are of the utmost importance to the parent companies.' LP to Wernher, Beit & Co., 3.1.1890, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.1.

<sup>10</sup> See Edna Bradlow, 'Women and education in nineteenth-century South Africa: the attitudes and experiences of middle-class English-speaking females at the Cape', *S.A. Historical Journal*, 28, 1993, pp.119-150.

<sup>11</sup> Phillips wrote to Wernher in London, pointing out that the house was just in front of the Railway Station – some 50 yards from the line: 'What with the Cape, Pretoria, and local coal traffic, the row and whistling is incessant. Apart from this the cabs make a fearful dust and to cap the matter, they have just laid a tramway in front of our houses. A lovely tin W.C. has also been erected of which there is full view from [Friedrich] Eckstein's and my front doors.' LP to JW, 11.2.1893, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.43.

(Fig. 3.3), as their new house became known, was much larger than the homes of the company's London partners in those years, and was a far cry from the Phillipses' first home on the Rand: a four-roomed tin structure behind a reed fence. As such, Hohenheim is the first concrete indication of the extent of the Phillipses' social and material aspirations. It took the form of an English country house both in scale and setting, located as it was on a rocky ridge some distance from the town: as Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild observed on his visit to the Rand in 1894, Hohenheim was 'on the borders of the Rand in a wild and solitary position.'<sup>12</sup>

The Phillipses proceeded to reinforce the statement of grandeur, conveyed by the exterior of the house, by furnishing it with a quantity of antiques and works of arts which they acquired in Europe (Fig. 3.4). Florence Phillips travelled abroad for the first time for an extended stay in late 1887 at the age of 24. While there, she was introduced to, and influenced by, the opulent houses and lifestyles of her husband's partners. The overall effect of the Phillipses' subsequent purchases was impressive: a visiting correspondent of *The Gentlewoman* remarked in the London press on 'the surprise, almost shock, occasioned by the refined luxury of Hohenheim in the high Veldt. It is tastefully furnished with choice and pretty things – curios and specimens of Sheraton and Adam besides many treasures in tapestry, china and painting from France, Holland and Italy.'<sup>13</sup>

This house can also be read as a significant statement of the Phillipses' commitment to residing in South Africa at a time when most of their associates had chosen to relocate to Britain.<sup>14</sup> As Phillips himself recalled many years later, the 'faith displayed by us in building a house of some size was regarded as ill-founded'.<sup>15</sup> Even so, their stay in Hohenheim proved to be short-lived because of Lionel Phillips' prominent role in the Jameson Raid, for which he was imprisoned in Pretoria and sentenced to death on 28 April 1896. This was later commuted to a £25 000 fine and banishment from the

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<sup>12</sup> Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Three weeks in South Africa: a diary*, London, 1895, p.100.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted by T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.97.

<sup>14</sup> The white middle-class citizens of Johannesburg ridiculed the Phillipses for building this mansion in the bushveld and referred to it as 'Phillips' Folly'.

<sup>15</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.101.

Transvaal for fifteen years, suspended upon the condition that he refrain from political activity.

Because of his position as President of the Chamber of Mines, Phillips assumed a leading role as spokesman on the gold mines in South Africa, a role he retained for another thirty years. He subscribed to the attitudes of the British settlers who tended to be dismissive of the Boers and blacks and viewed their own influence as a 'civilising' one. The vast investments he represented ensured that he relentlessly defended the cause of the capitalists and, with characteristic plutocratic arrogance, assumed that the governments of the Transvaal, South Africa and Britain should all unfailingly support the mining industry (Fig. 4.2). As Francis Reginald Statham, the author and arch opponent of the Randlords commented, Lionel Phillips and his associates represented

the accession of a strenuous and persistent desire to make use, by every possible means, of disproportionate wealth for purely selfish ends, utterly regardless of the moral principles that may be violated and the lives that may be sacrificed in the pursuance of this desire. There is no kind of machinery which the incarnation of Mammon is ashamed to employ in furthering its aims....<sup>16</sup>

Following Lionel Phillips' release from prison, he and Florence Phillips relocated to Britain, where they had to adjust to a position in business and society beneath the senior metropolitan partners. As Lionel Phillips himself noted in 1924: 'In a small community every active man connected with large undertakings has a recognised status. He can get things done. He can at times be a factor in leading opinion and is able to see the results of his efforts. In London, the ... centre of the world, he feels himself just a cipher...'.<sup>17</sup> These obstacles notwithstanding, they embraced the lifestyle of the British upper classes and engaged in all the rituals of *belle-époque* society: Florence Phillips was presented at court in 1898 by the Duchess of Abercorn;<sup>18</sup> she was dressed by Worth; they had their portraits painted by the fashionable Parisian-based portrait painter Giovanni Boldini; and they hosted receptions at which Melba sang. Their sons were sent to Eton and Oxford, and they launched their daughter, Edie, into London society in 1909 with all the requisite dinners and balls. Lionel Phillips also aspired to entering

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<sup>16</sup> Francis Reginald Statham, *South Africa as it is*, London, 1897, p.197.

<sup>17</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.182.

<sup>18</sup> Florence Phillips was presented at court on 13 May 1898. DP to LP, 8.3.1898, LP private papers, BR.

Parliament as a Conservative candidate,<sup>19</sup> and was appointed Justice of the Peace by Lord Northbrook and later Deputy Lieutenant and High Sheriff in the county of Hampshire.<sup>20</sup>

The Phillipses' London house, 33 Grosvenor Square, in the heart of Mayfair,<sup>21</sup> was secured early in 1897, and in February 1898 they bought Tylney Hall (Fig. 3.5), a substantial country house in Hampshire, for £77 000.<sup>22</sup> In addition to the house, the purchase included an estate of approximately 2 500 acres. Like other Randlord country estates, and almost all of those acquired by British and foreign businessmen, this land was far too small to generate an income which could support a country house like Tylney Hall. In contrast to the large estates of the British aristocracy, the Randlords did not view these estates as an investment. Instead, they relied on investments in the stock exchange and industry to maintain their houses in the country.<sup>23</sup> They wanted the status afforded by a country house and its aristocratic associations, but not dependency on the land for income.<sup>24</sup>

The scale of the renovations the Phillipses undertook at Tylney Hall indicate that they wished to own a country house which, once completed, would offer an environment to entertain those in a position to offer them social, economic or political advancement.<sup>25</sup> The previous owner of Tylney Hall, C.E. Harris, had already built a mansion on the site of the original house, but the Phillipses considered it inadequate

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<sup>19</sup> Florence Phillips already raised the issue of her husband entering Parliament in March 1898: 'I wish you were in Parliament and would take up the cause of South Africa'. DP to LP, 31.3.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>20</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.183.

<sup>21</sup> The Phillipses' London house was acquired early in 1897 from the traveller and Egyptologist Mr T. Douglas Murray. Prior to moving in mid-1898, they had the house redecorated by C.E. Birch or Caryl Craven of the Decorative Arts Guild. It is Caryl Craven's name which is repeatedly mentioned in Florence Phillips' correspondence while C.E. Birch's name is listed in the minutes of the Grosvenor estate board, 1049/5/27, City of Westminster archives, London.

<sup>22</sup> *Tylney Hall*, sale brochure prepared by Lane, Fox & Partners, 1984.

<sup>23</sup> See W.D. Rubinstein, 'New men of wealth and the purchase of land in nineteenth-century Britain', reprinted in W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the wealthy in modern British history*, Brighton and New York, 1988, pp.145-171.

<sup>24</sup> C. Aslet, *The last country houses*, New Haven and London, 1982, p.4.

<sup>25</sup> To ensure that they enjoyed some success in the ever-competitive country house social circuit, the Phillipses offered on their Tylney estate all the traditional rural sports such as shooting, trout fishing and hunting as well as tennis, croquet and golf. See *Tylney Hall, Hampshire*, illustrated sale brochure, prepared by Messers Trollope (Estate agents, surveyors and auctioneers), London, c.1909-1910.

and, over the next five years, substantially enlarged it.<sup>26</sup> A remark made by Florence Phillips when she received news of the purchase of Tylney Hall illustrates the extent of the renovations she envisaged: 'I think ... a large library is so nice. The kitchen gardens and glass houses at Tylney have (sic) much to be desired. ... I also want a very nice laundry and dairy. Both are essential to comfort. Do you propose to have a conservatory? I also think a small Swedish gymnasium would be useful....'<sup>27</sup> After the alterations, the ground floor of the large three-storeyed residence was devoted to a series of reception rooms (Figs. 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9), as well as a ballroom (Fig. 3.10), library (Fig. 3.11), and billiard room. There were twenty-three bedrooms and six bathrooms, a further twenty-five bedrooms for servants,<sup>28</sup> and all the requisite 'domestic' rooms and storerooms of an Edwardian country house. It was surrounded by a 'well-wooded undulating Park of over 400 acres' and, closer to the house, an Italian garden, Dutch garden, herbaceous borders and kitchen and fruit gardens were laid out. Extensive 'model' stabling, laundry and lodges were built and greenhouses erected.

The Phillipses are amongst a group of owners of country houses in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain who entertained romantic and historical notions of a house in the country. Such individuals wished to own a castle, or a house built in a Tudor style, or a mixture of historical styles.<sup>29</sup> Unlike most other Randlords, who viewed their country houses as extensions of their urban-orientated lifestyles, they wholeheartedly embraced a rural lifestyle. Other Randlords who shared their approach included Edmund Davis, who bought Chilham Castle in Kent in 1918;<sup>30</sup> Charles Rudd,<sup>31</sup> who in the mid-1890s bought the large estate of Ardnamurchan in Argyllshire, where he built a Scottish

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<sup>26</sup> The architect, R. Selden Wornum, is said to have drawn up plans for alterations estimated to cost £10 000, which is a fraction of the sum eventually spent on the interiors and the estate. *Tylney Hall*, sale brochure prepared by Lane, Fox & Partners, 1984.

<sup>27</sup> DP to LP, 28.2.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>28</sup> The Phillipses employed 70 gardeners and scores of game-keepers and farm labourers and servants, in itself an obvious symbol of their apparent affluence, to maintain the house and the estate. In comparison to the staff attached to an aristocracy or gentry household in those years, the Phillipses employed an excessive number of servants. See Jessica Gerard, *Country house life: family and servants, 1815-1914*, Oxford, 1994, chapter 6.

<sup>29</sup> C. Aslet, *The last country houses*, New Haven and London, 1982, pp.4-6.

<sup>30</sup> The sum of £70 000 required for the purchase of Chilham Castle was raised by the sale of three paintings – a Van Dyck, a Reynolds, and a Gainsborough. J.G.P. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: a biography*, Oxford, 1990, p.308.

<sup>31</sup> See *South Africa*, 18.11.1916 pp.261-2 for an obituary; and Alan Rudd, *Charles Dunnell Rudd*, Ipswich, 1981, pp.66-75.



baronial mansion 'Glenborrodale Castle' after his first attempt was destroyed by fire;<sup>32</sup> and Donald Currie, who regarded Garth Castle on the Perthshire estate in Scotland his home.<sup>33</sup> Tylney Hall was rebuilt and decorated in a conglomeration of styles vaguely to resemble Blickling Hall in Norfolk with pedimented Jacobean gables occupying three sides of a square. These renovations were in keeping with the spirit of the contemporary 'Queen Anne movement', which Girouard describes as an 'architectural cocktail': it included 'a little Queen Anne in it, a little Dutch, a little Flemish, a squeeze of Robert Adam, a generous dash of Wren, and a touch of François I'.<sup>34</sup> The reception rooms at Tylney Hall were decorated in this range of historical styles. The large hall was furnished in the Renaissance style, English eighteenth-century furniture and pictures were used in the dining room,<sup>35</sup> the 'salon' was in the 'French style', and the influence of 'Jacobethan' taste and the arts and crafts are also evident in the other reception rooms.

Throughout their lives, the Phillips' strongly identified with rural space and traditions. They always owned at least one country estate: Tylney (where Florence Phillips established a 'model home farm' and 'model diary'<sup>36</sup>) was the first, and the only one in Britain, but on their return to South Africa in 1906, they acquired Woodbush, a large estate in the north-eastern Transvaal, and spent vast sums on its development. In 1917 they purchased Vergelegen in the Cape at a cost of £15 000, where they rebuilt the Cape

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<sup>32</sup> In 1899 C.D. Rudd was reported to be spending £30 000 on a new mansion (*South Africa*, 21.1.1899). This 'spacious mansion' was described as the finest residence erected in Scotland since Mount Stuart' (*South Africa*, 31.3.1900; 27.5.1905). In 1902 Rudd disposed of his estate Fernwood in Newlands, which neighboured on Rhodes' Grootte Schuur near Cape Town, to reside permanently in Scotland (*South Africa*, 12.4.1902). Kenneth Clark's father later bought Rudd's estate in Scotland. His son has grim recollections of it in his autobiography: it 'consisted of the whole peninsula of Ardnamurchan from Loch Sheil to the point. It was said to be 75 000 acres, of which I should say that less than 20 acres were grass or arable land. All the rest was hill and bog.... Rudd ... had built on it two monstrous houses, one for stalking and one for fishing. We lived in the one for fishing.... It was extremely ugly, without a single well proportioned room.... No sun ever entered the house....' K. Clark, *Another part of the wood*, London, 1974, p.88.

<sup>33</sup> Donald Currie bought Garth Castle and the estate in November 1880 for £51 500 from Thomas Duff of Dundee (*South Africa*, 27.8.1898). Currie also had a base in London at 4 Hyde Park Place. Photographs of the interiors in 1894 depict the walls covered in paintings (*South Africa*, 25.8.1894, pp.336-338).

<sup>34</sup> Mark Girouard, *'Sweetness and light': the 'Queen Anne' movement 1860-1900*, Oxford, 1977, p.1.

<sup>35</sup> For an overview on the revival of English eighteenth-century furniture see, John Cornforth, 'America and the Georgian revival', *The British Antique Dealers' Association Fair: Handbook*, May 1993, unpaginated (3 pp.).

<sup>36</sup> The adjective 'model', as used by Florence Phillips in this context, refers to her establishing a 'perfect' and exemplary example of a farming operation, not necessarily run for profit.

Dutch house and invested large sums in re-establishing a farming operation.<sup>37</sup> As Tylney was their first estate in Britain, they were conscious of tradition and sought to adopt the values and lifestyles of the landed gentry. These feelings are reflected in a letter, written soon after the purchase of Tylney Hall, in which Florence Phillips asked her husband: 'who takes the general management of the estate, the park, the tenants (if any) and all the outdoor part?' and remarked, 'It will be quite a lot to get into'.<sup>38</sup> Having acquired the village of Rotherwick with the purchase of the Tylney estate, they embraced the feudal 'obligations' traditionally expected from the owners of the manor house. This, at the end of the nineteenth century, when the 'traditional' social hierarchies and associated systems of patronage, which had served as a means of reinforcing a sense of difference and superiority between tenants and landowners, had already broken down. Phillips' claim in his memoirs that he had taken an interest in 'country matters' and in the 'investigation of traditional customs of the country side'<sup>39</sup> suggests a wish on his part to 'reinvent traditions'.<sup>40</sup> This would imply a continuity with the past – which they (in the view of the British upper classes) lacked – and consequently could be used to legitimise and accentuate their own social status. Ultimately, despite their strenuous efforts, they never succeeded in establishing a historical continuity for their descendants. They were later forced to dispose of Tylney, and despite his wish that Vergelegen 'shall not pass out of my family',<sup>41</sup> their children decided to sell Vergelegen and its contents after the death of their parents.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Lionel Phillips as early as 1908 expressed a desire to own an old Cape Dutch house. He wrote to Wernher in that year that if he decided to live and die in South Africa 'I should probably buy some nice old place at the Cape to pass the declining years in' (LP to JW, 21.9.1908, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.93). This wish was realised on 31 March 1917 when the six properties comprising Vergelegen totalling 7 000 acres were transferred from the estate of Samuel Kerr to Florence, Lady Phillips (transfer 2122 of 31.3.1917).

<sup>38</sup> DP to LP, 28.2.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>39</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.183.

<sup>40</sup> For this section I have drawn on the ideas presented in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge, 1983; and T. Ranger, 'The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa,' in T. Ranger and O. Vaughan (eds.), *Legitimacy and the state in twentieth-century Africa*, Oxford, 1993, pp.62-111.

<sup>41</sup> Last Will and Testament of LP, 19.12.1935, p.7, BR.

<sup>42</sup> The farm Vergelegen was sold by Lady Phillips' estate on 19 April 1941 to Charles Sydney Barlow for £40 577.7.6 (transfer 6272 of 1.7.1941). Deeds Office, Cape Town. I am grateful to Dee Nash for locating the references on Vergelegen.

Lionel Phillips was widely read in the fields of politics and economics,<sup>43</sup> and was very interested in music and archaeology,<sup>44</sup> but art, however, was not a field of particular interest to him. This probably explains why there is no mention of their art collection in his reminiscences, though it may also be relevant to note here that he was colour blind: as he himself explained, 'brown, green, and red painted on paper vary, to my eyes, only in shade'.<sup>45</sup> The Phillipses' surviving correspondence suggests, in fact, that neither of them had any pretensions to connoisseurship.<sup>46</sup> They chose pictures which, in Florence Phillips' words, were a 'joy to live with'.<sup>47</sup> Presumably for this reason, they owned no works with complex or challenging iconography, generally preferring landscapes and portraits. Indeed, since the bulk of their acquisitions were made in the space of a year and a half, it would appear that they simply acquired what was currently available on the art market.<sup>48</sup> The fact that this period of frenzied purchasing took place in 1897 and the first half of 1898<sup>49</sup>, immediately after their arrival in England, also suggests that they regarded artworks above all as decorative adjuncts.<sup>50</sup> Florence Phillips' response

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<sup>43</sup> Lionel Phillips' books, articles and speeches attest to his grasp of politics and economics, thus a comment made by the cartoonist D.C. Boonzaier after visiting Lionel Phillips' library that, 'while wealth enables you to collect all the masterpieces of literature it cannot furnish you with the inclination to read them,' is perhaps unfair. D.C. Boonzaier's diary, manuscript, 10.1.1914, SAL.

<sup>44</sup> Lionel Phillips gave £4 000 to assist in the excavation of the Roman Campagna (*South Africa*, 18.4.1903) and £2 400 for the purchase of houses on the site of the Basilica AEmila to facilitate its excavation (*South Africa*, 18.3.1899, 22.4.1899). Phillips also corresponded with A.H. Sayce in Cairo with a view to acquiring Egyptian antiquities for the South African Museum (LP papers, BR).

<sup>45</sup> L. Phillips, *Some reminiscences*, London, 1924, p.268.

<sup>46</sup> This is underlined by the contemporary view of the collection. In an annotated catalogue (in Agnew's archive) of a loan exhibition, held at the New Gallery in Regent Street in the winter of 1899, there are numerous disparaging remarks written beside the pictures lent by the Phillipses.

<sup>47</sup> DP to LP, 26.2.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>48</sup> It was reported in *South Africa*, 19.5.1900 (p.358), that 'Mr Phillips allowed [many of his old masters] to be exhibited at the New Gallery last Winter [1899-1900].' The catalogue of this exhibition indicates that most of their pictures were acquired by late 1899. See the catalogue, 'Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of the Flemish and British Schools....', *The New Gallery*, Regent Street, London 1899-1900. (For a brief history of the New Gallery see *Year's Art*, 1911, pp.117-121.)

<sup>49</sup> This is on the basis of the surviving records of Agnew's and Colnaghi's. Certainly all the more expensive paintings in the collection were acquired before 1899 when they were included in a loan exhibition at the New Gallery. Florence Phillips wrote to her husband in (?) March 1898, 'I quite agree with you that we must not buy any more pictures now. We have really some lovely ones.' DP to LP, (?) March 1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>50</sup> The fact that the Phillipses were preoccupied with an overall decorative effect, and not with collecting individual works of art, is clearly evident in the sale results when the art collection was sold by Christie's fifteen years later. The collection was sold by auction after they were unsuccessful in selling Tylney Hall furnished, which tends to confirm the suggestion made above that they viewed their collection in the context of the interior decoration of the house. As Lady Phillips herself noted: 'I have purposely not sold any pictures piecemeal - it would deteriorate the value of the whole which consists of being a collection' (DP to LP, 5.1.1912, LP private papers, BR). Christie's suggested a sale date in the week prior to the Coronation of George V for the more important pieces. However, the collection was kept intact in the

to news that her husband had purchased three paintings points to this overriding concern:

I wonder if the Nattiers and the Gainsborough will go in the little anteroom between the two drawing rooms. The Gainsborough will look well either in the morning room or may be even more beautiful in the drawing room as I am not sure whether Gainsborough and Constable will look well actually side by side with no others to relieve the different kinds of painting.<sup>51</sup>

The houses and interiors of the British upper classes had in most instances evolved over many years with each generation leaving their mark. By setting out instantaneously to replicate this mixture of historical styles and different schools of paintings, the Phillips collection probably resembled the one assembled by the Randlord-like Sir Adolphus Bland and his family, mockingly described by Somerset Maugham in his short story, *The alien corn*.<sup>52</sup> This family resided at 'Tilby' in Sussex, an Elizabethan mansion standing in a spacious park. It had been restored by the 'most fashionable architect in England and furnished by Lady Bland, with taste and knowledge...':

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hope that it could be sold *en bloc*. It was eventually put up for auction two years later, at a number of sales spread over two weeks starting on 22 April 1913. The seventy-two paintings offered for sale only realised £40 750, and four paintings accounted for more than three-quarters of this amount. The remainder of their collection was mostly catalogued as 'school of' works or 'follower of' well-known artists, and the bulk of the paintings, except for some of the English portraits, sold for sums less than £100. Gainsborough's *The harvest waggon* was bought by Agnew's for £20 160, a record for a Gainsborough landscape (it came onto the market again in 1928, was bought by Duveen for £74 400, and is now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto). The Nattier *Le Point du Jour: Marquise de Tournelle* sold in 1913 for £4 055, the Nattier *Le Silence: Marquise de la Flavacourt* realised £4 830, and the portrait of *Portrait of Lord Brooke* sold for £3 360 (*Catalogue of the collection of pictures by old masters, pastels and drawings, formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall*, Christie's, London, 25 April 1913 (annotated copy in Christie's archive, London)). The fact that a set of four Burgundian tapestries had a reserve of £19 000 at this sale is also indicative of the comparatively minor emphasis the Phillipses placed on paintings. The dealer Duveen was the highest bidder at 13 700gs, and hence they were bought-in at 14 000gs. The present whereabouts of these tapestries is uncertain. They possibly were brought out to South Africa and might be those seen in photographs of the interiors of Arcadia and Vergelegen. They certainly were not included in the 1941 sale of the contents of Vergelegen. However, those seen in South Africa may also have been a different set because although Christie's correspondence is imprecise, the Tylney tapestries may have been sold privately after the auction (LP private letter-book 11, HE papers, BR). Receipts from lawyers for proceeds of the 1913 Christie's sale total £8 7647.12s (19 May 1913: £20 000; 29 May 1913 £40 000; 3 June 1913 £10 000; 9 June 1913 £17 647.12s), and the total sale realised £96 000 excluding the tapestries and one painting. These figures are greater than those listed in Christie's annotated sale catalogue which would suggest a number of items bought-in (including the tapestries) were sold privately after the sales (LP private letter-book 11, HE papers, BR).

<sup>51</sup> DP to LP, 26.2.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>52</sup> It has been said that Somerset Maugham based this short story on the life of Theodore Beit, Sir Otto Beit's eldest son, who took his life in 1917 in the First World War. See Eric Zinnow, *The Beit chronicle: the history of a family from its origins to the present day*, privately published, Würzburg, 1995, p.60.

The dining-room was adorned with old English sporting pictures and the Chippendale chairs were of incredible value. In the drawing-room were portraits by Reynolds and Gainsborough and landscapes by Old Crome and Richard Wilson. Even in my bedroom ... were water-colours by Birket Foster. It was very beautiful ... but though it would have distressed Muriel Bland beyond anything to know it, it entirely missed oddly enough the effect she had sought. It did not give you for a moment the impression of an English house. You had the feeling that every object had been bought with a careful eye to the general scheme. You missed the dull Academy portraits that hung in the dining-room besides a Carlo Dolci that an ancestor brought back from the grand tour, and the water-colours painted by a great aunt that cluttered up the drawing-room so engagingly. There was no ugly Victorian sofa that had always been there ... and no needlework chairs that an unmarried daughter had so painstakingly worked at about the time of the Great Exhibition. There was beauty, but no sentiment.<sup>53</sup>

The Phillips collection was not comparable in size or quality to that of Wernher or Beit. Aside from the fact that Lionel Phillips' two senior partners had had almost a decade's head-start in collecting, they also had ample wealth to afford masterpieces. But, even if one allows for the Phillipses' more limited means, it would seem that they preferred to lavish vast sums on houses and interiors rather than on the acquisition of substantial works of art. In later years, Lionel Phillips estimated that he had spent about £800 000 on Tylney Hall<sup>54</sup> which is possibly more than the sum either Wernher and Beit spent on their country houses.

Their preferences in painting fell within narrow parameters.<sup>55</sup> The emphasis was on English and French eighteenth-century works which were fashionably believed to complement French-style interiors. In this respect, the influence of the Wernher-Beit-Kann coterie is clear, but in the case of the latter collectors, these schools comprised only part of their collections. The Phillipses acquired almost no Dutch seventeenth-century pictures, and like most Randlords, only an occasional Italian painting. They ultimately owned approximately sixteen British eighteenth-century portraits; five

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<sup>53</sup> W. Somerset Maugham, 'The alien corn', included in *The complete short stories*, London, 1951, vol 2, p.537.

<sup>54</sup> LP to JW, 19.6.1911, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.112.

<sup>55</sup> Florence Phillips' critical appreciation of paintings also seems to have been narrow, judging from her annotations in her copy of *The world's greatest pictures*, London, 1909. Descriptions are generally in the category of 'charming' and 'awfully nice', with an occasional 'horrid'. I am grateful to Jillian Carman for drawing my attention to this book which was donated to the JAG in July 1997 by Robert Mitchell, son of John Mitchell, Lionel Phillips' secretary, to whom Florence Phillips gave the book.



English landscapes (including three Morlands); six French portraits; sundry other European paintings, usually with uncertain attributions; twenty-two French and English eighteenth-century drawings and pastels; and a large collection of prints.

The Phillipses purchased their more expensive paintings through dealers, including Agnew's and Colnaghi's in London, and Sedelmeyer's in Paris. These were the same dealers from whom Wernher and Beit had acquired a large number of paintings in their collections. The first recorded acquisitions were made shortly after Lionel Phillips' return from South Africa. In January 1897 they purchased from Agnew's a pair of Canaletto *Views in Venice* for £950 whose work they had most likely seen, along with paintings by Guardi and Bellotto, in the collections of other landlords. In October and November of the same year they acquired from Agnew's two Constables, *Brighton beach – heavy surf* for £950, and *View in Westmorland* for £650.<sup>56</sup> Agnew's also purchased on their behalf at Christie's on 25 June 1898 a Romney, *Portrait of Lady Hamilton*, on a 5% commission. The Phillipses acquired another Romney, *Portrait of Mrs Arabella Phipps*, for £1 850 from Agnew's, which together with a Lawrence, *Portrait of Mrs Siddons*, and a Reynolds *A girl and a dog* (Fig. 3.12) (both bought from unidentified sources) were the most significant British eighteenth-century portraits in their collection. None of these paintings were canonical works, and the remainder of their British portraits, although bearing attributions to Hoppner, Kneller, Reynolds and Richard Cosway, were school or studio works with unrecorded provenances.

Their most expensive acquisition was Gainsborough's *The harvest waggon* (Fig. 3.13), which they purchased in 1898 through Colnaghi's for £4 500.<sup>57</sup> It had an enticing

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<sup>56</sup> The exact identity and present location of these two Constables is uncertain. Leslie Parris, who does not recognise either of these two images, on the basis of the following descriptions, suggests that the works did not carry secure attributions (letter to researcher, 11.8.1994). They were exhibited at the New Gallery in 1899-1900 and described as follows: *Landscape* [View in Westmorland], 'Hilly landscape; in the foreground a piece of water and herdmen taking cattle to drink; two cottages on the right; a road on the left. Canvas 24.5 x 29.5 in.'; and *Coast scene* [Brighton beach - heavy surf], 'In the foreground three men, launching a boat; three fishing smacks on right. Canvas, 20 x 24 in.' See the catalogue, 'Exhibition of pictures by masters of the Flemish and British schools....', *The New Gallery*, Regent Street, London 1899-1900 nos. 177 and 185 respectively.

<sup>57</sup> It was offered for sale by the Rev. Benjamin Gibbon at Christie's on 27 March 1894, but was unsold. Colnaghi's offered it to Phillips on 19 February 1898 for £4 500 (the price at which it had been bought-in), and reassured him that they would be willing to repurchase the painting within a year at £4 800 providing it remained in his house. (Perhaps Colnaghi's desired the painting for stock but were experiencing cash-flow problems and unable to purchase it outright?) Colnaghi's also asked that if the

provenance, having once belonged to George, Prince of Wales (later George IV), who bought the painting in 1786 and presented it to Maria Fitzherbert in 1810.<sup>58</sup> In the same year, Rodolphe Kann suggested the purchase from Sedelmeyer's of two works by J.M. Nattier, *Le Point du Jour: Marquise de la Tournelle*, and *Le Silence: Marquise de Flavacourt*, an artist whose work both Beit and Kann also collected. Later in the year, after agreeing in February not to acquire further paintings,<sup>59</sup> the Phillipses purchased their third Nattier, *Portrait of Lord Brooke*, for £1 375, also from Agnew's.<sup>60</sup>

It is sometimes possible to establish which of their artworks hung in their London home and which were at Tylney Hall. It would appear from photographs of the interiors of Tylney Hall<sup>61</sup> and other documentation that the Phillipses, once again like Wernher and Beit, had their more highly regarded paintings in London, and the balance at Tylney Hall. No photographs of 33 Grosvenor Square appear to have survived. A contemporary report described the house as 'full of the most beautiful bric-a-brac, splendid tapestries, and pictures by old masters.... The drawing-room and the music-room, which are most beautifully decorated, have panels by Coypel,<sup>62</sup> the artist who decorated the Palais Royal and was painter-in-chief to Louis XV.'<sup>63</sup> The Gainsborough landscape and the more costly British portraits were displayed on the walls in the London house. At Tylney Hall, British eighteenth-century portraits were gathered in the dining room; and the Phillipses' collection of portrait miniatures was grouped together in the morning room. A work attributed to the 'school of Cologne', *Wing of a triptych*, hung in the

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negotiations to purchase it were successful, they be allowed to exhibit it in a forthcoming exhibition which they proposed to hold in May. *Year's Art*, 1914, p.7. Colnaghi's to LP, 19.2.1898; 1.3.1898, Colnaghi Letter-book 2, pp.381,389.

<sup>58</sup> J. Hayes, *The landscape paintings of Thomas Gainsborough*, New Haven and London, 1982, vol 2, p.530. See also the recent exhibition catalogue Paul Spencer-Longhurst and Janet M. Brooke, *Thomas Gainsborough: the harvest wagon*, exh. cat., Birmingham Art Gallery and Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1995.

<sup>59</sup> DP to LP, 28.2.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>60</sup> Lionel Phillips also expressed an interest in a portrait of by Élizabéth Louise Vigée Le Brun at Colnaghi's. They wrote to him in June 1898 after Dr F. Lippmann, Bode's colleague in Berlin, had offered to purchase it. Colnaghi's to LP, 20.6.1898, Colnaghi letter-book 2, p.478.

<sup>61</sup> These photographs of the house, interior and gardens, bound in two volumes, were prepared for the *Architectural Review* in 1904. There is one set in the JAG archives and another set in the library at Vergelegen, Somerset West.

<sup>62</sup> A possible provenance for these Coypels may be the set of eight panels offered by Sedelmeyer in their 1897 catalogue (plate nos. 65-67). These paintings were presumably sold together with the house for there is no further trace of them in catalogues and inventories of the Phillips collection.

<sup>63</sup> *South Africa*, 19.5.1900, p.358.

hallway; an unidentified full-length Hoppner, *Portrait of a lady*, was placed above the staircase; and a *Portrait of Vittorio Michele* attributed to G.B. Moroni hung in the library. In the ballroom a Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of a French nobleman*, was displayed along with the lifesize portraits of Lionel<sup>64</sup> and Florence Phillips,<sup>65</sup> painted in 1903 by Giovanni Boldini.

Another aspect of the collection was a large group of prints which was hung in Florence Phillips' boudoir in their London house<sup>66</sup> and in her bedroom at Tylney Hall (Fig. 3.14). It would appear from a contemporary press report that it was Florence Phillips who assembled this collection: she was said to be particularly fond of 'old and valuable engravings'.<sup>67</sup> She was following a popular but expensive fashion, given that mezzotints after eighteenth-century British and French portrait painters realised prices as high as 1 000gs each at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>68</sup> The *Year's Art* in 1902 likened the 'mezzotint fever' to the tulip craze that seized the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.<sup>69</sup> In 1901, this magazine had predicted that there was little danger

of any collapse [in this market], as only the richest collectors can play at the game, and the number of prizes is comparatively few. The highest prices are given only for the perfect examples of the first states, and the fever is another development of the admiration for the works of the Early British school.<sup>70</sup>

The size of the collection and economic worth of the prints is evident from the auction sale catalogue of the Phillips collection: the prints alone realised £16 428.6.0.<sup>71</sup> (a

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<sup>64</sup> The portrait was presented to the Johannesburg Art Gallery but Lane cut it down. In the minute books Lady Phillips recalled that Lane criticised the portrait of Sir Lionel, and with her consent, he turned one end of the portrait in. In fact the canvas was actually cut but fortunately the pieces were kept and it was restored in 1915 to its original size by the curator A.E. Gyngell, although not entirely to Lady Phillips' satisfaction. See JAG Minute Book, 21.9.1915, 5.11.1915, 20.4.1916, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>65</sup> Lionel Phillips presented the full-length Boldini portrait of his wife to the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art in Dublin. A smaller version is in the collection of the South African National Gallery.

<sup>66</sup> 'And also with my boudoir and in fact I think the prints ought to be hung with young Vaughan's help.' DP to LP, 26.2.1898, LP private papers, BR.

<sup>67</sup> A writer in *Boudoir* mentioned in *South Africa*, 29.10.1904, p.297.

<sup>68</sup> See Sheila O'Connell, 'William second Baron Cheylesmore (1843-1902) and the taste for mezzotints', in A. Griffiths (ed.), *Landmarks in print collecting: connoisseurs and donors at the British Museum since 1753*, London, 1996, pp.134-157.

<sup>69</sup> *Year's Art*, 1902, pp.270-271.

<sup>70</sup> *Year's Art*, 1901, p.170.

<sup>71</sup> *Catalogue of the important collection of engravings of the early English and 18th century French schools formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall, Winchfield, Hants. ....*, Christie's,

substantial sum if one considers that their large collection of furniture and decorative arts only realised £38 837.20.)<sup>72</sup> The parameters of their collection of prints paralleled their collection of paintings: they included 26 lots of portraits, 39 eighteenth-century French prints, 35 after British artists, 17 after Morland, 4 after Cosway, 5 after J. Downman, and 18 after Reynolds. However, unlike the case with paintings, it is difficult to reconstruct provenances for these works of art and to gain an idea of the prices they paid for their prints.

The Phillipses' residency at Tylney Hall was not long-lived. Phillips' position as a junior partner of Wernher Beit & Co. did not provide the income required to sustain this upper middle-class lifestyle. Furthermore, because of his status in the company, he had no choice but to return to Johannesburg when Sir Julius Wernher asked him to do so. Although Phillips had intended pursuing a political career in Britain,<sup>73</sup> Wernher made it clear that if he were to remain in England and to continue with his plans to run for Parliament, he would have to retire from the firm, a step he could not contemplate financially.<sup>74</sup> This move, coupled with his strained finances, necessitated the sale of the houses. The Phillipses' London house at 33 Grosvenor Square was sold in 1906, but the sale of Tylney Hall proved to be difficult because it was already a prohibitively expensive monument from another era. They had at first hoped to realise £300 000

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London, 21 April 1913. In the sale after the death of the Phillips', a further seven prints were included in the Vergelegen sale: *Catalogue of valuable ... collection formed by the late Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips....*, Cape Town, 9 June 1941, lots 315-321.

<sup>72</sup> *Catalogue of the important collection of old French, Italian and English furniture, tapestry and porcelain formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall....*, Christie's, London, 23 April – 8 May 1913 (annotated copy in Christie's archive, London).

<sup>73</sup> At the time it was reported that Phillips would stand as the Conservative candidate for North Paddington and on his return from South Africa he 'should avail himself of every opportunity of meeting the electors and making himself acquainted with the needs and requirements of the constituency.' *South Africa*, 17.10.1904, p.857.

<sup>74</sup> In a crisp exchange of correspondence Wernher reminded Phillips that when he asked Phillips to join Wernher, Beit & Co. in London after the Jameson Raid, his principal motive was to show that they fully shared the part taken by Phillips in the Raid and that he was not a scapegoat. 'I don't know whether you ever appreciated this. The question of work was then not half as important as it is today because we were still vigorous and also stronger in numbers.' To which Phillips curtly replied, 'My recollections of the circumstances under which I joined the firm in London after the Raid entirely disagrees with yours but that is past history and of no great consequence at the moment.' Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.169.

furnished, and later £200 000 unfurnished.<sup>75</sup> It took almost a decade to find a buyer,<sup>76</sup> and then at a fraction of these initial asking prices.<sup>77</sup>

A further reason for the Phillipses' decision to sell their houses as well as their artworks may be related to a perception that a lifestyle in the colonies did not require ownership of works of art of this kind. This was an attitude almost all the Randlords and their contemporaries adopted, because none of them who lived in South Africa owned a valuable art collection in South Africa. The catalogue of the contents of their last house sold after their respective deaths in 1941, provides some idea of the artworks they lived with in South Africa.<sup>78</sup> These included two paintings attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of a child* (which realised 305gs) and *Portrait of a young gentleman* (250gs), a painting attributed to Andrea del Sarto, *Saint in a red cloak* (310gs) – which hung in the hall at Villa Arcadia together with their tapestries – a Jan Fyt of *Fruit* (150gs), a pair of unattributed *Views in Venice* (100gs)<sup>79</sup> and a small number of Florence Phillips' eighteenth-century British prints, as well as a large collection of pictorial Africana which she considered appropriate for a house at the Cape.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> LP to JW, 19.6.1911, M Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.112.

<sup>76</sup> 'After a period of negotiation for sale by private treaty, the property finally came into the market publicly in 1910. Two sales by auction have been held and although the reserve was considerably less than half the original cost, the property was not sold. Subsequently, efforts have been made to sell it at half the price reserve at auction unsuccessfully.' LP to Receiver of Revenue, 25.5.1915, HE papers, BR.

<sup>77</sup> On 1.2.1916 Phillips asked Major Hennessey for £75 000 for the house and the park, with the intention of being prepared to accept £10 000 or £15 000 less. On 4.2.1916 Phillips was offered £35 000. The price at which it was sold is not recorded in Phillips' papers but mention is made in March 1916 that Tylney had been sold by Trollope's to Major Hennessey (HE papers, BR). See also the sale particulars of the Tylney Estate in the Hampshire Record Office: 1909 (20M76/21), 1916 (23M72/E34). Major Hennessey, later Lord Windlesham, sold it shortly thereafter to Major Herbert Cayzer of the Union Castle Line, later Lord Rotherwick.

<sup>78</sup> *Catalogue of valuable antique English, Empire and Dutch period furniture... being the collection formed by the late Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips....* The Colonial Orphan Chamber and Trust Company, Cape Town, 9 June 1941. The vendue roll for this sale with prices and names of buyers is among the estate papers of Lady Phillips. Estate 70239, Master's Office, Cape Town. (Lionel Phillips' estate papers are to be found at Estate 50758.) I am grateful to Dee Nash for drawing this to my attention. For a list of the paintings at Arcadia see 'Pictures: Removed and packed – from Arcadia, Johannesburg', 31.1.1922; and 'Schedule of fire insurance' for Arcadia, September 1914-September 1915; LP private papers, BR.

<sup>79</sup> This pair resurfaced at an auction sale in Cape Town in 1985 as 'school of Canaletto' paintings, realising R5 500, only to be sold some months later in London as works by Canaletto for £680 000, (verifying Agnew's attribution in 1897 when the Phillipses purchased the pair for £950). See *Living Magazine*, September 1985, pp.81-89.

<sup>80</sup> The only Randlord who systematically collected pictorial Africana was Sir Abe Bailey. It is not perhaps coincidental that he and Lady Phillips were born in South Africa, and hence were reconstructing their own history. See *Catalogue of valuable Africana consisting of books, pamphlets, pictures and prints, busts and bronzes ... being the collection of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951.

But it was only two years later, in 1908, that they committed themselves to remaining in the country. This decision was not reached easily by Lionel Phillips, who agonised over his divided loyalties and recalled his abrupt departure at the time of the Jameson Raid. In this year he wrote to the Cape politician J.X. Merriman, 'The amenities of life cry out loudly from the other side, the voice of duty whispers that there are many years of good work in me which might be more serviceably spent out here.'<sup>81</sup> But once Lionel and Florence Phillips had come to terms with the prospect of living in South Africa, they immediately starting requesting a large new house to be built at the company's expense. In their eyes, this demand was justified because of Lionel Phillips' position in Johannesburg business and social circles,<sup>82</sup> in addition to which he had succeeded in restoring the London partners' South African investments to profitability.<sup>83</sup> Phillips wrote to Sir Julius Wernher:

If I stay permanently, I must build a better house. It would cost ten or twelve thousand [pounds].... I cannot ask my wife to go on living in the *chalet*. It is very small and has lots of rats and mice scuttling between the floors and ceilings. I don't want a mansion, but this cottage, in spite of the lovely garden, is not really the place for me to dwell in.<sup>84</sup>

Wernher reluctantly agreed to build 'Villa Arcadia' (Figs. 3.15, 3.16, 3.17), which was a sprawling Mediterranean-style house tempered with colonial arts and crafts, situated on the rocky slopes of the Parktown ridge, which cost £28 000.<sup>85</sup> It was designed by Herbert Baker who had also been commissioned to build houses in South Africa for

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<sup>81</sup> LP to J.X. Merriman, 11.11.1908, LP papers, BR.

<sup>82</sup> Immediately on their return to South Africa, the Phillipses conspicuously adopted a very prominent position in Johannesburg society, and according to a cousin of Florence Phillips, all the 'wealth, wit, brilliance and brains of the Transvaal' gathered at the most lavish entertainments 'in the whole of gay Johannesburg' (Dora Ortlepp Poultney, *Dawn to dusk*, London, 1936, p.175). Lionel Phillips was once again appointed President of the Chamber of Mines, and after the death of Wernher in 1912, and the retirement of most of the German-born management with the outbreak of World War I, Phillips was appointed in 1915 as chairman of Central Mining & Investment Corporation – the restructured company controlling the assets of Rand Mines and the now defunct Wernher, Beit & Co. He was also elected a member of the newly formed Union Legislative Assembly between 1910 and 1914. In the New Year's honours list of 1912 Phillips received the ultimate accolade: a baronetcy for his 'public service'.

<sup>83</sup> Lionel Phillips wrote to Eckstein five years after his return to South Africa, 'Well, it is not necessary for me to blow my own trumpet. Without conceit, I can assert confidently that my return to S. Africa has meant millions to the gold mining industry.' LP to FE, 26.6.1911, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.114.

<sup>84</sup> LP to JW, 21.9.1908, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.93.

<sup>85</sup> See, 'Villa Arcadia', *The Builder*, 24.9.1915, pp.223-225. Wernher agreed to sell it to the Phillipses in 1909 for £10 000 and provided them with an annual housing allowance of £2 500 because they would no longer be residing in a company house.



other Randlords, including Groote Schuur near Cape Town, in a blend of Cape Dutch architecture and colonial art and crafts, for Rhodes,<sup>86</sup> and Rust-en-Vrede, in Muizenberg, for Sir Abe Bailey. The Phillipses resided in Arcadia for a decade.<sup>87</sup> On Phillips' retirement from the company, they decided to move to the Cape and live in the Cape Dutch house, Vergelegen (Fig. 3.18), near Somerset West, outside Cape Town.<sup>88</sup> In this instance, they had no choice but to meet the costs of the extensive renovations themselves. They were unable to afford another mansion on the scale of Tylney Hall, but this last house nevertheless ended up denuding Lionel Phillips of the greater portion of his remaining wealth.<sup>89</sup> Lionel Phillips recalled that when he acquired the estate at the Cape the land was out of cultivation and the buildings were in a derelict state. He 'purchased the property and presented it to my wife without realising the cost of restoration.'<sup>90</sup> The Phillipses' dependence on substantial houses, both in South Africa and Britain, as visible symbols of their social importance, must have ultimately cost Lionel Phillips well in excess of a million pounds.

It took a few years for the Phillipses, who were almost the only Randlords in the Wernher-Beit circle who actually resided on the Rand,<sup>91</sup> to re-adapt to living in Johannesburg which was far removed from the rituals of *belle époque* society. However, once they had committed themselves to their new life, they made an effort to 'raise the tone of the working man' in Johannesburg (which is the way Lionel Phillips described the purpose of a recreation hall built by Eckstein & Co. for white mine workers).<sup>92</sup> Although it was never explicitly stated, their endeavours were invariably aimed at the white working class. Looking back from the late twentieth century, it is clear that the Phillipses subscribed to the widely held prejudices regarding

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<sup>86</sup> See G. Viney, *Colonial Houses of South Africa*, Cape Town, 1987, pp.168-183.

<sup>87</sup> Villa Arcadia was eventually disposed of in 1922 to the South African Jewish Orphanage for £30 000 after repeated attempts to sell it to the Johannesburg municipality.

<sup>88</sup> Lionel Phillips resigned all his directorships in 1924 at the age of 70.

<sup>89</sup> See G. Viney, *Colonial houses of South Africa*, Cape Town, 1987, pp.20-31.

<sup>90</sup> Last Will and Testament of LP, 19.12.1935, p.7, BR.

<sup>91</sup> A contemporary writer remarked on this fact that the Randlords were 'scarce as a dodo' in Johannesburg. W.C. Scully, *The ridge of white waters*, London, 1912, p.149.

<sup>92</sup> LP to Lord Selbourne, 24.1.1906, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.72.

blacks,<sup>93</sup> and, consequently, their philanthropy projects invariably set out to benefit whites.

The Johannesburg Art Gallery, initiated in 1909, is the single most ambitious project initiated by the Phillipses. The gallery's collection – acquired with the funds provided by the Randlords – needs to be considered in two parts. There was an 'arts and crafts' collection conceived by Florence Phillips herself, and a 'fine art' collection assembled by Sir Hugh Lane (Fig. 3.19).<sup>94</sup> Lane's role in the gallery, which will be explored after a consideration of Florence Phillips' contribution to the shaping of the collection, illustrates the complexity of some of the issues relevant to an understanding of the gallery's history, such as the then prevailing ideas regarding 'modern art', 'national art' and an art 'appropriate' for the working classes in Johannesburg. Florence Phillips' role in the formation of the gallery will be explored in the context of contemporary attitudes towards women and philanthropy, and more specifically in relation to her assumptions regarding the use of art as a tool for philanthropy.

In the case of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, it was primarily Lionel Phillips (Fig. 3.20) who convinced his fellow Randlords to provide funds for its establishment. This was despite the fact that most of them took little interest in establishing cultural and recreational facilities in this distant colonial town. The reluctance of the London partners of the company managed locally by Lionel Phillips, Central Mining (successors to Wernher, Beit & Co.), to direct funds to charitable projects, seems to have been motivated by the fact that they were unlikely to provide any tangible financial

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<sup>93</sup> Florence Phillips in her book *A friendly Germany: why not?* included a chapter entitled 'The Peril of the Coloured Races'. In the opening paragraph she proclaimed 'Nowadays I try to see things from the black man's point of view as well as from the white man's, and to recognise that the black man has a right to a place on earth...', yet in the next paragraph she stated that she was 'firmly convinced' that the 'white race is superior to any coloured race, and that it must be the governing race of the world.' Lady Phillips, *A friendly Germany: why not?*, London, 1913, p.13.

<sup>94</sup> Lane's involvement with the Johannesburg Art Gallery lasted from 1909 until 1911 when he resigned as honorary curator to devote his time to the Dublin Gallery. Lane wrote to T. Bodkin at the time: 'I find I cannot buy for two Galleries, as I want all the bargains for Dublin.' Quoted in T. Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, Dublin, 1956, p.28. The first two London-based directors of the gallery were both to die at an unexpectedly early age. Sir Hugh Lane lost his life in the sinking of the *Lusitania* five miles off the coast of Ireland on the afternoon of 7 May 1915, aged 39. His successor, Robert Ross, died in his sleep on 5 October 1918 at the age of 49 on the eve of taking up the position as director of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.

returns.<sup>95</sup> Phillips, who was exposed on a daily basis to the growing animosity between the white working class and the mine-owners, especially after strike action in mid-1907, nevertheless continually requested that the company support such undertakings. The only way in which he was able to secure the London partners' support was to present these projects as opportunities to provide the company with much-needed 'kudos'<sup>96</sup> as a high-profile form of philanthropy which would serve as public statements of the mine owners' apparent concern for the local working-class populace.

In response to Lionel Phillips' requests, his London partners initially offered £15 000 of the £50 000 that the Phillipses planned to raise for a nucleus art collection.<sup>97</sup> A year and a half later, when the collection was first exhibited in Johannesburg, the gifts totalled £33 000.<sup>98</sup> Sir Julius Wernher gave £5 000; Sir Otto Beit, on his return from South Africa in June 1909, contributed £10 000; and Max Michaelis later contributed £5 000. Lionel and Florence Phillips themselves made a number of individual gifts,<sup>99</sup> and also managed to solicit funds or pictures from most of the Randlords, including Charles Rube, E. Birkenruth, Friedrich Eckstein (£1 000),<sup>100</sup> Solly Joel, Julius Berlein, R. Schumacher, Ludwig Neumann, Sigismund Neumann (£4 500),<sup>101</sup> Abe Bailey (£1 000)<sup>102</sup>, Sammy Marks (£500)<sup>103</sup> and Sidney Goldman. It was only in July 1910,

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<sup>95</sup> See for instance how Phillips' presentation of 40 acres of the Sachsenwald estate met with the disapproval of the London partners. LP to Wernher, Beit & Co., 23.12.1910, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.105.

<sup>96</sup> See LP to F. Eckstein, 12.3.1906, M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.74.

<sup>97</sup> Lady Gregory recalls Florence Phillips mentioning this sum to her. Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, p.110.

<sup>98</sup> T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.251.

<sup>99</sup> In addition to works which the Phillipses gave jointly, there are also gifts listed as given by 'Mr Lionel Phillips' or 'Mrs Lionel Phillips'. See 'List of works presented to the JAG by Mrs Lionel, later Lady Phillips'; and 'Gifts from Sir Lionel Phillips'; typescripts, JAG.

<sup>100</sup> T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.245.

<sup>101</sup> Most of Sir Sigismund Neumann's gift was used to assembled a collection of works by Pre-Raphaelites in 1912. In July 1916, when Lady Phillips approached Neumann about the balance of the funds which he had promised the gallery, he refused to accede to her request (SN to DP, 12.7.1916). He died shortly after this reminder; Ross remarked, 'My application to Sir Sigismund Neumann about the Gallery seems to have killed the poor man' (RR to Miss Keith-Wright, 24.9.1916). In August 1917 when his estate was proved, Lady Phillips wrote to his brother, Ludwig Neumann, threatening 'to inform the [Johannesburg Art Gallery] Committee that Sir Sigismund repudiated his debt', if the estate did not pay out the balance (DP to LN, 31.8.1917), and in November 1917 the executors responded with a cheque for £3 000 (S. Neumann & Co. to DP, 13.11.1917). Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>102</sup> Abe Bailey's gift of £1 000 was given at the end of 30 October 1910 and was used to acquire a Naoum Aronson statue. T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, pp.258,272.

over a year since the project was initiated, and after £33 000 had been raised by public subscription in London, that an appeal was made to the Johannesburg public for contributions to the general subscription fund.<sup>104</sup>

Florence Phillips' (Fig. 3.21) involvement with the founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery needs to be considered in the context of the wide array of charities and philanthropic schemes she always supported both in Britain and South Africa. Once she had returned to Johannesburg in 1906, she actively involved herself in a range of projects in two different spheres: the 'upliftment' of the working classes, and the promotion of 'nation' building activities in keeping with the aims underlying the unification of South Africa in 1910. Since, as a woman, the prospects of finding formal employment in the spheres of business and politics were slight, philanthropy provided her with an outlet for her organisational skills.<sup>105</sup> She was probably also sensitive to the opportunities her support of charitable causes offered for social advancement. This is borne out by her attempts to secure a member of the royal family to consecrate the more important projects with which she was associated: the Duke of Connaught opened the collection in November 1910 (Fig. 3.22), and she even entertained the possibility that the King and Queen might open the completed gallery in 1914.<sup>106</sup>

Although she initiated many significant philanthropic projects in South Africa, she did not enjoy universal acclaim for these achievements at the time because her detractors maintained that she had a tendency to be opinionated, arrogant, and self-important. These traits are evident in hundreds of letters she wrote to the press throughout her life in which she offered her opinion on a vast range of issues including politics, art, black servants, history, flower pickers, town planning and nationalism, to name but a few

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<sup>103</sup> Sammy Marks' gift of £500 was spent on a painting by Alfred Hayward of Sir Bartle Frere (?£100) and on commissioning from Naoum Aronson three busts of the Boer Generals Botha, De la Rey and De Wet (£300 deposit and £100 paid on completion). T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.286.

<sup>104</sup> Letter of DP to the editor, *Star*, 15.7.1910.

<sup>105</sup> A. Callen, *Angel in the studio*, London, 1979, pp.4-5.

<sup>106</sup> 'If the King and Queen accept the Union government's invitation to go to South Africa in 1914 to open the Union buildings, we must ask them to open the gallery too – it will be a great thing.' DP to RR, 15.9.1912, Ross papers, JAG.

topics.<sup>107</sup> Her response to the Jameson Raid in 1895 clearly illustrates how assertive her behaviour could be, especially when it is considered that she was a young wife of a junior partner in Wernher, Beit & Co. On that occasion, she not only wrote a letter to *The Times*, but also attempted to meet with the colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, and even with the ageing Queen Victoria. She claimed her opinions on the Raid were valuable<sup>108</sup> because she was 'in a position better than that of most people to understand the grave reality of the uitlanders' grievances.'<sup>109</sup> She also wrote a book offering her opinion of the event.<sup>110</sup> In a similar vein she wrote a book on the eve of World War I entitled, *A friendly Germany: why not?* in which she 'tried to show' that there was 'no foundation for ... a view' that war between Great Britain and Germany was inevitable.<sup>111</sup>

In relation to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, her determined and, at times, forceful manner no doubt played a significant part in its realisation, against many odds. She encountered strong opposition to the project from the Johannesburg municipality partly because of the priorities that guided both her, and Sir Hugh Lane, whose assistance in the establishment of the gallery will be discussed. They devoted the funds donated by the Randlords to the acquisition of artworks and not to the construction of a gallery.<sup>112</sup> This was in accordance with Lane's dictum: 'First make your collection of

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<sup>107</sup> See Lady Phillips' press-cutting books: a volume dealing with the JAG is in the JAG archives, and four volumes covering the South African National Union and the Arts and Crafts exhibition in Johannesburg in 1910 are in the Strange Library, JPL.

<sup>108</sup> Mrs Lionel Phillips, *Some South African recollections*, London, 1899, p.76.

<sup>109</sup> Mrs Lionel Phillips, *Some South African recollections*, London, 1899, pp.70-73.

<sup>110</sup> In the wake of the Jameson Raid Florence Phillips' opinions on the matter were not suppressed indefinitely. She wrote a book, *Some South African recollections*, published in 1899, on the eve of the South African War, in which she offered the public an explanation for the Raid in the guise of a racy 'tale' of her 'anguish'. It also conveys to the reader her rabid hatred of both Boers and blacks. Florence Phillips expressed her views without any reflection on the sequence of events that led up to it, nor did she question whether the Randlords and Uitlanders were really innocent and misunderstood victims of Boer oppression.

<sup>111</sup> Lady Phillips, *A friendly Germany: why not?*, London, 1913, preface. In this polemic book (although she did not perceive it as such), aside from discussing the Anglo-German tensions, she also offered her opinions on issues of race, the 'social perils' and labour, and unabashedly suggested that white European Christian capitalists should control the fate of non-whites and the working classes. Her concluding paragraph limits a sympathetic view of her opinions: 'These two great nations must join hands if the true interests of humanity are to be solved. Western civilisation will thus be a bulwark against the encroaching hoards. Hand-in-hand Germany and England may lead the world to a realisation of glorious ideals.' Lady Phillips, *A friendly Germany: why not?*, London, 1913, p.124.

<sup>112</sup> For instance, why did Florence Phillips not consider using a small portion of the funds donated by the Randlords to hire a keeper and an art teacher? The sums involved were nominal – £500 was mentioned as a salary for a keeper (JAG minute book, 12.5.1915), and the art school required even less to stay afloat

pictures, and the gallery will come to hold them.’<sup>113</sup> As a result, a protracted antagonism ensued with the Johannesburg Municipal Council which was reluctant to fund the construction of an art gallery in its entirety (at a cost of £110 000),<sup>114</sup> as well as accept the responsibility for the ongoing expense of administering a gallery in accordance with her wishes.<sup>115</sup> This would have involved expenditure far in excess of what the Randlords contributed to the founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Florence Phillips was not willing to accept the limited funds that the municipality was able to direct to establishing an art gallery would not allow for her and Lane’s aims to be realised. The Randlords who donated money to the embryonic Johannesburg Art Gallery also questioned Florence Phillips’ and Lane’s approach,<sup>116</sup> expressing the concern that the collection would suffer the same fate as the plaster casts bought with Alfred Beit’s bequest, which had never been adequately displayed in Cape Town due to

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(JAG minute book, 12.5.1915, 21.11.1916). These amounts would have inestimably advanced the interest in art in Johannesburg. JAG minute book, 21.11.1916, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>113</sup> Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, p.56.

<sup>114</sup> Smuts suggested that the Transvaal government should forgo its share of profits from the Johannesburg fresh produce market and this sum, which would accrue to the municipality, should be used for the construction of a gallery. In June 1910, before Johannesburg had yet seen the collection, the council voted £20 000 of this income for a building. The Phillipses initially hoped to augment this by redirecting the sum collected for the Rand Regiments Memorial towards the building of a gallery which would also serve as a memorial. (‘The Transvaal government, which is in thorough sympathy with the movement, has been approached with a view to uniting with the Rand Volunteer War Memorial Committee to erect a building in Joubert Park, Johannesburg, as a joint war memorial which shall later house the Art collection’ (*South Africa*, 9.4.1910).) The Rand Memorial Committee decided that they were unable to divert funds expressly collected for the purpose of a memorial (LP to the Mayor, 6.4.1910, quoted in the *Star*, 11.5.1910). When the working drawings arrived in February 1912, it was estimated that the construction of the gallery would cost £110 000, an amount far removed from the initial cost projection of £25 000 mentioned in a letter from Lionel Phillips to the Mayor of Johannesburg in 1910. LP to Mayor of Jhb, 24.1.1910; Mayor of Jhb to LP, 22.3.1910, LP papers, BR.

<sup>115</sup> Florence Phillips demanded that the municipality should fund the upkeep of the gallery. This met with resistance from members of the Johannesburg town council because what was meant by ‘upkeep’ was vague: sums between £2 000 and £10 000 per annum were mentioned; furthermore, when the project was first discussed, the Randlords had promised to provide £25 000 for artworks and another £25 000 as an endowment (*Star*, 11.5.1910; *South Africa*, 16.7.1910, p.145). It was reported that ‘The whole tenor and purpose of the proposed agreement was to call upon the rate payers to provide a very large amount for which there was no provision, and in return they were not to have that control that is always the prerogative of those who paid the piper.’ The barbed and sexist point was also made that ‘several members had fallen under the spell of the enchantress ... and it seemed that Johannesburg was now to be under petticoat government.’ See the report of this council meeting in *Transvaal Leader*, 26.10.1910 and *Rand Daily Mail*, 27.10.1910.

<sup>116</sup> Wernher wrote to LP on 5.5.1910, on the subject of a contribution of £5 000: ‘I would prefer to do so when I know of a definite scheme as to the housing and future maintenance and Michaelis feels very much the same way. I think when ... [this is] finally and definitely settled, it will be easier to get contributions. The course I propose pressing is to buy with Lane’s approval pictures and to keep them on loan and to present them when the housing is settled.’ HE papers, BR.



of a lack of space.<sup>117</sup> Had Florence Phillips, at times, adopted a more consultative and pragmatic approach with the Johannesburg municipality,<sup>118</sup> and planned for the project to be realised in stages, she would perhaps not have been so frustrated and angered by their later reservations.

Florence Phillips' belief that art could contribute to the 'enlightenment and refinement' of the residents of Johannesburg is related to the replacement of traditional philanthropy with its cultural descendant in the last decades of the nineteenth century in Britain. As Borzello has argued, educational, sporting and cultural programmes were widely initiated by the upper classes in the late nineteenth century with a benevolent, albeit patronising, view to organising the leisure time of the working classes.<sup>119</sup> The individuals behind such initiatives tended not to offer money or material improvement on the assumption that money could only offer temporary respite from material hardship, whereas cultural projects would provide life-enhancing spiritual growth. This premise was especially evident in the many art galleries that were established and promoted as providing a counter-balance to the monotonous employment and existence that characterised working-class life. Writing on the Victorian middle-class, Macleod encapsulates the multifarious reasons for the popularity of using art as a tool of philanthropy:

Making art available to the working class satisfied everyone. It assuaged middle-class consciences by giving pictures a purpose other than decoration; it provided a rationale for ownership of objects of luxury that might otherwise be associated with aristocratic habits of self-indulgence; and it lent contemporary art a special purpose: the edification and instruction of the less fortunate.<sup>120</sup>

Johannesburg, with its mines and its large community of white working-class residents, was an ideal place for a project which sought to use art as a means of 'upliftment'.

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<sup>117</sup> See Anna Tietze, 'Classical casts and colonial galleries: the life and afterlife of the 1908 Beit gift to the National Gallery of Cape Town', *UCT art history seminar papers*, unpublished, 1997.

<sup>118</sup> A lack of local involvement with the gallery partly explains the fact that it took decades for the project to materialise into what Florence Phillips had envisaged. A 'Ladies' Committee' was formed (JAG minute book, 14.1.1920) but it did not make a meaningful contribution to the project: it concerned itself with the display of fresh flowers in the gallery, the uniforms of the attendants, and the arrangement of furniture and lace work. JAG minute book, 14.1.1920, 2.12.1921, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>119</sup> See Frances Borzello, *Civilising caliban: the misuse of art 1875-1980*, London and New York, 1987.

<sup>120</sup> Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*, Cambridge, 1996, p.98.

When the Phillipses returned to the city, it was widely perceived as the Manchester of South Africa,<sup>121</sup> a city preoccupied with the accumulation of riches and dominated by industry and manufacturing.<sup>122</sup> Florence Phillips herself remarked that 'the mines are untidy, ungodly looking places, and amidst such hideous surroundings even the most cheerful would become depressed.'<sup>123</sup> As a correspondent of the *Magazine of Art* observed in 1895, the outlook for art in this city was 'bad' because 'it has to compete with ... the race for wealth [which] occupies the first attention of the community.'<sup>124</sup> The point was made in the press in 1910 that the only monuments in Johannesburg were 'eye-searing dumps, burrows in the ground and some few grim fortresses of commerce.'<sup>125</sup> In the view of the Lane and Florence Phillips and the press, the establishment of an art gallery in Johannesburg would 'civilise' this 'City of Dreadful Wealth'.<sup>126</sup> In Florence Phillips' view, 'Johannesburg, of all places in the world, has need of an art gallery ... for there is so much of the material side of life that we need something to lift us above that which is merely utilitarian, and to bring sweetness and light into the daily life of the city'.<sup>127</sup> In a similar spirit, Lane remarked in the preface to the catalogue of the collection he assembled for the gallery:

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<sup>121</sup> A parallel can arguably be drawn between 'the rhetoric associated with the art for the public movement in Manchester', as observed by Macleod, and the Randlords' attitude towards the Johannesburg Art Gallery. The former, in Macleod's words, was 'pronounced by a commercial elite which was in the process of elucidating its goals in counterpoint to those of the classes situated above and below it in the social pyramid. Manchester's middle class ambitiously attempted to redefine art's place in the aristocratic order, before stamping it with its own imprint, and presenting it to the lower classes as an ennobling experience.' Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian middle class*, Cambridge, 1996, p.109.

<sup>122</sup> There are innumerable scathing contemporary references to the scarcity of art in the young mining town. For an overview see E.P. Engel, 'Art life in Johannesburg 1886-1920', *Africana Notes and News* 15, September 1963, pp.267-305; and 'Pioneers in the establishment of an art life in Johannesburg: 1886-1939' in S. Lissoos, *Johannesburg art and artists: selections from a century*, exh. cat., Johannesburg Art Gallery, 1986, pp.1-20.

<sup>123</sup> Florence Phillips made this remark at the time of founding the 'Dorothea Club', a space which was 'established for the women living on the mines or in out-districts, whose lives are for the most part very dreary, lonely and colourless.' *Star*, Johannesburg, 13.8.1908

<sup>124</sup> This correspondent stated that there were many willing to become serious art students in the 'golden city', but the difficulties in the way of the establishment of classes were so great as to be almost insurmountable. Models were said to charge from half a guinea to a guinea an hour, and were very inferior. A Mr McClure did in fact start a class, but had to close it as the students were so apathetic that after a time the classroom was left in the sole occupancy of the teacher. *Magazine of Art*, 1895, pp.115-116.

<sup>125</sup> *Star*, 26.11.1910.

<sup>126</sup> *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, 26.5.1910.

<sup>127</sup> Newspaper cutting circa February 1910, from an unidentified newspaper in Johannesburg pasted into Lady Phillips' press-cutting book in the JAG.

Johannesburg is rapidly losing the reasons for reproach with which the remainder of South Africa has armed itself against this community, and, by the establishment of a Gallery of Modern Art in the town, removes for ever the stigma that its citizens are concerned with naught else than the amassing of fortunes.<sup>128</sup>

Florence Phillips repeatedly emphasised two issues in her speeches and letters to the press about the founding of an art gallery in Johannesburg – education (aiming at improving the quality of design) and the elevation of the working classes. Although the Victoria and Albert Museum was unwilling to lend objects to colonial museums,<sup>129</sup> Florence Phillips retained the idea that the Johannesburg gallery should incorporate educational objectives similar to those that had motivated the founding of that museum.<sup>130</sup> As she explained to General Smuts, the Johannesburg Art Gallery had as its objective ‘the education of our countrymen and countrywomen.’<sup>131</sup> The mouthpiece of the Randlords, the London weekly, *South Africa*, stated that the purpose of the gallery was to provide

a kind of intelligent recreation to the large working population on the Rand. Just as large towns in Australia and other countries have their Galleries, it is becoming more and more necessary to create something of the kind in Johannesburg, where it is sure to be highly appreciated, and may prove of great benefit as a factor in education. The mining population is of a good stamp – education in the Transvaal is on a very sound level, and in a sense, a good Art Gallery will act as a teacher.<sup>132</sup>

Florence Phillips maintained that the educational aspect of the project would be enhanced by including examples of arts and crafts in the nucleus collection.<sup>133</sup> It would appear that Florence Phillips had had a long-standing interest in the arts and crafts movement because, when the Phillipses moved to London in 1896 after the Jameson

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<sup>128</sup> G.C. Ross (ed.), *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: illustrated catalogue*, Johannesburg, 1910, p.i.

<sup>129</sup> *Daily Mail*, Johannesburg, 16.2.1910. In the years thereafter Florence Phillips repeatedly raised this issue with the V&A, and in 1916 even wrote to the British Prime Minister H.H. Asquith to enquire about the possibility of a short Bill to enable a loan collection to be sent to the ‘Dominions from English Picture Galleries and Museums, with a view to a wider diffusion of art in the Colonies’. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28.3.1916.

<sup>130</sup> The V&A was known as the South Kensington Museum when it was founded in 1852 until 1899 when it was renamed.

<sup>131</sup> DP to Gen. Smuts, 24.4.1909, Smuts papers, vol 7, letter 72, SA.

<sup>132</sup> *South Africa*, 9.4.1910.

<sup>133</sup> Only recently has this aspect of the gallery been once again acknowledged. See J. Carman, ‘Lady Phillips and the lace collection’, in A. Griffiths (ed.), *The lace collection of the Johannesburg Art Gallery*, Johannesburg, 1993.

Raid, she commissioned the Decorative Arts Guild to undertake some of the interior decoration of their town and country houses. In using this guild, which was founded for the 'purpose of bringing artists and the public into [a] business relationship',<sup>134</sup> her choice differed significantly from that of other Randlords and their wives.

Accordingly, to foster this pedagogic facet of the project, Florence Phillips presented to the gallery a nucleus collection of old lace,<sup>135</sup> needlework, and embroideries as well as books (chosen by the assistant keeper of the V&A library) on furniture, iron-work and other crafts, and a large number of framed photographs on the same subjects, 'to the value of £2 500'. This gift was dependent on the fulfilment of two conditions: that the collection be adequately housed, and that the municipality found a school of design and a museum of Industrial Art associated with the gallery.<sup>136</sup> Her desire to have a school of design (as opposed to a school of art) was consistent with the teachings of the arts and crafts movement, which had resulted in the proliferation of craft schools, guilds and exhibition societies in Britain, and later in the U.S.A., in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>137</sup> As Ruskin suggested:

Every considerable town ought to have its exemplary collections of woodwork, ironwork and jewellery attached to the schools of their trades, leaving to be illustrated in its public domain, as in an hexagonal bee's cell, the six queenly and muse-taught arts of needlework, writing, pottery, sculpture, architecture, and painting.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> 'Many well-known artists form the consulting committee, and are prepared to accept service as art advisers in matters where special knowledge is demanded.' *Year's Art*, 1892, p.109.

<sup>135</sup> Lady Phillips relied heavily on A.F. Kendrick of the department of Textiles at the V&A for assistance with her lace collection. A mass of correspondence survives dating between 1916 and 1920, including a memorandum written on 1.2.1916 detailing Lady Phillips' request for assistance in the classification and arranging of a collection of lace to be presented to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, and an inventory, 'Lady Lionel Phillips, Description of lace and silks, etc (16/591)'. V&A Registry files (Lady Phillips file).

<sup>136</sup> The two conditions were '1. these articles are suitably housed and cared for, and 2. that they will be used for a nucleus of a School of Design in this town and for the use of the public.' DP to the Mayor and Town Council of Johannesburg, quoted in the *Star*, 11.5.1910.

<sup>137</sup> On the issue of museums and galleries established for the purpose of uplifting the working classes, see, F. Borzello, *Civilising calibans: the misuse of art 1875-1980*, London and New York, 1987; M. Harrison, 'Art and philanthropy: T.C. Horsfall and the Manchester Art Museum', in A.J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts (eds.), *City, class and culture*, Manchester, 1985; and G. Waterfield (ed.), *Art for the people: culture in the slums of late Victorian Britain*, London, 1994.

<sup>138</sup> J. Ruskin, 'A museum or picture gallery: its functions and its formation', (a series of letters published in the *Art Journal* in 1880), reprinted in E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (eds.), *The works of John Ruskin*, London, 1907, vol 34, pp.245-262.

Florence Phillips (and her husband) maintained, as had John Ruskin and William Morris, that good design and beautiful objects had a beneficial effect on those who came into contact with them, and raised the moral tone of society.<sup>139</sup> These attitudes are very evident in the publicity surrounding an *Arts and Crafts Exhibition* held in March-April 1910<sup>140</sup> under the auspices of the South African National Union.<sup>141</sup> It was organised along the lines of the well-known London Society of Arts and Crafts annual exhibitions, which sought to raise the 'level of artistic merit in the design of common articles of daily life'.<sup>142</sup> According to press reports, Lionel Phillips in a speech at its opening maintained that the purpose of the exhibition was to 'educate the taste of the people', because:

there was nothing more destructive than the influence of ugliness. If [people become accustomed] ... to bad models or a bad combination of colours ... they destroyed the demand for better things. [In their houses the] bare necessities of existence might be supplied with the crudest appliances, but if one raised the standard of a people's ideals and stimulated their desire to possess things that are worth possessing for their own sakes, then one created a desire for that thing of beauty which is a joy forever.<sup>143</sup>

Florence Phillips' attitude to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, located as it was in an industrial and mining city, relates more closely to this late nineteenth-century spirit than to that of the first decade of the twentieth century. For, by 1910, the arts and crafts movement, which in its original utopian guise had been closely allied to projects

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<sup>139</sup> Morris's rhetorical questioning at times sounds remarkably similar to the content of the Phillipses' speeches. For example: 'Is it right that most of the civilised men, all town-dwellers at least, should be deprived of the sight of beautiful things? Is it right that they should, except on rare occasions, have to look on mere squalid ugliness'. W. Morris, 'Art and the people', reprinted in *Art and society: lectures and essays by William Morris*, ed. by Gary Zabel, Boston, 1993, p.51.

<sup>140</sup> An interesting aside to the Arts and Crafts exhibition was a section for 'native work' which was added to the exhibition as an afterthought. 'Mats, pottery, basket-work and other things' were solicited to ensure a 'good display' (*Leader*, 15.2.1910). The prevailing belief, to which the Phillipses subscribed, was that blacks had never produced any 'art'. On the occasion of the opening of the Arts and Crafts exhibition it was reported: 'Not the least remarkable fact in connection with this exhibition – of which Mr Lionel Phillips spoke, if anything, over modestly, is the absence of any form of art by which the native race has revealed itself. Nowhere else, unless it be Australia or the Southern States, where the white-face people have settled among the dark people, would such a result be possible.' *Leader*, 29.3.1910. For a broad overview of the attitudes towards African art, see A. Nettleton, 'Arts and Africana: hierarchies of material culture', *South African Historical Journal*, 29, November 1993, pp.61-75.

<sup>141</sup> The exhibition, lasting a month, consisted of a display of artworks loaned from local citizens, and a competitive section for which 2 850 entries were received nation-wide. There is a copy of the invitation, designed in an arts and crafts style, on p.15 of Lady Phillips' press cutting book in JPL.

<sup>142</sup> *Daily Mail*, Jhb, 24.1.1910.

<sup>143</sup> The exhibition opened in Johannesburg on 28 March 1910 and Lionel Phillips' speech was reported in the *Leader* 29.3.1910 and *South Africa*, 30.4.1910.

promoting 'art for the people', had been superseded by the onset of the 'modern' movement. Some of her aims were hopelessly outdated. For example, the revival of lace-work had in fact preceded the emergence of the arts and crafts movement and already by end of the nineteenth century clearly on the wane because of the advent of mechanisation.<sup>144</sup> In addition to this, it had become increasingly common to acknowledge the reality of the gruelling work involved in the production of many arts and crafts products by the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>145</sup>

Although a school of design in Johannesburg never materialised in the sense that Florence Phillips had envisaged it,<sup>146</sup> (and as a result, she repeatedly threatened to withdraw her presentation of £2 500 for this project), she nevertheless remained an ardent proponent of the potential of 'good design' and at every opportunity promoted the arts and crafts aspect of the gallery's collection. In a speech in 1915 she 'reminded ... every citizen' of Johannesburg 'that the new art school and art gallery' was 'not for the purpose of teaching people to paint pictures, but to teach people how to design.... There ... [are] many people in this community, many of them living in hideous surroundings, who aspire ... to the beautiful, and an attempt has been made to provide it.'<sup>147</sup> As late as 1919, she still referred to the gallery as 'The Johannesburg Municipal Art Gallery and *Museum of Industrial Art*' (my emphasis).<sup>148</sup>

Florence Phillips also contemplated including old masters, donated by the Randlords, into the founding collection of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. In this regard she approached Sir Hugh Lane who had had great success as an old master dealer but who

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<sup>144</sup> See A. Callen, *Angel in the studio*, London, 1979, pp.138-149 for an overview of the revival in lace making in the nineteenth century; and G. Spenceley, 'The lace associations', *Victorian Studies*, 16, 1973, pp.433-452.

<sup>145</sup> On the subject of the gruelling work often involved in producing crafts, see S. Pamela Horn, *Victorian country women*, Oxford, 1991, in particular the chapter 'Rural crafts and village trades', pp.164-191.

<sup>146</sup> A modest school of art was established in Johannesburg in 1913. For a vivid description of this art school and Lady Phillips, see D.C. Boonzaier's diary, 27.1.1914, manuscript, SAL.

<sup>147</sup> Report of Lady Phillips' speech at the National Union 'at home' the day before, *Star*, 8.5.1915.

<sup>148</sup> See [(?) Lady Phillips], *The Johannesburg Municipal Art Gallery and Museum of Industrial Art*, pamphlet issued on the occasion of the exhibition of the latest additions to the gallery, Goupil Gallery, London, January 1919. The correspondence about the selection of books for the Michaelis library with the assistant keeper of the V&A library, Albert van de Put, is in the V&A Registry files (Lady Phillips file).



was also dedicated to the promotion of modern art.<sup>149</sup> He was a dynamic and persuasive person who had founded the Dublin Municipal Art Gallery, now the Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, which opened in January 1908. Lane dissuaded her from the idea of acquiring old masters because they would be prohibitively expensive, and suggested instead collecting works by modern and contemporary artists. Florence Phillips entrusted him with this task,<sup>150</sup> and as he explained in the foreword to the first catalogue of the collection he was to assemble:

The value of a good collection [of old masters] should not be underestimated; but when it is remembered that the money spent on the whole of the present works would not have been sufficient to acquire a single valuable example of an Old Master, at the present-day fabulous prices, it will be admitted that the wiser course has been chosen in acquiring the best modern work.<sup>151</sup>

It is not clear why Lane agreed to accept the position as honorary curator of the gallery. The amount of work it entailed would have been enormous, and while his commitment to a similar project in Dublin is understandable because of his Irish origins, he had no links with South Africa. Over the years, he had sold the Randlords a few paintings for their private collections, but he certainly was not indebted to them. Lane would also not have gained financially from the project, because he dealt in old masters and not the modern works he recommended for the gallery. The reason for Lane making himself available for this project must have related to a desire to use every opportunity available to expose potential collectors to modern art. This was, as he had explained, part of the purpose of the gallery he founded in Dublin:<sup>152</sup> it 'would create a standard of taste, and

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<sup>149</sup> I have relied on Lady Gregory's accounts of the sequence of events leading to the founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery which was based on Mrs Caroline Grosvenor's recollections. (See Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, chapter XII.) Lane was introduced to Florence Phillips by Caroline Grosvenor in April 1909. Mrs Norman de l'Aigle Grosvenor, née Caroline Susan Theodora Stuart-Wortley (died 7.8.1940) was the widow of Norman de l'Aigle Grosvenor (1845-1898), who was the third son of Robert Grosvenor, 1st Baron Ebury.

<sup>150</sup> Lane immediately convinced Florence Phillips to purchase three paintings by Philip Wilson Steer, then on exhibition in London, as the first acquisitions for a collection of contemporary art. The purchase of *Corfe Castle*, *The lime kiln*, and *From a Chelsea window* was announced in the press in April 1909. She financed the purchase of these first three paintings by the sale of her 21.5 carat blue diamond ring which she had just been given by her husband. See Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, p.110; and DP to LP, 24.4.1909, LP papers. The wholesale cost of the diamond was £537.10.0d prior to the cost of cutting (WB&Co. to LP, 14.11.1908), and one wonders what sum she actually realised from the sale of the diamond.

<sup>151</sup> G.C. Ross, *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: illustrated catalogue*, Johannesburg, 1910, p.i.

<sup>152</sup> See Barbara Dawson (ed.), *Images and insights. Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art*, exh. cat., Dublin, 1993.

a feeling for the relative importance of painters. This would encourage the purchase of pictures, for people will not purchase where they do not know.’<sup>153</sup>

Lane was fortunate in that he functioned independently and his purchases were ‘unfettered by the control of any Committee or Board of Trustees’.<sup>154</sup> He had almost complete curatorial freedom: the input of the donors was limited to funds, in return for which they were ‘allocated’ artworks. In the space of roughly a year he spent about £30 000 on the first 130-odd artworks which formed the nucleus of the collection.<sup>155</sup> His acquisitions met with acclaim<sup>156</sup> when they were exhibited in London at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in May 1910.<sup>157</sup> Sir Charles Holroyd humorously suggested that ‘What Birmingham was to the Pre-Raphaelite movement, Johannesburg was evidently going to be to Modern British Art. Those who studied the Pre-Raphaelites had to go to Birmingham, and those who wished to study the art of 1900 would have to go to Johannesburg.’<sup>158</sup>

Although the press and Lane expressed the opinion that his selection was ‘modern’, this perception only makes sense if the collection is viewed against contemporary British<sup>159</sup> and French museums’ purchases. At the turn of the twentieth century, neither the Tate Gallery in London, nor the Luxembourg in Paris were sympathetic to the ‘modern tendencies’. (The bulk of the Tate’s acquisitions were purchased from the

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<sup>153</sup> Quoted by Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, p.54.

<sup>154</sup> A point made in *African World*, 17.9.1910, p.305, in an article, ‘Pictures for Johannesburg. A permanent gallery’.

<sup>155</sup> It is difficult to establish precisely what Lane spent on the foundation collection because none of his correspondence or account books have surfaced. The closest guide we have to the value of the collection are the insurance values listed in the Johannesburg Art Gallery’s acquisitions ledger, and the total insurance value of the original purchases is about £30 000. Red Ledger, JAG.

<sup>156</sup> For numerous British and South African reviews of the collection, see Lady Phillips’ book of newspaper cuttings relating to the founding of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, JAG.

<sup>157</sup> The exhibition was entitled, ‘20 years of British art 1890-1910’, and held at the Whitechapel Gallery, London. See the catalogue of the exhibition: *Whitechapel Art Gallery: country in town exhibition 1910, July 9-July 23 1910*.

<sup>158</sup> Quoted in the *Birmingham Daily Post* and *Daily Telegraph*, 14.6.1910.

<sup>159</sup> For an overview on the reception of modern art in England, see John House, ‘Modern French Art for the Nation: Samuel Courtauld’s collection and patronage in context’, and Andrew Stephenson, ‘“An Anatomy of Taste”: Samuel Courtauld and Debates about Art Patronage and Modernism in Britain in the inter-war years’, in J. House, *Impressionism for England*, London, 1994; and Stella Tillyard, *The impact of modernism 1900-20*, London and New York, 1988.

annual Royal Academy exhibitions with funds from the Chantrey bequest.)<sup>160</sup> By comparison, Lane's purchases for the public collections in Dublin and Johannesburg were comparatively responsive to contemporary art movements.<sup>161</sup> Lane assembled the Johannesburg collection some months prior to Roger Fry's watershed London exhibition 'Manet and the Post-Impressionists', which advanced British perceptions of modern art (the date of Fry's exhibition in London coincided with the first exhibition of Lane's purchases in Johannesburg). Fry was particularly impressed with Lane's selection. His favourable response is meaningful not only because he was arranging his own exhibition at this time, but also because he had had frustrating experiences in trying to convince the Metropolitan Museum in New York to acquire modern paintings. He wrote in the *Burlington Magazine*:

It would be hardly too much to say that the new gallery which Johannesburg has just founded is already far more representative of the whole scope of modern British art than anything that we have in England. Not only so, but to a surprising extent this able director has managed to get exceptionally good examples of each of the many artists represented.... It is really an extraordinary performance, and Johannesburg is to be sincerely congratulated upon the munificence of its rich citizens and the acumen of its temporary director.<sup>162</sup>

Although Lane's taste was therefore 'advanced' compared with that reflected in British public collections, it was by no means avant-garde. Unlike Fry, Lane's preferences did not include the work of Van Gogh, Cezanne and Gauguin. Moreover, although, at the time when Lane started assembling the Johannesburg collection Picasso and Braque were experimenting with cubism,<sup>163</sup> the most modern French work in the collection is

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<sup>160</sup> See J. Collins and R. Hamlyn, *'Within these shores': a selection of works from the Chantrey Bequest, 1883-1988*, exh. cat., Tate Gallery and Sheffield City Art Gallery, 1989.

<sup>161</sup> For instance, C. Lewis Hind remarked in his novel, *The consolations of a critic*, published in 1911, 'The Dublin Municipal Gallery ... shares with Johannesburg the distinction of having the finest collection of modern art in any English-speaking city.... These two galleries owe their existence to the genius and initiative of one man - Sir Hugh Lane'. (p.82.)

<sup>162</sup> R. Fry, [review of the] 'Catalogue of the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Johannesburg', *Burlington Magazine*, 19, July 1911, p.178. For an article with similar sentiments about Lane and the Johannesburg Art Gallery see D.S. MacColl, 'Twenty years of British art at the Whitechapel Gallery', *Burlington Magazine*, 17, July 1910, p.229.

<sup>163</sup> Unfortunately Sigismund Neumann did not ask his nephew, D.H. Kahnweiler, to spend the £4 500 he promised on the artists in his gallery. Kahnweiler was the leading dealer in cubism and in these years represented Picasso, Gris, Braque, Derain and Vlaminck. The Neumann brothers and Kahnweiler were closely connected. His uncles had employed him in their London offices in 1905 and had planned to send him out to Johannesburg as their representative. Kahnweiler had other ambitions and instead they set him up in Paris with £1 000 as an art dealer. Until well into the late 1930s the Neumann family remained the

the landscape by Claude Monet (Fig. 3.23) (which was also the most expensive painting purchased for the collection: £2 500) painted thirty-five years before, in 1875.<sup>164</sup> Fewer than a tenth of the paintings in the collection are works by Impressionists (Figs. 3.24, 3.25, 3.26). These are outnumbered by late nineteenth-century Flemish, Dutch and French artists. These paintings are in turn outnumbered by works by British artists of the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, which comprise over half of the number in the nucleus collection (Figs. 3.27, 3.28, 3.29, 3.30). Closer analysis of the collection also reveals that only half of the oils selected by Lane were in fact by living artists (and often not recent works), and most of the European works were by dead artists. The living artist Lane favoured most strongly is a now little-known Italian painter, Antonio Mancini,<sup>165</sup> who is represented by three works in the collection and who also painted portraits of Florence Phillips and her daughter (for the Phillipses' private collection). The artists whose work Lane recommended to be added to the nucleus collection in order to ensure that this 'modern' collection would be 'representative' were predominantly dead artists: Courbet, Corot, Daubigny, Manet,<sup>166</sup> Renoir, Degas, Israels, Mathew Maris, Whistler, and 'representative works of the best of the Pre-Raphaelite School'.<sup>167</sup> What is surprising is that the person Lane suggested should accept the position of honorary curator after his resignation in 1911, Robbie Ross, was not someone who could have been expected to acquire such 'modern art'.<sup>168</sup> Ross was a lucid but conservative art critic for the *Morning Post* who had described Roger Fry's 1910 exhibition of Post-Impressionism as a 'fraud'.<sup>169</sup> He

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silent partners in Kahnweiler's gallery. Pierre Assouline, *An artful life: a biography of D.H. Kahnweiler, 1884-1979*, New York, 1990, pp.21-25, 160, 209, 222-223.

<sup>164</sup> The most expensive painting in the valuation of the foundation collection was the Monet, *Le printemps*, at £2 500, followed by the George Watts, *The rain it raineth every day* at £2 000; Jacob Maris, *Gathering seaweed near Scheveningen*, £1 800; Géricault, *The passage of the ravine*, £1 500; Harpignies, *The last days of summer*, £1 000; Millais, *Fringe of the moor*, £1 000. Red ledger, JAG.

<sup>165</sup> See Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, chp. IX.

<sup>166</sup> In November 1912 Lane even contemplated selling his Manets and other modern pictures to the Johannesburg Art Gallery after the Dublin authorities had been unenthusiastic about accepting them. HL to Lady Gregory, 13.11.1912, Lady Gregory papers, Berg collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>167</sup> G.C. Ross (ed.), *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: illustrated catalogue*, Johannesburg, 1910, p.iii. In 1912 Florence Phillips suggested to Lane's successor, Robbie Ross, that the remainder of the Michaelis money be spent on a Renior or Manet which unfortunately was not done. DP to RR, 29.5.1912, Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>168</sup> Jillian Carman suggests that Ross could have been viewed as a 'colonial curator' because he was also advised the National Gallery of Victoria. Thus it was perhaps the case of the Johannesburg 'post' being tagged onto his Australian duties. In a letter to the researcher, 9.9.1993.

<sup>169</sup> See R. Ross, 'Twilight of the idols: Post-Impressionism at the Grafton Galleries', *Morning Post*, 7.11.1910, p.3.

preferred the work of the more traditional contemporary British artists with whom he was well acquainted from his years as director of the Carfax Gallery (1900-1908).<sup>170</sup> His acquisitions for the Johannesburg Art Gallery collection were predominantly of accomplished but traditional British artists, most unlike the 'modern' works that Lane advocated.<sup>171</sup>

It is difficult to gauge whether the Johannesburg public and press perceived the collection as 'modern'. A large number of notices about the collection appeared in the Johannesburg newspapers but very few were written by individuals who were able or willing to offer an informed assessment of the works. Most local critics instead regurgitated the opinions expressed in the London press. The one exception to this enthusiastic but uncritical response was a review by G. S. Smithard<sup>172</sup> published in *The State*, a journal founded by Abe Bailey (to foster the spirit of unification), but at this time funded by Lionel Phillips, in which knowledgeable and often prominent individuals offered their views on a broad range of topical issues. Smithard was unconvinced by the claims that the Johannesburg Art Gallery's collection was 'modern'. He wrote that it

reflected the average taste of the European collector, the antique in the applied arts predominating – dead, beautiful things – with, however, scarcely anything to reveal the working of Time Spirit in modern Art and little to show the untravelled South African the profound movements of the last century.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Ross, preoccupied by his duties as literary executor of Oscar Wilde's estate, resigned in 1913, but remained closely involved with the affairs of the Johannesburg Art Gallery for another five years. As Ross explained to J.M. Solomon, Lord Alfred Douglas was planning to publish his memoirs, which might necessitate taking action in the way of injunction or libel (RR to JMS, 18.7.1913). Lady Phillips' response was most genial in the light of her previous indignation, and she wrote from Johannesburg in August 1913, 'You were so perfectly charming and kind to me when I was in London that I have (and always shall) only the very warmest and kindest feelings for you! If I wrote you an impatient letter, you yourself will be the first to admit that I had cause for it but had I known that you were very worried, I should not even have done so!' (DP to RR, 11.8.1913). Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>171</sup> See the typescript, *Works purchased by Robert Ross and works he was involved in acquiring during his honorary Directorship of the JAG (excluding the Neumann gift)*, JAG.

<sup>172</sup> G. S. Smithard (1873-1919) trained at the Slade School of Art in London, at the Académie Julian in Paris and at the Konginklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten en de Hogere Initututen in Antwerp. In 1912 Sir Lionel Phillips donated three large panels painted by Smithard to be installed in the new Pretoria Station building. G. Ogilvie, *The dictionary of South African painters and sculptors*, Johannesburg, 1988, p.621.

<sup>173</sup> G.S. Smithard, 'The Johannesburg Art Gallery', part I: 'The French section', *The State*, 6, July 1911, p.1.

It is interesting to consider what form the Johannesburg Art Gallery collection might have taken had Lane not co-ordinated the acquisitions. In all likelihood it would have consisted of paintings and examples of craftsmanship that conformed to late nineteenth-century perceptions of paintings and sculpture suited to the taste of the working classes and the education of students as discussed by Waterfield.<sup>174</sup> In terms of sculpture, plaster casts after the antique are conspicuous by their absence from Lane's nucleus collection. Only two years previously 46 plaster casts of 'important statuary' were acquired for the Cape Town Art Gallery.<sup>175</sup> The reason provided for the latter decision was that they offered 'the Art Students of South Africa the opportunity and the means ... of practising the study of and drawing from the Antique and to become acquainted with some of the Art production of the classical age when their circumstances would not permit them to travel to Europe.'<sup>176</sup> In contrast, arguably due to Lane, the sculpture acquisitions for the Johannesburg Art Gallery were original works of art (including a Rodin marble (Fig. 3.31)).<sup>177</sup> Although Florence Phillips considered casts to be necessary for art education,<sup>178</sup> she insisted that they be displayed in the proposed school of design which would leave the gallery 'free for original work.'<sup>179</sup>

In relation to paintings, Lane remarked that the opinion of some of his friends 'was that only popular pictures would be appreciated here [Johannesburg], and that I would find

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<sup>174</sup> See G. Waterfield, (ed.), *Palaces of art: art galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1991; and G. Waterfield, (ed.), *Art for the people: culture in the slums of late Victorian Britain*, exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1994.

<sup>175</sup> A bequest in Alfred Beit's will directed that £15 000 be spent on 'education' in the Cape Province. The exact usage of the bequest was to be decided by Jameson and Sir Lewis Michell. In the minute-book of the Cape Town Art Gallery 23.1.1908, a resolution was passed to thank Sir Lewis Michell for the gift. For a list of the statues see also the 'Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the eighteen months ending 31st December, 1908', L.Parl. See Anna Tietze, 'Classical casts and colonial galleries: the life and afterlife of the 1908 Beit gift to the National Gallery of Cape Town', *UCT art history seminar papers*, unpublished, 1997.

<sup>176</sup> 'Memorandum to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Cape Town Art Gallery', 28.2.1912, manuscript, p.3, L.Parl.

<sup>177</sup> See M.J. Hare, *The sculptor and his sitter: Rodin's bust of Eve Fairfax*, Johannesburg, 1994.

<sup>178</sup> This perception of casts as educational tools may have been influenced by the installation, circa 1907, of a gallery of casts in the British Museum for 'educational purposes'. See I. Jenkins, *Archaeologists and aesthetes in the sculpture galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939*, London, 1992, p.214. For a background to the concept of the instructive value of casts, see P. Connor, 'Cast-collecting in the nineteenth century: scholarship, aesthetics, connoisseurship', in G.W. Clarke (ed.), *Rediscovering Hellenism*, Cambridge, 1989, pp.187-235.

<sup>179</sup> Letter from DP to the Mayor and Town Council of Johannesburg, quoted in *Star*, 11.5.1910. In 1912 Florence Phillips wrote to Ross, 'I am all inclined to spend money on sculpture (and casts, but that is not so pressing)....' DP to RR, 29.5.1912, Ross papers, JAG.



very little interest evinced in the more original and individual works.<sup>180</sup> But he himself obviously did not subscribe to the belief that the art most suited to a working-class town was possibly genre paintings with a narrative or moral dimension, aimed at educating and entertaining the public. Only about a third of the paintings Lane chose were works with narrative subjects (about half of the paintings chosen were landscapes while the balance were portraits and occasional still-lives) and, in some instances, these works had not been chosen by him, but by some of the donors. Sir Julius Wernher, the only donor who took a personal interest in the works purchased for the collection, protested at Lane's emphasis on modern paintings. He thought that Lane's choice was excellent but 'just a little bit one-sided':

[Lane] likes best pictures that do not reveal their beauty at a glance and I should say some of those would be quite suitable.... I ... proposed a historic Landseer (Fig. 3.32) which Otto [Beit] tells me Lane accepted with great difficulty which is stupid because a representative picture of that painter who is so well known by engravings should find a place in every gallery. Lane would never touch for instance Leader but of course every art man is a bit of a crank and he has made an excellent choice from my point of view.<sup>181</sup>

As a result, the four paintings given by Wernher stand out from the rest of the collection. Three of them (a work by Falguière (Fig. 3.33) and two works by Millais (Figs. 3.34, 3.35)), he most likely assumed were appropriate for the local populace because they were naturalistically painted pictures with anecdotal subjects. (Wernher's fourth painting, a Géricault<sup>182</sup> (Fig. 3.36), fell outside Lane's parameters for the collection.) In his preface to the catalogue of the collection Lane stated that he was not

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<sup>180</sup> G.C. Ross, *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: illustrated catalogue*, Johannesburg, 1910, p.ii.

<sup>181</sup> JW to LP, 2.7.1910, HE papers, BR.

<sup>182</sup> Did Wernher perhaps know that Roger Fry recommended the Géricault very strongly to the Metropolitan Museum? It was exhibited at the London dealers Obach's in 1908 and reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine* of 15 July 1908. Fry wrote of the painting: 'It is a very splendid, luridly dramatic composition. ... It has the fiery intensity of Géricault's genius in an extraordinary degree. It was offered to Berlin and Bode wanted to buy it, but the Kaiser said the gun carriage was not correct, so it had to be refused. The gun carriage may be wrong but the smell of battle is there all right. ... Géricault is a very rare artist and as he died young few works of this importance exist and ... [his work] very rarely comes into the market. I consider him not only a greater artist than his pupil Delacroix but greater than any of the Romanticists.' The asking price was £2 000, but Fry thought he could acquire a bargain for £1 800. The question arises whether Bode perhaps recommended the painting to Wernher? Roger Fry to Alan Burroughs, 3.4.1908, Metropolitan Museum, in D. Sutton (ed.), *Letters of Roger Fry*, London, 1972, vol 1, p.302. See also J. Carman, 'The Johannesburg Art Gallery Géricault: a problem of attribution', *SA National Gallery Quarterly Bulletin*, 16, March 1984, pp.1-5.

responsible for the choice of certain paintings, the inclusion of which he regretted: probably a barbed reference to the works Wernher and other Randlords<sup>183</sup> had recommended,<sup>184</sup> The other paintings in the Johannesburg gallery which conform to such preconceived notions of working-class taste for narrative images were acquired after Lane's departure by Robbie Ross, in collaboration with Henry Tonks in 1912. They purchased twenty-nine Pre-Raphaelite paintings including works by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Ford Madox Brown, James Collinson (Fig. 3.37), William Holman Hunt, Sir John Everett Millais and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (Fig. 3.38), with the funds provided by Sigismund Neumann.<sup>185</sup>

Lane's selective purchase of only British and European artworks for the nucleus collection, and his involvement in securing a British architect to design the gallery, did not go without comment from South African artists and architects. At the time of unification, when the gallery was founded, a spirit of nationalism amongst English- and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans prevailed, and many local artists and architects wanted to be associated with a prominent project such as the gallery. But instead of responding to this need, the gallery provided them with very few opportunities to assert their new identity separate from the mother country. For instance, with the design of the gallery, Lane suggested that the British architect, Lutyens, should be offered the opportunity to prepare sketches for the building. He visited Johannesburg in December 1910 expressly for this purpose, but an outburst in the press about why local architects had been overlooked for this prestigious project resulted in a compromise: Lutyens would be the designing architect but the project would be supervised by a local person.<sup>186</sup> This issue of white nationalism at the time of unification is explored more fully in the next chapter, which deals with the gift of the Michaelis collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings to South Africa in 1913.

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<sup>183</sup> Another case in point may be Landseer's *Lion with Lamb* (donated by Solly Joel) which a reviewer noticed was discreetly hung in the corridor. G.S. Smithard, 'The Johannesburg Art Gallery', part II: 'The British section', *The State*, 6, August 1911, p.162.

<sup>184</sup> G.C. Ross, *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: illustrated catalogue*, Johannesburg, 1910, p.ii.

<sup>185</sup> Only £1 700 of the £4 500 promised to the gallery was spent on this collection (DP to L. Neumann, 31.8.1917), and Neumann stopped Ross and Tonks from acquiring additional works (Henry Tonks to RR, 2.8.1912). Ross papers, JAG. See C.H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Neumann gift to the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art Johannesburg*, London, 1912.

<sup>186</sup> See M. McTeague, 'The Johannesburg Art Gallery: Lutyens, Lane and Lady Phillips', *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 3, 1984, pp.139-152.

The only facet of the embryonic Johannesburg Art Gallery which was congruent with the white nationalism prevailing in 1910 was the idea to establish a national portrait collection for the gallery. The thinking behind this idea was presumably that South Africa had now reached a point at which it should start assembling its own collection of images of prominent citizens along the lines of the National Portrait Gallery in London.<sup>187</sup> As a result, six portraits and sculptures depicting the Randlords and their contemporaries were included in Lane's original collection.<sup>188</sup> However, apart from a bronze by Anton van Wouw of President Kruger presented by the artist, the initial group of portraits exhibited in 1910 were all of men associated with Britain and the English-speaking segment of the South African population.<sup>189</sup> This absence was later rectified with a commission to the French sculptor, Naoum Aronson, to sculpt busts of the Boer Generals De la Rey, Christian de Wet and Louis Botha, and the portraits painted of General and Mrs Louis Botha by A.E. Gyngell. But ultimately the bulk of the portraits and busts were of the Randlords and the politicians that had supported their plutocratic ambitions. With hindsight, the project now seems like yet another illustration of their inflated sense of self-importance and historical significance.<sup>190</sup>

The omission of works by South African artists from the collection is more startling if seen in the context of Florence Phillips' fostering of nationhood through her work with the South Africa National Union. As one critic later remarked, the collection came

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<sup>187</sup> This project was presumably also inspired by Lane's commissions of portraits of Irish personages for the Dublin gallery. As Lane remarked: 'I believe in having a national portrait gallery, and inviting public men to sit for their portraits; for so many celebrated men have not been painted or modelled while living.' Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, p.44. See also Marcia Pointon, 'Epilogue – "Saved from the housekeeper's room:" foundation of the National Portrait Gallery, London', in *Hanging the head*, New Haven and London, 1993.

<sup>188</sup> A number of artworks collected for this purpose were transferred to the Africana Museum, Johannesburg, in 1950.

<sup>189</sup> Giovanni Boldini, *Lionel Phillips*; Sir Philip Burne-Jones, *Rudyard Kipling*; John Singer Sargent, *Lord Milner* (chalk drawing); Tennyson Cole, *Alfred Beit*; Sir Philip Burne-Jones, *G.F. Watts working on 'Physical Energy'*; and a marble bust of the *Earl of Selborne* by Theodore Spicer Simson. This group was later joined by a portrait by Sir William Orpen of *Otto Beit in his study*; and Sir Hubert von Herkomer's portrait of *Sir Julius Wernher*.

<sup>190</sup> A surprising aspect of the project was the habit of commissioning posthumous portraits and copies by lesser-known artists of portraits in other collections of Randlords and politicians who were perceived to be of importance in the recent history of South Africa. The results were invariably disappointing, and the portraits obviously bore limited resemblance to the deceased sitters, and therefore have remained in store ever since. The posthumous portraits and copies were: Tennyson Cole, *Alfred Beit*; and Alfred Hayward's portraits of *Alfred Beit* and *Hermann Eckstein*, and his copies of Sir George Reid's portrait of Sir Bartle Frere and Sargent's portrait of Field-Marshal Earl Roberts.

'ready made (as it were) from Home.... [T]he money has been spent, and the selection made in England. Suppose for a moment it had been possible to spend anything like the sum this collection cost [on pictures painted] in South Africa...'.<sup>191</sup> Florence Phillips' attitude to work by South African artists is complex. In her private capacity, she actively supported local artists by purchasing their work, opening their exhibitions, and providing them with commissions to illustrate books. However, she did not collect their work systematically, preferring instead to give them away as presents.<sup>192</sup> An illustration of this ambivalence to the work of South African artists is provided by the collection in 1912 of £500 by the 'women of Johannesburg' to commission a portrait of Florence Phillips 'in appreciation of her public work'. She chose to sit for William Nicholson rather than a South African artist.<sup>193</sup> Moreover, the commission for the sculpture for the Rand Regimental Memorial, a project with which Lionel and Florence Phillips were closely involved (and which Lutyens also designed), was given to the Naoum Aronson, rather than a local artist like Anton van Wouw.<sup>194</sup> This was despite the fact that van Wouw had already completed several monumental public commissions in South Africa.

In relation to the Johannesburg Art Gallery, Florence Phillips was reluctant to exhibit South African paintings alongside pictures painted in Europe. She believed that these works should be displayed in a special room set aside for 'colonial art',<sup>195</sup> probably because she thought that the 'South African school' was still in its infancy, and that

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<sup>191</sup> T.C. Gotch, 'Art in South Africa', in *A national symposium: essays on South African subjects by South African writers*, Durban, 1912, pp.53-55.

<sup>192</sup> A review in an (unidentified) newspaper of 23 March 1910 pasted into Lady Phillips' press-cutting book remarked that a number of the paintings exhibited 'found purchasers, Mrs Phillips, among others,' became 'the possessor of a good many promising works of art'. After Florence Phillips had moved to Cape Town, the South African Society of Artists appointed her as their representative on the Board of Trustees of the Art Gallery in Cape Town, and she served that gallery in this capacity until her death. Yet the catalogue of the sale of the contents of Vergelegen in 1941 contains very few works by contemporary South African artists.

<sup>193</sup> Orpen was heavily committed and Florence Phillips was advised to sit instead for William Nicholson, which she did in August 1912. Lady Phillips was initially pleased with the outcome, but Nicholson had little enthusiasm for the 'fat nery little woman' and he steadfastly refused to finish the painting. This caused Ross infinite unpleasantness and when he finally sent her photographs in June 1913, Lady Phillips' secretary responded: 'We are all awfully disappointed with it. The face looks so old and long but perhaps the original is better.' Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>194</sup> This point is made in D.C. Boonzaier's diaries (14.12.1914), although credit must be given to Florence Phillips who supported Boonzaier's application as a cartoonist to the *Sunday Post* because he was a South Africa. (28.6.1913). Manuscript, SAL.

<sup>195</sup> Florence Phillips expressed this opinion at the opening on 3 March 1911 of a joint exhibition of the work of the South African artists J.S. Morland and Nita Spilhaus. T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.268. See also DP to RR, 9.10.1912, Ross papers, JAG.

works by these artists were therefore inferior to those purchased for the nucleus collection:

We may hope that [a] South African School of Art will grow up, and the study of the masterpieces, a few of which we have been able to secure for the gallery, should be a help as well as an incentive to local artists. And when our South African School of Art begins to produce work worthy to appear side by side with the best examples of other countries, it is surely desirable that the trustees of the gallery should be in a position to purchase such work, and so not only encourage rising talent, but form from the beginning a great South African collection.<sup>196</sup>

Yet Florence Phillips was responsible for donating the only works in Lane's nucleus collection by a South African artist or thematically related to South Africa. These were four bronzes of African figures by the Dutch-South African artist, Anton van Wouw (Fig. 3.39).<sup>197</sup> And she also strongly recommend the purchase of 69 oils by the artist-explorer Thomas Baines for the gallery collection, but her support in this instance was allied to her interest in prints and paintings depicting the history of South Africa,<sup>198</sup> and not the encouragement of living South African artists. This issue of acquiring and displaying works by South African artists was occasionally discussed at committee meetings, and in 1913 Herbert Baker even suggested that the first exhibition at the new gallery should be a national show of South African art.<sup>199</sup> However, it was only in 1918 that provision was made to acquire the work of South African artists for the collection.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Letter of DP to the editor, *Star*, 15.7.1910.

<sup>197</sup> See G.C. Ross, *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art: illustrated catalogue*, Johannesburg, 1910; and J. Carman, 'Acquisition policy of the Johannesburg Art Gallery with regard to the South African collection, 1909-1987', *South African Journal of Cultural and Art History*, 2, 1988, p.204.

<sup>198</sup> DP to RR, 31.8.1912, Ross papers, JAG. Florence Phillips tried her utmost to convince Sir Otto Beit to purchase a collection of works by Thomas Baines for the Johannesburg Art Gallery from the London dealer Francis Edwards in August 1912. The negotiations lingered for months and the sums involved were in the region of £1 500. Sir Otto Beit seemed pleased when his offer was refused – he thought 'they really are not worth much'. There is a great deal of correspondence related to this collection in the Ross papers, JAG. See also the catalogue of the *Exhibition of a collection of 69 original oil paintings by Thomas Baines...*, Francis Edwards, London, 1912.

<sup>199</sup> JAG minute book, 21.6.1913, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>200</sup> Lady Phillips announced that, on the suggestion of Dr Engelenburg (J.V. Engelenburg to DP, 24.11.1918, Ross papers, JAG), the residue of the Neumann money would be used to establish a fund along the lines of *Les Amis du Louvre*. The amount to be made available for the purchase of South African art was £1 148-5-6 from the Neumann funds, and £87-18-9 remaining from Michaelis' gift (JAG minute book, 14.1.1920, SA, Pretoria). This, it was hoped, would 'stimulate artistic efforts in all directions'. See [(?) Lady Phillips] *The Johannesburg Municipal Art Gallery and Museum of Industrial Art*, pamphlet issued on the occasion of the exhibition of the latest additions to the gallery, Goupil Gallery, London, January 1919 (copy in JAG). See also J. Carman, 'Acquisition policy of the

In spite of the fact that Florence Phillips advocated the gallery's didactic role, the available evidence suggests that the gallery committee did not take cognisance of the social reformer Walter Besant's observation that it 'is not enough ... to exhibit pictures: they must be explained. It is with paintings and drawings as with everything else, those who come to see them, having no knowledge, carry none away with them'.<sup>201</sup> Until the late 1920s, the Johannesburg Art Gallery had no full-time keeper who could have promoted the collection.<sup>202</sup> There is also no mention of an education programme or guided tours of the collection in the minute books, and the gallery did not encourage students to copy its paintings.<sup>203</sup> Although the first part-time curator, A.E. Gyngell, did publish a series of lectures relating to the collection,<sup>204</sup> the first mention of public lectures in the minute books was made twenty years after the collection arrived in Johannesburg.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, the catalogue of the collection (which was printed in 1910 and sold for 1/-),<sup>206</sup> drew a remark from a committee member that it did not contain sufficient information for the general public.<sup>207</sup> There is also no mention in the minute

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Johannesburg Art Gallery with regard to the South African collection, 1909-1987', *South African Journal of Cultural and Art History*, 2, 1988, pp.203-213.

<sup>201</sup> W. Besant, 'Art and handwork for the people', Manchester, 1885, p.21, one of three published papers read before the Social Science Congress, September 1884, quoted by F. Borzello, *Civilising Caliban*, London and New York, 1987, p.43.

<sup>202</sup> Florence Phillips continually blamed the keeper A.E. Gyngell for uninspired leadership and incompetence (see JAG minute book, 12.5.1915, 2.12.1921), but he was only a part-time employee who in 1920 earned £20 a month plus non-pensionable allowances. When he retired in 1928 his salary was £28 a month. JAG minute book, 14.1.1920, 8.11.1928, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>203</sup> The Johannesburg Art School in 1916 requested that students should be allowed to copy pictures at the gallery which was refused. (JAG minute book, 20.4.1916) In 1919 the issue was once again raised, and the gallery resolved to allow copying under certain conditions. These included evidence of the students' 'proficiency', and that the students should bear the cost of two watchmen at 36/- a day. JAG minute book, 18.8.1919, 25.8.1919, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>204</sup> A. Edmund Gyngell, *Four lectures on art having reference to exhibits in the Municipal Art Gallery, 1913*, London, 1915.

<sup>205</sup> Lectures were apparently not offered because the lighting was inadequate and the gallery did not possess a 'lantern slide machine'. The prospect of lectures was raised for the first time in the minute books on 4.5.1928, and on 8.11.1928 mention was made of the purchase of an episcope and a series of lectures were soon to start. JAG minute book, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>206</sup> The price of catalogue was later increased from 1/- to 2/-. JAG minute book, 14.1.1920, SA, Pretoria.

<sup>207</sup> Councillor Hay maintained that there was no information explaining why the pictures were selected and no reference as to their value. He therefore suggested that there should be two kinds of catalogue, one of a superior kind which could be sold at 1/- and the other containing information for the general public to be sold at 6d (JAG minute book, 18.8.1919). There are other questions that could be raised with regard to the encouraging attendance. For instance, what were the attendance figures for these first years (of which there is no mention in the minute books)? Were the location and opening times convenient to a working-class audience? To answer the latter, the gallery remained open 'on all Public Holidays and Sundays and on weekdays until dusk' (JAG minute book, 12.5.1915, 21.9.1915), but not in the evenings (JAG minute book, 5.11.1915, 21.11.1916). Were there admission charges? – it would seem not, and were children welcome in the gallery? SA, Pretoria.



books of labels that might have assisted unfamiliar viewers in their understanding of 'modern' art.<sup>208</sup>

Although the funds provided by the municipality ensured the completion of the central block and two wings of the gallery in September 1915, Florence Phillips refused to have an official opening because she considered it incomplete. Soon after the nucleus collection was exhibited in South Africa, Florence Phillips directed her energy to founding the Michaelis collection in Cape Town, which is the subject of the following chapter, and in the last years of her life she directed her energies to the development of the new art gallery in Cape Town (later named the South African National Gallery).<sup>209</sup> Yet the Johannesburg Art Gallery remains the one project for which she is best remembered.

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<sup>208</sup> The labelling of the examples of arts and crafts may have been more informative because the purpose of their display unquestionably didactic. The issue of how the collection was installed is also difficult to answer. Was it a didactic display intending to instruct the viewer about the development of art? Were the paintings hung in chronological order and grouped according to schools? Or was it instead an 'aesthetic hanging' with paintings grouped according to themes, styles and size? It would appear that the same collection remained continuously on display for the first two decades of the gallery's existence.

<sup>209</sup> The new art gallery in Cape Town was opened on 2 November 1930 with a ceremony organised by Lady Phillips. She lent the Mancini portraits of herself and her daughter Edie, and donated the Boldini study of herself. She also loaned three cases of laces, embroideries, altar pieces, velvets and cloaks. Florence Phillips also appears to have directed the gifts of paintings from Sir Edmund and Lady Davis to the Cape Town Art Gallery in 1930s, and not to the Johannesburg Art Gallery which she had founded. The minute books record: 'The Keeper was requested to write letters of thanks to Sir Edmund and Lady Davis, and also to Lady Phillips and Miss Elsie Hall for their help in the matter.' Minute book of the South African National Gallery, 15.6.1935. I am grateful to Hayden Proud for locating this reference.



Figure 3.1  
Giovanni Boldini, *Lionel Phillips*, 1903



Figure 3.2  
Giovanni Boldini, *Florence Phillips*, 1903





Figure 3.3  
Hohenheim, Johannesburg



Figure 3.4  
Interior of Hohenheim, Johannesburg





Figure 3.5  
Tylney Hall, Hampshire, England



Figure 3.6  
Reception rooms at Tylney Hall





Figure 3.7  
Reception rooms at Tylney Hall



Figure 3.8  
Reception rooms at Tylney Hall



Figure 3.9  
Reception rooms at Tylney Hall



Figure 3.10  
The ballroom at Tylney Hall





Figure 3.11  
The library at Tylney Hall



Figure 3.12  
Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A girl and a dog*





Figure 3.13  
Thomas Gainsborough, *The harvest waggon*



Figure 3.14  
Florence Phillips' bedroom at Tylney Hall





Figure 3.15  
Villa Arcadia, Johannesburg



Figure 3.16  
Hall, Villa Arcadia





Figure 3.17  
Drawing Room, painted in 'Nattier blue', Villa Arcadia



Figure 3.18  
Vergelegen, Somerset West, near Cape Town





Figure 3.19  
John Singer Sargent, *Sir Hugh Lane*



Figure 3.20  
A.E. Gyngell, *Sir Lionel Phillips*, 1916



Figure 3.21  
Antonio Mancini, *Florence Phillips*, 1909





Figure 3.22

The Duke of Connaught laying the foundation stone of the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1910



Figure 3.23

Claude Monet, *Le Printemps*





Figure 3.24  
E. Boudin, *Les Regates Argenteuil*



Figure 3.25  
Camille Pissarro, *La Forêt*





Figure 3.26  
Alfred Sisley, *Bord de L'eau a Veneux*



Figure 3.27  
Laura Knight, *Boys bathing*





Figure 3.28  
Sir William Orpen, *The fairy ring*



Figure 3.29  
Walter Sickert, *A street in Dieppe*



Figure 3.30  
Philip Wilson Steer, *A lime-kiln near Corfe Castle*



Figure 3.31  
Auguste Rodin, *Miss Fairfax*





Figure 3.32  
Sir Edwin Landseer, *The lion and the lamb*



Figure 3.33  
J.A.J. Falguière, *The death of the bull*





Figure 3.34  
Sir John Everett Millais, *Cuckoo*



Figure 3.35  
Sir John Everett Millais, *The fringe of the moor*





Figure 3.36  
J.L.A.T. Géricault, *The passage of the ravine*



Figure 3.37  
James Collinson, *St Elizabeth of Hungary*



Figure 3.38  
Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Regina Cordium*



Figure 3.39  
Anton van Wouw, *Sleeping Basuto*

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SIR MAX MICHAELIS<sup>1</sup>

The name of Max Michaelis (Fig. 4.1) is best remembered for his gift in 1913 of Dutch and Flemish old masters to the Union of South Africa, housed in the Old Town House in Cape Town.<sup>2</sup> It was the most substantial benefaction of art to South Africa by a Randlord,<sup>3</sup> but his motives, as will be discussed, were unquestionably related to plutocratic aspirations.

At the time of the gift, in the years soon after Union, and after the Randlords' decades of dominance of South Africa's mineral wealth, the image of the Randlords as foreign and ruthless plunderers of the land's resources was firmly embedded in the minds of the South African public (Fig. 4.2). As Smuts remarked to Emily Hobhouse in 1904, the Randlords 'have never loved their country or felt a passion for it in any shape or form. South Africa they regard with unconcealed contempt – a black man's country, good enough to make money or a name in; but not good enough to be born or to die in.'<sup>4</sup> The Jameson Raid of 1895, followed by the South African War between 1899 and 1902, and the introduction of Chinese labour on the Rand after this war, reinforced the perception among the South African public that they were simply pawns of conspiratorial international financiers. Out of the press's denunciation of the Randlords' machinations evolved the caricature of the stereotype magnate, 'Hoggenheimer', a crass cosmopolitan (often Jewish)<sup>5</sup> capitalist waxing fat off South Africa's gold and diamonds. As early as the late 1890s, a writer in *South Africa*, a journal which usually admired the Randlords'

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier draft of this chapter has been published as M. Stevenson, 'History of the collection', In Hans Fransen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings*, Zwolle, 1997, pp.28-43.

<sup>2</sup> It needs to be borne in mind at the outset of this chapter that the texture of the initial Michaelis gift has been extensively altered by later gifts and acquisitions to the collection which will be referred to in the course of this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> The only other comparable Randlord collection that remains in South Africa is that of the late Sir Abe Bailey. However, unlike the Michaelis collection, this was not an outright donation. It is on permanent loan to the South Africa National Gallery from the Sir Abe Bailey Trust.

<sup>4</sup> J.C. Smuts to E. Hobhouse, 21.2.1904, in W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letter no.242.

<sup>5</sup> See Milton Shain, *The roots of anti-semitism in South Africa*, Virginia, 1994, chapters 2 and 3.



antics, commented on the fact that the Randlords returned very little to the land from which they had accumulated their fortunes:

The thousands in South Africa whose toil has enriched the few have the right to demand some substantial return from the modern firm of Midas, Croesus, and Company. ... Men go to South Africa, and in a few years their riches transcend the wildest dreams of avarice. But instead of contributing liberally to the endowment of the educational, charitable, religious, and other institutions of that country, some of them come back to Europe to swell the ranks of the growing snobocracy who clamour in vain for admission to the historic mansions of the grand old English families.<sup>6</sup>

In later years, as we have already seen, some Randlords did make substantial benefactions to South Africa. Wernher and Beit bequeathed about £500 000 to education in South Africa,<sup>7</sup> Beit established the Beit Trust to further the development of Rhodesia, and Rhodes' benefactions are well-known, but their philanthropy seldom took the form of donating artworks. This is in contrast to the civic spirit of the American 'squillionaires' collectors: there were no Randlord equivalents of J.P. Morgan, Frick or Isabella Stewart Gardner. The three Randlord collections – those of Beit,<sup>8</sup> Wernher and Robinson – that were comparable in quality to that of the best American collections, remained in Britain. The absence of art in the Randlords' benefactions to South Africa was conspicuous; as the influential periodical, *The State*, remarked on the eve of the unification:

[We] have often thought that some of the rich men who made their fortunes here, and who have used part of their wealth in acquiring masterpieces of art, would be doing a national service if they gave or bequeathed a part of their treasures for the use of the public in this country. A collection which would be lost in the huge museums and picture galleries of Europe would add much to the amenities of life in South Africa.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> 'South African millionaires', *South Africa*, 24.12.1898, p.653.

<sup>7</sup> Howard Phillips, *The University of Cape Town 1918-1948: the formative years*, Cape Town, 1993, p.2.

<sup>8</sup> Alfred Beit's nephew, Sir Alfred Beit, allowed the bulk of the collection to be exhibited at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town for two years. He gave the gallery a Willem van de Velde, *Marine with shipping*, as a token of thanks for their housing the collection. See *Old master paintings from the Beit collection*, with an introduction by John Paris, exh. cat., National Gallery of South Africa, Cape Town, 1949; *Old master paintings from the Beit collection: supplement*, exh. cat., National Gallery of South Africa, 1950. However, Sir Alfred donated most of the collection to the National Gallery of Ireland, a country unconnected with Alfred Beit's wealth. See the chapter 2 on Alfred and Sir Otto Beit in this thesis for more information.

<sup>9</sup> *State*, 1, March 1909, p.252.



When the Johannesburg Art Gallery was founded, Sir Lionel Phillips suggested to his partners in London that gifts of artworks could be used to counteract the prevailing perception of the Randlords as gloating 'Hoggenheimers' and go some way towards negating the 'exaggerated' sense of hatred in the minds of the 'have nots' against the 'haves'. He contended that such benefactions would be a visible means of returning some of the mining profits to the country as well as improving the quality of life in South Africa:

If one considers the profit taken out of this country and the comparatively little spent in those voluntary institutions which in other countries ... contribute to the people's enlightenment and contentment, one realises how it is that the absentee capitalist is so disliked. Retribution in the shape of extractions will always exceed the amount that would be sufficient as a voluntary contribution!<sup>10</sup>

Phillips suggested to Wernher that the other mining companies should be made aware that comparatively small amounts given with a good will would 'appeal to the hearts of the people', and would also be in the best interests of shareholders.

People like the Neumanns<sup>11</sup> and the Joels are in the outer darkness in this connection. No arguments that one can use as to the value of their money in developing projects and sustaining population, can weigh against the obvious retort that if only a small portion of the large profits which they accumulate away from this country were spent in it, the people would be a great deal better off. That is an aspect of absenteeism which they ought to realise themselves and one that, if they will not realise, they are bound to be made indirectly to pay for over and over again. I am sure that as the spirit of nationality grows the animosity against the absentee will grow with it, unless the latter through his representatives is prepared to ingratiate himself by meeting his responsibilities.<sup>12</sup>

Lionel Phillips managed to solicit about £20 000 from his partners for the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1910, and their donations widely publicised. The donation of the Michaelis collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings three years later could also be seen as a gift intended to go some way in counteracting the 'Hoggenheimer' sentiment: the

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<sup>10</sup> LP to JW, 30.5.1910, in M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.100.

<sup>11</sup> Wernher's response to Phillips about Neumann begs quoting: 'He is really a shark of the worst description. He will make money out of anybody or anything, spend a certain amount in making himself ridiculous among snobs, and never do a really kind action, or anything of a philanthropic or high-minded nature, unless he felt obliged to, either owing to the social position of the people who approached him, or their power to do him a good or ill turn.' LP to JW, 25.7.1910, HE papers, BR.

<sup>12</sup> LP to JW, 30.5.1910, in M. Fraser and A. Jeeves (eds.), *All that glittered*, Cape Town, 1977, no.100.

publicity surrounding the gift was replete with statements suggesting that Michaelis offered the paintings in gratitude to the land in which he spent his youth and where he accumulated his wealth. As J.X. Merriman, the arch liberal Cape politician remarked on the occasion of the opening of the Michaelis collection, the gift was evidence of 'what great wealth ... could do in the way of good to a country, and that the much-abused capitalist had a good as well as a bad side.'<sup>13</sup> Merriman's response is an example of how philanthropy has the incidental advantage of softening the public outlines of men who are remembered by their contemporaries as ruthless.

The Randlords' reluctance to include art in their benefactions to South Africa could be related to their backgrounds and aspirations.<sup>14</sup> Although those Randlords born in South Africa tended to be more generous in their gifts of art to their mother country, even they were usually ambivalent towards South Africa and considered Britain as their 'Home'.<sup>15</sup> Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, on his visit to South Africa in 1894, cited the example of Abe Bailey, whom he described as 'the best type of the Afrikaner ... born in Cape Town as was his father before him, and is therefore Colonial in the real sense of the word':

Nevertheless, he and almost every other British Afrikaner I met speaks of England invariably as 'home', and he appears to look on South Africa in the light of a temporary abode though all his interests and possessions are in the colony.<sup>16</sup>

Sir Abe Bailey ultimately did leave his collection on permanent loan to the South African National Gallery,<sup>17</sup> and Lady Phillips, who was also South African-born,

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<sup>13</sup> *Cape Times*, 9.5.1917.

<sup>14</sup> An important gift to the Union of South Africa from a part-Randlord is the Sidney Mendelssohn collection of Africana. It is housed in the Library of Parliament in Cape Town and is undoubtedly one of the finest collections in the field. *South Africa*, 13.10.1917, p.59.

<sup>15</sup> See the letters in *S.A. News*, 30.1.1912, 3.2.1912 for a debate about the use of the term 'Home' in the recently unified South Africa.

<sup>16</sup> Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, *Three weeks in South Africa: a diary*, London, 1895, p.84.

<sup>17</sup> Sir Abe Bailey collected a generation later than the Wernher and Beit coterie. He started collecting early in the new century and continued until the 1930s in a much-changed art market and in a period with different social aspirations. Besides a large number of British portraits, he assembled what is regarded as one of the finest collections of British Sporting pictures, including three works by Stubbs. Linda Nochlin recently saw part of this collection. She disparagingly referred to it as a collection of '10th-rate foxhunting scenes' which were 'fortunately tucked away in relative obscurity' at the South African National Gallery, and considered it 'a memento of colonialism's contribution to the great Western tradition in South Africa'. See Linda Nochlin, 'Learning from "Black Male"', *Art in America*, 83, March 1995, pp.86-91. See *British sporting paintings and drawings in the Sir Abe Bailey collection*, South

relentlessly promoted the cause of art in South Africa, but individuals like Sir J.B. Robinson, who was born in the Karoo, in contrast to the foreign-born Randlords, did not present a single picture to the Johannesburg Art Gallery or any other South African galleries in his lifetime or his will. Moreover, when he moved back to South Africa permanently in 1912, he placed his collection in store in London. Similarly, after Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips decided to reside in South Africa, they decided to sell the bulk of their collection at Christie's. The prevailing attitude appears to have been that art and opulent homes were strictly reserved for England. Max Michaelis, who was German-born<sup>18</sup> (and probably Jewish),<sup>19</sup> is an exception in respect of his donations of art to South African galleries, and in his decision to bring his private collection with him when he moved back to South Africa after the First World War.<sup>20</sup> As it was noted in the citation read on the occasion of Michaelis' receipt of an honorary LLD from the University of Cape Town in December 1923:

It is a rare thing in a comparatively young country like ours to find men who have at once the means and the refined taste necessary for the collection of important works of art, and a still rarer thing to find men who have the generosity of mind to give the community the benefit of their wealth and artistic taste.<sup>21</sup>

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African National Gallery, Cape Town, circa 1970; also *Catalogue of valuable Africana consisting of books, pamphlets, pictures and prints, busts and bronzes ... being the collection of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951; *Catalogue of valuable antique furniture, both old Cape and English ... being the property of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951; *Catalogue of valuable silverware ... being the entire collection of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951.

<sup>18</sup> Max Michaelis was born at Eisfeld in Saxe-Meiningen in Germany on 11 May 1852 into what was presumably a solid middle-class family. His father, Dr David Michaelis, was a German Privy Councillor (Geheimrat). There are various dates and places of birth mentioned for Michaelis. See the entry in the Dictionary of South African Biography (which has an erroneous date of birth) and the obituaries in the *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus*, 27.1.1932 and the Estate papers no.34234, Master's Office, Cape Town. I am grateful to Dee Nash for locating this information.

<sup>19</sup> There is uncertainty as to whether Michaelis was in fact Jewish. His son, Cecil, recalls that Michaelis did not identify with the Jewish faith and a Church of England chaplain presided over his memorial service (*South Africa*, 12.2.1932), however, there are references to the persecution of 'our people' in a journal kept by Max Michaelis' father which would suggest that the family was Jewish (interview with CM by the author, 7.2.1993; this journal is now in the possession of Cecil Michaelis' son, Max). Furthermore, he was referred to in the press after his death as a 'great Jewish benefactor' (see 'Great Gifts to Art in South Africa: Jews who have contributed to the Enrichment of Cultural Life', *Cape Times*, 28.9.1935), and the *Cape Times* obituary (27.1.1932) notes that Michaelis 'gave most generously to the Jewish War Memorial Oxford scholarships'.

<sup>20</sup> Michaelis first came out to South Africa in 1875 and remained here until moving to London in 1891.

<sup>21</sup> The citation incorrectly implied that the collection Michaelis presented to the Union was formerly his private collection. See H.M. Robertson, *History of U.C.T.*, chp. 11 (Fine art and architecture), p.36, footnote 58, unpublished typescript, UCT.

There is another dimension to Michaelis' motives for offering the Union a collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings: his desire to further his cause for a baronetcy. The Randlords, along with the rest of the Edwardian plutocracy, considered a title, preferably a hereditary baronetcy which could serve to found an ennobled lineage, an essential public symbol of their social advancement.<sup>22</sup> They went to extreme lengths to further their cause in this respect: Louis Botha, the Boer leader and later prime minister of South Africa, even thought that these motives were latent in Lionel Phillips' attempts to arrange the Transvaal's presentation of the 3 025 carat Cullinan diamond to King Edward VII.<sup>23</sup> In the years prior to 1885, only a handful of bankers or businessmen received a peerage, but they were all individuals 'thoroughly entrenched in landed society'.<sup>24</sup> The Victorian view prevailed that mere wealth, allied to business success, did not provide an appropriate preparation for subsequent ennoblement.<sup>25</sup> However, from the late 1880s, both political parties were ready to adopt increasingly unorthodox measures to raise funds. There were two reasons for this development. Firstly, the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act of 1883 placed an upper limit on what candidates could spend in their constituencies, which may have limited some of the cruder forms of electoral corruption; and secondly, in 1886, Lord Salisbury abolished the Secret Service Fund out of which governing parties traditionally financed their electoral campaigns.<sup>26</sup> These moves, coupled with the ever-increasing costs of electioneering, meant that with time Chief Whips began trading upon their power of bestowing honours and titles by rewarding benefactors to party funds. As the ever-critical magazine, *Truth*, observed in 1905, 'Baronetcies, in particular, are rising rapidly. Such distinctions as knighthoods and K.C.M.G.'s are also particularly attractive at the present comparatively modest prices.'<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The Randlords gathered baronetcies and knighthoods, but no Randlord was bestowed with a peerage. Sir J.B. Robinson almost succeeded in 1922 but a public outcry forced him to decline the offer. See Chapter 6.

<sup>23</sup> L. Botha to J.C. Smuts, 8.1909, W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letter no.443.

<sup>24</sup> See W.D. Rubinstein, 'The evolution of the British honours system since the mid-nineteenth century', in W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the wealthy in modern British history*, Brighton and New York, 1988, pp.222-261.

<sup>25</sup> H.J. Hanham, 'The sale of honours in late Victorian England', *Victorian Studies*, 3, 1960, p.278; cited by G.R. Searle, *Corruption in British politics 1895-1930*, Oxford, 1987, p.84.

<sup>26</sup> M. Pinto-Duschinsky, *British political finance 1830-1980*, Washington, 1981, pp.26-28,33.

<sup>27</sup> 'The title boom', *Truth*, 14.12.1905.

The Randlords gathered up titles *en masse*, but as the Randlord, William Mosenthal, remarked after declining a knighthood, it was 'very difficult to overlook the fact that many honours had been granted to people whose connection with South Africa was very slight and who, as far as he knew, rendered no public service whatsoever.'<sup>28</sup> The first Randlords honoured in this way were George Farrar and J. Percy Fitzpatrick who were knighted in 1902. Julius Wernher was the first to receive a baronetcy, in 1905, followed by Frederick Philipson-Stow in 1907, J.B. Robinson in 1908, Carl Meyer in 1910, George Farrar in 1911, Dr Leander Starr Jameson in 1911, Lionel Phillips, Sigismund Neumann and George Albu in 1912, Abe Bailey in 1919, and Friedrich Eckstein in 1929. David Harris was knighted in 1911, and Edmund Davis in 1927. Alfred Beit and Cecil Rhodes both died before such awards could be bestowed upon them, but Beit's brother Otto was knighted in 1920 and received a baronetcy in 1924. Hence, Max Michaelis in 1912 without either a knighthood or baronetcy was one of the few Randlords who did not have a title.

The Randlords' knighthoods and baronetcies were usually said to be bestowed in recognition of their 'public service', an ambiguous term which, in the Edwardian years, implied prominence in almost any sphere and/or public munificence.<sup>29</sup> Even though Michaelis had been an intimate business associate of Wernher and Beit since the early 1880s, and remained a active partner until 1901,<sup>30</sup> he did not partake in their philanthropy and had no public profile. He led an exceedingly private life on an estate, Tandridge Court, in the country,<sup>31</sup> and did not have a London mansion. He also did not

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<sup>28</sup> S.A. High Commissioner, London to Gen. Smuts, vol 30, letter 205, Smuts papers, SA.

<sup>29</sup> Rubinstein lists four means by which businessmen could acquire a title: political or public service, especially service for a time in the House of Commons; notable charitable or philanthropic activity; lavish contribution, in an open way to political party funds; and the open purchase of a title, cash down. See W.D. Rubinstein, 'The evolution of the British honours system since the mid-nineteenth century', in W.D. Rubinstein, *Elites and the wealthy in modern British history*, Brighton and New York, 1988, p.239.

<sup>30</sup> In the early 1880s Michaelis resided in what was known as the 'Old German Mess' together with Alfred Beit, Hermann Eckstein, Martin van Beek, J.B. Taylor, and for a while Sir Julius Wernher. These men remained his business associates for the rest of his life. Michaelis was co-opted by Wernher in these years to deal in diamonds on joint account with Porgès and Wernher, an arrangement similar to that that existed with Beit and W.P. Taylor, and in the late 1880s reorganised, with great financial skill, the Cape Diamond Company. In 1890 when Wernher, Beit & Co. was established, Michaelis, who had been a partner of Jules Porgès & Co., was included as a founding partner. He was posted to London in 1891 as a resident director of Wernher Beit & Co. His active collaboration lasted another decade and he retired from the partnership in 1901.

<sup>31</sup> In 1897 Michaelis purchased a country estate of approximately 1820 acres of land in Surrey with the house Tandridge Court from Lord Cottenham (*South Africa*, 13.2.1897, p.369) although he was residing



entertain in plutocratic splendour,<sup>32</sup> and avoided any contact with the press.<sup>33</sup> He did not have a socially ambitious wife,<sup>34</sup> in fact he was so reticent that Lady Phillips, who was his closest friend among the Randlords, did not know that he had remarried until years afterwards.<sup>35</sup> However, he realised that if he wished to be knighted he would need to make a prominent and public benefaction to provide justification for a title. Michaelis is said to have confided in Lady Phillips that he desired a title, and she suggested that he should present works of art to South African galleries and her friend General Smuts would ensure that he would be appropriately rewarded.<sup>36</sup> Lady Phillips always claimed that Smuts was a very good friend of hers; however, it is more likely that he tolerated her because of her powerful position in plutocratic society, but that he did not trust or respect her. When Lady Phillips collected money to commission a portrait of Smuts for the Johannesburg Art Gallery,<sup>37</sup> Smuts wrote to his wife in May 1917, 'I am just off to

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there as early as January 1895 (Michaelis wrote to Wilhelm von Bode on 13 January 1895 from Tandridge Court (MM to WB, 13.1.1895, Bode papers, ZASMPK), yet the *Kelly's Directory of Surrey* of 1895 (prepared the previous year) lists John Cooper as resident at Tandridge Court, and Lord Cottenham as owner of the property. The 1899 directory lists Michaelis resident and Lord Cottenham as owner. See the catalogue for the sale of Tandridge Court Estate on 19.7.1917 prepared by Knight, Frank and Rudley, 20 Hanover Square London, W1.

<sup>32</sup> Michaelis seems to have used 22 St James' Place, St James in the mid-1890s as a base. James Gibb to MM, 24.4.1896, Wernher Beit papers, BR.

<sup>33</sup> The only interview Michaelis ever offered to the press was for the *Burger*, 29.9.1923; and the reporter was exasperated by Michaelis' reticence. The only two occasions I came across Michaelis' name in *South Africa* was in August 1898 when it was reported that Michaelis was staying at Dalwhinnie until October where he had leased the Ben Alder deer-forest and had placed on Loch Ericht a little steamer *The lily* as accommodation for himself and his guests; and in May 1899 when Michaelis rented Sir John Ramsden's deer-forests at Ben Alder at Invernessshire. *South Africa*, 27.5.1899.

<sup>34</sup> Michaelis married twice. His first wife Ninon (née Rydon) died while he was visiting South Africa with Beit on 15 May 1895 (Estate papers no.34234, Master's Office, Cape Town). Michaelis had two daughters and a son with his second wife, Lilian Elizabeth, (nee Michaels), who outlived him by almost a half-a-century.

<sup>35</sup> Lady Phillips to her husband, 'I saw Mr Michaelis in London yesterday and he was very mysterious and eventually broke the news that he was married, and had been married for some years, had a little girl of five and lived in Paris. He disclosed the secret as it has been discovered. She is quite proper. I fancy, was a Miss Michaels, the daughter of an architect and has lived abroad.... His reason for all this mystery is that if he divulged the secret, they would have to live a social life and his health could not stand it.' DP to LP, 23.3.1912, LP papers, BR.

<sup>36</sup> No correspondence survives which actually spells out this arrangement but there are cryptic remarks in the Phillips papers which would appear to refer to this scheme to ensure a title for Michaelis. Lady Phillips wrote to her husband in November 1912, 'do warn everyone not to give the show away too much for all our sakes. I only hope and trust Sir Hugh will not talk too much.' DP to LP, 3.11.1912, LP papers, BR.

<sup>37</sup> Lady Phillips commissioned a portrait of Smuts by Sir William Nicholson for the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 'recognition of the fact that it was due to General Smuts' practical sympathy as a member of the Union Government that the building of the gallery became possible.' DP's caption for the portrait, January 1919, Ross papers, JAG.

an artist to be painted.... Some friends here (among them, if you please, Lady Lionel Phillips) have collected funds for the purpose....<sup>38</sup>

On Lady Phillips' suggestion, Michaelis first offered the Johannesburg Art Gallery a donation of £5 000. In May 1912 she arranged for him to meet with Robbie Ross and Henry Tonks (who both were at the time assembling the Neumann gift of Pre-Raphaelite pictures for the Johannesburg Art Gallery) and J.M. Solomon, a young South African architect and close friend of both Sir Hugh Lane and Lady Phillips.<sup>39</sup> Michaelis was flattered to meet them, and they convinced him to purchase Harvard Thomas's bronze *Thyrsis*, and a bronze cast of Rodin's *Penseur* for the gallery. The gift of the Rodin did not materialise because Lady Phillips later persuaded Michaelis to spend £1 000 on an art library for Johannesburg instead.<sup>40</sup> In addition Michaelis presented an Augustus John oil, *Childhood of Pyramus*, valued at £800, and a number of minor works selected by Ross.<sup>41</sup>

Lady Phillips recommended to Michaelis that a more substantial benefaction was required which could readily be associated with his name. In addition, Smuts is said to have previously suggested that a collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings would be most appropriate for South Africans because it would 'recall to the Dutch population of the Dominion the glories of their past civilisation in the days when they first colonised South Africa, and, by the representation of the art in which the Dutch and English first met in spirit, symbolic of a new Union.'<sup>42</sup> In these first turbulent years of the unification, Smuts was actively nation-building and fostering unity among English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to counteract J.B.M. Hertzog's vigorous promotion of a separate identity for Afrikaners. Although Smuts had a deep-rooted suspicion of the

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<sup>38</sup> W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 3, letter no.744.

<sup>39</sup> DP to RR, 29 May 1912, Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>40</sup> This gift formed the basis of the present day Michaelis Art Library in Johannesburg. Edith Phillips to RR, 20.6.1912, Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>41</sup> Of the £5 000 given by Michaelis, £1 000 was spent on a Harvard Thomas's sculpture of *Thyrsis*; £2 000 on Jacob Maris, *Gathering seaweed, near Scheveningen* (1910 cat no. 55); I.H.J. Fantin-Latour, *A bouquet* (1910 cat no. 66); Felix Ziem, *La Tour Rose, Venice* (1910 cat no. 70); and about £1 000 on an art library. Soon after Michaelis initial gift, Mrs Michaelis offered an Augustus John, *Childhood of Pyramus*, which cost £800. In the years ahead both Michaelis and his wife made further gifts of artworks to the JAG.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas Bodkin, *Hugh Lane and his pictures*, Dublin, 1956, p.29.

Randlords and their motives, he accepted that he needed to work with them in order to govern the country, and presumably realised that they had the resources with which to promote art and, indirectly, nationalism in South Africa.

Michaelis' response to these suggestions of a gift of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings is indicative of the fact that the primary purpose of the presentation was to support his desire for a title rather than a personal wish to return a small portion of his wealth to South Africa in the form of art. He neither assembled a group of paintings for such a gift, nor did he present his own private collection, but instead bought forty-seven paintings in one transaction from Sir Hugh Lane (Fig. 4.3), who had assisted Lady Phillips with the founding of the Johannesburg Art gallery, expressly for the purpose of the presentation. This is in some respects surprising because Michaelis had been a modest collector of old masters in his own right since the mid-1890s.<sup>43</sup> It is difficult to establish the extent of his own collection because no catalogue or inventory can be located,<sup>44</sup> but it ultimately comprised more than seventy works.<sup>45</sup> A substantial part of his private collection consisted of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings,<sup>46</sup> and he had in the past even considered acquiring important works by Rembrandt and Anthony van Dyck.<sup>47</sup> (The balance of the collection was typical of

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<sup>43</sup> By April 1896 Michaelis owned at least twelve works which were insured for £12 580. He prepared a list for James Gibb & Son on 24 April 1896 for the insurance of paintings that he was moving from two London dealers to 22 St James's Place in addition to works that were already there. From the London dealers Dowdeswell & Dowdeswell came a Sir Joshua Reynolds (valued at £1 100), a Dirck van Santvoort (£200), a John Hoppner (£250), a (?)Pater (£2 700) and an unidentified work listed at £50. From Colnaghi's came two Canalettos with a joint value of £750. The other paintings at 22 St James's Place were a Jan Steen (worth £2 100), two (?)Paters (£280 and £250), a Lucas Cranach (£100), a Rosa Bonheur at (£300) and a Meissonier (£1 500). He also requested £3 000 insurance for unspecified paintings at Tandridge Court. James Gibb to MM, 24.4.1896. Wernher Beit papers. BR.

<sup>44</sup> Regrettably Michaelis' second wife destroyed all his papers, including autobiographical notes that he had prepared in his last years. Some papers remained in the possession of Michaelis' secretary, including all the invoices for his purchases of paintings dating back in 1895 (*Cape Argus*, 10.4.1933) but these suffered the same fate some years later when a dispute arose between the secretary and the family (interview with CM, 7.2.1993).

<sup>45</sup> In 1920 he transferred his private collection from Tandridge Court to South Africa and offered the Michaelis collection 70 paintings on loan from this collection. *Minute books*, MC, 30.11.1920, 17.1.1921; MM to WB, 22.7.1920, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>46</sup> The seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings which Michaelis loaned to the Michaelis collection in 1923 were given to the collection by Lady Michaelis after her husband's death are said to have come from Tandridge Court. See D. Bax, *Catalogue of the Michaelis collection*. Cape Town, 1967, nos.14, 16, 19, 33, 34, 36, 46, 47, 56, 63, 68, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87, 90, 97.

<sup>47</sup> In March 1896 he expressed interest in a Rembrandt, *Standard bearer*, at Colnaghi's. However, Colnaghi's had previously brought the painting to Bode's attention, and after mentioning the work to Michaelis, they found themselves in an awkward situation when Bode responded with the news that he

those assembled by the Wernher-Beit coterie. It included a group of eighteenth-century British paintings (Fig. 4.4), a few works by Italian artists and early Netherlandish and German artists<sup>48</sup> as well as a few Renaissance bronzes.<sup>49</sup>)

As we have seen already, Sir Hugh Lane had in the past sold old masters to Randlords for their private collections, and he had also been honorary director of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, but he did not necessarily respect the Randlords, especially when the reasons for purchasing paintings were related to plutocratic aspirations.<sup>50</sup> Lane would have seen no reason to keep Michaelis' ulterior motives a secret, and Lady Phillips eventually had to resort to asking Robbie Ross to ask Lane to remain silent:

[Lane] does not realise that these things get back frightfully and that the very walls have ears! If Mr Michaelis does the right thing in purchasing his pictures, suggest to him[Lane] to let him[Michaelis] have the due credit and his *motives* have nothing to do with Sir Hugh! And the more he[Michaelis]

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had in turn mentioned it to Alfred Beit. 'We enclose a card from Dr Bode and think we cannot do better than leave the matter in your hands – under the circumstances you will be the best judge of the advisability of arranging with Mr Beit' (Colnaghi to MM, 23.3.1896, Colnaghi letterbook 1, p.378). Neither Beit nor Michaelis purchased the painting and it was reported that Charles Wertheimer purchased the 'Warwick Castle' *Standard bearer* by private treaty for a sum of around 10 000gs (*Art Journal*, 1896, p.284; *Magazine of Art*, 1896, p.424). A decade later Michaelis expressed interest in a Van Dyck from the Kann collection in Paris which McKay arranged for him to view (Colnaghi's to MM, 13.3.1907, Colnaghi letterbook 8, p.250).

<sup>48</sup> A Lucas Cranach valued at £100 is listed in the 1896 letter to James Gibb. Michaelis mentioned to Bode in 1920 that he had acquired a *Crucifixion* painted by Ulrich Apt of Augsburg which was formerly in the collection of Lord Rothermere (MM to WB, 30.8.1920, Bode papers, ZASMPK). Michaelis also acquired what he, and the experts at first, thought to be an important hitherto unpublished Flemish *Annunciation*. Roger Fry, writing on a letterhead of the *Burlington Magazine* in April 1918, described it as 'a remarkable and unusual example of Flemish painting of the later part of the 15th century'. He continued that the name of the artist was unknown to him, but his position could be fairly well ascertained by virtue of this painting's similarities to the work of Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes and his French follower 'Maitre de Moulin', and Aelbert Bouts. He also noted the painting was in excellent condition and 'absolutely pure' (Fry's letter of authentication is in the Bode papers, ZASMPK). In January 1919 Tancred Borenius published an article, 'An unpublished Flemish primitive', similar to Fry's letter in *Burlington Magazine*, 34, on the painting. He also remarked that the private collector to whom it belonged (Michaelis) has acquired it recently in the London art market, but no information about its provenance was available. In 1922 Michaelis sent Bode a photograph of this painting in the hope that he may be able to identify the artist. Bode's view was that he thought that it was a modern forgery because it was a composite image of a number of artists' styles (MM to WB, 22.11.1922, 23.11.1925, Bode papers, ZASMPK). Susan Foister and Lorne Campbell, on the basis of the photograph published in the *Burlington Magazine*, suspect that the painting was a fake (S. Foister to the researcher, 24.5.1994).

<sup>49</sup> Details about Michaelis' bronzes are even scarcer than information about his paintings. His son recalled that he and his sister inherited bronzes in the 1940s but the present whereabouts of them is unknown. Interview with CM, 7.2.1993.

<sup>50</sup> According to Lady Phillips, Lane was also disparaging about herself and Sir Otto Beit: 'Sir Hugh made some bad enemies in South Africa by talking against Mr Beit and myself and thus spoil much of the really fine work that he did'. DP to RR, Nov. 1912, Ross papers, JAG.

is credited with being big and disinterested, the more will he live up to reputation and the more will he influence others for good!<sup>51</sup>

At the end of October 1912 Michaelis offered Lane £70 000 for the collection, which was refused,<sup>52</sup> and the sale was concluded at a price of £76 000.<sup>53</sup> On Sir Otto Beit's recommendation, Michaelis acquired the collection subject to Wilhelm von Bode's authentication of the attributions.<sup>54</sup> Although Michaelis had been acquainted with Bode since the 1890s,<sup>55</sup> he had relied in the past on William McKay of Colnaghi's for advice,<sup>56</sup> and not on Bode. Lane's collection of paintings<sup>57</sup> was centred around two portraits: the masterly Frans Hals, *Portrait of a woman* (Fig. 4.5), from the collection of Maurice Kann,<sup>58</sup> and the Rembrandt, *Portrait of a lady holding a glove* (Fig. 4.6), from the Prince Demidoff collection.<sup>59</sup> Most critics were seduced by the incorrect<sup>60</sup> information that when the latter work was sold in Florence in 1880 it realised the highest price ever paid for a Rembrandt, although the more perceptive of them did note that the painting was not characteristic of Rembrandt's finest work. The

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<sup>51</sup> Lady Phillips also asked that Lane keep her name out of the whole affair as she did not wish for any credit; she would be 'fully satisfied if South Africa gains ... in beautiful possessions.' DP to RR, Nov. 1912, Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>52</sup> MM to WB, 26.10.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>53</sup> The price was paid in two instalments, £40 000 on 1 November 1912 and the balance of £36 000 on 14 November 1912. MM to HL, 1.11.1912, Lane papers, NLD, Ms 27779.

<sup>54</sup> OB to WB, 22.10.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>55</sup> Michaelis first met Bode in about 1892 at a dinner given for Bode by Alfred Beit at the Savoy Hotel in London (MM to WB, 13.1.1895) and in 1895 approached him for advice as regards a house-warming present for Beit (MM to WB, 13.1.1895, 19.1.1895, 28.2.1895, 22.3.1895). There is one reference to Bode recommending a painting to Michaelis which was refused because it would be 'too dark' in the murky London light (MM to WB, 2.2.1896). There is no correspondence between Michaelis and Bode amongst the Bode papers in ZASMPK for the years between February 1896 and 1912.

<sup>56</sup> After a decade of dealing with Michaelis, McKay wrote to him in response to a kind letter: 'The contents are very pleasing to me because I have always taken a great interest in your collection and I feel you appreciate my care on your behalf.' Colnaghi's to MM, 5.11.1906, Colnaghi Letterbook 8, p.152.

<sup>57</sup> T. Martin Wood, *Illustrated catalogue of Flemish and Dutch paintings: the Max Michaelis gift to the Union of South Africa*, London, 1913; D. Bax, *Catalogue of the Michaelis collection*, Old Town House, Cape Town, 1967, nos.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 70, 74, 75, 76, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 89, 91, 92, 95, and the Rembrandt, *Portrait of a lady holding a glove*, later withdrawn.

<sup>58</sup> The critics were unanimous in their praise of the painting. For example, the reviewer in the *Connoisseur* wrote that the '*Portrait of a woman*, by Frans Hals ... could not have been bettered in our National Gallery.' *Connoisseur*, XXXVI, July 1913, p.204.

<sup>59</sup> Haskell has recently researched the collection of Anatole Demidoff, and to a lesser degree the collection of his nephew, Paul, the often-cited previous owner of this Rembrandt. See S. Duffy, R. Wenley, and D. Edge (eds.), *Anatole Demidoff, Prince of San Donato (1812-1870)*, exh. cat., Wallace Collection, London, 1994.

<sup>60</sup> See H. Potterman, *Dutch seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland: a complete catalogue*, Dublin, 1986, no.808, pp.124-127.



third noteworthy portrait in the collection was an oil by Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Count John Oxenstierna* (now considered a work from his studio) (Fig. 4.7). The collection also included three important still-lives: the exceptional pair by Abraham van Beyeren (Fig. 4.8), and a Willem van Aelst, *Vase with flowers* (Fig. 4.9); two oils by Jacob van Ruisdael, *Hilly landscape near Bentheim* (Fig. 4.10), and *Mountainous landscape* (Fig. 4.11), which are not among the artist's seminal works; a Jan Steen, *As the singing leads, so the dancing follows* (Fig. 4.12); a Dirck Hals, *A musical party*; and a Frans Snyders, *Concert of birds* (Fig. 4.13). Michaelis thought that Lane's price was reasonable because he estimated that, if sold individually, the Rembrandt, Hals and Van Dyck alone were worth £70 000 and the Steen and Ruisdael about £13 000-£15 000,<sup>61</sup> which is considerably less than the £120 000 which was repeatedly mentioned as the price.<sup>62</sup>

Lane's reasonable price for the collection was motivated by the fact that it was destined for a public gallery. He told Bode that he sold the Michaelis collection at cost to fulfil his 'ambition to create an "old master" museum (my third Public Gallery!)'.<sup>63</sup> Lady Gregory, in her biography of Lane, mentions that the reason he sold the collection for this price was that he wished to see these old masters in the new world.<sup>64</sup> This would seem to be true. Although Lane's business papers have disappeared,<sup>65</sup> the prices of the more valuable paintings purchased from Christie's and Agnew's are in total a sum not dissimilar to the amount Lane asked for the collection.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> MM to WB, 26.10.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>62</sup> *South Africa*, 30.11.1912, p.440; 16.11.1912, pp.340-342.

<sup>63</sup> Lane to Bode, 8.12.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK. The Municipal Gallery of Modern Art in Dublin and the Johannesburg Art Gallery had already benefited from his 'benevolent' dealing.

<sup>64</sup> See Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, chp. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Just prior to the submission of this thesis, Jillian Carman drew my attention to the fact that Lane's papers have recently been presented to the National Library in Dublin, although they have not yet been sorted.

<sup>66</sup> Michaelis was well aware that 'the great value of the collection is in the 5 masterpieces: Rembrandt, Steen, Ruysdael, Van Dyck, Frans Hals' (MM to LP, 8.11.1912, LP papers, BR; also MM to WB, 26.10.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK). Lane was reputed to have paid £25 000 for the Rembrandt, *Portrait of a woman holding a glove*, but a figure closer to £23 000 is the correct price: Agnew's had bought it on 20 December 1910 for £21 789 and sold it to Lane on 15 May 1911 for a sum of £27 000 that included the Steen, *As the singing leads, so the dancing follows* (previously known as *The dancing dog*). The Van Dyck, *Portrait of Count John Oxenstierna*, is entered in Agnew's stockbook as no.3661, bt. at Christie's 11.5.1911 lot 98 for 3 500gs, and sold to Lane on 19.5.1911 for the equivalent £3 675. The Jacob van Ruisdael, *Hilly landscape near Bentheim*, was sold at Christie's on 10.12.1910, lot 68, for 2 250gs. The Frans Hals came from Duvéen and the price paid is not known, but its market value was presumably

The paintings were initially described in the press as the intended nucleus of a South African National Gallery.<sup>67</sup> It was suggested that the Michaelis collection should be housed together with the collection of the 'South African Art Gallery' in a new building in Cape Town, which would be known as the South African National Gallery. As the Louvre was tied to the birth of the French Republic, so the Michaelis collection was linked to the recent unification of South Africa. The local perception, informed by the European precedents, was that every nation ought to have a national collection, and as South Africa did not have a royal or aristocratic collection to transform into a public one, it would have to rely on the gifts of South Africa's merchant and mining princes: the Randlords.

The 'South African Art Gallery' in those years was in reality an ill-assorted assembly of paintings by academicians and copies of old masters, together with plaster casts 'after the antique', crammed into two crowded back rooms of the South African Museum.<sup>68</sup> The government had to date been non-committal in responding to the trustees' repeated requests for proper housing for this collection, and the trustees saw this as an opportunity to erect an 'up-to-date' building which would have a wing specially reserved for the Michaelis collection, separated from the modern wing by a 'Hall of Statuary containing reproductions of the finest examples of Greek and Roman Art'.<sup>69</sup> Michaelis did not specify whether his collection should be used as an embryonic national collection. The conditions of his gift were only that the state should provide a

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comparable to that of the Rembrandt, in which case it would appear that Lane did indeed sell the collection almost at cost.

<sup>67</sup> Both the following periodicals were under the impression that the collection was destined for the South African National Gallery. T.M. Wood, 'The gift of Dutch pictures to South Africa', *Studio*, 58, May 1913, p.27; 'A collection of Dutch old masters for South Africa', *Burlington Magazine*, 22, January 1913, p.237.

<sup>68</sup> A field well worth further research is the subject of organised art activity in Cape Town at the turn of the century. For instance, points in question include: what were private collectors acquiring in these years; to what extent did they support local artists; what commercial galleries were in operation; the issue of art education and art classes; and the functioning of the Cape Town Art Gallery, etc. For an overview of artistic activity at the Cape in the second half of the nineteenth century see the exhibition catalogue *One hundred years ago: an exhibition to commemorate the opening of the 'Cape Town Art Gallery' in New Street (now Queen Victoria Street) on 21st April 1875*, exh. cat., South African National Gallery, Cape Town, 1975; R.F.H. Summers, *A history of the South African Museum*, Cape Town, 1975; and M. Bull, *A study of some aspects of the life and work of Abraham de Smidt (1829-1908), Surveyor General of the Cape Colony, with particular reference to the Cape Fine Art Exhibitions between 1851 and 1890*, unpublished MA, University of Cape Town, 1975.

<sup>69</sup> 'Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ending the 31st December 1913', p.6.

gallery to house the paintings, and that the collection should always be known and described as the Max Michaelis Gift.<sup>70</sup> As a result, it stood as a self-glorifying group of paintings, and did not serve as a catalyst for a national collection.

The responsibility for this lies partly with Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips to whom Michaelis delegated the decisions as regards the housing and use of the collection.<sup>71</sup> Lionel Phillips advocated that the Michaelis collection should be housed separately in a building of its own because he thought that it was 'entirely improper to place pictures of this age in the same building with modern pictures'. This concurs with Lane's attitude,<sup>72</sup> and also the practice in London and Paris, where collections of old masters and contemporary art were kept apart: the National Gallery and the Louvre did not accession paintings by living artists; these were instead incorporated into the Tate and Luxembourg museums respectively. Phillips argued that the contrast between old masters and modern art was 'far too great, and of course to the disadvantage of modern Art':

People visiting the old collection, and being able to walk into another room containing the work of present day artists, would form an unjust opinion of the latter, if for no other reason, because the crudity of the new colours, which time does so much to subdue, has an adverse effect upon the artists' work. By keeping the modern pictures in a place of their own, this disadvantage is averted.<sup>73</sup>

Lady Phillips suggested that, instead of constructing a new building, the Old Town House in Cape Town (Fig. 4.14), built in the mid-eighteenth century, should be

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<sup>70</sup> Reed and Reed [Michaelis' solicitors] to Sir Richard Solomon, High Commissioner, 27.5.1913; reprinted in 'Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ending the 31st December 1913'.

<sup>71</sup> Michaelis appointed Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips in May 1913 as his 'first agents' which would enable them to do all they thought 'necessary for the proper housing of the pictures'. MM to LP, 16.5.1913, LP papers, BR.

<sup>72</sup> Lionel Phillips' attitude bears close resemblance to Lane's thoughts on galleries of modern art. In an interview in America in 1914 Lane said: 'It should serve as a feeder and a shifter, a sort of artistic reduction furnace where a man's artworks is held for the judgement of his fellows during his life, and if worthy passed after his death to that of coming generations, as such pictures are transferred from the Luxembourg to the Louvre, which is only for such works that have stood the test of time.' Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, pp.54-55.

<sup>73</sup> LP to the Mayor of Cape Town, 7.5.1913, LP papers, BR.

converted into a gallery.<sup>74</sup> The building corresponded to what Lane had envisaged as the ideal housing for the collection: as architect, J.M. Solomon, described it to him, it was in 'a central position, an old building of the right period with rooms reminding one very much of the Mauritshuis at The Hague.'<sup>75</sup> Sir Lionel Phillips approached the Mayor of Cape Town about the use of the building and inspected it with the architect Herbert Baker, who thought that comparatively minor alterations would make it fit to receive the collection. Phillips' sense of history and dates were confused when he stated that the Old Town House had the merit of having been built only a few years after the pictures were painted, 'and by housing the collection there the homogeneity will be secured that would not be the case in any structure erected today for the purpose.'<sup>76</sup>

The alterations to the Old Town House were intended to recreate Dutch seventeenth-century-style interiors, which would set the pictures in a sympathetic context rather than in a neutral space.<sup>77</sup> Solomon, who was entrusted with the conversion in late 1913,<sup>78</sup> planned 'to retain the old work as far as possible and let the building take the form ... of the Mauritshuis at The Hague instead of giving it a cold formal experience of a gallery.'<sup>79</sup> Michaelis gave a further £500 for the purchase of old Cape furniture to be displayed together with the paintings, and when the collection was finally installed, the display of the paintings in furnished domestic interiors (Fig. 4.15) was well received by the public:

There can be no question that the presence of these carefully chosen examples [of Colonial types of furniture] adds much to the harmonious interior. ... [The] use of furniture, in conjunction with the finely reproduced fireplaces and other adornments strike an intimate note.... To view Dutch

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<sup>74</sup> DP to HL, 7.5.1913, Lane papers, NLD, MS27780. For a history of the Old Town House see Dirk Bax, 'History of the building', In Hans Fransen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings*, Zwolle, 1997, pp.13-26.

<sup>75</sup> JMS to HL, 13.5.1913, Lane papers, NLD, Ms27781.

<sup>76</sup> LP to the Mayor of Cape Town, 7.5.1913, LP papers, BR.

<sup>77</sup> See in connection with the conversion of the Old Town House: *South Africa*, 10.3.1917, 30.6.1917; T. Martin Wood, 'The Michaelis collection, Cape Town', *Studio*, 76, April 1919, pp.92-96.

<sup>78</sup> The Public Works Department were irked at the fact that Solomon, who they regarded as an inexperienced protégé of the Phillipsees should have been awarded the task of converting the Old Town House. Herbert Baker's Cape Town office under F.K. Kendall were to supervise the alterations. DP to HL, 16.6.1913, 3.12.1913, Lane papers, NLD, Ms27780.

<sup>79</sup> JMS to HL, 18.9.1913, Lane papers, NLD, Ms27781.

masterpieces set in such a sympathetic frame is to view them under ideal conditions....<sup>80</sup>

Michaelis did not provide an endowment, in addition to the collection of paintings, nor did he give any money which would have ensured the realisation of the educational potential of his gift. The state funded the cost of the conversion of the Old Town House,<sup>81</sup> but was reluctant to allocate additional public funds in the post-war years to the cause of art. The first keeper, Mrs P.M. Thomas, was employed on a salary of £75 p.a. plus free accommodation,<sup>82</sup> a sum for which she could not be expected to promote the collection with much energy. The collection should have functioned as the centre of art in Cape Town as it was the city's only public art gallery until the opening of the National Gallery in 1930. However, it remained a passive institution for decades. It opened daily in accordance with the conditions of Michaelis' gift<sup>83</sup> (although Michaelis did request that entrance to the collection should be reserved on certain days for students),<sup>84</sup> and a catalogue was on sale for 2s 6d for those visitors who were seriously interested.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, the first mention in the minutes of the trustees' meetings of lectures is in 1932,<sup>86</sup> and the possibility of students copying paintings in the collection was only considered in 1925.<sup>87</sup> Although Lady Phillips played an integral role in ensuring that Michaelis present the collection, she contributed little as a trustee of the Michaelis collection and at meetings tended to discuss the state of the garden and the need for fresh flowers in the gallery.

The timing of the Michaelis gift, so soon after the unification of South Africa and a decade after the ending of the divisive South African War, resulted in it being widely publicised in the press as a means of promoting a united sense of nationalism for

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<sup>80</sup> *Cape Times*, 12.1.1917.

<sup>81</sup> The conversion was estimated to cost approximately £11 000. JMS to HL, 22.5.1914, Lane papers, NLD, Ms27781.

<sup>82</sup> *Minute books*, 15.1.1916, MC.

<sup>83</sup> The collection was open daily except Monday, summer: 10am-6pm, winter: 10am - 5pm; Sundays: 2pm-5pm (*Minute books*, MC, 1.5.1916). Later, because of lack of attendance, the gallery closed on Sundays and opened on Mondays instead. 11.1.1918.

<sup>84</sup> Reed and Reed [Michaelis' solicitors] to Sir Richard Solomon, High Commissioner, 27.5.1913; reprinted in 'Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ending the 31st December 1913', p.5.

<sup>85</sup> *Minute books*, 28.9.1916, MC.

<sup>86</sup> *Minute books*, 19.10.1932, MC.

<sup>87</sup> *Minute books*, 10.11.1925, MC.



English- and Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans.<sup>88</sup> Immediately after the South African War, the potential of an exhibition of Dutch paintings was already perceived as an 'admirably peacemaking' project. An exhibition of this kind was promoted because it would help 'to cement good fellowship; the cause of the pursuit of beauty is always elevating, and more than that, because it tends to promote peace – peace which has as its basis the common ground of love for all that is enlightening and intelligent.'<sup>89</sup>

In the spirit of nation-building and conciliation, symbols of a heritage which could be venerated by both English- and Afrikaans-speakers were avidly sought because the celebrated events in South Africa's past tended to be associated with one or the other group but not with both. The Michaelis collection provided a rare opportunity to contrive a common ground for the two white groups and, as a result, a great number of art historical fallacies as well as myths about South African history were recycled to further the cause of nationalism. For example, the Michaelis gift was repeatedly described in the press as 'a collection of the art in which the Dutchmen and Englishmen had displayed their affinity of temperament and character [in the seventeenth century] – the one as the artist and the other as the patron; for it was always the English who, outside of Holland, were the greatest patrons of Dutch art.'<sup>90</sup> The other point often made (even before the Michaelis gift) was that the first Dutch settlers arrived at the Cape of Good Hope concurrent with the zenith of Dutch artists, who were supported by English patrons, in the mid-seventeenth century:

Our Cape was born of men who had been nurtured in an atmosphere where art was dominant. The builders of our homesteads and the planters of our woodlands had their vigour of broadmindedness from contemporaries, and immediate confluence of spirit with Rubens and Paul Potter, Rembrandt and Jan Steen, the Teniers and the Hals, Hobbema and Wouwermans and Gerhard Douw.<sup>91</sup>

The exhibiting of Dutch art was also seen as offering Afrikaans-speaking South Africans a means of re-establishing links with the heritage of their 'mother country',

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<sup>88</sup> On the subject of 'national' art collection see the recent publication in the *Studies in the History of Art* series (no.47): G. Wright,(ed.), *The formation of national collections of art and archaeology*, Washington, 1996.

<sup>89</sup> Sir W.B. Richmond, in *The Times*, 25.5.1903.

<sup>90</sup> T.M. Wood, 'The gift of Dutch pictures to South Africa, *Studio*, 58, May 1913, p.271.

<sup>91</sup> Moodie Thomson, 'Art in South Africa', *State*, 2, August 1909, pp.181-188.

because the Michaelis collection comprised 'art of the race from which so many South Africans trace their descent'.<sup>92</sup> Just prior to the Michaelis gift, the *Eenige Hollandsche Vrienden* effected a gift to the Transvaal Museum in Pretoria of fifteen copies of Dutch seventeenth-century paintings including a copy of Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*, which was extolled as providing Afrikaners with a small part of their heritage in their new land.<sup>93</sup> The *Cape Times souvenir* of the Michaelis collection, published in 1913, remarked that 'in the great art of Holland we have a mirror of the life and home of the forefathers of our Dutch South Africans at the very moment when they were leaving their old country and settling in their new.'<sup>94</sup> In the catalogue of the collection it was stated that the art which was represented 'was in its fullness of bloom at the very hour of the inception of Cape Town, and when the prestige of the Dutch East India Company's fleet was at its height.'<sup>95</sup>

The landing of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652, although hardly celebrated in those years,<sup>96</sup> was repeatedly evoked as being linked with the Michaelis collection. Some of the suggested links stretch the imagination, particularly the statement that 'Van Riebeeck must, prior to his departure from the Netherlands ... have been personally acquainted with one or more of the artists represented in the Michaelis collection'.<sup>97</sup> The collection was seen as having a 'civilising' impact at the Cape in the same way that Van Riebeeck's arrival had done two hundred and sixty years before. Even the poem by Mrs Anna Purcell – who together with her husband, Dr W.F. Purcell, actively promoted the preservation of Cape culture in these years – read on the occasion of the opening of the collection, reinforced the slender associations between Van Riebeeck and the Michaelis collection:

This mother-city lying in the clasp  
Of grey old Table Mountain's shelt'ring arms

<sup>92</sup> T.M. Wood, 'The Michaelis Collection, Cape Town', *Studio*, 76, April 1919, p.92.

<sup>93</sup> A painting by the Dutch-born artist Frans Oerder who resided in South Africa was also added to the gift. See P.A. van Zyl, 'Skenking deur Eenige Hollandsche Vrienden, 1912-1914', *Researches by the National Cultural History Museum*, 2, 1993.

<sup>94</sup> I.D. Colvin, *Michaelis collection: Cape Times souvenir*, Cape Town, circa 1913.

<sup>95</sup> T. Martin Wood, *Illustrated catalogue of Flemish and Dutch paintings: the Max Michaelis gift to the Union of South Africa*, London, 1913, p.16

<sup>96</sup> See C. Rassool and L. Witz, 'The 1952 Jan van Riebeeck tercentenary festival: constructing and contesting public national history in South Africa', *Journal of African History*, 34, 1993, pp.447-468.

<sup>97</sup> *Cape Times*, 9.5.1917.

Was fashioned first in that great century  
In which these masterpieces sprang to life  
And brave Van Riebeeck landed on these shores.<sup>98</sup>

However, the Afrikaans press in Cape Town did question whether the collection was sincerely intended to appeal to the descendants of the Dutch settlers. They pointed out that the catalogue was not available in Afrikaans, the labels of the paintings were all in English, and the curator was English-speaking.<sup>99</sup>

All these tenuous historical associations between the Cape and the collection were again raised in the discussion surrounding the location of the Michaelis collection. The then recent acrimonious debate at the National Convention over the siting of the capital (which caused the unification negotiations to falter until the compromise of splitting government between Cape Town and Pretoria was reached)<sup>100</sup> was rekindled when the Michaelis gift was announced. At the time, the *Cape Times* reported that it was understood that Michaelis and Lane favoured Cape Town for 'historical and traditional' reasons, but it was certain that 'strenuous efforts would be made on behalf of Pretoria' and that 'pro-Cape influences' should be 'exerted strongly'.<sup>101</sup> Both Pretoria and Cape Town offered additional reasons daily in the press for why the collection should be sited in their respective towns. The *Cape Times* reported that the Pretoria municipality was even prepared to build an art gallery to accommodate the gift.<sup>102</sup> Lady Phillips, in the interests of nationhood, thought the collection should be located in Pretoria, and she felt sure that posterity would agree with her judgement. 'It is no personal axe that I want to grind. Mr Solomon is naturally biased as he comes from the Cape and Sir Hugh is angry with us all in the North but those are inadequate reasons.'<sup>103</sup> Solomon evoked the historical associations of the Dutch people with the Cape as a reason why the collection should be housed in Cape Town:

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<sup>98</sup> *Cape Times*, 9.5.1917.

<sup>99</sup> See *De Zuid-Afrikaan Verenigd met Ons Land*, 3.10.1916; *Burger*, 3.10.1916; *Volkstem*, 6.10.1916.

<sup>100</sup> See W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts papers*, Cambridge, 1966, vol 2, letters no.418,419; L.M. Thompson, *The unification of South Africa, 1902-1910*, Oxford, 1960, pp.295-303.

<sup>101</sup> *Cape Times*, 11.11.1912.

<sup>102</sup> *Cape Times*, 12.11.1912.

<sup>103</sup> DP to RR, Nov. 1912, Ross papers, JAG.

it would be among the descendants of the contemporaries of the painters and in surroundings with at least some tinge of age.... I happen to know that the Government are endeavouring – for political reasons – to get them to Pretoria.... It seems to me that so much will depend on a wise direction from this end [from Michaelis] in order to prevent the gift being made a political shuttlecock....<sup>104</sup>

The debate continued until Michaelis' stipulation that the permanent home for the collection should be in Cape Town became public knowledge.<sup>105</sup> This decision reinforced the perception that yet another Randlord's benefaction was being diverted from the Transvaal, even though the bulk of their wealth derived from the gold mines. This viewpoint was not unreasonable because, at the time of the announcement of the Michaelis gift, the trustees of Wernher's and Beit's large bequest, which had originally been intended to found a university in the Transvaal, were discussing using the funds to establish a national university in Cape Town.<sup>106</sup> Thus the decision to site the collection in Cape Town was read as an affront to the Transvaal, which would have political repercussions. As a 'prominent Nationalist party member' was reported as saying in the press:

The selection of Cape Town ... represented yet another deliberate slight to the northern capital and afforded further proof ... that the Cape influence has captured the Cabinet and is using its power to provincial ends. The upshot of this tendency would be the total transfer of all Government institutions to the Peninsula.... The Government ... is rapidly alienating Nationalist support in the Transvaal, and as far as the Transvaal goes, there will be a big turnover of votes at the next election.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Quoted by T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.288.

<sup>105</sup> *Cape Times*, 14.11.1912. Michaelis made the gift 'with the proviso that if at any time after twenty five years changes in South Africa occur which may warrant its removal to another town in South Africa, then if the Government in Council with the consent of the Legislative Assembly should decide that such a removal would be of advantage to the South African people for whose benefit the gift is intended, the removal may take place.' Copy of a letter to Sir Richard Solomon, High Commissioner, London, 27.5.1913, LP papers, BR.

<sup>106</sup> The university debate had just surfaced in 1912. A few years later in the published correspondence concerning the siting of the university the preface stated, 'It is difficult to understand how those responsible for the diversion [from Johannesburg] of the Beit £200 000 can justify their methods.... It may be regarded as one of life's little ironies that this community should have suffered misrepresentation from those who have now secured the money'. See L. Phillips, *Witwatersrand University Committee: correspondence between His Worship the Mayor of Johannesburg and Sir Lionel Phillips*, Johannesburg, 1916; see also Howard Phillips, *The University of Cape Town 1918-1948*, Cape Town, 1993, pp.2-4.

<sup>107</sup> *Star*, 14.11.1912, quoted in the *Cape Times*, 15.11.1912.

The reasons for the debate surrounding the collection's location becoming so acrimonious lie both with the scarcity of collections of European art in South Africa and also the high expectations that were created in the press about the quality of the collection. It appeared at first as if works by all the famous Dutch and Flemish artists were included. The Michaelis collection was incomparably superior to the existing collections of European art in South Africa, and in the present day, with regular travel abroad taken for granted, it is difficult to over-estimate the significance of the collection to South Africa at the time. The *Cape Times* wrote when the gift was announced that it was the 'first time that a British colony will possess Old Masters rivalling in quality European or American collections'.<sup>108</sup> A writer in the *Burlington Magazine* responded in a similar spirit and commented that the Michaelis gift marked a 'new era in the history of art in the remoter countries of the Empire'. It contended that in the past 'Colonial museums' had been content to possess 'popular' works of art and it was queried whether the colonial museums, often acting upon the advice of Royal Academicians themselves, had acquired the 'best even of ephemeral productions'.<sup>109</sup>

Yet the Michaelis collection in a European (and possibly an American) centre would have paled beside existing public galleries and museums, and claims like that of J.M. Solomon that South Africa now possesses 'one of the choicest collections of its size and kind in the world',<sup>110</sup> created unrealistic expectations in the Union. He was not alone in inflating the importance of the collection: the artist, Edward Roworth, who had seen the collection in London at Lane's house, wrote in the *Cape Times* of 'Sir Hugh Lane's faultless taste and extraordinary judgement' which 'enabled him to acquire the greatest masters which are not exceeded by any gallery in the world, public or private'.<sup>111</sup> The London weekly, *South Africa*, went even further in its hyperbole. It claimed that there 'is something absolutely unique about the Lane collection. Mere money could not have brought it together. It represents the long patience of years and an unerring artistic

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<sup>108</sup> *Cape Times*, 11.11.1912.

<sup>109</sup> 'A collection of Dutch old masters for South Africa', *Burlington Magazine*, 22, January 1913, p.237; February 1913, p.294.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted by Lady Gregory, *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, p.115. Her source was J.M. Solomon, 'Sir Hugh Lane: a memoir', *Country life in South Africa*, 1, June 1915, pp.11-13. I am grateful to Jillian Carman for drawing my attention to the latter reference.

<sup>111</sup> *Cape Times*, 13.11.1912.



sense. The distinguished collector and art critic doubtless found it a wrench to part with the gems which will find their way to South Africa next year.’<sup>112</sup>

The eulogising over the collection ended with its exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery in London in May 1913. The purpose of the show was to glorify Michaelis’ generosity, but instead it generated an abundance of adverse publicity. One review, in which the Rembrandt in particular was singled out for criticism, raised endless ancillary debates about attributions and the integrity of advisors. Sir Claude Phillips (1846-1924), a former keeper of the Wallace Collection and a respected art critic for the *Daily Telegraph*,<sup>113</sup> wrote this article<sup>114</sup> because he felt obliged to offer fair criticism of what was a public exhibition, and did not feel bound by the ‘sentimental aspects of the case’. The collection, in his view, was ‘of very unequal merit, and as a whole, by no means qualified to gladden the hearts of serious students of Netherlandish masters’. He remarked that aside from one masterpiece (Frans Hals’s *Portrait of a woman*) and a number of fine paintings, the collection included a large number of indifferent works, some of which were of very poor quality indeed. Phillips felt that the interests of South Africa would perhaps have been better served if Michaelis had presented a few outstanding paintings to serve as the nucleus of a gallery to be built up in stages, instead of this instant collection of questionable quality.<sup>115</sup> The two attributions he particularly questioned were the Van Dyck, *Portrait of Count John Oxenstierna* (which in the present day is considered to be a studio piece) (Fig. 4.7),<sup>116</sup> and the Rembrandt, *Portrait of a woman holding a glove* (Fig. 4.6). He was the only critic who studied the Rembrandt on its own merits and did not regurgitate the two repeatedly cited assurances of its authenticity: the opinion of the recognised Rembrandt expert (Wilhelm von Bode), and the provenance of the painting (the Demidoff collection). The repercussions of this review were far-reaching because, as Gombrich explains, collectors want to own

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<sup>112</sup> *South Africa*, 30.11.1912, p.418. See also *South Africa*, 16.11.1912, pp.340-342 for a very detailed announcement of the gift.

<sup>113</sup> For instance, Sir Charles Holmes wrote in his memoirs: ‘Claude Phillips’s long experience of European picture galleries, his wonderful memory and his repute gave his pronouncements an authority which no one since his day (and perhaps before it) has exercised in Britain.’ C. Holmes, *Self and Partners*, London, [1936], p.227.

<sup>114</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 27.5.1913.

<sup>115</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 27.5.1913.

<sup>116</sup> See Hans Franssen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings*, Zwolle, 1997, no.18, p.101.

a 'genuine' Rembrandt even though the works of 'masters' were produced under studio conditions:

to admire a painting of this lesser category is to betray insufficient discrimination, a damaging lack of fastidiousness. But, historically speaking, this is nonsense. Much of the art of the past was the product of teamwork under the inspiring guidance of a great master.... Admittedly it is much more difficult for the modern critic to imagine a painting to be the product of a collective. We are so wedded to the idea of every individual brush stroke being the expression of a unique personality that we have no use for second-hand creations.<sup>117</sup>

Michaelis, who was only seeking an easy route to a title, had not anticipated being embroiled in a public debate about issues of attribution. He soon realised, as is evident in the present day, that there are few artists whose work elicits as much publicity as that of Rembrandt.<sup>118</sup> Michaelis had assumed that because he had sought Bode's confirmation of the attributions when he purchased the collection from Lane, he had eliminated any uncertainties.<sup>119</sup> However, as he was to discover, such certificates of authenticity are not infallible because of the extent to which connoisseurship had been commercialised by experts like Bernard Berenson.<sup>120</sup> In these years, when art history

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<sup>117</sup> See E.H. Gombrich, 'On Rembrandt', in *Reflections on the history of art: views and reviews*, Oxford, 1987, pp.134-146.

<sup>118</sup> See C. Brown, J. Kelch & P. van Thiel, *Rembrandt: the master and his workshop*, New Haven and London, 1991.

<sup>119</sup> Michaelis approached Bode for his advice and inquired if purchase price of perhaps £80 000 was justified (MM to WB, 26.10.1912). Lane pressurised Michaelis into concluding the deal, at a price of £76 000, before Bode replied to Michaelis (MM to WB, 2.11.1912), but subject to his confirmation of the attributions. Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>120</sup> For example, René Gimpel in his diary on 26 May 1923, writes that the dealer Joseph Duveen surrounded himself with all the great experts to make up for his lack of knowledge. 'Bode and Friedländer cost him only a few gifts to the Berlin Museum; but Berenson is expensive, as he exacts 25 per cent of the profits, whether he is assisting in the purchase of a picture or giving his opinion or introducing the client' (R. Gimpel, *Diary of an art dealer*, London, 1966, p.225). Bode had a private income, and therefore did not exploit the opportunity to supplement his income by charging fees for appraisals. Instead, as Gimpel suggests, he expected the beneficiaries of his advice to make donations to the Berlin museums (M. Sterne, *The passionate eye: the life of William R. Valentiner*, Detroit, 1980, p.63). For a comprehensive overview of Berenson's life see Ernest Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: the making of a connoisseur*, Harvard, Mass., and London, 1979; and *Bernard Berenson: the making of a legend*, Harvard, Mass., and London, 1987; see also B. Berenson, and W.R. Valentiner, *Duveen pictures in public collections of America. A catalogue raisonné with three hundred illustrations of paintings by the great masters, which have passed through the house of Duveen*, New York, 1941; D.A. Brown, *Berenson and the connoisseurship of Italian painting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1979; G. Constable, with E.H. Beaton and L. Dianelli, (eds.), *The letters between Bernard Berenson and Charles Henry Coster*, Florence, 1993; H. Keil, (ed.), *The Bernard Berenson treasury*, London, 1964; and C. Simpson, *The partnership: the secret association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen*, London, 1987.

was an embryonic academic discipline and the procession of *catalogue raisonnés* had just begun, and before the development of the 'scientific methods' used currently to affirm attributions, the verdict of the expert was all-important. Michaelis, who was a businessman with no pretensions to connoisseurship, presumably felt like Lord Theign in Henry James' novel, *The outcry*, about the 'modern science of Connoisseurship' which questioned 'all the old-fashioned canons of art-criticism, everything we've stupidly thought right and held dear'.<sup>121</sup>

This proclaimed 'science' of connoisseurship was in itself a recent development, prior to which the opinion of artists and dealers held sway. Bernard Berenson and Bode, amongst others, were self-confident that connoisseurship had evolved into a discipline which could be relied upon in affirming attributions. As Berenson noted in his diary in 1893:

If most people are still incredulous about the possibility of giving a rational, systematic basis to the criticism of art, it is largely due to the fact that until very recently any accurate comparison of pictures was out of the question. The basis of connoisseurship is the assumption that an artist in his work develops steadily and gradually, and does not change his hand more capriciously or rapidly in painting than in writing. Unsigned works, therefore, are ascribed to this or that master ... by fanciful or actual resemblances to signed or perfectly authenticated works. But the hitch in connoisseurship has always been in comparison. In the days of slow travel, when there were no photographs of old pictures to be had, the connoisseur was obliged to depend largely upon prints. But a moment's comparison of even the best print with the original will show how utterly untrustworthy and even misleading such an aid to memory must be. ... Is it surprising then, that really accurate connoisseurship is so new a science that it has as yet scarcely found its way into general recognition? Few people are aware how completely it has changed since the days before railways and photographs, when it was more or less a quack science, in which every practitioner, often in spite of himself, was more or less of a quack.<sup>122</sup>

Whereas Berenson dominated the debates in the field of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian paintings, Bode's interests were far wider. He offered opinions on the painting, sculpture, and decorative arts of Europe and the near-East. He was the world's

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<sup>121</sup> H. James, *The outcry*, London, 1911, p.40.

<sup>122</sup> Bernard Berenson's notebook, 14.10.1893; quoted in H. Kiel (ed.), *The Bernard Berenson treasury*, London, 1964, pp.69-70.

foremost expert on Rembrandt<sup>123</sup> and had published numerous articles about the artist and was also responsible for the seminal Rembrandt publication of the period: an eight-volume catalogue of all the attributed works.<sup>124</sup> His pronouncements shaped the recognised *oeuvre* of Rembrandt at a time when additions to the *oeuvre* were continuously being suggested by art dealers and connoisseurs. (There were some brilliant discoveries, but as the Rembrandt Research Project is now proving, there were also a large number of over-optimistic attributions.)<sup>125</sup> The expectation was that Bode would always be able to provide a precise opinion on the exact identity of the artist of any painting that he examined. As Max J. Friedländer (Fig. 4.16), who, as we have already seen, was Bode's colleague, and who succeeded him as director of the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in 1929 remarked in his book, *Art and connoisseurship* (1942): 'Dealers and collectors are not served by suppositions; they demand a positive decision. The expert not infrequently gets into a difficult position, since more is expected of him than he can honestly give'.<sup>126</sup>

This was to be the case with the 'Demidoff' Rembrandt. Both Michaelis and Lane approached Bode for affirmation of the attribution to the master himself, and not to one of his pupils, which is in keeping with Berenson's observation that there is a 'universal tendency to ascribe a given work to the greatest artist to whom wishful thinking and excited imagination can ascribe it'.<sup>127</sup> Lane obviously desired that the Rembrandt attribution be retained because he had paid a 'Rembrandt price' for the painting, and in turn he had charged Michaelis a price appropriate to a work by Rembrandt's own hand.

Bode, who had confirmed the attribution to Rembrandt at the time of the painting's sale to Michaelis, had two alternatives in dealing with the dispute: he could either reaffirm

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<sup>123</sup> See J. Boomgaard and R.W. Scheller, 'A delicate balance: a brief survey of Rembrandt criticism', in C. Brown, J. Kelch & P. van Thiel, *Rembrandt: the master and his workshop*, New Haven and London, 1991, pp.106-123. In Bode's tenure at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum he acquired thirteen Rembrandts for the collection.

<sup>124</sup> W. Bode, *Rembrandt. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis seiner Gemälde. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst. Mitwirkung von C. Hofstede de Groot*, 8 vols, Paris 1897-1905; English and French editions. (published by the Parisian dealer Charles Sedelmeyer) Paris, 1897-1906.

<sup>125</sup> H. Bock, 'The history of the collection', in *The Gemäldegalerie, Berlin*, London, 1986, p.22.

<sup>126</sup> M.J. Friedländer, *Art and connoisseurship*, London, 1942, pp.179-180.

<sup>127</sup> From an essay entitled 'Wishful attribution' published in the *Corriere della Sera* in 1954, quoted by E. Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: the making of a legend*, Harvard, Mass. and London, 1987, p.556.

the attribution and as a result be drawn into the public debate, or he could admit he had made a mistake and retract his attribution altogether. But Bode's manner was that of a politician, and he attempted to avoid confronting either option.<sup>128</sup> Bode's reliance on dealers<sup>129</sup> and collectors for funds and gifts for the Berlin museums suggests that he would not have wanted to antagonise either party: both Lane and Michaelis<sup>130</sup> would understandably be hesitant to contribute to his causes if he contradicted his authentication of the painting. (Sir Otto Beit convinced Michaelis to donate 10 000 Marks to the Berlin museum in lieu of Bode's advice.)<sup>131</sup> However, as in the case of Bode's dealings with other Randlords, his conduct does raise questions about his integrity as an advisor and art historian. Michaelis and Lane endured the same duplicity that both Sir Julius Wernher and Alfred Beit had experienced in the past. It is worth relating the sequence of events at some length.

Shortly after Phillips' upsetting review appeared, Michaelis wrote to Bode reminding him that he had authenticated the Rembrandt in a letter of 30 October 1912.<sup>132</sup> Michaelis at first thought that the critical review could be ascribed to the fact that Lane had many enemies in the London art world, and he proposed to Bode that he would send the following supportive letter to the *Daily Telegraph*:

Referring to a criticism of the pictures given by me to the people of South Africa which appeared in your paper some time ago under the name of Sir

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<sup>128</sup> As Valentiner, Bode's assistant for some years, recalled: 'I had ... the opportunity to gain insight into the world of his strong political methods with their questionable ethical values. Bode was just as much a politician as he was a scholar. The fact that he was able to achieve so much in both spheres without becoming aware of their inherent moral contradictions was the source of his strength.' M. Sterne, *The passionate eye: the life of William R. Valentiner*, Detroit, 1980, p.72.

<sup>129</sup> The point has been made that Bode's large art historical volumes were 'supported by one foot in the profession and the other in the trade'. One of many examples is the fact that the London dealer Murray Marks financially assisted Bode in publishing the 3 folio volumes, *Italian bronze statuettes of the Renaissance*, between 1908 and 1912. See W. Liedtke, 'Dutch paintings in America: the collectors and their ideals', in B. Broos, *Great Dutch paintings from America*, exh. cat., Mauritshuis, The Hague, and Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1990, p.50.

<sup>130</sup> Unlike Alfred and Sir Otto Beit and Sir Julius Wernher who contributed generously to Bode's causes, Michaelis would seem to have made no noteworthy gifts to the Berlin museums. Although in December 1912, Lane mentioned to Bode that Michaelis had promised to make a donation to the Kaiser Friedrich-Museum (HL to WB, 8.12.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK), no evidence of this gift can be found in the museum records. The only other reference is to a gift in 1922 when he sent Bode a cheque for £100 to cover his subscription to the Art Institute of Florence for five years, and asked Bode to do as he saw best fit with the balance (MM to WB, 22.11.1922, Bode papers, ZASMPK).

<sup>131</sup> OB to WB, 6.11.1912, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>132</sup> Bode in the same letter described the Van Dyck as a characteristic and accomplished painting from his best English period around 1632-1635. MM to WB, 30.5.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.



Claude Phillips, I may say, that they were acquired under the advice of Dr Bode and that both the Union Government (of South Africa) and myself *are content to abide by his opinion* (my emphasis).<sup>133</sup>

To Michaelis' annoyance, Bode did not want him to send this letter to the press because he was apprehensive about a further attack from Phillips.<sup>134</sup> Bode also repeatedly ignored a request to write a private letter to the South African High Commissioner providing reassurance of the authenticity of the Rembrandt and the Van Dyck.<sup>135</sup> Michaelis, sensing that Bode now harboured reservations about the attributions, asked him in confidence if he should return the Rembrandt and Van Dyck to Lane.<sup>136</sup> Bode's reply to Michaelis has not survived, but it seems certain that he advised Michaelis to return the Rembrandt (which was kept a secret from Lane) and to retain the Van Dyck. Piecing together Michaelis' remarks to Bode it would appear that Bode argued that the adverse publicity had detracted from the worth of the Rembrandt, although he claimed not to question the attribution.

Notwithstanding Bode's advice to Michaelis to return the painting, Bode wrote to Lane not only supporting the attribution but also describing the painting in glowing terms. Prior to Bode sending this letter to Lane, he showed it to Michaelis, who was incensed that Bode did not even hint at the painting's faults, and Michaelis correctly predicted that Lane would later publish the letter because he was obviously concerned about the market value of the painting and wished to salvage his reputation.<sup>137</sup> Michaelis understandably felt that he was being made to appear a fool: here he was returning a Rembrandt which the leading Rembrandt scholar advised him was not worth owning, yet the same expert also supposedly considered it authentic and important.<sup>138</sup> Bode's letter to Lane is worth quoting at length. He wrote that he reached his verdict after he had re-examined the painting in Berlin where Professor Alois Hauser had cleaned the work:

I had not seen [the Rembrandt] again since the [Demidoff] sale in Florence [in 1880] until two years ago at your house. I was most astonished to learn

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<sup>133</sup> MM to WB, 30.5.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>134</sup> MM to WB, 3.6.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>135</sup> MM to WB, 30.5.1913, 3.6.1913, 30.7.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>136</sup> MM to WB, 30.5.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>137</sup> MM to WB, 30.7.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>138</sup> MM to WB, 30.7.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

that at the exhibition in London the picture was doubted, and that F. Bol has been named as the artist ... [At] Hauser's ... I have been able to study [it] in detail for a whole week, both before and after the cleaning.

I assert that it is incredible to me how Rembrandt could be doubted and Bol be named as the artist, unless one believes with (sic) Dr Bredius that a masterpiece of Rembrandt's, like Mrs Bas, was painted by F. Bol (Fig. 4.17).<sup>139</sup>

The 'Lady with the Glove' is in conception a characteristic Rembrandt portrait, as painted by him from 1632 to 1636, and occasionally also from 1640 to 1642. There is the simple attitude, the brilliant lighting.... The effect is so fresh and fine, such as is never the case with Bol, even in the two pictures in the Ashburton (now Rothschild) collection.

Above all, however, the execution is only that of Rembrandt; the brilliant black of the dress, the artistic handling of the pattern and of the glove, &c., the impasto application of the paint – e.g., in the left hand with the bracelet and the glove. The warm brown tone of the flesh is particularly characteristic of Rembrandt about 1640, in which [year] also, in particular the famous female portrait in Buckingham Palace is painted. Therefore I believe ... that also your picture dates from about 1640.<sup>140</sup>

Lane thanked Bode for his support in a difficult situation, unaware of Bode's mixed feelings about the picture, and assured him that he would no longer concern himself with what the art historians, Dr de Groot, Dr Bredius and Claude Phillips, thought on the matter.<sup>141</sup> Lane also received a letter from Professor Hauser, the restorer, written on 13 August 1913, supporting the attribution to Rembrandt. Hauser wrote:

The picture is undoubtedly genuine. Dr Bode who has repeatedly seen and minutely studied it, is also of the opinion. Owing to clumsy handling, principally through the application of a dull, opaque coloured varnish, the picture had acquired a rather flat appearance. This was particularly the case with the face of the lady. After removal of this coat of varnish the modelling and drawing made its appearance very beautifully. As to the authorship of Rembrandt there is, according to my conviction, no doubt.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> *Portrait of Elisabeth Bas*, now attributed to Fredinand Bol, in Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, (inv. no. A714, entered the collection in 1880). This painting was attributed to Rembrandt before Bredius reattributed it in 1911 to Bol. This news of this reattribution was widely aired in the press because it had been one of the public's favourite paintings by 'Rembrandt.' In the present day the attribution is still being debated, and the painting is now dated to 1640. See A. Bredius, 'Did Rembrandt paint the portrait of Elisabeth Bas?', *Burlington Magazine*, 20, March 1912, pp.330-341; A. Bredius, 'The "Elisabeth Bas" portrait again', *Burlington Magazine*, 24, January 1913, pp.217-218; catalogue entry in C. Brown, J. Kelch & P. van Thiel, *Rembrandt: the master and his workshop*, New Haven and London, 1991, pp.322-327.

<sup>140</sup> WB to HL, 28.7.1913, quoted in *The Times*, 12.2.1914.

<sup>141</sup> 'Their opinions are biased by their jealousy of you and their dislike of me!'. HL to WB, Bode papers, ZASMPK, 24.8.1913

<sup>142</sup> *The Times*, 12.2.1914.

Lane, though confident of the attribution, responded to the questions of the attribution honourably by offering to withdraw the 'Demidoff Rembrandt' and the Van Dyck from the collection and to substitute other paintings approved of by Michaelis and Max J. Friedländer<sup>143</sup> (even though Friedländer thought that Michaelis should keep the Rembrandt).<sup>144</sup> In accordance with Bode's recommendation to Michaelis, the Van Dyck was retained, and the Rembrandt was exchanged for 22 other seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings.<sup>145</sup> These included a Philips Koninck, *Panoramic landscape* (Fig. 4.18); Gillis Rombouts, *Announcement of the Peace of Munster in the market square, Haarlem* (Fig. 4.19); Emanuel de Witte, *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam* (Fig. 4.20); two Jan van Goyen landscapes including *Riverscape with vessels* (Fig. 4.21); a Ferdinand Bol, *Portrait of a lady*; and an oil by Aelbert Cuyp, *Panoramic view of Wageningen* (Fig. 4.22).

The fact that Bode had advised Michaelis to return the Rembrandt was leaked to the press in February 1914, eight months after Claude Phillips published his review, to the irritation of both Lane and Michaelis. Lane was understandably indignant and thought this information incorrect – as he still did not know that Bode had advised the picture's return – and wrote to *The Times* stating that he wished to contradict the 'inaccurate' statements about the 'Demidoff Rembrandt' which had appeared in the Colonial and English press. He supported his letter with the one Bode had sent him in July 1913 praising the painting, and also the letter from Hauser (both quoted above). The following day the reticent Michaelis wrote a letter to *The Times* in which he finally blurted out the truth.<sup>146</sup> He had by this time tired of Bode's duplicity, especially after Bode had also changed his mind about the attribution of a Italian sixteenth-century portrait he advised Michaelis to buy in February 1913 for his private collection.<sup>147</sup> Michaelis' terse letter belies his exasperation:

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<sup>143</sup> *The Times*, 12.2.1914.

<sup>144</sup> HL to Lady Gregory, 1.7.1913, Lady Gregory papers, Berg collection, New York Public Library.

<sup>145</sup> D. Bax, *Catalogue of the Michaelis collection*, Cape Town, 1967, nos.5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 25, 26, 31, 38, 41, 44, 50, 51, 54, 64, 65, 69, 71, 85, 93, 94.

<sup>146</sup> *The Times*, 13.2.1914. Lane innocently told Bode that in this letter to the press Michaelis was giving a 'false impression' of the 'facts'. HL to WB, 19.2.1914, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>147</sup> When Bode first sent Michaelis a photograph of the painting he attributed it to Sebastiano del Piombo and thought it was a *Portrait of the writer Girio* although imaginatively surmised that it may be a portrait of Machiavelli (MM to WB, 18.2.1913). Michaelis bought the painting for 19 050 Marks. Bode later told Michaelis that he was uncertain about the attribution which drew a very angry response from Michaelis

After the adverse criticisms on the 'Rembrandt' appeared, I communicated with *Dr Bode*, whom I had consulted in connection with the purchase of the whole collection, and he *advised me to return the picture*. Sir Hugh Lane had previously offered to take it back and subsequently, with the consent of the Union government, the exchange referred to was effected; this closed my transaction with Sir Hugh Lane, and what took place afterwards is not my concern.<sup>148</sup> (my emphases)

In response to Lane's letter to *The Times* and Bode's and Hauser's supporting letters, Bredius wrote to Lane and also sent a copy of his letter to *The Times*. Bredius' opinion could not be overlooked because he was another formidable figure in the art world: he served as director of the Mauritshuis from 1889 through to 1909 and published extensively on Netherlandish art. In his letter he openly questioned Bode's reasoning and argued convincingly that the painting was the work of Ferdinand Bol.<sup>149</sup> Bode was angry with Lane for publishing his letter praising the Rembrandt but, as Lane reminded him, he had added a postscript to this letter which stated that Lane could use the letter in whichever way he wished.<sup>150</sup> Bode refused, once again, to respond publicly in *The Times* to Bredius' statements.<sup>151</sup>

The disputed Rembrandt came to rest in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin,<sup>152</sup> along with the other old master pictures which Lane bequeathed to the gallery when he met with his untimely death in the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The *Portrait of a woman holding a glove* is now catalogued as 'Studio of Rembrandt',<sup>153</sup> although the attribution to Bol is considered probable.<sup>154</sup> The debate about the quality of Lane's collection continued to rankle with Michaelis for years thereafter. Ross wrote to Lady Phillips in 1917 that Michaelis still thought that he had

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(MM to WB, 25.7.1913). After the First World War he resumed contact with Bode with the intention of clarifying the attribution which, as Michaelis said, would make a large difference in its value (MM to WB, 22.7.1920, 30.8.1920). Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>148</sup> *The Times*, 13.2.1914.

<sup>149</sup> *The Times*, 19.2.1914.

<sup>150</sup> HL to WB, 25.2.1914, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>151</sup> HL to WB, 19.2.1914 (advising Bode that he had used his letter and asking him to also write to *The Times*); 25.2.1914 (in which Lane reminded Bode that he had given him permission to use his letter and regretting that Bode did not intend writing to *The Times*), Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>152</sup> See *Catalogue of the exhibition of pictures by old masters given and bequeathed to the National Gallery of Ireland by the late Sir Hugh Lane*. Dublin, 1918.

<sup>153</sup> H. Potterman, *Dutch seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland: a complete catalogue*, Dublin, 1986, no.808, pp.124-127.

<sup>154</sup> W. Sumowski, *Gemälde der Rembrandt-schüler*, Landau, 1983, vol 1, no.159, p.310.

been deceived by Lane. Ross thought this incorrect: 'He thinks he was done but really quite wrongly. The *Hals* alone is worth now what he gave for the whole collection even allowing that the quality of *some* of the pictures was not a very high one.'<sup>155</sup> Michaelis also came round to this view, and in August 1924 mentioned to Bode that a similar work had recently been sold for £83 000.<sup>156</sup>

However, the Michaelis collection, even shorn of the controversial Rembrandt, has continued to attract adverse publicity because of the problematic attributions of some of the other paintings.<sup>157</sup> The standard rejoinder from the protagonists, even at the time when the attribution of the Rembrandt was debated, was that the collection was never meant to be a galaxy of masterpieces but instead a representative collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings ideally suited to expose the art students of South Africa to characteristic works.<sup>158</sup> It would appear that even Michaelis was aware of the mixed quality of the collection from the outset. In the letter he proposed to write to the press at the time of the Rembrandt dispute, Michaelis stated, 'It was hardly intended to include masterpieces *only*, but to offer a general collection comprising good as well as minor paintings of a school which would be of special interest for those for whom it was meant.'<sup>159</sup> Lady Phillips, twenty years after the gift was made, admitted to the press,

The original collection was never considered by Sir Hugh Lane to be in the front rank. The price given for the whole collection was not as much as is given sometimes for one masterpiece. ... It is unfortunate that this question of looking a gift horse in the mouth has arisen, but in justice to Sir Max's gift, perhaps it is better.<sup>160</sup>

On closer examination, it soon becomes apparent that the collection is representative of only a very narrow field of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting. Lane's

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<sup>155</sup> RR to DP, 7.3.1917, Ross papers, JAG.

<sup>156</sup> MM to WB, 14.8.1924, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>157</sup> Even the Frans Hals attribution has been questioned in recent years, although Slive and the RKD view it as authentic. C. Grimm in *Frans Hals: the complete work*, New York 1990, ascribes the painting to 'Workshop (Group A)'. 'Group A' are paintings stylistically close to the anonymous master of the painting of *A fisher boy* in Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp. However, in the recent catalogue of the Michaelis Collection the attribution to Frans Hals is retained. See Hans Franssen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings*, Zwolle, 1997, no. 25, pp.107-108.

<sup>158</sup> Alec Martin quoted by Lady Gregory in *Sir Hugh Lane*, London, 1921, p.116.

<sup>159</sup> MM to WB, 30.5.1913, Bode papers, ZASMPK.

<sup>160</sup> *Cape Argus*, 28.2.1933.



selection broadly covered the fields of portraits, still-lives, landscapes, and to a lesser degree genre and domestic interiors. However, works by Dutch artists dominate the collection and there are very few Flemish pictures, and Rubens' work, for instance, is conspicuously absent. Lane's taste was austere and Calvinist; there are almost no religious images included as well as no mannerists, no reference to the Dutch followers of Caravaggio, very little that related to the Italianate influences on Dutch and Flemish paintings, and none of the precursors of seventeenth-century Netherlandish art. An additional 21 Dutch and Flemish paintings from Michaelis' private collection<sup>161</sup> previously housed at Tandridge Court were offered on loan in 1923, but they do not rectify these omissions, and are in surprisingly similar taste to Lane's choices. This latter group included a Pieter de Hooch, *Interior, looking out on water* (Fig. 4.23); a Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of a four-year-old boy with a club and ball* (Fig. 4.24); a Dirck van Santvoort, *Couple with two children in the park of a castle* (Fig. 4.25); Frans de Hulst's *View of the Valkhof, Nijmegen*; and a David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of a peasant dwelling* (Fig. 4.26). On Michaelis' death his wife presented these paintings to the collection.<sup>162</sup>

Michaelis' title did not materialise as planned. The outbreak of the First World War in effect nullified his benefactions because it was unsuitable for a German-born plutocrat to be knighted in the war years. He resided in Britain for the duration of the war, and, like most German-speaking residents, experienced the harassment and hysteria that resulted in the wholesale alteration of surnames and eradication of any Germanic associations.<sup>163</sup> He felt ostracised and alienated in the country which he had made his home, and responded positively to a suggestion made by General Smuts on a visit to Tandridge Court soon after the war that he should return to South Africa.<sup>164</sup> He and his

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<sup>161</sup> All these works were from his private collection which was previously housed at Tandridge Court, except the oil then attributed to Pieter Brughel (now to an 'Unknown artist'), *Fisherman with their nets on a southern coast*, which was purchased in America. F.J. Chart, in the *Cape Argus*, 10.4.1933. See Hans Franssen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings*, Zwolle, 1997, no. 103, pp.172-173.

<sup>162</sup> D. Bax, *Catalogue of the Michaelis collection*, Cape Town, 1967, nos.14, 16, 19, 33, 34, 36, 46, 47, 56, 63, 68, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87, 90, 97.

<sup>163</sup> See P. Panayi, *The enemy in our own midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War*, Leamington Spa, 1990.

<sup>164</sup> In the 1918 and 1919 electoral register for the Eastern Division of Surrey, Michaelis and his wife are listed as residents of Tandridge Court, but are not listed in the 1920 register. The 1922 *Kelly's Directory of Surrey* lists the owner of Tandridge Court as Sir Bernard Eyre Greenwell, Bart. MBE.

wife left in 1919 for the Cape,<sup>165</sup> and acquired in January 1920 the estate Montebello in Newlands, Cape Town.<sup>166</sup> Once Michaelis was at the Cape, Lady Phillips, who was aware of Michaelis' lingering desire for a title, suggested that he should endow a School of Art at the University of Cape Town which would encourage the development of a South African school of artists. South Africa in those years had no academic school of art, and the need for the establishment of such a scheme had already been noted in the press in response to a lecture by the artist J.H. Amschwitz in Johannesburg about 'South African art':

There is room ... for a munificent endowment in the way of Art education. What Rhodes scholarship did for men's education on University lines, a new fund might achieve for young men and women with the *flaire* for Art. It will be a proud day when South Africa becomes an *exporter of Art*.<sup>167</sup>

Michaelis acted on this suggestion and, in June 1920, endowed a Chair of Fine Art<sup>168</sup> at the new University of Cape Town with a gift of £20 000. A small contribution to Smuts's party funds may also have played a role in his path to a knighthood<sup>169</sup> which finally materialised in 1924.<sup>170</sup> The last years of his life were spent at the Cape. He died

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<sup>165</sup> A civic reception was organised in Cape Town on 5 December 1919 with 2 000 guests in honour of the Michaelis' benefactions to Cape Town.

<sup>166</sup> Michaelis purchased the Montebello estate on 15 January 1920 for £7 500; and sold it to his wife on 26 November 1928 for £17 000 with four other lots (presumably to avoid death duties). Transfer 12214 of 27 August 1920; and transfer 13181 of 21 December 1928 respectively, Deeds Office, Cape Town. Besides acquiring Montebello, on 18 May 1920, he also bought a large portion of the Alphen estate in Constantia, Glendirk, for £31 667.10.0, which he then sold before his death. One wonders why he purchased this property so soon after Montebello – did he perhaps intend to build another home? Transfer 8913 of 24 June 1920, Deeds Office, Cape Town. I am grateful to Dee Nash for drawing my attention to this information.

<sup>167</sup> *South Africa*, 27.9.1919.

<sup>168</sup> The exact date of this gift of £20 000 is difficult to determine. Furthermore it is not clear that this gift was expressly given to endow the Chair of Fine Art. The promise of the gift was announced in the *Cape Times*, 2.6.1920, and only later (*Cape Times*, 4.5.1921) is the gift mentioned in relation to the Chair of Fine Art. See H.M. Robertson, *History of U.C.T.*, chp. 11 (Fine art and architecture), pp.14-14b, unpublished typescript, UCT; Howard Phillips, *The University of Cape Town 1918-1948*. Cape Town, 1993, pp.39-44.

<sup>169</sup> Michaelis wrote to Smuts on 14 December 1920, 'I am sending you under reg. cover by same post 860 De Beers Preference shares. It is an odd amount I had which I think will just meet your requirements – it was the only method which enabled me to settle the matter without my name having to appear. ... The election must put a terrible amount of work on your shoulders....' These shares would have been worth about £1 000. MM to Gen. Smuts, 14.12.1920; 14.12.1920, Smuts papers, SA.

<sup>170</sup> At this time the Union High Commissioner in London, E.H. Walton, wrote to Smuts that Michaelis was anxious to publish some justification for the recommendation. 'I told him he couldn't very well justify himself, but he might get one of his friends to do it for him – so he is to get Li Phi interviewed to say what a fine chap he is!' (E.H. Walton to Gen. Smuts, 27.5.1924, Smuts papers, SA, vol 30, letter 206). ('Li Phi' was the nickname Lionel Phillips acquired at the time when he promoted the use of Chinese labour on the Rand.)

in Zurich of cancer eight years later on 26 January 1932.<sup>171</sup> His wife, Lady Michaelis (Fig. 4.27), shared his generosity in donating pictures to South African galleries. In 1930, before her husband's death, Lady Michaelis presented to the new South African National Gallery in Cape Town a group of 53 old master drawings.<sup>172</sup> After his death, she presented 59 paintings to the South African National Gallery in Cape Town and 58 to Pretoria, some of which may have formed part of their private collection,<sup>173</sup> on the condition that suitable accommodation be found for them.<sup>174</sup> Their son, Cecil Michaelis, continued this tradition by recently selling the last important painting remaining from his parent's private collection, Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Portrait of the actress Kitty Fisher* (Fig. 4.28),<sup>175</sup> to fund the establishment of a design centre in the red-brick outbuildings of the family home, Montebello, in Cape Town

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<sup>171</sup> His son fulfilled his wishes of being buried at sea, and scattered his ashes in the English Channel. Michaelis' estate papers are very unrevealing because the bulk of his assets was incorporated into two trusts he established in his lifetime. Estate 34234, Master's Office, Cape Town.

<sup>172</sup> This gift is the only suggestion that Lady Michaelis collected old master drawings. The provenance of these drawings is unknown. See minutes of the meetings of the Board of Trustees of the South African National Gallery, 31.7.1930; and accompanying list detailing the 53 drawings.

<sup>173</sup> The only indication of where Michaelis acquired these paintings is a newspaper report stating that 56 of the pictures comprising Lady Michaelis' gift 'were purchased from a stockbroker in London, a well-known art collector, and deposited in a Manhattan storehouse'. F.J. Chart, in the *Cape Argus*, 10.4.1933. See J. Carman, *Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings in South Africa: a checklist of paintings in public collections*, Johannesburg, 1994, pp.12-13, for details of current attributions, and a listing of the works from this gift that were de-accessioned by the SANG between 1944-1947.

<sup>174</sup> Amongst the Beattie papers at UCT is a copy of the Notarial Deed of Donation and a full list of the 117 pictures. A separate list of those allocated to the SANG is in their archive. The 117 pictures were housed first in the Michaelis School of Art, and thereafter in the New S.A. National Gallery as 'a temporary stop-gap in a beautiful gallery which ... [was] most poverty-stricken in pictures' (Lady Phillips, in the *Cape Argus*, 28.2.1933). The collection was split between the two cities to avoid a repetition of the 1912 controversy over the location of the Michaelis collection. The South African National Gallery, to the embarrassment of all concerned, declined to accept their share of the gift because the paintings were not considered to be of museum quality. Because the state had already accepted the pictures, the gallery relented and reluctantly absorbed them into its embryonic collection (see the minute books of the meetings of the South African National Gallery Board of Trustees, 6.3.1933 through to 16.1.1935). The ever-opinionated Cape artist, Gwelo Goodman, suggested in the press that these questionable paintings should be sent to Pretoria where the 'climate will deal very suitably with them in less than five years' (*Cape Times*, 25.2.1933).

<sup>175</sup> Sotheby's, London, 9.3.1988, realised £48 000.



Figure 4.1

John Singer Sargent, *Max Michaelis*, 1913

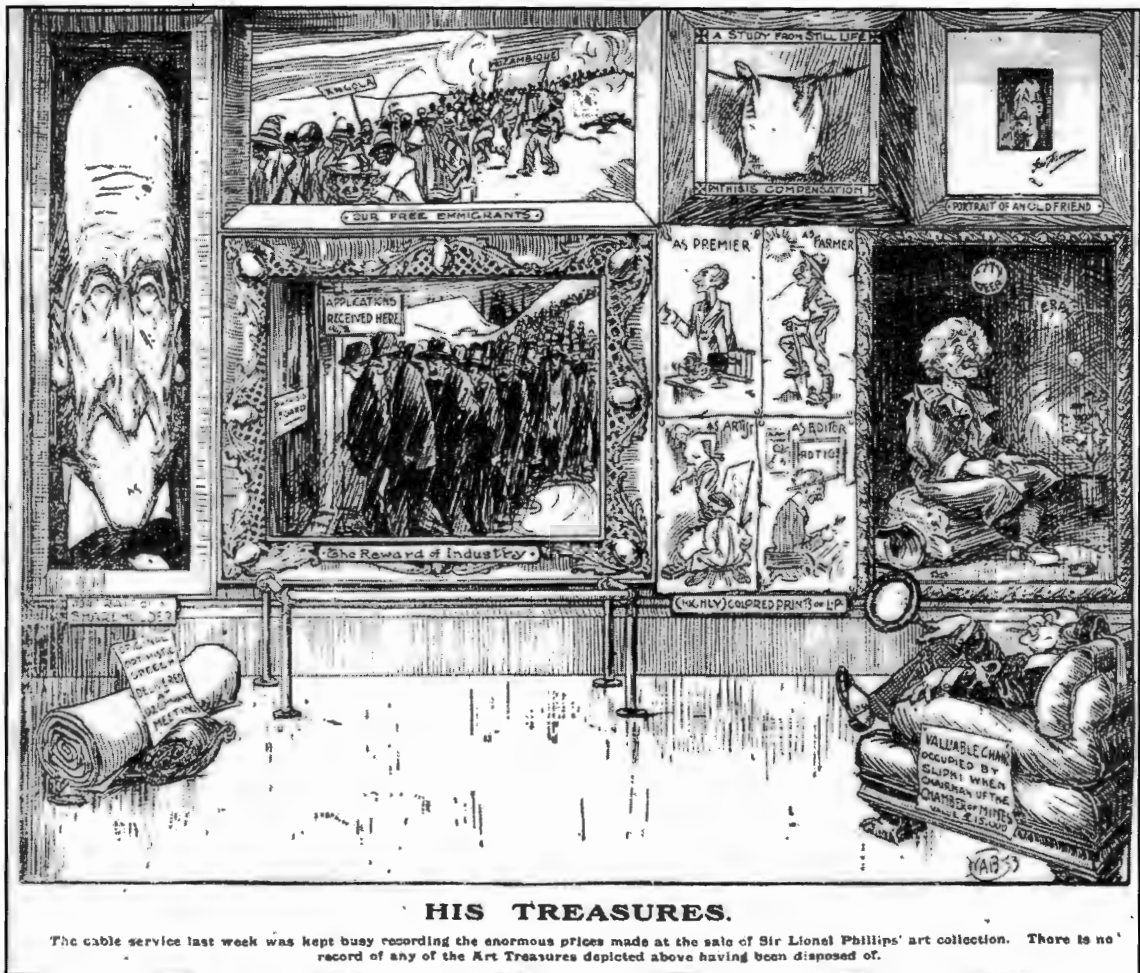


Figure 4.2

Will A. Bradley, *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, 27 April 1913



Figure 4.3  
*Sir Hugh Lane*



Figure 4.4  
Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Double portrait of the Fullerton sisters*





Figure 4.5  
Frans Hals, *Portrait of a woman*



Figure 4.6  
Attributed to Rembrandt, *Portrait of a lady holding a glove*



Figure 4.7

Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Count John Oxenstierna*



Figure 4.8

Abraham van Beyeren, *Still life with a nautilus cup*, one of a pair





Figure 4.9  
Willem van Aelst, *Vase with flowers*



Figure 4.10  
Jacob van Ruisdael, *Hilly landscape near Bentheim*



Figure 4.11  
Jacob van Ruisdael, *Mountainous landscape*



Figure 4.12  
Jan Steen, *As the singing leads, so the dancing follows*





Figure 4.13  
Frans Snyders, *Concert of birds*



Figure 4.14  
The Old Town House in Cape Town



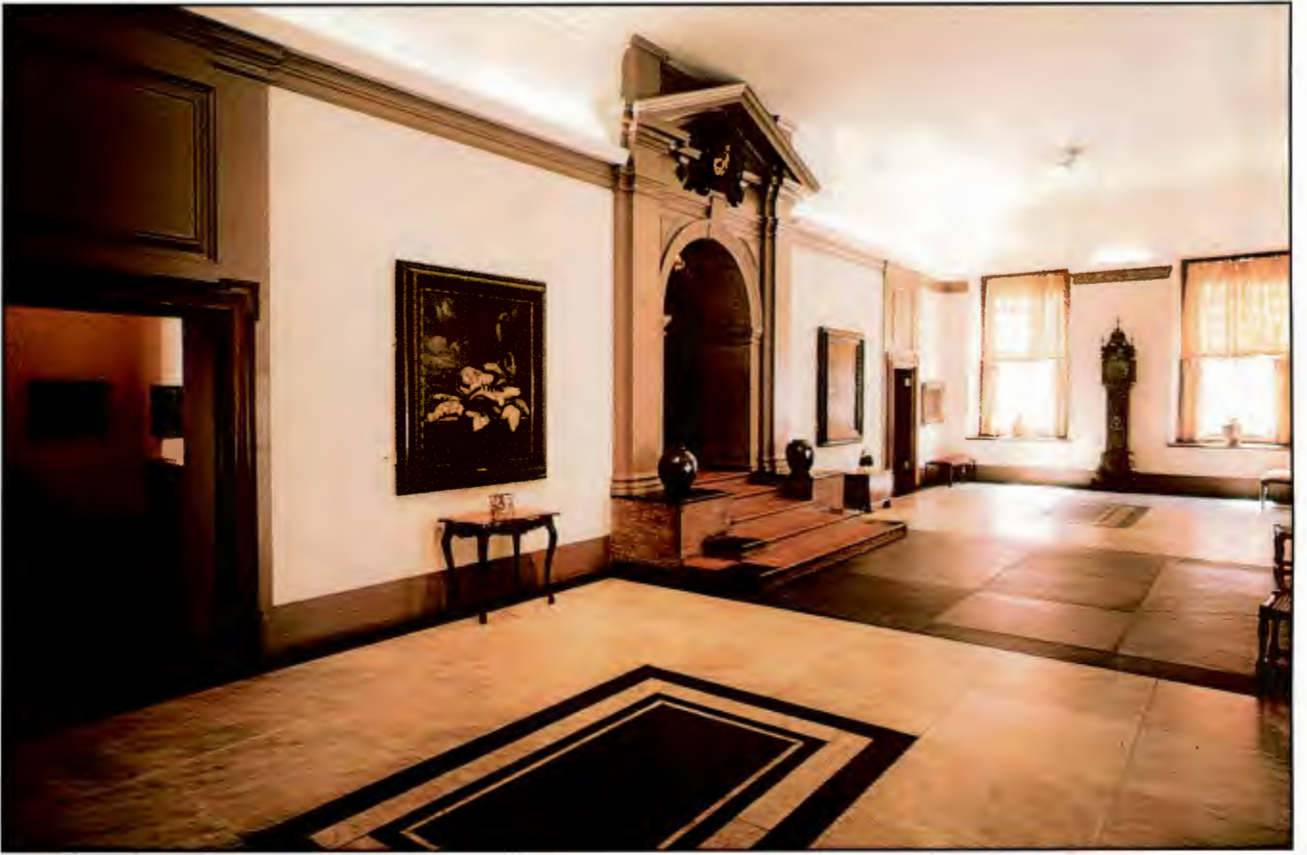


Figure 4.15  
The interior of the Old Town House in Cape Town



Figure 4.16  
Wilhelm Bode, Max J. Friedländer and the restorer Hauser



Figure 4.17  
Ferdinand Bol, *Portrait of Elisabeth Bas*



Figure 4.18  
Philips Koninck, *Panoramic landscape*





Figure 4.19

Gillis Rombouts, *Announcement of the Peace of Munster in the market square, Haarlem*



Figure 4.20

Emanuel de Witte, *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam*



Figure 4.21  
Jan van Goyen, *Riverscape with vessels*



Figure 4.22  
Aelbert Cuyp, *Panoramic view of Wageningen*





Figure 4.23

Pieter de Hooch, *Interior, looking out on water*



Figure 4.24

Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of a four-year-old boy with a club and ball*





Figure 4.25

Dirck van Santvoort, *Couple with two children in the park of a castle*



Figure 4.26

David Teniers the Younger, *Interior of a peasant dwelling*



Figure 4.27  
John Singer Sargent, *Lady Michaelis*, 1913



Figure 4.28  
Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of the actress Kitty Fisher*



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SIR JOSEPH ROBINSON

As an art collector, Sir Joseph Benjamin Robinson (Fig. 5.1) can be compared in some respects to the Wernhers and the Phillipses, whose approaches to collecting also revealed a need hurriedly to assert a cultured metropolitan identity. For Robinson, as with most other Randlords, a large collection of paintings by old masters provided visible evidence of material and intellectual substance. It also suggested that he was a member of a highly-educated and cultured elite far removed from his humble background in a distant colony. In the course of discussing Robinson's collection, a number of themes which relate more broadly to all the Randlords will be explored. These include the possibility that the Randlords' expenditure on artworks formed part of a broader tendency of conspicuous consumption; and how their choice of schools of painting was affected by the different spaces in their houses, and, more specifically, how a picture gallery influenced the content of the collection.

My reading of Robinson's collection is limited by the fact that there appear to be no surviving observations by him or his contemporaries about his acquisitions. Furthermore, no catalogue was prepared of the collection in the years when it was on display in Dudley House in London. In addition to this, very little of his correspondence with dealers, auctioneers and advisers has been located. The few letters that have survived are from sundry opportunistic dealers using an excess of adjectives to describe their wares.<sup>1</sup> This scarcity of primary material relating to the collection forces one to rely on other sources – for instance, newspaper reports about their social life, floor plans of Dudley House, and contemporary articles about the art market – to assess the values that informed Robinson's attitude to collecting.

When Robinson's name is mentioned in contemporary memoirs, it is usually preceded by a disparaging adjective. He succeeded in incurring the hatred of almost all his fellow Randlords, who excluded him from their syndicates and partnerships because of his

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<sup>1</sup> Robinson papers, Hawthornden, Cape Town.



quarrelsome nature and his lack of integrity (even by Randlord standards). This, in addition to his pro-Boer and anti-Rhodes stance in business and politics, ensured that throughout his life (and in his art collecting) Robinson did not move in the Wernher-Beit business or social spheres. In terms of business, Robinson lost out to Wernher, Beit, Rhodes and their partners in the consolidation of the Kimberley diamond mines. He was faced with bankruptcy at the time when the Rand gold-fields were discovered. Beit thereafter briefly supported him in his first investments on the Rand, but his maverick behaviour ensured that this partnership was short-lived. Robinson's distance from his contemporaries could be related to the fact that he was more than a decade older than many of the other Randlords.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he had survived the hardships of an itinerant life in the outback of South Africa before moving to the diamond diggings, and was not born and brought up in Europe, as were most of the other magnates.<sup>3</sup>

What makes Robinson more problematic than many of the other pioneer settler figures in South Africa's history is his relentless attempts to edit out unflattering events in his past, and to romanticise his rise to fortune. He spent vast sums on supporting a press which portrayed him in a sympathetic light, and, in the last years of his life, he commissioned a hagiography to glorify his career.<sup>4</sup> Accounts of altercations in Robinson's life are plentiful. Some of the controversies he provoked, which will be discussed in this chapter in relation to his collecting, include the public debate surrounding his peerage, his behaviour at the time of Christie's sale of his collection in 1923, the public condemnation of his will, published at the time of his death in October 1929 and, more specifically, the lack of any indications in his will as to whether he intended giving or loaning his collection to a South African gallery. Haskell's observation 'that the more that lavish art patrons and collectors recede in time, the more

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<sup>2</sup> Although Robinson's biographical details and background are replete with contradictory material, it appears that he was the youngest of fifteen children, born on 2.8.1840 according to the family Bible (although the DSAB states 3.8.1840), to Robert and Martha Robinson in Cradock. Robert Robinson arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on board the *Brilliant* in April 1820 in a party of settlers led by his cousin James Erith. Robert Robinson was resident in the Somerset district from 1821 until at least 1830 as a shopkeeper in the village and as a farmer. (Baptismal register of Haslope Hills Methodist Mission, copy in the 1820 Settlers Museum, Grahamstown.) I am grateful to Dee Nash for this information.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson claimed to have 'discovered' the diamond fields. See *Fortunes made in business: life struggles of successful people*, London, n.d. [c.1900], pp.292-294.

<sup>4</sup> Leo Weinthal (known by other Randlords as 'Leo the Liar'), *Memories, mines and millions: being the life of Sir J.B. Robinson*, London, 1929.



sympathetic they appear to posterity'<sup>5</sup> could partly explain the present (erroneous) perception of Robinson as a great Edwardian connoisseur. The leading auction houses, who have sold many works from the Robinson collection in the late-1980s, are in part responsible for this construction because of the publicity they have generated to promote their sales.<sup>6</sup>

The award of a peerage to Robinson, and the controversy that followed, directly impacted on the fate of his collection. He had received a baronetcy in 1908 (after contributing £30 000 to the Liberal party's funds while it was still in opposition),<sup>7</sup> and succeeded in arranging a peerage, which was announced in June 1922. This peerage was awarded in recognition of what was termed 'national and Imperial services'.<sup>8</sup> The public protest about his unsuitability for such an honour forced him to decline this hereditary title.<sup>9</sup> It also brought to the fore the dubious practice of political parties

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<sup>5</sup> Haskell continues: 'Who now, when wandering around through Florence, worries unduly about the misdeeds and crimes of the Medici, who have acquired an aureole from the beautiful objects that they commissioned?' F. Haskell, 'An Italian patron of French neo-classic art', in *Past and present in art and taste*, New Haven and London, 1987, p.47.

<sup>6</sup> In 1963 Robinson's heirs decided to dispose of twenty-four of the works with the intention of buying other paintings to make the collection more 'representative' (*Cape Argus*, 28.10.1963; see *Catalogue of important old master paintings including ... the property of the late Princess Labia*, Sotheby's, London, 27 November 1963). In recent years the bulk of the remaining paintings from the Robinson collection have been sold. The following catalogues include paintings from the collection: *British paintings*, Sotheby's, London, 16 November 1988; *Old master paintings*, Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1988; *Old master paintings*, Sotheby's, London, 5 July 1989; *Highly important old master and British paintings: the Sir Joseph Robinson collection*, with an introduction by Peter Cannon-Brookes, Sotheby's, London, 6 December 1989.

<sup>7</sup> G.R. Searle, *Corruption in British politics 1895-1930*, Oxford, 1987, p.147, footnote 16 lists the primary sources for this point. On the return of the Liberal party to power, Robinson enlisted the support of Churchill, then the Colonial Under-Secretary, to further his cause. Churchill, without consulting either the South African High Commissioner or the South African Prime Minister, urged that Robinson be awarded a baronetcy. Lord Selborne, who was South African High Commissioner at the time of Robinson's award, made this point to the 1922 Royal Commission. See also footnote 17 in Searle.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson sent a letter to the Prime Minister drafted by the Lord Chancellor, Birkenhead, which read: 'I have not, as you know, sought the suggested honour. It is now some sixty years since I commenced as a pioneer the task of building up the industries of South Africa. I am now an old man to whom honours and dignities are no longer matters of much concern....' L. Weinthal, *Memories, mines and millions*, London, 1929, p.191. See the *Hansard, H.L.*, 29.6.1922, cols.103-38, quoted by D. Cannadine, *The decline and fall of the British aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990, p.320.

<sup>9</sup> Robinson's very questionable business practices had recently been brought into the open by a series of prominent and protracted court cases after he sold his mining investments at the end of 1916 for a price of £4.5m to Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (of which Solly Joel was the chairman). The purchaser queried the substantial secret profits Robinson had made when on two occasions he had sold, at vast profit to himself, gold-bearing land which he owned to the company of which he was chairman without revealing the nature of this transactions to directors and other shareholders. Robinson lost the case and paid damages amounting to hundreds of thousands of pounds. The raconteur Louis Cohen recalled that the Randalord Leopold Albu swore that when he was knighted, he would call himself Lord Verneuker (an

offering titles in exchange for financial support, with the result that a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the matter.<sup>10</sup> Following this humiliation, he decided to dispose of his collection of old masters.<sup>11</sup> He then further embroiled himself in controversy by attempting, at the last moment, to cancel Christie's sale of the 116 paintings on 6 July 1923.<sup>12</sup> Understandably, Christie's was unwilling to do so because, as *The Times* reported, 'dealers and collectors from all parts of the country, ... the Continent, and ... the United States made arrangements to be present'.<sup>13</sup> A compromise was reached which allowed Robinson to place high reserves on the paintings. This enabled him to 'repurchase' all but 16 works sold for more than his reserves.<sup>14</sup> After repurchasing the bulk of his collection in this way, he nevertheless chose to return it to storage in London, where it remained for another thirty-five years.

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Afrikaans word for a 'cheat'), with Robinson's permission. Louis Cohen, *Reminiscences of Kimberley*, London, 1911, p.92.

<sup>10</sup> G.R. Searle, *Corruption in British politics 1895-1930*, Oxford, 1987, chapter 15, details the events preceding and the repercussions of the 1922 Honours scandal.

<sup>11</sup> The first mention of his decision to dispose of his collection is in September 1922 when he inquired about Christie's charges, and later that month requested that they commence preparing a catalogue. Christie's informed Robinson that their charges were as follows: pictures sold, 7.5% of price realised; pictures bought-in, 2.5% of the price at which bought-in. These charges were all-inclusive except for insurance. Later in the month he asked them to commence preparing the catalogue. (Christie's to JBR, 5.9.1922, 21.9.1922, Robinson papers, Hawthornden.) The sale catalogue listed 116 lots; however, lots 110 and 114 were later withdrawn. See *Catalogue of the well-known collection of pictures of old masters of Sir Joseph B. Robinson, Bart., of South Africa...*, Christie's, London, 6 July 1923, annotated copy in Christie's Archives, London.

<sup>12</sup> Two different reasons have been put forward for his change of mind about the sale of his collection. The author of a history of Christie's published three years after the sale implies that Robinson's reluctance to sell the collection was related to his inflated ideas of the attributions and value of the paintings for which he had overpaid, which is in contrast to the often-related anecdote that on the eve of the sale he was wheeled around the saleroom and decided he could not bear to part with his collection. H.C. Marillier, *Christie's 1766-1925*, London, 1926, p.201.

<sup>13</sup> *The Times*, 7.7.1923, p.12.

<sup>14</sup> The sum realised for these sixteen paintings was 33 680gs (£35 364). The total of the reserves for the sixteen paintings which were sold was £32 200 (30 667gs). Three of these works which were entered as sold in the Christie's records were knocked down to 'Fairclough', who was Robinson's secretary acting on his behalf. (lot 78: Jakob van Ochtervelt, *The toast*, reserve of £1 000, (?)sold for 1250gs; lot 99: Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Princess Mary*, reserve of £800, (?)sold for 1 000gs; lot 112: St. George Hare, *'For natural instinct teaches me'*, reserve of £100 and (?)sold for 120 gs (Fairclough to Christie's, 7.7.1923, Robinson papers, Hawthornden). Thus only 13 paintings were actually sold: lot 3: John Constable, *Embarkation of George IV from Whitehall*; lot 8: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of General Blyth*; lot 16: Sir Thomas Lawrence, *A boy with a dog*; lot 26: George Romney, *Portrait of Miss Chitty Marshall*; lot 27: George Romney, *Portrait of James Oliver*; lot 29: J.M.W. Turner, *Falls at Clyde*; lot 42: Guardi, *Grand Canal, Venice*; lot 49: Jan van de Cappelle, *A sea-piece*; lot 51: Joos van Cleve, *The Madonna and Child*; lot 59: Frans Hals, *Portrait of a young woman*; lot 65: Melchior d'Hondecoeter, *Gardens of a palace*; lot 81: Rembrandt, *Portrait of his sister, Lysbeth van Ryn*; lot 111: Pierre Mignard, *Portrait of Louis XIV*. See the Robinson inventory in the appendix for reserve and sale prices and the names of buyers.

Of all the Randlord collections discussed in the past four chapters, the Robinson collection was the only significant one which came close to finding a final home in South Africa. According to a speech made by the governor-general, the Earl of Athlone, on the occasion of the opening of the new Art Gallery in Cape Town in 1930, it had been Robinson's intention that 'his countrymen should have the fullest opportunities of enjoying it'. His died shortly before this materialised although the pictures had been packed in anticipation of their shipment to South Africa.<sup>15</sup> This expression of loyalty to his mother country is consistent with Robinson's poem, 'South Africa', written and published shortly before his death:

Land of my Birth! Sweet memories hail thee,  
Scenes of my youth, so fair and bright,  
Shall I e'er forget thou caressed me  
From my birth, a wee tiny mite?

With thy growth I have grown since childhood,  
Mid scenes and years that have flown,  
All are impressed on my manhood,  
To thee I owe all I own.<sup>16</sup>

Despite these sentiments, Robinson had not finalised any benefactions at the time of his death. This, in addition to the accumulation of hatred for the man suppressed over many years by a fear of libel, resulted in the publication of his will which released a flood of criticism. A writer in the *Cape Times* pointed out that Robinson 'owed the whole of his immense fortune to the chances of life in South Africa. He has not left a penny out of all his millions to any public purpose in the country which showered these immense gifts upon him.'<sup>17</sup> His daughter Ida, who married Natale Labia, the Italian plenipotentiary to

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<sup>15</sup> *Cape Times*, 3.11.1930.

<sup>16</sup> L. Weinthal, *Memories, mines and millions*, London, 1929, introduction.

<sup>17</sup> An article in the *Cape Times* following Robinson's death, under the heading of 'Nil Nisi Bonum', opened a debate about 'wealth's duty'. It stated: 'Dead men speak through their wills ... and some men are so unfortunate, or, it may be, so inveterately evil, in their lives, that the voice with which they speak through their wills after they are dead has nothing but evil to say of them. ... Among such wills, ... the will of the late Sir Joseph Robinson is most deadly conspicuous. ... This man owed the whole of his immense fortune to the chances of life in South Africa. He has not left a penny out of all his millions to any public purpose in the country which showered these immense gifts upon him. ... It will live in the records of South Africa for all time; and those who in the future may acquire great wealth in this country will shudder lest their memory should come within possible risk of rivalling the loathsomeness of the thing that is the memory of Sir Joseph Robinson' (*Cape Times*, 7.11.1929). The controversy about 'wealth's duty' continued for the rest of the week in the columns of the press. See *Cape Times*, 7.11.1929 – 9.11.1929.

South Africa, acquired the collection in 1930<sup>18</sup> and promised it on 'indefinite loan' to the new gallery in Cape Town as soon as negotiations were concluded with the state.<sup>19</sup> In the years thereafter the press repeatedly assumed that the Robinson collection would be secured for South Africa.<sup>20</sup> It remained, however, in storage until 1958, when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London. Thereafter the collection was loaned to the South African National Gallery for a minimum period of two years, thirty years after it had first been anticipated.<sup>21</sup> The speeches on the occasion of the opening of this exhibition once again contained numerous references to the hope that the collection would at last become part of South Africa's national heritage<sup>22</sup> and John Paris, director

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<sup>18</sup> At first, soon after the death of Robinson, the family would appear to have contemplated disposing of the collection. There survives a cryptic letter to this effect from the solicitors 'Indermaur and Brown' to Fairclough (2.12.1929), and a detailed proposal relating to the possible sale of the collection was compiled by 'Edward Fortescue Gange, Fine Art Critic and Expert' (29.11.1929). A year later the family had not only agreed to keep the collection but also considered reacquiring three of the paintings sold in 1923 (French Gallery (Wallis and Son) to Fairclough, 30.10.1930, 31.10.1930, 11.11.1930). Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

<sup>19</sup> 'The Chairman reported that he had interviewed the Count and Countess Labia who were favourably disposed towards the idea of loaning the collection.' 12.8.1930; see also a draft of a Deed of Trust in the Beattie Papers, UCT, which is dated 1933; Minute book of SANG, 25.3.1933 for alterations to the Draft Deed.

<sup>20</sup> For example, *Sunday Times*, 13.11.1932; *Cape Times*, 26.5.1937; *Cape Times*, 21.10.1937. There exists a memorandum of uncertain date from Countess Labia to the Minister of the Interior which sheds some light on why the negotiations never came to anything. It transpires that the British government was anxious that the collection remain in Britain because it was of 'national importance', and agreed to waive death duties on it amounting to some £33 000 (*South Africa*, 7.12.1930, p.209). However, Countess Labia and her husband 'considered it much better to have the pictures in the country in which we lived so that not only ourselves but our fellow citizens could have the pleasure and benefit of seeing them.' They paid the death duties so that the collection could leave Britain, and went abroad in 1935 with the intention of returning to South Africa with the collection. (Although Count Labia died on 9 January 1936, the press was still reporting in May 1937 that the Countess was in England for the purpose of bringing the collection to Cape Town (*Cape Times*, 26 May 1937).) 'Unfortunately the South African Government took such a hostile attitude towards Italy on the Abyssinian question, that my husband had to cut our visit short, and hurry out here, and then worry himself to his death' (memorandum from Her Excellency, the Countess Labia to the Minister of the Interior, SANG correspondence archives). In 1939 the issue reappears in the minute books of the South African National Gallery, and the obstacle cited here is that the government was hesitating about refunding death duties that had already been paid in South Africa (see the Acting Director's report, Minute books of SANG, 25.8.1939). It would seem that certain conditions set out by Princess Labia in the Draft Deed of Trust were further hindering the loan twenty years later in the early 1950s (Minute books of SANG, 28.7.1950; 26.10.1951; 7.12.1951).

<sup>21</sup> Princess Labia died at the age of eighty, a month before the two year loan-period was to end (*Cape Times*, 7.3.1961). Prior to her death the ownership of the collection passed to the Robinson Holding Company, a company controlled by her, and of which she was the sole beneficiary. On her death the collection was divided equally between her two sons Count Natale Labia and (Prince) Dr J.B.R. Labia. The 'Raphael' was excluded from this arrangement because of its uncertain attribution (and value) and was sold jointly some years later. Interview: Count Labia, 28.4.1993.

<sup>22</sup> *Cape Times*, 10.4.1959. A few days later the press was filled with a typical art world storm-in-a-teacup: Cape artists were indignant at being 'ignored' and not invited to the opening. The Princess gracefully responded by holding a reception at Hawthornden for the 'uninvited artists'. *Cape Times*, 14-16, 23.4.1959.

of the South African National Gallery, wrote a passionate plea for its retention in South Africa, because the 'Robinson Collection was made from gold dug out of South Africa'.<sup>23</sup> His plea was not heeded because the government did not wish to purchase the collection<sup>24</sup> and because the family were not interested in presenting it to South Africa. The family returned it instead to Britain, though they subsequently presented Robinson's house, Hawthornden, and the family house at Muizenberg to the nation.<sup>25</sup>

Before discussing the content of the collection, the social context in which it was formed must be explored. Robinson moved from the Witwatersrand in 1891, five years after the discovery of gold, when he acquired Hawthornden (Fig. 5.2), a mansion near Cape Town, from a fellow Randlord, Frederick Philipson-Stow, for £16 000.<sup>26</sup> The house was decorated and furnished by Maples and Co.,<sup>27</sup> and on its walls hung 'choice pictures' worth £1 000.<sup>28</sup> In 1893 he announced that he and his family planned to settle in London. Once living in London, Robinson evidently presumed that he could achieve social prominence in upper-class British society by conspicuously parading his new-found fortune. He was partly correct in this respect because as a foreign resident in

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<sup>23</sup> *Cape Times*, 10.3.1961.

<sup>24</sup> A delegation of the trustees of the South African National Gallery met with the Minister of Education, Arts and Science on 9 March 1961 to make a last plea for the purchase of the collection. Its value was estimated at between three-quarters of a million and a million pounds (minutes of the Trustees of SANG, 9.3.1961). As the point was made at the time, the sum concerned was not exorbitant. 'At the time of the Van Riebeeck celebrations [in 1952] South Africa happily spent R1 400 000; and from this all that was left, besides memories, was only a few thousand feet of colour film' (*Cape Times*, 6.3.1961). The government did suggest that it would 'take steps to acquire the collection for the nation' (*Cape Times, Argus*, 10.3.1961). But within the month it became clear that the collection was to be leaving South Africa for exhibition in Europe (*Cape Times*, 27.3.1961).

<sup>25</sup> There are, however, reminders of the Robinson wealth and collections in South Africa as a result of the generosity of J.B. Robinson's grandchildren. Count Natale Labia has been particularly generous in his loan of his portion of the collection to galleries in South Africa and elsewhere. He gave his parent's Italianate home at Muizenberg in Cape Town to the nation in 1988, as a satellite museum of the SANG, together with a pair of the Boucher cartoons and a number of other minor works from the Robinson Collection. Count Labia and his brother have also offered Hawthornden, Sir Joseph's home in Wynberg, to the Cape Provincial Administration to become a museum of Victoriana after the death of the present Count Labia. See *Natale Labia collection on loan to the South African National Gallery*, exh. cat., Cape Town, n.d. [1976]; L. Alexander and P. Hardy, *Natale Labia Museum: an account of the history of 'The Fort' and its conversion to a museum and cultural centre*, South African National Gallery, Cape Town, 1988.

<sup>26</sup> Transfer 1124 of 26.3.1891, Deeds office, Cape Town. I am grateful to Dee Nash for locating this reference. See also G. Viney, *Colonial houses of South Africa*, Cape Town, 1987, pp.132-145. A rumour circulated in May 1898 that Robinson had sold Hawthornden to a fellow Randlord, Mr Julius Jeppe of Johannesburg, for £42 000 (*South Africa*, 28.5.1898, p.444) but Robinson evidently changed his mind about the sale because his descendants still live in the house.

<sup>27</sup> The house still contains a great deal of Maples furniture. Interview: Count Labia, 28.4.1993.

<sup>28</sup> *South Africa*, 1.12.1894, p.413.



London writing about society in 1885 observed, the 'principal force' which swayed the upper middle classes was wealth.<sup>29</sup> The Edwardian hostess, Lady Dorothy Nevill, recalled in the 1890s that wealth 'usurped the place formerly held by wit and learning. The question is not now asked, "Is So-and-so clever?" but, instead, "Is So-and-so rich?"<sup>30</sup> And, as Olive Schreiner wrote in *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*, published in 1897, 'If you had five or six million you could go where you liked and do what you liked. You could go to Sandringham. You could marry anyone. No one would ask what your mother had been; it wouldn't matter.'<sup>31</sup>

No research has been published on the incomes of the Randlords, but it is clear that they were among the wealthiest individuals in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain.<sup>32</sup> Robinson's share-holdings at the end of 1895 were estimated by the *Mining World* to be worth £6m,<sup>33</sup> which would have provided him with an annual income of at least several hundred thousand pounds.<sup>34</sup> This was an enormous income considering that a writer in *Cassell's Family Magazine* estimated in 1897 that £50 000 could sustain an upper-class lifestyle, including a country house with scores of servants, a town house for the season, a steam yacht for three months, allowances for the family, stables and much more.<sup>35</sup> According to Lady Dorothy Nevill, even £10 000 a year could allow a very comfortable existence, although 'your modern millionaire gives as much for a single picture whilst up-to-date entertaining on such a sum is hardly possible. Ten thousand a year is still, of course, a snug fortune, sufficient to have a little shooting, some hunting, a modest house in the country, and a small *pied-à-terre* in town....'<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *Society in London, by a foreign resident*, London, 1885, p.86.

<sup>30</sup> Lady Dorothy Nevill, *Reminiscences*, London, 1906, pp.99-100.

<sup>31</sup> Olive Schreiner, *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland*, London, 1897, p.36.

<sup>32</sup> The four wealthiest businessmen who died between 1895 and 1914 in Britain were Alfred Beit (1853-1906), Charles Morrison (1871-1909), Julius Wernher (1850-1912) and Henry O. Wills (1850-1912). Alfred Beit and Sir Julius Wernher left estates worth about £8m and £10m respectively. See W.D. Rubenstein, *Men of property: the very wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution*, London, 1981, pp.41-44.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted by R. Trevelyan, *Grand dukes and diamonds*, London, 1991, p.87.

<sup>34</sup> It was speculated that the value of his estate would not be less than £10m (*Cape Times*, 7.11.1929; *South Africa*, 15.11.1929, p.279) but the assets in South Africa were valued at £2 691 510 17s 7d. Pictures, miniatures, furniture, silver and china were valued at £57 444. This excluded the bulk of the art collection which was in storage in London.

<sup>35</sup> 'Millionaires and their money. How they spend their income', in *Review of Reviews*, 15 (1897), p.146.

<sup>36</sup> Lady Dorothy Nevill, *Reminiscences*, London, 1906, pp.99-100.

The enormous fortunes that Robinson and the other Randlords acquired so rapidly, at a time when income tax was nominal,<sup>37</sup> dramatically altered the scale of expenditure in the upper classes. As Aslet remarked about those years, the Randlords and their contemporaries 'grazed in a savannah of cheap labour, and cheap fuel, they basked beneath a sky in which the flimsy clouds of income tax and death duties had only just begun to appear.'<sup>38</sup> As a result, the Randlords had the means to acquire almost instantaneously a mansion in Park Lane and a country house and estate, assemble a substantial art collection, maintain a yacht (Fig. 5.3), own a racing stud,<sup>39</sup> and entertain lavishly.<sup>40</sup> An entry in Beatrice Webb's diary, describing a dinner party hosted by Sir Julius Wernher and his wife in 1906, provides a glimpse of the lifestyle that the Randlords' enormous incomes allowed them to live:

The setting, in the way of rooms and flowers and fruit and food and wine and music, and pictures and works of art, was hugely overdone – wealth! wealth! wealth! was screamed aloud wherever one turned. All the company were living up to it, or bowing down before it. There might just as well have been a Goddess of Gold erected for overt worship – the impression of worship in thought, feeling and action could hardly have been stronger.<sup>41</sup>

For the Randlords, spending their wealth became as important as accumulating it, because of the apparent assumption that status would automatically follow such conspicuous consumption. This was the essence of Thorstein Veblen's hypothesis in *The theory of the leisure class* (first published in 1899):<sup>42</sup> that in order to gain the

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<sup>37</sup> In the 1890s income tax was minuscule (at the end of the South African War it was raised to a shilling in the pound) and death duties were also minimal (in 1894 death duties were 8% on estates larger than a million pounds). Lloyd George's People's Budget of 1909, which made more substantial demands on the wealthy, was still some years away.

<sup>38</sup> C. Aslet, *The last country houses*, New Haven and London, 1982, p.3.

<sup>39</sup> Many of the Randlords owned horses and racing studs. Solly Joel was the most successful in this respect. Barnato (*South Africa*, 12.1.1895, p.82), Bailey and even Beit (*South Africa*, 28.9.1895, p.687) also owned horses.

<sup>40</sup> An exception was Alfred Beit who restricted his entertaining at his home in Park Lane to intimate groups. Sir Lewis Michell, who was on intimate terms with most Randlords, recalled dining with Alfred Beit and his brother Sir Otto at 26 Park Lane in July 1905, and remarked, 'Those who sneer at the garish taste of the "new rich" would have rubbed their eyes. Our hosts were entirely devoid of any desire to impress visitors with their wealth.' L. Michell, *Half a century in and out South Africa, 1864-1919*, unpublished typescript, p.286, Michell papers, CA.

<sup>41</sup> Norman and Jeanne MacKenzie (eds.), *The diary of Beatrice Webb*, London, 1984, vol 3, p.42.

<sup>42</sup> Halle questions the validity of theories such as that of Veblen referred to in this thesis which contend that art is mainly a status symbol which individuals and social classes are said to use in an attempt to distinguish themselves from, and display superiority over, others. He disputes these theories because, in his experience, people, when surveyed, 'rarely say that the main reason they adopted an artistic or cultural form was status'. I would think this is to be expected, because it is highly unlikely that any person using

esteem of contemporaries, 'it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence'.<sup>43</sup>

In Robinson's case, he sought a house in Park Lane and expressed interest in a house in the country soon after arriving in England.<sup>44</sup> He at first rented Lord Tweedmouth's town house (Brook House at 28 and 29 Park Lane)<sup>45</sup> and the following year he bought the leasehold on Dudley House in Park Lane (Fig. 5.4) from the second Earl of Dudley.<sup>46</sup> Dudley House was one of the grandest town houses in London with a ballroom (50 by 24 foot) and a picture gallery (82 by 21 foot) on the second floor and a succession of opulent reception rooms – including the 'red', 'blue' and 'yellow' drawing rooms – on the first floor, all decorated in the French style.<sup>47</sup> Robinson then spent a few hundred thousand pounds on pictures for these spaces,<sup>48</sup> acquired a large yacht,<sup>49</sup> and together with his wife hosted spectacular concerts at Dudley House. Their

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art in one form or another as part of a strategy to advance their social standing would admit to it. They would then be detracting from the very attributes of class, status and culture which they are seeking from association with one art form or another (D. Halle, *Inside culture: art and class in the American home*, Chicago and London, 1993, p.6). A rejoinder to this would be Auslander's assumption in her recent book, *Taste and power: furnishing modern France*, that 'in the domain of taste ... judgements of aesthetic value emerge from a complex interaction of desire for emulation, distinction, and solidarity. ... [P]eople come to find certain aesthetic forms desirable for very good reasons. They are not necessarily aware of those reasons' (Leora Auslander, *Taste and power*, Berkeley and California, 1996, p.2).

<sup>43</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The theory of the leisure class*, New York, 1931, p.36.

<sup>44</sup> *South Africa*, 21.4.1894, p.126.

<sup>45</sup> *South Africa*, 21.4.1894, p.126.

<sup>46</sup> *South Africa* incorrectly reported on 26.1.1895 that Barney Barnato had acquired Dudley House (see *South Africa*, 8.6.1895, p.514). The date of 1895 as when Robinson took occupancy is given in *Survey of London: The Grosvenor estate in Mayfair. Part II: the buildings*, London, 1980, pp.227-280. The fourteen-year leasehold of Dudley House cost £10 000. In 1902 Robinson extended the lease for another ten years from 1909 to 1919 at a rent of £2 000 and a premium of £10 000. Minutes of the Grosvenor estate board, 1049/5/30 (pp.289-291), 1049/5/36 (pp.459-460), City of Westminster archives, London.

<sup>47</sup> Very few photographs of the interiors of Dudley House, taken while Robinson owned the leasehold, have survived. Photographs taken by Bedford Lemere in 1890 provide some idea of the opulence of the spaces (Bedford Lemere 10303-16, National Monuments Record, London). There is a photograph of the 'The Entrance Hall at Dudley House' in *Fortunes made in business: life struggles of successful people*, London, n.d [c.1900]; and a photograph of the picture gallery in L. Weinthal, *Memories, mines and millions*, London, 1929.

<sup>48</sup> On the occasion of the Christie's 1923 sale of the Robinson collection, the total of his reserves was £436 560, against a hammer price total of less than half, 200 390gs, which was still a very substantial sum for a private collection in the 1920s. The totals listed in the text differ from some newspaper reports and the details related in H. C. Marillier, *Christie's 1766-1925*, London, 1926, pp.207-209. My totals are taken from the annotated copy in Christie's archives.

<sup>49</sup> In 1902 Robinson took possession of a 700 ton yacht, *La Belle Sauvage*, on which King Edward is reputed to have been a frequent visitor. Robinson was not alone among the Randlords in his interest in yachting. Sir Donald Currie owned *Iolaire* which Alfred Beit periodically chartered. Charles Rudd owned *Mingary* which had a crew of 21, and a smaller yacht *Maloom* of 72 tons. Solly Joel acquired his first

lavish and ostentatious entertaining, which was always widely reported in the press,<sup>50</sup> was noted for the importance of the singers and actors they secured for these functions (including Nelly Melba, Clara Butt and Sarah Bernhardt), and the floral decorations<sup>51</sup> (on one occasion guests actually fainted from the overpowering perfume of the masses of flowers).<sup>52</sup> A press report of their first concert, a few months after they had established themselves in Brook House,<sup>53</sup> describes an event which in its magnificence belies the fact that they had just arrived from the colonies:

The handsome staircase had broad bands and trellis-work of roses, the reception-rooms were beautiful with orchids, the music-room was done entirely in carnations, with a harp, lyre, and a 'cello outlined in pink flowers; and carnations also decorated the supper-room, where every one was loud in praises of the wonderful fruit, the champagne... and the quails.... The electric light was put in for the night and shone from candelabra of Venetian glass, in big bells of roses, and in the pretty pagodas of pink flowers which stood in the centre of each round supper-table. As for the music it was quite divine. Melba and Albani vied with each other as the queens of song, and Scalchi was also keenly appreciated by all who heard her.<sup>54</sup>

These concerts are almost the only occasions on which one is provided with any idea of Mrs J.B. Robinson (Fig. 5.5) as a person. She is a silent figure, always in the background, overshadowed by her domineering husband, yet she must have been exceptionally capable to organise and host all the spectacular parties that became a hallmark of the Robinsons' years at Dudley House. (At the end of the 1903 season, Mrs Robinson was presented with a 'palm' for the best concert of the season at which Clara

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boat *Doris* in 1903 which proved to be too small, and in 1910 launched a new 1000-ton boat, also named *Doris*, designed by George Watson who designed the royal yacht *Britannia*.

<sup>50</sup> See the album: *Press cuttings – social and society at Dudley House, 1894-1912*, Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

<sup>51</sup> As Frances, Countess of Warwick recalled, 'It was necessary to spend at least five hundred pounds to entertain five hundred people.... It was not the buffet supper that was so expensive.... The main outlay was on floral decorations. There was a great rage for this, and each hostess tried to outvie her friends....' Frances Greville, *Afterthoughts*, London, 1931, p.52.

<sup>52</sup> 'The concert at Dudley House began the week, and was a wonderfully good one, with masses of beautiful flowers everywhere, but not such strong scented ones as on a former occasion, when several of Mrs Robinson's guests fainted owing to the perfume of the lilies and roses that were used for the decoration.' *World*, 7.7.1903.

<sup>53</sup> The guest-lists for the Robinsons' concerts were usually published in the press. They suggest that the Robinsons never actually succeeded in being accepted by the upper reaches of London society, because there is a conspicuous absence of the names of the smartest of the aristocracy or even the prominent landlords and their associates in these lists.

<sup>54</sup> A writer in the *World* quoted in *South Africa*, 4.8.1894, p.236.

Butt sang.)<sup>55</sup> But her input and influence in terms of the art collection is difficult to establish. Unlike the Wernher and Phillips collections, where the wives of these Randlords played a discernible role in their formation, there is no evidence that Mrs Robinson influenced what was acquired or how it was displayed.

As mentioned already, it is in the context of conspicuous consumption that some aspects of the Randlords' collecting could be considered. Art was a meaningful component of the resources they mustered to reinforce their claim for recognition by the upper classes. Indeed, as Auslander notes, the 'creation of a respected collection may have allowed a recently wealthy consumer more prestige than investing the same amount of money in other commodities.'<sup>56</sup> In the case of Robinson, his large expenditure on artworks appears to have had the desired effect because the press reports of the concerts at Dudley House often made reference to the array of paintings on display in the reception rooms. A reporter from the *Daily Express* in 1903 observed: 'Everyone was admiring the four Bouchers which were bought by Mr Robinson a month ago at Christie's, and which were hung in the entrance hall, where they made a splendid appearance, all lit up and looking even more brilliant, surrounded as they were by flowers. The pictures, it is said, cost the sum of £24 000.'<sup>57</sup>

Like many other collectors through the centuries, the Randlords were aware of the symbolic power of art and the relationship between the hierarchies of art and social status. Their collections were used to create the impression that they had transcended their material achievements as successful businessmen or financiers, and that they were thus eligible for membership of a cultured elite. As Gaskell has remarked: 'A collection of paintings lends *cachet* and serves as a bid for social attention from those who already possess through inheritance such symbols of wealth and discernment'.<sup>58</sup> Although most Randlord collections cost arguably no more than the other facets of their conspicuous consumption, they provided them with an esteem unequalled by all their other expenditure. This relates closely to Bourdieu's observation that:

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<sup>55</sup> T. Gutsche, *No ordinary woman*, Cape Town, 1966, p.173.

<sup>56</sup> Leora Auslander, *Taste and power: furnishing modern France*, Berkeley and California, 1996, p.297.

<sup>57</sup> *Daily Express*, 30.6.1903.

<sup>58</sup> Ivan Gaskell, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting*, London, 1990, p.14.



Of all the conversion techniques designed to create and accumulate symbolic capital, the purchase of works of art, objectified evidence of 'personal taste', is the one which is closest to the most irreproachable and inimitable form of accumulation, that is, the internalisation of distinctive signs and symbols of power in the form of natural 'distinction', personal 'authority' or 'culture'.

When Robinson bought the leasehold of Dudley House, there were very few notable paintings in the house which would have supported the social status to which he aspired. In January 1895, Robinson asked J.M. McLean, a publisher and printseller, for a report and valuation of the paintings in the house, possibly with a view to buying them *en bloc*. The response was very unfavourable:

I have gone carefully through the pictures at Dudley House and regret I am unable to report favourably on the pictures in the Gallery, they are a very uninteresting lot. The pictures in the side drawing Room are very desirable and suit the Room admirably. The watercolour drawings with the exception of the Turner are nothing. Some of the Sculpture is good but there are no pieces by eminent artists. I am afraid there will be difficulty in obtaining half the prices they are put down at in many cases.

The manner in which Robinson went about acquiring paintings for the large gallery<sup>61</sup> (Fig. 5.6), and the series of reception rooms in Dudley House, was idiosyncratic as compared with that of his fellow Randlelords. Wainwright has remarked that 'The collectors themselves are only half of a complex equation and in some cases where they are advised by one trusted dealer they make up far less than that half'.<sup>62</sup> In Robinson's case there was no single trusted prominent dealer or adviser.<sup>63</sup> He purchased paintings from a number of dealers in London and Paris as well as at Christie's auction sales in London. This was very unusual for a collector in the 1890s because the auction rooms were seen as the preserve of dealers, in addition to which the finest old masters

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<sup>59</sup> P. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, London, 1984, p.282.

<sup>60</sup> J.M. McLean of McLean Publisher and Printsellers, to JBR, 31.1.1895, Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

<sup>61</sup> The long gallery, decorated in the French style by the first Earl Dudley in 1855, was divided into three sections by pairs of columns 'of white Parian marble or scagliola', and each section was both top-lit and gas-lit. The ceiling and other architectural features were embellished in white and gold, and the walls were painted in a subdued green and gold diapered pattern.

<sup>62</sup> C. Wainwright, '[Review of] "The cultures of collecting" edited by J. Elsner and R. Cardinal', *Burlington Magazine*, 137, February 1995, pp.126-127.

<sup>63</sup> Robinson bought only one painting from Agnew's. The only evidence of contact with Colnaghi's was a letter from them in February 1901 offering him a number of Dutch pictures which he did not acquire. W. McKay to JBR, 28.2.1901, Colnaghi letterbook 5, p.36.

seldom passed through the salerooms.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, auctioneers made little effort in those years (in contrast to the present day) to encourage the participation of collectors, and their vague cataloguing ensured that only knowledgeable bidders, such as dealers, purchased paintings at auction. As is demonstrated by an article in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1905, which cautioned those collectors who were purchasing indiscriminately at auction sales, this changed early in the twentieth century:

The habit of attending sales has become a society craze, and the wealthiest people in England are to be found in the rooms for the two or three days upon which the things are on view. Naturally many objects attract their attention, and they give a commission or two before they leave the sale-room. Now, unfortunately, wealth and artistic perception do not necessarily go hand in hand, and these people are seldom found to possess either judgement or idea of value. The result is that grotesquely extravagant prices have frequently been obtained for rubbish.... In a great measure the change has been brought about by the phenomenal puffing of the sales in the press.... The result is that art sales have been invested with a speculative attraction that can be likened only to the cotton or wheat market when a boom is in progress.

Robinson's purchases at auction sales were possibly related to the parsimonious assumption<sup>65</sup> that he could avoid paying the prices commanded by the leading dealers if he purchased directly at the sales using a commission agent. However, this may have been an erroneous assumption because, as the writer in the *Burlington Magazine* of 1905 warned: 'An agent is tempted to refrain from adverse criticism when he sees a buyer keen upon acquiring an object. He knows he will meet with small opposition in buying a poor thing, and a handsome fee will accrue to himself.'<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> The obvious exception is the Dudley collection which was sold at Christie's in 1892. Although a great number of old master paintings passed through the rooms, the more important and valuable works were invariably sold by private treaty through dealers. As the *Year's Art* remarked in 1896 and 1897, with the best properties, private negotiation was preferred to the glamour of public auction. *Year's Art*, 1896, p.252; 1897, p.277.

<sup>65</sup> 'The auctioneer as dealer', *Burlington Magazine*, 7, August 1905, pp.371-372.

<sup>66</sup> Robinson was known to be parsimonious in art matters. For example, a letter survives from Tooth's protesting that Robinson thought that £38.11s was an 'exceedingly high' bill for a major re-hanging of his gallery. Tooth's argued that they had had their restorer and four experienced men hanging and refitting at Dudley House for three days. 'I do not think the charge at all unreasonable, moreover, I do not think that any other firm would have done the same amount of work at anything like the same price.' 8.12.1911, Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

<sup>67</sup> 'The auctioneer as dealer', *Burlington Magazine*, 7, August 1905, pp.371-372.

Exactly what role Robinson's agents and advisers served, and how they were remunerated, is not clear. It would appear that his independent streak ensured that he took advice selectively from not one, but three individuals: Arthur Tooth, who seems to have acted as his commission agent at auction,<sup>68</sup> and Sir George Donaldson<sup>69</sup> and Charles Davis,<sup>70</sup> who are usually mentioned as his advisers. However, none of these three assisted Robinson in the manner in which Bode guided Wernher and Beit, because they were all active dealers with stock to sell, and not art historians or museum curators. The few surviving letters both from Donaldson and Davis to Robinson shed little light on his relationships with either of them. But Davis's introductory letter to Robinson in December 1895 reveals him to be an opportunistic and assertive dealer and not an objective adviser:

Pray pardon me for reminding you about the valuation – pictures and works of art at Dudley House – I have now completed valuations for several customers and could finish yours quickly, if you wish. I am induced to trouble you about it because Mr Vagliano had a very bad fire from a spark

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<sup>68</sup> On the occasion of the Goldsmid sale at Christie's in 1896 Robinson presumably used Tooth's as commission agents because all the paintings in the Robinson collection with the provenance of the Goldsmid collection are entered as sold to Tooth's in Christie's records. Similarly, with Robinson's four Boucher cartoons which he bought at the Vaile sale at Christie's in 1903, Tooth's are recorded as the buyers in Christie's records.

<sup>69</sup> Sir George Donaldson (1845-1925, knighted in 1904) had a gallery in New Bond Street and was a prominent public-spirited figure in the art world. He had created and furnished a series of historical music rooms at the Inventions Exhibition of 1885, served as vice-president of the International Jury for the Paris Exhibitions of 1889 and 1900 and as a member of the Royal Commission for the St. Louis Exhibition in 1904. In 1894 he presented the Donaldson museum to the Royal College of Music in 1894, and gave a collection of furniture to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1900. Donaldson also served as a director of the Royal Academy of Music and a member of the Royal Institution (*Who was Who, 1916-1928*, pp.293-294). The two surviving letters from Donaldson to Robinson (in the Robinson papers, Hawthornden) do not mention any identifiable paintings. However, from contemporary catalogues and exhibitions, it has been established that Donaldson owned the following paintings before they entered the Robinson collection: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Miss Katherine Edgar*; a *Portrait of two Princesses*, then attributed to Velasquez; a pair of panels attributed at the time to Piero di Cosimo depicting scenes from Jason and the Golden Fleece; a pair attributed to Ghirlandaio depicting scenes from the life of St John the Baptist; a work attributed to Raphael, *Portrait of a young man*; Frans Hals, *Portrait of a gentleman*; Pieter de Hooch, *An Interior with two couples drinking*; an oil attributed to Rembrandt, *Portrait of an old man wearing a cap*; and François Boucher, *Landscape with a rustic bridge*. See the inventory of the Robinson collection in the appendix for further information.

<sup>70</sup> Charles Davis operated from a gallery in Bond Street, established by his father, and he later served as the art expert to King Edward VII and George V. The Davis family handled some of the finest pieces in the English Rothschild collections (Charles Davis prepared the catalogue of Alfred de Rothschild's collection) and the Wallace collection (see *Apollo*, 18, November 1933, p.342). From contemporary auction sale catalogues it can be established that Charles Davis owned the following three paintings which later entered the Robinson collection: Sir Edwin Landseer, *'Chevy'*; John Phillip, *Early career of Murillo*; and Frederick de Moucheron, *The ford*.

in his drawing room and the whole question of fire insurance comes vividly to one's imagination when one sees the result of one....<sup>71</sup>

The sheer range and size of the collection that Robinson ultimately assembled is unmatched when compared with other Randleford collections. His choices range from the occasional Italian quattrocento work through to Victorian paintings, with most schools and periods of the intervening centuries represented. The collection totalled about 170 paintings, with the bulk of the acquisitions lying in the fields of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British paintings. Even though the emphasis on these schools is typical of Randleford collections, as will become evident, his selection of works within these fields was idiosyncratic. In addition to these paintings, the collection included about 23 works by Italian artists from the fifteenth through to the eighteenth centuries, 13 paintings by eighteenth-century French artists, and about 10 contemporary works. As there are very few discernible patterns evident in terms of period, subject matter or quality in the collection, a logical way to discuss the collection would be to consider the two distinct public spaces in which the paintings were displayed in Dudley House: those works which hung in the gallery, and those paintings chosen for the reception rooms decorated in the French style.

The Italian old masters and Dutch and Flemish works were grouped together in the picture gallery.<sup>72</sup> The manner in which Robinson arranged his paintings in this space suggests that he sought to replicate the appearance of a traditional British aristocratic gallery. The paintings in the Dudley House gallery were stacked symmetrically around focal pictures, with the smaller cabinet-type paintings hung on the bottom tier at eye level, and the larger works above. Hence, the primary factors which influenced his arrangement were size, subject matter and colour, as opposed to schools or styles. Such an arrangement, which has been described as a 'picturesque' or 'decorative' display, was particularly suited to a private collection, because collections of this kind were

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<sup>71</sup> C. Davis, 147 New Bond Street, London, to JBR, 17.12.1895, Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

<sup>72</sup> Robinson was the only Randleford who displayed part of his collection in a gallery space. Even though most Randlefords had houses built or altered to their specifications, they, unlike the American collectors, did not imitate the great British collectors (or the Kann brothers in Paris) and include a picture gallery in their scheme.

usually not confined to certain schools or periods that might lend themselves to being hung in a didactic historical fashion. Robinson's approach stands in contrast to the trend then evolving of more selective displays in which pictures were hung in a single line around a gallery, ensuring that all the attention would be focused on the pictures themselves rather than on the overall effect.<sup>73</sup>

Apart from Wernher, Robinson was one of the few Randlelords who bought paintings by Italian artists. As has been discussed,<sup>74</sup> factors such as the shifting attributions, the often problematic state of preservation, the imposing nature of biblical images and, at times, the complex iconography of such paintings, may have contributed to the Randlelords' avoidance of the Italian schools. Robinson's choices comprised works from different parts of the Italian peninsula, dating from the fifteenth through to the eighteenth centuries. The collection included altarpieces, devotional panels, images with complex classical iconography, and a range of portraits as well as one work each by the two Italian artists that most Randlelords did collect – Canaletto and Guardi.

Robinson's biographer observed that he was not simply another magnate who bought himself a house in Park Lane in which the only pictures were photographs of himself, and the only book was Ruff's *Guide to the Turf*.<sup>75</sup> This is correct, but the intimation that he was a knowledgeable collector, and that he was what would then have been understood as a 'connoisseur', is problematic. From his purchases it would appear that Robinson was not preoccupied with assembling a collection of paintings subtly linked in terms of period, school, style or subject matter. He was also not a 'masterpiece collector' as were Alfred and Sir Otto Beit, who regularly acquired irrefutable masterpieces at substantial prices. Although a fair number of Robinson's purchases came from important British collections that had been dispersed in the 1890s – including the Cornwell Legh, Pelham-Clinton-Hope and Ashburnham collections – he seldom chose the highly regarded works from these collections, possibly because he resisted the prices that such paintings would have commanded. Consequently, the

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<sup>73</sup> See G. Waterfield, 'Picture hanging and gallery decoration', in G. Waterfield (ed.), *Palaces of art: art galleries in Britain 1790-1990*, exh. cat., Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1991, pp.48-65; and F. Russell, 'The hanging and display of pictures, 1700-1850', *Studies in the History of Art*, 25, pp.133-153.

<sup>74</sup> See the Wernher and Beit chapters.

<sup>75</sup> L. Weinthal, *Memories, mines and millions*, London, 1929, p.115.



attributions of many of the works by prominent artists, and the supposed masterpieces in his collection, have since been questioned. Ironically, the paintings in the Robinson collection which are now highly valued are seldom the works that were considered noteworthy in the 1890s, for example, the large altarpiece by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *The Madonna of the Rosary with angels* (Fig. 5.7). However, it would seem that Robinson did not purposefully choose works by such relatively neglected artists in the belief that they were under-valued: his choices are far too inconsistent and varied to support any conclusions of this kind.

The earliest painting in the Robinson collection, a work at that time attributed to Fra Angelico (now attributed to Domenico di Michelino), *Day of Judgement* (Fig. 5.8), is almost the only Italian 'primitive' painting to be found in a Randlord collection, although such works were very popular with American collectors. Robinson acquired a number of altarpieces, far larger in size than any of those belonging to Wernher, possibly because he had space for such works in his gallery. These included a work attributed to Ambrogio da Borgognone (later attributed to Vincenzo Civerchio), *The Madonna adoring the Child with angels* (Fig. 5.9); a painting by an artist akin to Carlo Crivelli (later attributed to Niccola di Maestro Antonio D'Ancona), *The Madonna and Child enthroned*; a long horizontal panel by Girolamo da Santa Croce, a sixteenth-century Venetian school artist, *Madonna and Child between Saints Catherine of Alexandria and St John the Baptist* (Fig. 5.10), and the striking Tiepolo altarpiece.<sup>76</sup> Thematically related to these paintings is the only Spanish painting that Robinson acquired: a large painterly late work by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo depicting the *Vision of Saint Francis de Paolo* (Fig. 5.11), originally from the Ashburnham collection.

The two canonical masterpieces among Robinson's Italian paintings were the pair of sixteenth-century panels painted in Florence in 1487 to celebrate the union of two leading Florentine banking families through the marriage the previous year of Lorenzo

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<sup>76</sup> Other Italian paintings with religious iconography in the Robinson collection include: Andrea del Sarto (now considered to be a copy), *Saint Catherine*; (?)circa 1500, Umbrian, School of Perugino, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*; and Jacopo Tintoretto (now 'attributed to'), *Esther and Ahasuerus*. Similar in spirit to these works, although smaller, is a fifteenth-century Netherlandish panel of *The Madonna and Child* by Joos van Cleve.

Tornabuoni to Giovanna de Maso degli Albizzi. These two works, *The departure of the Argonauts* (Fig. 5.12) and *The Argonauts in Colchis* (Fig. 5.13), each with complex classical iconography, illustrate events in the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece. Although their quality has never been questioned, the exact identity of the artists has been debated over the years. Both works tended to be attributed to Piero di Cosimo in the years when they belonged to Robinson, although the first work is now attributed to 'The Master of 1487', a person who was active in the studio of Domenico Ghirlandaio, and the latter work to Bartolomeo di Giovanni. Robinson bought this pair, together with two other horizontal panels (also originally from the Tornabuoni family) illustrating events in the life of Saint John the Baptist, from Sir George Donaldson, who had in turn acquired all four from the Ashburnham collections in about 1895. This latter pair, *Nativity of Saint John* (Fig. 5.14) and *Saint John preaching in the wilderness* (Fig. 5.15), were attributed to Domenico Ghirlandaio and, more recently, have been given to Francesco Granacci.

Another facet of Robinson's Italian paintings was his acquisition of a number of Roman and Venetian portraits. The most important of these was a *Portrait of a young man* (Fig. 5.16), said to be by Raphael (now in the J. Paul Getty Museum), whose attribution continues to be debated by art historians. The other portraits include a *Portrait of a senator*, now attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo; three portraits of women by Veronese and his school;<sup>77</sup> a painting by Paris Bordon (now considered a school work) of *A lady at her toilet*; and a work by Pietro Muttoni, called Della Vecchia, of *Two armed warriors*. There is a further work that falls into this category but was not purchased as such: an attractive and painterly *Portrait of two small girls* by Sebastiano Mazzoni, which Robinson acquired as *Portrait of two Princesses* by Velasquez (Fig. 5.17).

In the field of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, Robinson was partly guided by the art-historical hierarchy of the 1890s. He bought an array of works attributed to well-known artists such as Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Pieter de Hooch, Gabriël Metsu, Jacob van Ruisdael, Meindert Hobbema, Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck. Yet he also acquired a large group of paintings by interesting but

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<sup>77</sup> These are: attributed to Paolo Veronese, *Portrait of a lady of a noble family*, and another, *Portrait of a lady*; and School of Veronese, *Portrait of a Venetian lady*.

lesser-known artists such as Bartholomeus van der Helst, Gonzales Coques, Simon Kick, Eglon Hendrik van der Neer, and Jakob Ochtervelt. As with his Italian paintings, he acquired works with a range of subject matter and styles. These included portraits (four by Bartholomeus van der Helst<sup>78</sup> (Fig. 5.18) and a pair of portraits from Anthony van Dyck's Antwerp period, *Portrait of Monsieur de Witte* and *Portrait of Madame de Witte*, and a number by Rubens); still lifes (Jan Davidsz. de Heem, *Still-life with fruit on a table* and Jan van Huysum, *Vase of flowers* (Fig. 5.19)); biblical images such as a work by Adriaen van der Werff of the *Adoration of the shepherds* and an oil by Anthony van Dyck of *The Magdalene*;<sup>79</sup> a range of landscapes, seascapes (two each by Jan van de Cappelle (Fig. 5.20) and Willem van de Velde the Younger);<sup>80</sup> and genre scenes of both middle-class and jovial lower-class life in interiors and outdoor settings (which will be discussed further below). Furthermore, his collection included a large group of works by seventeenth-century Flemish painters in contrast to many collections described as comprising seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, which consisted of works by Dutch artists only. In terms of Flemish works, in addition to those by Anthony van Dyck already mentioned,<sup>81</sup> he owned an oil by Jacob Jordaens, *Moses striking the rock* (Fig. 5.21), works by Rubens (the attributions of which are all questioned in the present day) which included two portraits, *Portrait of Count de Werve*<sup>82</sup> and *Portrait of Helena Fourment*, and an oil study of *A hero crowned by victory* (Fig. 5.22).

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<sup>78</sup> Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a gentleman*; *Portrait of a cavalier*; *Portrait of Sophia Trip, wife of Balthasar Coymans* and *Portrait of Balthasar Coymans*. Robinson also acquired a work by Aelbert Cuyp (in 1988 considered to be painted by an artist in his circle), *Portrait of a lady*.

<sup>79</sup> Another such work was an oil thought to be painted by Daniel Seghers and Rubens, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine surrounded by a garland of fruit and flowers*, which was later attributed to Jan Pauwel Gillemans the Elder.

<sup>80</sup> Jan van de Cappelle, *A sea-piece* (sold 1923) and a canonical work, *A calm sea* (sold 1989); and Willem van de Velde the Younger, *Shipping in a calm* and *Shipping in a calm, one firing a salute* (now considered to be by a follower).

<sup>81</sup> In the 1923 sale of the Robinson collection the works by Anthony van Dyck carried reserves so far removed from the bought-in prices that the market presumably considered them all to be school works. The pair of portraits of the de Wittes' bore a reserve of £20 000 and were bought back at 2 850gs; *The Magdalene* was valued at £5 000 and bought-in at 220gs, and the *Portrait of Lady Herbert of Raglan* was bought-in at 250gs as against a reserve of £4 000.

<sup>82</sup> In the 1923 sale of the Robinson collection the Rubens, *Portrait of Count de Werve*, had a reserve of £10 000 and bidding stopped at 1 500gs, suggesting the market was then already aware of its school status.

Robinson's taste did not correspond closely to either the 'modern' or the 'traditional' taste in old masters, as discussed in the chapter on Beit. His landscapes, for example, included three works by Dutch Italianate painters whose work typified the 'traditional' taste – *A rural scene* by Nicolaas Berchem (now attributed to Hendrick Mommers) (Fig. 5.23), *The ford* by Frederick de Moucheron with staffage by Adriaen van de Velde, and *Watering horses* by Aelbert Cuyp – yet he also owned two naturalistic landscapes by Jacob van Ruisdael, *A woody landscape* and *A Scandinavian landscape with a waterfall*<sup>83</sup> (Fig. 5.24), and two by Meindert Hobbema, *Farm house at the edge of a wood* and *Outskirts of a wood* (subsequently found to be signed by Jan van Kessel), which exemplify the taste of a 'modern' collector. His two works by 'fijnschilder' – a Gerard Dou (later attributed to Frans van Mieris the Elder), *A smoker seated at a window* and an oil by Willem van Mieris, *A young woman and a man drinking* – are characteristic paintings for a 'traditional' collection, although his austere large Frans Hals *Portrait of a gentleman* (Fig. 5.25), would have been appropriate in a 'modern' collection. This mixture extends into his acquisition of works by Rembrandt and his school. He owned a painterly *Portrait of an old man wearing a cap* (Fig. 5.26), which then bore a signature and a date of 1656 (now attributed to Willem Drost), which a 'modern' collector would have rated highly, as well as two earlier works which would have appealed to a 'traditional' collector: a *Portrait of his sister Lysbeth van Ryjn* dated 1633 (Fig. 5.27); a *Portrait of a young lady* (later attributed to Jan Victors); and a large imposing image of *Pilate washing his hands* (now attributed to Jan Lievens and in 1923 attributed to Aert de Gelder) (Fig. 5.28).<sup>84</sup>

Genre scenes comprised about a fifth of the sixty-odd seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings that Robinson acquired. His choices were evenly spread between works which belonged firmly in the realm of 'traditional' taste and paintings which

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<sup>83</sup> In the 1923 sale of the Robinson collection, the two works by Jacob van Ruisdael, *A woody landscape* and *A Scandinavian landscape with a waterfall*, bore reserves of £4 000 and £5 000 respectively and were bought-in at 900gs and 680gs, which would suggest that the market questioned this attribution.

<sup>84</sup> Most of the works by Frans Hals and Rembrandt would appear to have been regarded as authentic works at the time of the 1923 sale of the Robinson collection. The Frans Hals, *Portrait of a gentleman*, bore the enormous reserve of £25 000 and bidding stopped at 19 000gs. The Rembrandt *Portrait of an old man wearing a cap*, had a reserve of £15 000 and was bought-in at 11 500gs, and the *Portrait of his sister Lysbeth van Riyn* was sold to Colnaghi's for 4 300gs, fractionally above the reserve of £4 500. On the 'school of Rembrandt' *Portrait of a young lady*, Robinson placed a reserve of £4 000, and the market considered it to be worth only 420gs and presumably not by Rembrandt.

would have appealed more to a 'modern' collector. The works that 'traditional' collectors would have preferred included three works by David Teniers the Younger (*The interior of a guard room*,<sup>85</sup> *Skittle players outside an inn* and *A hurdy-gurdy player*); two by Philips Wouwermans (*The outskirts of a wood* (Fig. 5.29) and *A cavalry engagement*); one by Adriaen van Ostade (*The village school*); one by Christoffel Lubieniecki (*The travelling minstrels*), and two by Jan Steen (*The sick lady* (now 'attributed to') and *The wax-figure seller* (Fig. 5.30)). The genre scenes of middle-class life which may have appealed to 'modern' collectors can be divided into outdoor scenes and interior settings. The latter included two by Pieter de Hooch (*An interior with two couples drinking* and *A couple with a maid-servant pouring wine in a brothel* (Fig. 5.31));<sup>86</sup> a work by Simon Kick, *Interior of a guard room with twelve figures* (Fig. 5.32); an oil by Gabriël Metsu (now considered 'school of'), *A musical party*; a work by Eglon Hendrik van der Neer, *Figures in an interior* (Fig. 5.33); two by Jacob Ochtervelt (*A lady and a child* and *The toast* (Fig. 5.34)), and an oil by Gerard ter Borch (which is now attributed to him) of *An interior with a couple and a procuress*.<sup>87</sup> Four such genre scenes set outdoors, which Robinson also acquired, are Gonzales Coques, *A family party in the gardens of a palace*, Simon van der Does, *Children in a landscape*; Melchior d'Hondecoeter, *Gardens of a palace*; and Pieter de Hooch (later attributed to Ludolf de Jongh), *A garden scene*.

On the basis of newspaper reports, it appears that Robinson's eighteenth-century French and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British paintings were displayed in the reception rooms of Dudley House. Works by Thomas Gainsborough and George Romney are mentioned as hanging in the yellow drawing room,<sup>88</sup> a set of large cartoons by François

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<sup>85</sup> The David Teniers the Younger, *The interior of a guardroom*, was a picture Robinson rated very highly: he placed a reserve of £6 000 on it in the 1923 sale of the collection and bidding stopped at 800gs.

<sup>86</sup> The two works attributed to Pieter de Hooch carried reserves far removed from the buy-in prices in the 1923 sale of the Robinson collection (which could suggest that the attributions were questioned at the time): £7 000 (as against a hammer price of 1 700gs) and £9 000 (as against 1 000gs).

<sup>87</sup> An enormous reserve of £10 000 was placed on the Gerard Ter Borch, *An interior with a couple and a procuress*, in the 1923 sale of the Robinson collection which obviously suggests that Robinson valued this picture very highly although bidding stopped at 3 000gs.

<sup>88</sup> *African World*, 4.7.1903.



Boucher in the entrance hall,<sup>89</sup> and paintings by Sir John Everett Millais were gathered together in the red drawing room.<sup>90</sup>

Robinson's choice of eighteenth-century British and French paintings conform closely to those that the other Randlords acquired, presumably because the French-style interiors in which they were displayed in Dudley House were similar to those in the houses of the other Randlords. Some of the reasons for acquiring such paintings, such as their symbolic representations of allegiance to Britain and identification with the values of the British upper class, have been discussed in the Beit chapter. But because Robinson was neither German nor Jewish, there may be additional reasons related to the tacit allusion to ancestry which portraits provided as well as the sheer availability of such works on the London art market in the 1890s.

In terms of class and nationality, the Randlords' backgrounds were obviously far removed from the history and provenance of the British portraits they collected. The prolific Victorian author, Grant Allen, in his little-known novel, *An African millionaire: episodes in the life of the illustrious Colonel Clay*, published in 1897, ridiculed this fact in a sketch in which the brash newly-rich magnate, Sir Charles Vandrift, avidly sought out portraits which could provide him with an instant ancestry. This magnate, whose manner bears some similarity to Robinson's reputed behaviour, had arrived recently in London from the goldfields. Soon thereafter he pursued a 'Rembrandt' portrait of Maria Vanrenen, who supposedly was a remote ancestor of the Vandrifts before they emigrated to the Cape in 1780, for the reason that 'It would be a splendid thing for the boys ... to possess an undoubted portrait of an ancestress by Rembrandt'!<sup>91</sup> Although this sketch caricatures the Randlords, it nevertheless illustrates the strong need felt by colonial-born individuals to overcome the lack of a notable lineage.

Both in terms of prices realised and publicity accorded to auction sales, paintings by British artists were at the forefront of the London market in the 1890s. In 1896, the year

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<sup>89</sup> *Daily Express*, 30.6.1903.

<sup>90</sup> *Madame*, 27.12.1902.

<sup>91</sup> Grant Allen, *An African millionaire: episodes in the life of the illustrious Colonel Clay*, London, 1897, pp.62-63.

in which Robinson acquired most of his eighteenth-century British portraits, *all* of the twenty-eight paintings sold in the London auction rooms at a price greater than 1 400gs were works by British artists (and not old masters). The following year the *Year's Art* remarked that 'there is a certain patriotic satisfaction to be derived from the fact that collectors nowadays fasten upon the early British school with a keenness similar to that formerly displayed by connoisseurs in the acquisition of works by the old masters.'<sup>92</sup> (It is interesting to note that this was a decade before the dealer Duveen and his American clients entered the market.)<sup>93</sup>

Where Robinson does differ from some of the other Randlords is in the speed with which he acquired eighteenth-century British portraits (and his other paintings) after settling in London. It was reported as early as April 1896, when he had been living in Dudley House for just over a year, that he was 'a great buyer of old masters' and that his collection included 'some of the most valuable pictures in Europe.'<sup>94</sup> At the height of the 1896 season he spent over £15 000 at Christie's sale of the collection of the late Sir Julian Goldsmid and bought a third of the British portraits he was to own.<sup>95</sup> He continued purchasing at this rapid rate for another three years by which time he acquired almost all the paintings he was to own. The critic C. Lewis Hind's description of those collectors who trod along 'the primrose path of collecting, taking the line of least resistance' by buying 'those pictures that would be starred in Baedeker, or greeted

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<sup>92</sup> *Year's Art*, 1898, p.259. The standard measure of record auction prices between the 1880s and 1914 was the number of paintings that sold for sums in excess of 1 400gs (much in the same way that the million-dollar figure is the threshold price in the present day). An interesting point is that for twenty years between 1886 and 1907 the number of paintings sold at auction above this figure remained annually in the range of twenty or thirty (except in 1892 and 1895) and only from 1908 did the number of works sold for more than 1 400gs rise dramatically (see *Year's Art*, 1914, p.366). In 1895 thirty-one of the forty-five paintings that sold for prices above 1 400gs were by British painters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – and Gainsborough headed the list (*Year's Art*, 1896, p.252). In 1897 twenty-six of the thirty-two paintings sold for above the threshold price were by British artists (*Year's Art*, 1898, p.259).

<sup>93</sup> The name Duveen is first mentioned in the press as a buyer at record prices in 1901 when he outbid Charles Wertheimer for a Hoppner portrait, *Lady Louisa Manners*, and paid the London auction record of 14 050gs (£14 752). *Year's Art*, 1902, p.268.

<sup>94</sup> *South Africa*, 18.4.1896, p.146.

<sup>95</sup> *Catalogue of the ... collection of pictures formed by ... Sir Julian Goldsmid*, Christie's, London, 13 June 1896. The works Robinson purchased at the Goldsmid sale were John Linnell, *Welsh Landscape...* for £840; John Constable's large sketch of the *Embarkation of George IV from Whitehall* (£2 100); Sir William Beechey, *Portrait of Frederica Ulrich Charlotte Catherine, Duchess of York* (£1 470); John Hoppner, *Portrait of a lady in white muslin seated in a landscape* (£1 155); George Romney, *Portrait of James Oliver* (£273); George Romney, *Portrait of Urith, Lady Shore* (£2 100); Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Dehaney and their daughter* (£2 205); Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Charles Manners, Fourth Duke of Rutland* (£1 470); and Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Mrs Mathew* (£4 200).

with cheers when hoisted upon the easel at Christie's' could also be applied to Robinson.<sup>96</sup>

Robinson's preferences in the field of eighteenth-century British portraiture correlate closely with those works highly valued by the market. Sir Joshua Reynolds and, later, Thomas Gainsborough were the two artists most highly regarded by collectors,<sup>97</sup> followed by George Romney, John Hoppner, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir Henry Raeburn and Sir William Beechey, all of whose work was re-evaluated once the prices of paintings by Reynolds and Gainsborough had risen dramatically early in the twentieth century.<sup>98</sup> Robinson owned very few works by any of the lesser-known British painters, and his purchases included seven portraits attributed to Gainsborough,<sup>99</sup> four to Reynolds,<sup>100</sup> five to Romney, three to Lawrence, two to Beechey, and one each to Raeburn and Hoppner. Of these, seven were substantial full-length portraits,<sup>101</sup> eight were three-quarter length works,<sup>102</sup> and nine were half-length

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<sup>96</sup> C. Lewis Hind, *Adventures among pictures*, London, 1904, p.33.

<sup>97</sup> The precedent for this dates back to the purchase at auction by Agnew's in 1876 of Thomas Gainsborough's *Portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire* for 10 100gs, and Lord Rothschild's purchase in 1886 of Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Garrick between Tragedy and Comedy* for a reputed price of £20 000 (G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, pp.187-189). Gainsborough's *Portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire* was sold again by Sotheby's, London, on 13 July 1994 for £265 500 and bought by the present Duke of Devonshire.

<sup>98</sup> Reitlinger suggests that it was Samson Wertheimer who boosted the market for work of the second tier of British portraitists because by the mid-1890s he was already paying high prices for their paintings. G. Reitlinger, *Economics of taste*, London, 1961, vol 1, p.190.

<sup>99</sup> Robinson also owned a number of landscapes by Thomas Gainsborough which included one of the most important works from the artist's Suffolk period: *Open landscape [in Suffolk] with plough team, donkey's, windmill, church and figure on a bank*; as well as *Hilly landscape with a ruined abbey*; *The wood-gatherers*; *Sudbury* (now attributed to school of Gainsborough).

<sup>100</sup> Robinson considered Gainsborough and Reynolds to be the most esteemed British painters and some of works in the 1923 sale of his collection bore estimates worthy of Duveen. The Reynolds *Portrait of Mrs Mathew* he estimated to be worth £25 000 and was bought-in at 8 000gs; the Gainsborough *The blue page* carried a reserve of £25 000 and was bought-in at 7 500gs, and the *Portrait of Mrs Drummond* bore a reserve of £20 000 and bidding stopped at 10 000gs. The other works of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British artists bore far more realistic reserves, and a number of them sold, including the only Turner and Constable in the collection.

<sup>101</sup> Full-length portraits: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Dehany and their daughter* and *The blue page*; Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Charles Manners, Fourth Duke of Rutland*, *Portrait of Mrs Mathew* and *Portrait of Miss Harriot Whitbread*; Sir Thomas Lawrence, *Portrait of Mrs Whittington*; and attributed to Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Duchess of Chandos*.

<sup>102</sup> Three-quarter length portraits: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Admiral Lord Graves* and *Portrait of Mrs Drummond*; George Romney, *Portrait of Urith, Lady Shore* and *Portrait of a lady and her child* (later attributed to Robert Edge Pine); John Hoppner, *Portrait of a lady in white muslin seated in a landscape*; Sir Thomas Lawrence, *A boy with a dog (Master Locke)*, *Portrait of a gentleman* (now lost); and Sir Henry Raeburn, *Portrait of Mrs Patrick Duff seated in a landscape*.

and head-and-shoulders portraits.<sup>103</sup> The particularly noteworthy works amongst this array include Gainsborough's life-size virtuoso oil sketch, *The blue page* (Fig. 5.35), with its rapidly rendered hatched brushwork, his three-quarter length *Portrait of Mrs Drummond* (Fig. 5.36), his *Portrait of Admiral Lord Graves* (Fig. 5.37), and the full length *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Dehany and their daughter* (Fig. 5.38). Paintings by Reynolds include *Portrait of Mrs Mathew* (Fig. 5.39) and *Portrait of Mrs Harriet Whitbread* (Fig. 5.40). In addition to these portraits, he owned two works from Anthony van Dyck's English period: *Portrait of Lady Herbert of Raglan* and *Portrait of Princess Mary* (now considered to be a school work).

Robinson spent considerably more than any other Randle on works by eighteenth-century French artists. The reasons why Robinson may have been willing to spend such large sums on works of this kind could be linked to their accessible and amenable imagery, for they often have clear narratives laden with sentiment. C. Lewis Hind's description of French eighteenth-century painting may represent Robinson's and other Randle's views of these works:

Care and anxiety are banished. All the middle-aged women are pretty. Time changes, but does not ravage, in this land of the eighteenth-century painter.... These dainty ladies, pretty cavaliers, Dresden shepherds and shepherdesses, find life a delightful way of passing time. The true *joie de vivre* is theirs. Passing troubles are kissed away.... Witty talk, airy *badinage*, harp-playing in bowers, sailing little boats on sunny lakes, with statues of Cupids on terraces and a blue sky eternally overhead.<sup>104</sup>

His most substantial purchase was the set of four large François Boucher cartoons, *Le Billet Doux*, *L'Offrande à L'Amour*, *Vertumnus and Pomona* and *Evening*, which he bought at the Reginald Vaile sale in May 1903 at Christie's, specifically for the ballroom at Dudley House.<sup>105</sup> The press reported that the competition was fierce for

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<sup>103</sup> Half length and head-and-shoulder portraits: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of General Blygh* (oval) and *Portrait of Miss Katherine Edgar* (oval); Sir William Beechey, *Portrait of the Duchess of York* and *Portrait of Lady Throckmorton*; Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Miss Theophila Palmer, reading 'Clarissa Harlowe'*; attributed to Hogarth, *Portrait of a lady* (oval); George Romney, *Portrait of a lady*, *Portrait of Miss Chitty Marshall* and *Portrait of James Oliver*.

<sup>104</sup> C. Lewis Hind, *Adventures among pictures*, London, 1904, p.108.

<sup>105</sup> The Vaile collection of French painting was the finest seen on the London market in a number of years, and realised (together with other properties) £105 845, a record total in the history of the London salerooms. For a description of the Vaile collection, see Frank Rinder, 'Mr Reginald Vaile's collection of

these four Bouchers, and that the dealers, Tooth's, acting on Robinson's behalf,<sup>106</sup> outbid Agnew's and Sedelmeyer, purchasing the set for 22 300gs (£23 415), which was a truly enormous price in the art market of the time.<sup>107</sup> Robinson also bought two of his four French eighteenth-century portraits at the Vaile sale: a work by Louis Tocqué, *Portrait of a young woman as Flora* (820gs) (Fig. 5.41), and a Jean-Baptiste Marie Huet, *Shepherd boy and his dog* (410gs), which joined an oil by Élizabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *The pet kitten*, and a *Portrait of Louis XIV* attributed to Pierre Mignard, which he already owned. He also acquired over the years four other works by François Boucher: an oval *Landscape with a rustic bridge* (Fig. 5.42), *A landscape with peasants* (Fig. 5.43), *The love-letter* and *A pastoral scene*.<sup>108</sup>

Unlike collectors in the Wernher-Beit coterie, Robinson assembled a substantial group of works by nineteenth-century British academicians. These included nine oils by Sir John Everett Millais as well as works by Sir Edwin Landseer, John Linnell, John Phillip, Louis Bosworth Hurt (Fig. 5.44), St George Hare, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Lord Frederick Leighton,<sup>109</sup> a few early nineteenth-century works by George Morland<sup>110</sup> and John Opie,<sup>111</sup> and a work each by John Constable and J.M.W. Turner.<sup>112</sup> It is probable that Robinson was particularly fond of this aspect of his collection because he retained many of these works when he offered most of his

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eighteenth-century French pictures', *Art Journal*, 1902, pp.65-69 and 149-154; and the *Catalogue of ... French pictures ... of Reginald Vaile*, Christie's, London, 23 May 1903.

<sup>106</sup> I make the likely assumption that Tooth's were acting on Robinson's behalf because it would seem improbable that a dealer would consider taking into stock four paintings bought publicly for one of the highest prices ever paid in the London saleroom. (*The Times* on 25.5.1903 commented 'This is an enormous price for this artist'.)

<sup>107</sup> *The Times*, 25.5.1903; *Year's Art*, 1904 pp.309-310. The four François Boucher panels for which Robinson had paid 22 300gs in 1903 carried a reserve of £40 000 in the 1923 sale of his collection and were bought-in at 18 000gs.

<sup>108</sup> I am grateful to Alastair Laing of the National Trust for assisting me in identifying and establishing the provenance of the Bouchers in the Robinson collection.

<sup>109</sup> These include: John Linnell, *Welsh landscape with shepherds driving a flock of sheep*, dated 1863; Louis Bosworth Hurt, *Highland cattle at the edge of a mountain loch*; St George Hare, 'For natural instinct teaches me', exhibited at the R.A. 1885; an enormous Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *Anthony and Cleopatra*; Frederick Goodall, 'For such is the Kingdom of Heaven', and Lord Frederick Leighton, *Frigidarium* (the last three were 'always' at Hawthornden).

<sup>110</sup> Robinson's six George Morland oils include *The smugglers*, and *In front of the bell inn*.

<sup>111</sup> The large oil by John Opie entitled *The fortune teller* depicts a gypsy fortune-teller with a baby on her back reading the hand of an upper-class woman wearing a loose-fitting flowing dress, while the fortune-teller's young son dressed in rags feeds the woman's spaniel.

<sup>112</sup> John Constable, a large sketch, *Embarkation of George IV from Whitehall* (now at Anglesey Abbey); a work attributed to Constable, *De dham lock*; and J.M.W. Turner, a large oil, *Falls at Clyde* (Lady Lever Art Gallery).



paintings for sale at Christie's in 1923.<sup>113</sup> What may have attracted him to these paintings in the first instance was the fact that they were once again images with clear and often sentimental narratives. As a writer noted in 1898 with respect to Millais: 'It is not that there is overmuch of the higher sort of intellect in Millais' work; perhaps that is why the public have so well appreciated him. His dominating quality is that rather of the heart than of the mind.'<sup>114</sup> As has already been noted, threads of Robinson's interest in such images can also be seen in other aspects of the collection in his choice of eighteenth-century French paintings, as well as in his seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre scenes, and in his many eighteenth-century British portraits of women and children. Robinson generally avoided severe and austere images: for instance, in terms of Spanish artists, he owned no works by Goya, Velasquez or El Greco, but acquired a picture of a saint by Murillo and the portrait of two pretty girls incorrectly attributed to Velasquez.

In the present day, it is all too often forgotten that paintings by the nineteenth-century French academicians and British artists sold for prices equivalent to, and often greater than, those paid for works by old masters. It is clear from auction sale catalogues that Robinson considered them to be worth these comparatively large sums because, on a number of occasions, he himself paid enormous prices for such paintings. For example, Landseer's huge work, '*Weel, Sir, if the deer got the ball, sure's death Chevy will no' leave him*', exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1868, sold at auction in 1895 for what the *Art Journal* described as the 'exceptional price' of £5 985.<sup>115</sup> The same year John Phillip's large *The Early career of Murillo, 1634*, dated 1865, which Robinson later acquired from Charles Davis,<sup>116</sup> sold at Christie's for 3 800gs (£3 990). The prices Robinson paid for his works by Millais are not known, but were likely to have been substantial. Most of the paintings were bought from a leading dealer, Charles J.

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<sup>113</sup> There was a conspicuous absence of the more modern works in the 1923 sale of the collection. Those that were consigned, Robinson still valued at prices appropriate to the 1890s at the height of their popularity. Landseer's *Chevy* had a reserve of £6 500 and bidding stopped at 1 000gs, and John Phillip, *The early career of Murillo, 1634*, bore a reserve of £4 250 and was bought-in at 1 800gs.

<sup>114</sup> M.H. Spielmann, *Millais and his works*, Edinburgh and London, 1898, p.55.

<sup>115</sup> *Art Journal*, 1895, p.315.

<sup>116</sup> It was bought at the J.M. Keiller sale by Charles Davis, but it would not seem to have been specifically for Robinson, because on the basis of the surviving Davis letters to Robinson it would appear that at this date they were not yet acquainted (Robinson papers, Hawthornden). There is an article on the Keiller collection in Dundee in *Art Journal*, 1894, pp.23-28.

Wertheimer, when Millais' fame was at its zenith. At the time of his death in August 1896, Millais was President of the Royal Academy, and a retrospective exhibition at the Royal Academy in the winter of 1898 'brought the fullest measure of posthumous honours to the late President'.<sup>117</sup> As a contemporary biographer observed: 'Never has the name of Millais stood higher than it does today – when his genius is spread out before us, and his defects are forgiven in the power of his Art.'<sup>118</sup>

Robinson's taste for Millais' paintings was very specific: he mostly acquired late sentimental studies of pretty children.<sup>119</sup> He also bought two landscapes, but did not acquire any of Millais' early narrative or subject 'Pre-Raphaelite' pictures, and no portraits of men. One of the oils by Millais purchased by Robinson, *Cherry Ripe* (Fig. 5.45) – a portrait of a small girl wearing a large bonnet based on Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Penelope Booth as 'Simplicity'* – was possibly the best-known of all Victorian paintings (the coloured reproduction published by *The Graphic* in 1880 sold 600 000 copies). His other works included *Getting better*, which was a portrait of the painter's son, John Guille, visiting his sister Alice, who is seated on a bed with a plate of grapes in her lap. The painting, *Girl in a brown dress*, an earlier work by Millais, dated 1851, was a three-quarter-length portrait of a young girl with flowing black hair, who holds her hand under her chin and gazes at the viewer with large brown eyes. *The mistletoe cutter* is a portrait of a girl with dark curly hair seated in a snowy landscape, with a bundle of mistletoe slung over her shoulder. In *Day dream*, a young girl wearing a white dress and blue shawl is seated beside an ornamental pond. The oil, *Shelling peas* (Fig. 5.46), was another well-known work by Millais because it had been given by the artist to Lord Leighton,<sup>120</sup> and was later owned by the prominent Victorian collector

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<sup>117</sup> *Year's Art*, 1899, p.299.

<sup>118</sup> M.H. Spielmann, *Millais and his works*, Edinburgh and London, 1898, p.55.

<sup>119</sup> A reporter observed at a concert at Dudley House in 1902: 'beautiful beyond comparison is the collection of Millais' great works, mostly bought by the present owner at one big sale a few years ago. These are more or less collected in one room, the great red drawing room, which was thrown open for inspection - all the pictures were lighted by cleverly-shaded electric lamps – at Mrs Robinson's concert last July. Here hang the celebrated 'Cinderella' picture, the little girl in a torn blue frock and [with] a broom in her hand; also Millais' charming portrait of his daughter, and two wonderful landscapes [by Millais], the one on a summer evening, the other in the snows of winter, of the painter's country place in Scotland'. *Madame*, 27.12.1902.

<sup>120</sup> It 'was presented to Leighton in return for his kind present of a statuette that caught Millais' eye while taking a glance at the objects in the sculpture room the day before the opening of the Academy. Meeting Leighton a moment afterwards, he told him how he admired a delicate little bronze of a young girl turning to look round at a frog or some other reptile that had startled her. "I am so glad you like that," said the

James Orrock. In this oil a seated woman wears a cream dress, and holds a bowl on her lap into which she is shelling peas.<sup>121</sup> Robinson also owned a portrait of *Cinderella*, and the landscape entitled *Christmas Eve 1887 (Murphy Castle)*.

Robinson's hagiographer wrote that Robinson considered it the duty of a patron to give some support to living artists instead of confining himself to collecting old masters.<sup>122</sup> This is a fanciful idea because, like most of the other Randlords, he owned almost no works by late nineteenth-century artists. Almost all the works by contemporary artists to be found in Robinson's collection are portraits of himself and his family, although they never sat for any of the leading portraitists of their time. Hal Hurst painted Lady Robinson (and Mrs Dale Lace, exhibited at the RA in 1903), and the opportunistic South African artist, Edward Roworth, painted Sir J.B. Robinson.<sup>123</sup> Sir Joseph Robinson's children also sat for Tennyson Cole (as did Mrs Leopold Albu, Barney Barnato's children, Rhodes and Sir Julius Wernher).<sup>124</sup> The artist's recollections of this commission belie the image of Robinson as benevolent patron. He asked Cole in 1897 to paint four oils for £500 (including the cost of the frames)<sup>125</sup> and he instructed the artist exactly what to paint. As the painter recalled,

'First,' Sir J.B. instructed me, 'I want a picture of my three youngest children, to be painted right now while they're pretty like their mother. As they grow up they may grow more like me...'

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President, laughing; "I did it." When the exhibition closed, he sent it to Millais as a present, with a charming letter'. Quoted by Byron Webber. *James Orrock, R.I. Painter, connoisseur, collector*, London, 1903, p.xiii.

<sup>121</sup> See 'A connoisseur and his surroundings: Mr James Orrock RI at 48 Bedford Square', *Art Journal*, 1892, pp.12-17.

<sup>122</sup> L. Weinthal, *Memories, mines and millions*, London, 1929, p.115.

<sup>123</sup> Roworth wrote a letter filled with flattery to Robinson shortly after his peerage was announced, in which he suggested to his 'lordship that instead of the plain frock-coat which we had decided upon for your full-length portrait, that I now paint you in your peers Robes – it would make a most striking and magnificent portrait.' E. Roworth to JBR, 9.6.1922 Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

<sup>124</sup> P. Tennyson Cole was annoyed with Lady Wernher (of all people), who, when agreeing to pay 500 guineas for a portrait of her husband, remarked on the amount of money he must be making. P. Tennyson Cole, *Vanity varnished*, London, 1931, p.218.

<sup>125</sup> P. Tennyson Cole, *Vanities varnished*, London, 1931, pp.177-178.

'Next, I want two large pictures of some Kaffir musicians, and another of what you artists call "A Trysting Scene," to remind me of Kimberley as it was when I first started there...'.<sup>126</sup>

It was with works by nineteenth-century artists that Robinson surrounded himself in the last two decades of his life. In August 1910, he returned to South Africa to live at Hawthornden, and shortly thereafter sold his lease of Dudley House.<sup>127</sup> According to his biographer, Hawthornden in those years was arranged and furnished in the Italian style, with paintings by nineteenth-century Italian artists<sup>128</sup> and 'lovely' statuary by Italian sculptors displayed in the reception rooms. The hall, the dining-room and the billiard room contained fine examples of (nineteenth-century) English, Scottish, Dutch and French artists, while in the library hung 'some of the old Dutch Masters'.<sup>129</sup> His large old master collection, which had been on display in Dudley House, Robinson consigned to storage in London.<sup>130</sup> As has been discussed, he commissioned Christie's to offer it for sale in 1923, only to repurchase most of the pictures and return them to storage in London.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps he could not accept the finality of parting from his collection because, in doing so, he would have had to acknowledge the failure of his ardent aspirations of the 1890s to secure a position in upper-class British life.

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<sup>126</sup> P. Tennyson Cole, *Vanities varnished*, London, 1931, pp.184-185.

<sup>127</sup> Robinson sold the lease to the second Earl of Dudley's brother for £10 000 in 1912 (minutes of the Grosvenor estate board, 1049/5/36, pp.459-460, City of Westminster archives, London). Surprisingly, just before moving back to South Africa, Robinson requested a long extension of his lease of Dudley House from the Grosvenor estate. He was offered a lease of 63 years at a cost of £22 000 and £2 000 annual rent which he thought was excessive but the estate was not willing to negotiate. Then in December 1909 he inquired on what terms the remaining ten years of his lease could be surrendered because he wished to move into the country on account of his and his children's ill-health. The Grosvenor estate refused to consider his request. Minutes of the Grosvenor estate board, 1049/5/36, pp.459-460, City of Westminster archives, London.

<sup>128</sup> There are still nineteenth-century Italian watercolours at Hawthornden and some of the oils were destroyed in a fire in the mid-1970s. Interview: Count Labia, 28.4.1993.

<sup>129</sup> L. Weinthal, *Memories, mines and millions*, London, 1929, p.203.

<sup>130</sup> Robinson briefly contemplated the disposal of his collection in 1911. A certain Lindo S. Myers, of 10 Queen Street, Mayfair, London wrote to Robinson that he had 'heard quite by chance, that you would be prepared to part with the major portion, if not the whole, of your collection.' He offered to introduce a buyer. 17.11.1911, Robinson papers, Hawthornden.

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Figure 5.1  
Edward Rowarth, *Sir Joseph Benjamin Robinson*



Figure 5.2  
Hawthornden, Wynberg, Cape Town





Figure 5.3  
Sir J.B. Robinson with Edward VII on his yacht



Figure 5.4  
Dudley House, Park Lane, London



Figure 5.5  
Hal Hurst, \*Mrs J.B. Robinson



Figure 5.6  
The gallery at Dudley House





Figure 5.7

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *The Madonna of the Rosary with angels*



Figure 5.8

Fra Angelico (now attributed to Domenico di Michelino), *Day of Judgement*



Figure 5.9

Ambrogio da Borgognone (later attributed to Vincenzo Civerchio),  
*The Madonna adoring the Child with angels*



Figure 5.10

Venetian school, sixteenth century,  
*Madonna and Child between Saints Catherine of Alexandria and St John the Baptist*





Figure 5.11  
Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Vision of Saint Francis de Paolo*



Figure 5.12  
Traditionally attributed to Piero di Cosimo (now attributed to "The Master of 1487"),  
*The departure of the Argonauts*





Figure 5.13

Traditionally attributed to Piero di Cosimo (now attributed to Bartolomeo di Giovanni),  
*The Argonauts in Colchis*



Figure 5.14

Domenico Ghirlandaio (now attributed to Francesco Granacci), *Nativity of Saint John*



Figure 5.15

Domenico Ghirlandaio (now attributed to Francesco Granacci),  
*Saint John preaching in the wilderness*



Figure 5.16

Attributed to Raphael, *Portrait of a young man*





Figure 5.17

Velasquez (now attributed to Sebastiano Mazzoni), *Portrait of two small girls*



Figure 5.18

Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Portrait of a gentleman*



Figure 5.19  
Jan van Huysum, *Vase of flowers*



Figure 5.20  
Jan van de Cappelle, *A calm sea*





Figure 5.21  
Jacob Jordaens, *Moses striking the rock*



Figure 5.22  
Rubens, *A hero crowned by victory*





Figure 5.23

Nicolaas Berchem (now attributed to Hendrick Mommers), *A rural scene*



Figure 5.24

Jacob van Ruisdael, *A Scandinavian landscape with a waterfall*



Figure 5.25  
Frans Hals, *Portrait of a gentleman*



Figure 5.26  
Rembrandt (now attributed to Willem Drost), *Portrait of an old man wearing a cap*





Figure 5.27

Rembrandt, *Portrait of his sister Lysbeth van Rijn*



Figure 5.28

Rembrandt (1923 attributed to Aert de Gelder, now attributed to Jan Lievens),  
*Pilate washing his hands*



Figure 5.29  
Philips Wouwermans, *The outskirts of a wood*



Figure 5.30  
Jan Steen, *The wax-figure seller*





Figure 5.31

Pieter de Hooch, *A couple with a maid-servant pouring wine in a brothel*



Figure 5.32

Simon Kick, *Interior of a guard room with twelve figures*





Figure 5.33  
Egdon Hendrik van der Neer, *Figures in an interior*



Figure 5.34  
Jacob Ochtervelt, *The toast*



Figure 5.35  
Thomas Gainsborough, *The blue page*



Figure 5.36  
Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Mrs Drummond*



Figure 5.37  
Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Admiral Lord Graves*



Figure 5.38  
Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Mr and Mrs Dehany and their daughter*





Figure 5.39  
Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Mrs Mathew*



Figure 5.40  
Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of Mrs Harriet Whitbread*



Figure 5.41  
Louis Tocqué, *Portrait of a young woman as Flora*



Figure 5.42  
François Boucher, *Landscape with a rustic bridge*



Figure 5.43  
François Boucher, *A landscape with peasants*





Figure 5.44

Louis Bosworth Hurt, *Highland cattle at the edge of a mountain loch*



Figure 5.45

Sir John Everett Millais, *Cherry Ripe*



Figure 5.46  
Sir John Everett Millais, *Shelling peas*

## CONCLUSION

The Randlords, a group of people who were once very wealthy and powerful, have, within the space of a century, left us with few reminders of their riches and importance. One of the reasons that can be suggested for this dramatic shift is related to the histories of their art collections after their deaths. Almost all the collections have been dispersed. Furthermore, with the exception of Michaelis, the Randlords donated very little in terms of works of art or funds for galleries which could have carried their names into perpetuity. Although they did support Lady Phillips with funds to establish the Johannesburg Art Gallery, these donations were minuscule in relation to their overall wealth. If the Randlords, singly or jointly, had established a national gallery for South Africa by donating significant works from their collections, future generations would have been continuously reminded of the Randlords and their interest in art in the same way that Andrew Mellon's and P.A.B. Widener's names are intertwined with the history of the National Gallery in Washington, and J. Pierpont Morgan's and Benjamin Altman's names with that of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In South Africa, in the present day, people may recall the name of Michaelis, who in real life was a reclusive and reticent Randlord, because of the public collection that bears in name, but the far more prominent and powerful Randlords, such as Wernher, Beit and Robinson, are arguably almost unknown to most South Africans.

In addition to making relatively few gifts of art or endowments to galleries in South Africa, the Randlords also did not turn their own houses into museums, thereby ensuring that their collections would stay intact and *in-situ*. This is in contrast to the American contemporaries of the Randlords, such as Henry Clay Frick, Isabella Stewart Gardner and Henry Edwards Huntington, who all founded museums in their residences, which are now world-famous. The only vaguely similar example of this is provided by the Wernher collection. Although Wernher himself did not set up a museum in Bath House to display his collection in perpetuity, his descendants later installed the collection in the country house, Luton Hoo, and opened it to the public. However, in recent years, the masterpieces from this collection had to be sold for financial reasons, and what remains is pitiable reminder of the extent and breadth of the Wernher

collection. In addition to this, the estate of Luton Hoo is currently on the market, and the fate of the balance of the collection is therefore uncertain. In the case of the Beit collection, Alfred Beit's mansion in Park Lane was sold after his death by his brother, Sir Otto, and Sir Otto's house in Belgrave Square was disposed of after his death by his son. Many paintings from the Beit collection are now in public collections: most of the masterpieces were recently given by the late Sir Alfred and Lady Beit to the National Gallery of Ireland, and the balance of the collection has been installed in a country house in Ireland, Russborough, which is open to the public. Yet these are galleries far removed from both England and South Africa where Alfred Beit lived and accumulated his wealth. In addition to this, it is now a collection different both in content and character to the one that existed at the time of Sir Otto Beit's death in 1930, and distinctly different to the collection put together by Alfred Beit before his death in 1906, because each of these later collectors shaped it to their own tastes. Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips worked harder than any other Randlords to secure the donations of artworks and funds for galleries in South Africa, yet they themselves were not able to afford to keep their collection intact in their own lifetimes. They sold the more valuable paintings in 1913, after they decided to settle in South Africa, and what little remained was sold in 1941, soon after the death of Lady Phillips. Each of their houses, which they built or extensively remodelled in Johannesburg and England, were disposed of in their lifetimes, and their last house, Vergelegen at the Cape, was also sold after the death of Lady Phillips. Sir J.B. Robinson's collection remained intact (and in store) until the late 1950s after the ill-fated Christie's sale of 1923. As illustrated in the last chapter, this collection came close to resting permanently in South Africa. However, most of it has been dispersed since the early 1960s. Sir J.B. Robinson's grandson, Count Labia, has promised Robinson's house at the Cape, Hawthorden, to the Cape Province as a museum. But there never were any of Robinson's masterpieces on display in this house, and hence, on Labia's death, the house will function as a museum of Victoriana rather than as a gallery of his old masters paintings. Thus art, which has so often played a powerful role in shaping people's perceptions of their own identity, was never fully exploited by the Randlords either to acknowledge their debt to South Africa or to act as a lasting statement of their activities as collectors.

Although these factors can help to explain why the Randlords have been largely forgotten by the public, it does not adequately account for historians' neglect of them. As has already been suggested, historians have by and large avoided researching the Randlords because the recent historiography of South Africa has concentrated on the consequences of their development of the mining industry in the country, rather than on them as individuals. This thesis is a start in the study of the Randlords as individuals. However, it focuses on their use of material goods – more specifically works of art – to validate their aspirations and overcome the perceived limitations of their backgrounds. Obviously this is only a facet of their lives, and there remains a wide scope for other research on other aspects of their lives and interests. More specifically, in terms of Randlord collections, this thesis has focused on only five of the approximately two-dozen Randlords. There remain many other Randlord collectors, who perhaps did not have as large or valuable collections as Wernher, Beit and Robinson, but who nevertheless deserve attention. These could include Sir Abe Bailey, the Eckstein family, and the Neumann brothers. In addition to these collectors, as has often been noted in this thesis, the Kann brothers' collections could be studied both from the perspective of their tastes as collectors and in terms of the influence their collections had on the taste for old masters in the U.S.A. in the early twentieth century. They are arguably amongst the most important collectors of the late nineteenth century, yet no systematic research has been undertaken on either them or their collections.

Moreover, this thesis has concentrated on those collections which consisted predominantly of old master paintings; and has only briefly referred to the *objets* and nineteenth-century paintings in the collections. For example, Lady Wernher's collection of ceramics, Lady Phillips' lace and embroideries, Alfred Beit's bronzes, majolica and Hispano-Moresqueware, and Sir Julius Wernher's enormous collection of *objets d'art* are all areas for further research. The study of nineteenth-century paintings acquired by the Randlords and their close contemporaries would also provide an understanding of their own histories and ambitions. In most instances their histories and ambitions differ subtly from those considered in this thesis because most of the Randlord collectors of nineteenth-century paintings were of British descent, and not European, like the Wernher, Beit coterie. In this regard, the collections of Alfred De Pass and Sir Edmund and Lady Davis have recently received some attention from art historians, but those of



Charles Rudd, Barnet Lewis, Solly Joel, Sir Donald Currie, amongst others, have not been studied at all.

This thesis has in no way attempted to analyse the significance of the Randlords' roles in the business and financial worlds of late nineteenth-century Britain or Europe. Placing them in this context would provide rich insights into the history of mining finance and company promotion. The Randlords' position in the British plutocracy at the end of the nineteenth century is alluded to throughout this thesis but could also benefit from further research. Another issue which would extend our understanding of the Randlords is their gifts and benefactions in general. This thesis has covered their donations of art and funds for public galleries to purchase works of art, yet, as is clear throughout my discussion, these gifts were not particularly significant given their overall wealth. Their more substantial benefactions in Britain, South Africa and Germany were in the fields of education and health, while Alfred Beit's trust sought to further the economic development of 'Rhodesia'. There are obviously always reasons why people choose certain beneficiaries, and a study of the Randlords' philanthropy would further illustrate the role of their backgrounds and aspirations in their decision making.

Because the descendants of the Randlords did not maintain an active interest in the business empires they inherited, there are no corporations that today retain the names of the Randlords as reminders of their financial achievements. The Randlords' attempts to found dynasties were ultimately undermined by their overriding desires to be assimilated into the British upper classes through marriage. There are in the present day no prominent families, either in South Africa or Britain, that still bear the Randlord surnames. Perhaps if they had chosen to stay in South Africa, in the way that their American contemporaries unwaveringly identified with the U.S.A. in spite of periodically living in Britain, the Randlords would have become the forefathers of a distinct upper class in South Africa, instead of simply being absorbed into the British upper classes. Thus, although the Randlords were amongst the richest people in the world at the turn of the twentieth century, and amongst the most conspicuous consumers at the end of the nineteenth century, they have almost disappeared from the social and economic landscape of the late twentieth century.

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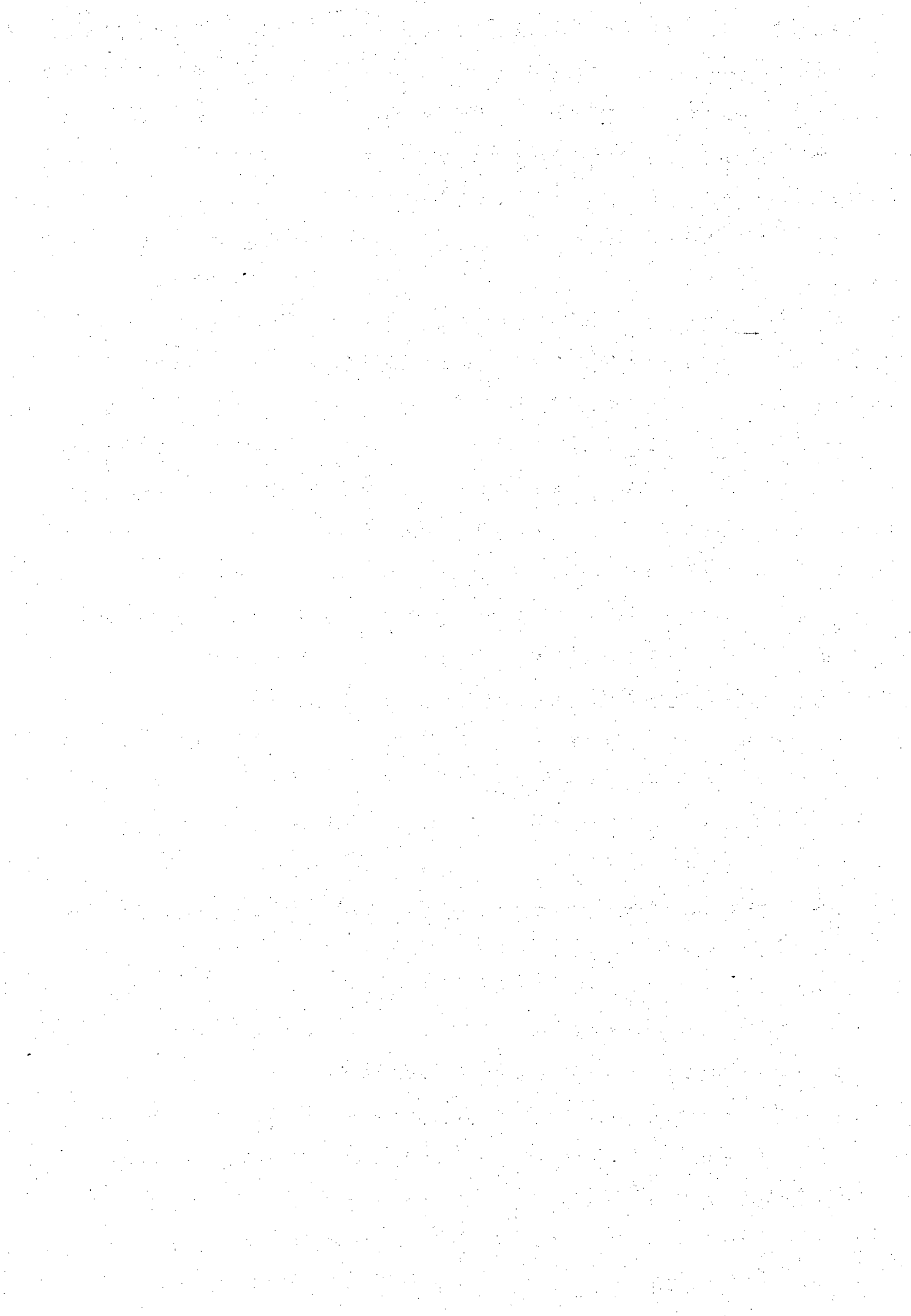
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- Wood, T. Martin, 'A room decorated by Charles Conder [for Edmund Davis]', *Studio*, 34, April 1905, pp.201-210
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- Wood, T. Martin, 'The Edmund Davis collection', *Studio*, 64, part 1: March 1915, pp.78-93; part 2: May 1915, pp.228-245; part 3: June 1915, pp.2-17

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#### 4. SELECTED SALE AND EXHIBITION CATALOGUES AND INVENTORIES OF RANDLORD COLLECTIONS

The references listed below in chronological order are those that contain only, or predominantly, works of art from Randlord collections. This limitation is necessary because over the years countless individual paintings from Randlord collections have passed through the salerooms and been included in exhibitions. More detailed references are included beside the specific pictures in the inventories for collection included in the thesis as appendices. General exhibition catalogues are listed under section 3.

*Illustrated catalogue of 300 paintings by old masters*, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1898

Bode, Wilhelm, *Die Gemälde-Galerie des Herrn Rudolf Kann in Paris*, Vienna, 1900; *La galerie de tableaux de M. Rodolphe Kann*, trans. by Auguste Marguillier, Vienna, 1900; *The collection of Mr Rudolf Kann in Paris*, Vienna, 1900.

Bode, Wilhelm, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit at his residence, 26 Park Lane, London*, Berlin, 1904

*Catalogue of the R. Kann collection: pictures*, 2 vols, Paris, 1907

*Tylney Hall, Hampshire*, illustrated sale brochure, prepared by Messers Trollope (Estate agents, surveyors and auctioneers), London, circa 1909

Ross, G. Campbell (ed.), *Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Johannesburg: illustrated catalogue, with biographical notes*, Johannesburg, 1910

Whitechapel Art Gallery: *Country in town exhibition [which included ... pictures and sculptures destined for the Johannesburg Art Gallery]*, London, 9 July-23 July 1910

*Catalogue des tableaux anciens ... oeuvres importantes des écoles Flamande & Hollandaise du XVII siècle, portraits de l'école Anglaise du XVIII siècle provenant de la collection Maurice Kahn*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 9 June 1911

*Exhibition of a collection of 69 original oil paintings by Thomas Baines...*, Francis Edwards, London, 1912

Baker, C.H. Collins, *Catalogue of the Neumann gift to the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art, Johannesburg*, London, 1912

Colvin, I.D., *Michaelis collection: Cape Times souvenir*, Cape Town, circa 1913

Bode, Wilhelm, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913 (annotated copy in the Michaelis Art Library, Cape Town)

Davis, Charles, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo

Davis, Charles, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Luton Hoo, Bedford, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo

*Catalogue of the important collection of engravings of the early English and 18th-century French schools formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall, Winchfield, Hants. ....*, Christie's, London, 21 April 1913

*Catalogue of the important collection of old French, Italian and English furniture, tapestry and porcelain formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall, Winchfield, Hants....*, Christie's, London, 23 April-8 May 1913

*Catalogue of the collection of pictures by old masters, pastels and drawings, formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall, Winchfield, sold owing to the owner's decision to reside permanently in South Africa ...*, Christie's, London, 25 April 1913

Wood, T. Martin, *Illustrated catalogue of Flemish and Dutch paintings: the Max Michaelis gift to the Union of South Africa*, Grosvenor Gallery, London, 23 May-11 June 1913

Wood, T. Martin, *Illustrated catalogue of Flemish and Dutch paintings: the Max Michaelis gift to the Union of South Africa*, The Old Town House, Cape Town, (printed in London), 1913

*Catalogue of the collection of pottery and porcelain in the possession of Mr Otto Beit*, London, 1916 (annotated copy in the Michaelis Art Library, Cape Town)

Knight, Frank and Rudley, 20 Hanover Square London, W1, catalogue for the sale of *Tandridge Court Estate*, 19 July 1917

*Catalogue of the exhibition of pictures by old masters given and bequeathed to the National Gallery of Ireland by the late Sir Hugh Lane*, Dublin, 1918

*The Johannesburg Municipal Art Gallery and Museum of Industrial Art*, (pamphlet), Goupil Gallery, London, January 1919

*Catalogue of the choice collection of modern pictures and watercolour drawings of the late C.D. Rudd, Esq. of Ardnamurchan, Argyllshire.....*, Christie's, London, 2 May 1919



*Catalogue of the collection of fine French furniture ... formed by L. Neumann, Esq. and removed from 11 Grosvenor Square, Christie's, London, 2-3 July 1919*

*Catalogue of the ... collection of pictures by Dutch masters, the property of L. Neumann, removed from 11 Grosvenor Square ....., Christie's, London, 4 July 1919*

*Catalogue des tableaux-dessins-pastels... sculptures du XVIII siècle... bronzes d'ameublement – pendules... sièges & meubles... composant la collection de M.A. Kann, Galerie George Petit, Paris, 6-8 Décembre 1920*

*Catalogue of the well-known collection of pictures of old masters of Sir Joseph B. Robinson, Bart., of South Africa..., Christie's, London, 6 July 1923 (annotated copy in Christie's archives, London)*

*Japanese colour-prints and other engravings in the collection of Sir Otto Beit, Bart, K.C.M.G. in London and at Tewin Water, Welwyn, London, 1924*

*Catalogue des tableaux anciens... objets d'art et de haute curiosité ... provenant de la collection de feu Monsieur P\*\*\* [reputedly Jules Porges]..., Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 17-18 June 1924*

*Catalogue of sale of the late Isaac Lewis' collection of antiques at Leeuwenhof ... Cape Town, Zoutendyk & Stamper (under the direction of Ashbey's), Cape Town, 19-20 May 1927*

*Catalogue of the important collection of ancient and modern pictures and watercolour drawings, the property of the late Mr. Barnet Lewis..., Christie's, London, 28 February-3 March 1930*

*Catalogue of pictures by old masters, the property of L. Breitmeyer, Esq., deceased, late of 11 Connaught Place W., and Ruston Hall, Kettering, Christie's, London, 27 June 1930*

*Catalogue of the collection of old Italian, French and English furniture, objects of art and tapestry formed by L. Breitmeyer, Esq., and removed from 11 Connaught Place W., and Ruston Hall, Kettering, Christie's, London, 24 June, 2 July-3 July 1930*

*Catalogue of the Johannesburg Municipal Art Gallery, Johannesburg 1930*

*Catalogue of the contents of Maiden Erlegh [property of Solly Joel], Knight Frank Rudley, Reading, England, 7 December 1931*

*Hayden, Arthur, and W. Leslie Perkins, Old English porcelain: the Lady Ludlow collection, London, 1932*

*Highly important early English pictures, the property of the late S.B. Joel, Esq., Christie's, London, 31 May 1935.*

*Old master paintings [including works from the Sir J.B. Robinson collection],* Sotheby's, London, 5 July 1989

*Highly important old master and British paintings: the Sir Joseph Robinson collection,* with an introduction by Peter Cannon-Brookes, Sotheby's, London, 6 December 1989

*Luton Hoo and the Wernher collection,* Luton Hoo, 1991

Griffiths, A.(ed.), *The lace collection of the Johannesburg Art Gallery,* Johannesburg, 1993

*Fine English furniture including the remaining contents of the Stud House, Childwickbury, the property of the late H.J. Joel, Esq.,* Christie's, London, 1 April 1993

Joannides, Marianne, *Exhibition catalogue of master drawings from the De Pass collection, Royal Cornwall Museum, Truro,* exh. cat., Phillip's auctioneers, London, 1994

Tietze, Anna, *The Alfred de Pass presentation to the South African National Gallery,* exh. cat., South African National Gallery, Cape Town, 1995

*Furniture, silver, paintings and works of art from the collection of the late Sir Harold Wernher, Bt., G.C.V.O.,* Luton Hoo, Sotheby's, London, 24-25 May 1995

Fransen, Hans (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings,* Zwolle, 1997

*Important old master pictures,* Christie's, London, 4 July 1997 [paintings from the Wernher collection]

*Catalogue of important old master paintings including ... the property of the late Princess Labia, Sotheby's, London, 27 November 1963*

*Catalogue of ... good continental and English furniture ... including the property of Princess Vera Labia..., Sotheby's, London, 22 October 1965*

*Catalogue of important antique jewellery, the property of Major Gen. Sir Harold Wernher Bt., G.C.V.O....., Christie's, London, 22 November 1966*

Bax, D., *Catalogue of the Michaelis collection: the Max Michaelis gift, Old Town House, Cape Town, 1967*

*British sporting paintings and drawings in the Sir Abe Bailey collection, South African National Gallery, Cape Town, circa 1970*

*Natale Labia collection on loan to the South African National Gallery, exh. cat., Cape Town, n.d., [1976]*

*Twenty masterpieces from the Natale Labia collection, exh. cat., Wildenstein, London, 1978*

Beit, Sir Alfred, *Russborough, Irish Heritage Series no.13, Dublin, 1978*

*Childwick Bury, St Albans, Herfortshire, the property of H.J. Joel, Esq., Christie's, St Albans (house sale) 15-17 May 1978*

*Highly important English pictures, the properties of ... H.J. Joel Esq., Christie's, London, 23 June 1978*

Bax, D., *Catalogue of the Michaelis collection: the Max Michaelis gift, revised reissue, Old Town House, Cape Town, 1981*

*The H.J. Joel collection of English sporting pictures, Christie's London, 13 July 1984*

Alexander, Lucy, and Patricia Hardy, *Natale Labia Museum: an account of the history of 'The Fort' and its conversion to a museum and cultural centre, South African National Gallery, Cape Town, 1988*

Le Harivel, Adrian, Rosemarie Mulcahy and Homan Potterton, *The Beit collection, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 1988*

*British Paintings [including works from the Sir J.B. Robinson collection], Sotheby's, London, 16 November 1988*

*Old master paintings [including works from the Sir J.B. Robinson collection], Sotheby's, London, 7 December 1988*

*Luton Hoo ... a catalogue of the valuable surplus effects including costly decorative and modern furniture, fixtures, fittings and effects...*, Dorant Auctioneers, 17-19 May 1949

*Old master paintings from the Beit collection*, with an introduction by John Paris, exh. cat., National Gallery of South Africa, Cape Town, 1949

*Old master paintings from the Beit collection: supplement*, exh. cat., National Gallery of South Africa, Cape Town, 1950

*Catalogue of valuable Africana consisting of books, pamphlets, pictures and prints, busts and bronzes ... being the collection of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951

*Catalogue of valuable antique furniture, both old Cape and English ... being the property of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951

*Catalogue of valuable silverware ... being the entire collection of the late Sir Abe Bailey....*, Syfrets Trust Company, Cape Town, 1951

*Catalogue of fine old paintings ... the property of Sir Alfred Beit and Mrs G.W. Hawley which will be sold by auction....*, Macleod & Siddons, Wynberg, Cape Town, 19-21 May 1952

*Catalogue of Western illuminated manuscripts ... comprising ... a sumptuous Book of Hours of the School of Bruges, the property of the late Sir Derrick Julius Wernher, Bt. ....*, Sotheby's, London, 10 November 1952

*The Wernher collection*, introduction by Major-General Sir Harold Wernher: part 1: A.A. Longden, *General guide*; Joseph Natanson, *Medieval and Renaissance works of art*, Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, 1954

*Catalogue of valuable printed books ... including ... fine French eighteenth-century illustrated books and bindings, the property of Sir Alfred Beit, Bt.*, Sotheby's, London, 18 July 1955

Waterhouse, Ellis, *Paintings from the collection of the late Sir J.B. Robinson Bt., lent by the Princess Labia*, exh. cat., foreword by L.S. le Roux, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1958

Waterhouse, Ellis, *The Sir Joseph Robinson collection, lent by the Princess Labia*, with an introduction by John Paris and a foreword by L.S. le Roux, exh. cat., revised, National Gallery of South Africa, Cape Town, 1959

*Catalogue of five important fifteenth-century Hispano-Moresque dishes and an Albarello, the property of Lady Munro, daughter of the late Sir Otto Beit, Bt.*, K.C.M.G...., Sotheby's, London, 15 December 1961

*Sammlung Sir Joseph Robinson*, exh. cat., Kunsthaus, Zurich, 1962

*The Max Michaelis gift to the Union of South Africa: Flemish and Dutch pictures of the seventeenth century, Old Town House, Cape Town, circa 1939*

*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, Kent, and 13, Landsdowne Rd., W.11...., Christie's, London, 7 July 1939*

*Catalogue of valuable antique English, Empire and Dutch period furniture... being the collection formed by the Late Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips...., The Colonial Orphan Chamber and Trust Company, Cape Town, 9 June 1941*

*Catalogue of ancient and modern pictures and drawings, the property of Sir Edmund Davis, J.P., deceased, removed from Chilham Castle, near Canterbury...., Christie's, London, 15 May 1942*

*Catalogue of important Italian majolica, the property of Sir Alfred Beit, Bt., M.P...., Sotheby's, London, 16 October 1942*

*Catalogue of Renaissance furniture, majolica and objects of art, the property of Mrs Arthur Bull and removed from Tewin Water, Welwyn, Herts, formerly part of the collection of the late Sir Otto Beit, Bart., K.C.M.G. ...., Christie's, London, 24 October 1946 (annotated copy in Christie's archives, London)*

*Catalogue of ... old English silver and old lace, the property of the late Lady Ludlow, J.P., ...., Christie's, London, 15 October 1946*

*Catalogue of a casket of magnificent jewels, the property of the late Lady Ludlow...., Christie's, London, 16 October 1946*

*Catalogue of pictures by old masters, the properties of Mrs Arthur Bull removed from Tewin Water, Welwyn, Herts, formerly part of the collection of the late Sir Otto Beit, Bart., K.C.M.G...., Christie's, London, 25 October 1946 (annotated copy in Christie's archives, London)*

*Bath House, Piccadilly, W.1. Catalogue of the decorative furniture, porcelain, pictures and engravings, the property of the late Lady Ludlow ... and ... Sir Harold Wernher...., Christie's (at Bath House), 25-26 November 1946*

*Bath House, Piccadilly, W.1. Catalogue of the remaining contents of the mansion...., G.F. Hawkings & Son (at Bath House), 11 December 1946*

*Catalogue of genuine oil paintings and watercolours, ex S.A. National Gallery by world-famous South African, British and Continental artists...., Marcus Gallery, Cape Town, 6 May 1947*

*Catalogue of an important collection of choice paintings by English and Continental masters, the property of the late Sir Bernard Eckstein, Bt.,.... Sotheby's, London, 8 December 1948 (This sale was followed by numerous other sales in the following year which disposed of the other parts of the collection.)*



## APPENDICES

### Conventions:

Unless otherwise stated, the location of all sales is London.

The monographs referred to are not listed in the general bibliography.

The paintings are listed under the attribution current at the time of Randlord ownership.

References to reattributions are always taken from the references cited. In the instances where there is no recent publication on the painting, the source for this reattribution is the institution which currently owns the painting.

The titles of the portraits usually include a reference to the size of the painting, i.e. – head and shoulders, full length, three-quarter length.

## APPENDIX 1: INVENTORY OF THE SIR JULIUS WERNHER COLLECTION

- SOURCES** : (UNLESS STATED, THE LOCATION OF ALL AUCTION SALES IS LONDON)
- 1895, 1906** : Typescript catalogue of the collection, c.1960-1980, Luton Hoo (the 1895 and 1906 valuations and purchase prices where cited are taken from this typescript catalogue because the original inventories which contained these valuations have not been located.)
- 1913 BH** : Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Bath House Piccadilly, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo (note: 'artistic interest' - there are further lists of minor works not considered to be noteworthy)
- 1913 LH** : Charles Davis, *Inventory and valuation of works of art of artistic interest at Luton Hoo, Bedford, the property of Sir Julius Wernher, Bart, deceased*, April 1913, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo
- 1914** : Charles Davis, *Catalogue of works of art to which Mr Harold Augustus Wernher is contingently entitled subject to Lady Wernher's life interest*, January 1914, typescript, Wernher papers, Luton Hoo
- CHRISTIE'S 1946** : *Bath House, Piccadilly, W.1. Catalogue of decorative furniture, porcelain, pictures and engravings, the property of the late Lady Ludlow and the property of Sir Harold Wernher...*, Christie's (at Bath House) 25-26 November 1946
- LUTON HOO 1949** : *Luton Hoo ... a catalogue of the valuable surplus effects including costly, decorative and modern furniture, fixtures, fittings and effects...*, Dorant auctioneers (at Luton Hoo), 17-19 May 1949
- 376** **SOtheby's 1995** : *Furniture, silver, paintings and works of art from the collection of the late Sir Harold Wernher, Bt., G.C.V.O., Luton Hoo*, Sotheby's, London, 24-25 May 1995
- CHRISTIE'S 1997** : *Important old master pictures*, Christie's, London, 4 July 1997 [include paintings from the Wernher collection]

### ABBREVIATIONS:

- JW** : SIR JULIUS WERNHER  
**HW** : SIR HAROLD WERNHER  
**LH (#)** : INVENTORY NUMBER IN 1913 LUTON HOO VALUATION  
**BH (#)** : INVENTORY NUMBER IN 1913 BATH HOUSE VALUATION  
**PD** : PINK DRAWING ROOM  
**YD** : YELLOW DRAWING ROOM  
**DR** : DRAWING ROOM  
**BR** : BILLIARD ROOM  
**RR** : RED ROOM  
**LB** : LIBRARY  
**SS** : STAIRCASE AND SALOON

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<b><u>DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS</u></b>				
JAN BRUEGHEL DE VELOUR	PAIR OF SMALL RIVERSCAPES		LUTON HOO	
AFTER JOOS VAN CLEVE	VIRGIN AND CHILD IN AN INTERIOR, WITH A PEACH ON THE FRONT LEDGE	1913:£900	LUTON HOO	
AELBERT CUYP	LANDSCAPE WITH COWS (AND A HERDSMAN AND A WOMAN MILKING A COW)	1906:£3000, 1913:£3000 (LH32, BR)	SOLD BY HW TO E. SLATER, JUNE 1951 FOR £2700	
GERARD DOU 1991: ATTRIBUTED TO	THE GOOD HOUSEWIFE	SEDELMAYER 1900 (11), 1906:£3500, 1913:£3000(LH28, BR)	LUTON HOO	
JAN VAN GOYEN	RIVER LANDSCAPE (BOATS BESIDES A SHORE, WITH A CATHEDRAL AND A WINDMILL)	1913:£750 (LH34, BR)	SOLD BY HW	
(?)DE HEEM	PLATE OF OYSTERS	CHRISTIE'S 3.3.97(42), BT AGNEW'S(7919): 300GS, SOLD TO JW AT COST PLUS 5% ON 8.3.1897 1913:£100 (UNATTRIBUTED) (BH514, BR)	SOLD BY HW, 1946	
JORIS VAN DER HAAGEN	AN EXTENSIVE VIEW OF ARNHEM	1906:£600, 1913:£1500 (LH124, HALL)	LUTON HOO	
PIETER DE HOOCH	A DUTCH INTERIOR (WITH A MOTHER NURSING A CHILD AND A MAID SERVANT SWEEPING THE ROOM)	DOWDESWELL & DOWDESWELL, 1913:£6000 (BH456, PD)	LUTON HOO	P.SUTTON <u>PIETER DE HOOCH</u> , 1980 NO.74
ANTWERP MASTER FLEMISH SCHOOL 16TH CENT.	THE ENTOMBMENT (GROUP OF FIGURES GATHERED AROUND CHRIST) (9 X 5.5")	1913:£150 (BH333, RR)	LUTON HOO	
ANTWERP MASTER FLEMISH SCHOOL 16TH CENTURY	THE DESCENT FROM THE CROSS (9 X 5.5")	1913:£200 (BH339, RR)	LUTON HOO	
MABUSE 1994: AFTER JOOS VAN CLEVE	VIRGIN AND CHILD (WITH AN APPLE ON A LEDGE IN THE FOREGROUND, AND WINDOW TO THE RIGHT)	1897:£80, 1913:£900 (BH352, RR)	LUTON HOO	
MABUSE 1994: MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST URSULA	VIRGIN AND CHILD (WITH AN OPEN BOOK IN HER RIGHT HAND, AND A HILLY LANDSCAPE WITH CASTLES IN THE BACKGROUND)	(EARL OF PEMBROKE COL.) 1897:£250, 1913:£1500 (BH353, RR)	LUTON HOO	

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STUDIO OF QUENTIN MASSYS	VIRGIN AND CHILD SEATED IN AN INTERIOR (A BED TO THE LEFT, FIREPLACE TO THE RIGHT)	(FULLER RUSSELL'S COL.) CHRISTIE'S 17.12.1904(52) BT BY ?DONALDSON FOR 1200GNS 1913:£500 (BH354,RR)	LUTON HOO	
GABRIEL METSU	LADY AND GENTLEMAN AT A HARPSICHORD	SEDELMAYER 1900(21), 1906:£4500, 1913:£5000(LH31, BR)	LUTON HOO	
F. MOLENAER	VILLAGE FEAST BESIDES A RIVER (LARGE)	1906:£80, 1913:£200 (LH33, BR)	LUTON HOO	
FREDERICK DE MOUCHERON	LANDSCAPE WITH TALL TREES AND TWO HORSE- MAN DRIVING TWO STAGS INTO A STREAM	1913:£100 (BH380, LB)		
PIETER NEEFFS	INTERIOR OF ANTWERP CATHEDRAL; INTERIOR OF A CATHEDRAL	1895:£54 AND £18.18.0, 1913:£125 EACH (BH512/3, BR)	LUTON HOO	
ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	PEASANT QUARRELING OVER CARDS	SEDELMAYER 1899(33) EX DEMIDOFF 1880(1122), SECRETAN 1889(149) 1906:£1100, 1913:£1750 (LH36, BR)	LUTON HOO	
ISAAK VAN OSTADE	SCENE OUTSIDE AN INN	AGNEW'S (8723) [WERTHEIMER J/ACC], BT BY JW ON 2.3.99 FOR £5250; 1913:£4000 (BH455, PD)	LUTON HOO	
A. DE PETTENKOGEN	HUNGARIAN VILLAGE FAIR	??		
SCHOOL OF REMBRANT 1994: S. KONINCK	PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN, WITH LONG WHITE BEARD, TURNED TO THE RIGHT (8.5 X 6.75")	1913:£400 (BH343, RR)	LUTON HOO	
SCHOOL OF REMBRANDT 1994: G. VAN EECKHOUT	PORTRAIT OF A BOY, HEAD AND SHOULDERS (8 X 6")		LUTON HOO	
REMBRANDT	PORTRAIT OF A GIRL WITH BROWN HAIR, LOOKING TO THE RIGHT (7.75 X 5.75")	1913:£400 (BH347, RR)		
PETER PAUL RUBENS	DIANA AND HER HOUNDS	BT BY COLNAGHI'S 4.6.1896 AT A SALE IN MADRID FOR £580, SOLD TO JW 13.5.1899 FOR £700 1913:£1000 (BH351, RR)	LUTON HOO	
SALOMON VAN RUYSDAEL	RIVER LANDSCAPE WITH BARGES AND FIGURES (18.5 X 23.5")	1888:£100, 1906:£250, 1913:£750 (LH29, BR)	?LUTON HOO	

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CORNELIUS DUSART/ (?)JAN STEEN (?)ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	A PIPE SMOKER (SEATED AT A TABLE IN AN INTERIOR AND A WOMAN LOOKING OUT A WINDOW)	CHRISTIE'S 21.2.1903 (116) 260GS AS DUSART BT ?COLNAGHI, 1913:£4500 (LH35, BR)	LUTON HOO	
WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER	A STATES YACHT AT ANCHOR FIRING A SALUTE, WITH MANY OTHER VESSELS (20.5 X 25")	SEDELMAYER 1895?, 1906:£1000, 1913:£1000 (LH30, BR)	LUTON HOO	M.S.ROBINSON VAN DE VELDE, 1990, NO.82
ANTHONY VAN DYCK 1994: FOLLOWER OF	PORTRAIT OF A LADY WEARING A BLACK DRESS, AGAINST A RED BACKGROUND, REPUTEDLY MARIE LOUISE DE TASSIS	1913:£2000 (BH453, PD)	?LUTON HOO	
VAN DYCK	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN, WEARING A DARK DRESS, WHITE RUFF, HEAD AND SHOULDERS	1906:£400, 1913:£300 (LH25, STUDY)	LUTON HOO	
JACOB VAN STRIJ	PAIR OF LARGE VIEWS OF TOWN BESIDES RIVERS	1913:£450 (BH508, SS)	CHRISTIE'S 25.11.1946 (287-8)	
JACOB VAN STRIJ	LARGE DECORATIVE LANDSCAPE	1913:£150 (LH17, LOBBY)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (469)	
JACOB VAN STRIJ	COASTAL SCENE WITH BUILDINGS, FIGURES AND CATTLE (97 X 82")	1913:£150 (LH, 1ST FLOOR CORRIDOR)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (468)	
(?)VAN DER WEYDEN/BOUITS	VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH A BOOK	PAID £250, 1913:£1500		
PHILIPS WOUWERMANS	HUNTING PARTY SETTING OUT	SEDELMAYER 1897, 1897:£450, 1913:£1200 (BH520, BR)	?LUTON HOO	
J. WYNANTS	LANDSCAPE WITH RIVER WITH EQUESTRIAN AND OTHER FIGURES IN THE FOREGROUND	1913:£100 (BH515, BR)	LATER 'LOST' ACCORDING TO RECORDS AT LUTON HOO.	
<b><u>BRITISH SCHOOL</u></b>				
FRANCIS LEMUEL ABBOTT	PORTRAIT OF ADMIRAL SIR EDMUND AFFLECK) (STANDING WITH A SWORD IN HIS LEFT HAND) HALF LENGTH	1906:£80, 1913:£375 (LH81, LB)	LUTON HOO	
SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY	PORTRAIT OF A LADY STANDING IN A LANDSCAPE HOLDING A BIRD (FULL LENGTH)	1906:£1500, 1913:£3400 (LH87, DR)	?LUTON HOO	



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A.W.CALLOTT	ITALIAN LANDSCAPE	CHRISTIE'S 29.5.97(21) BT AGNEW'S(8071) FOR 580GS ON COMM.FOR JW, 1897:£640, 1913:£200 (BH458, PD)	SOLD BY HW, CHRISTIE'S 8.12.1950 (64) FOR 10GS	
RICHARD COSWAY	PORTRAIT OF MRS RICHARD GRACE (IN A PINK DRESS, SEATED IN A LANDSCAPE)	TOOTH'S, 1913:£500 (BH479, YD)	LUTON HOO	
JOHN HOPPNER (FORMERLY ATTR. TO ROMNEY)	PORTRAIT OF THE HON. MARIA PELHAM-CARLTON AS A CHILD (STANDING IN A LANDSCAPE WITH FLOWERS HELD IN HER SKIRT)	SEDELMAYER 1895(96), (?)BT 1896:£2300 1913:£2500 (BH484, YD)	LUTON HOO	
JOHN HOPPNER	PORTRAIT, REPUTEDLY, OF LADY ELIZABETH FOSTER LATER DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE (IN A WHITE WITH A BLACK SCARF)	SEDELMAYER 1896(8 (?)PHILLIPS COL. 1913:£6000 (BH480, YD)		
JOHN HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF THE HON. HENRIETTA HANBURY-TRACY AS A CHILD (HORIZONTAL)	SEDELMAYER 1905(79), 1913:£1500 (BH481, YD)	LUTON HOO	
JOHN HOPPNER (FORMERLY ENGLISH SCHOOL)	PORTRAIT OF A LADY IN A WHITE DRESS WITH A BLUE SASH	1913:£600 (BH483, YD)	LUTON HOO	
ATTR. TO HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF THE REV. CHRISTOPHER WYVILL (IN A BLACK CLOAK WITH A RED CURTAIN BEHIND) HALF LENGTH	BT C.1909-1912, 1913:£375 (LH81, LB)	LUTON HOO	
CIRCLE OF HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF A GIRL STANDING IN A LANDSCAPE WITH A DOG, FULL LENGTH	1897:£1800, 1906:£1800 1913:£1500 (LH85, DR)	LUTON HOO	
JOHN HENRY KELLER	LARGE LANDSCAPE WITH RIVER AND  BATHING NYMPHS	1913:£150 (LH, HALLWAY)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (472)	
JOHN HENRY KELLER	FIVE LARGE DECORATIVE LANDSCAPES	1913:£150 EACH (LH11-15, PASSAGE)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (460-4)	
CIRCLE OF KNELLER	PORTRAIT OF A LADY DRESSED IN PALE BLUE (WITH A GREEN SASH) THREE-QUARTER LENGTH	1895:£80, 1906:£250 1913:£300 (LH86, DR)	LUTON HOO	
SCHOOL OF LELY (PREVIOUSLY KNELLER)	PORTRAIT OF NELL GWYNNE (DRESSED IN WHITE WITH A BLUE SASH, CARESSING A LAMB) THREE-QUARTER LENGTH	1906:£100, 1913:£200 (LH128, 1ST FLOOR CORRIDOR)	LUTON HOO	

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SIR PETER LELY 1994: STUDIO OF WILLEM WISSING	QUEEN ANNE AS PRINCESS (IN A GREEN DRESS WITH WHITE SLEEVES, THREE-QUARTER LENGTH)	1913:£300 (LH24, STUDY)	LUTON HOO	
HENRY ROBERT MORLAND	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		SOLD AT CHRISTIE'S, C.1966/7	
PATRICK NASMYTH	VIEW FROM MR BLACKWELL'S HOUSE, HARROW WEALD COMMON	1913:£200 (BH381, LB)	LUTON HOO	
PATRICK NASMYTH	WOODED LANDSCAPE WITH A MAN LEADING A HORSE OVER A BRIDGE	1913:£150 (BH383, LB)	LUTON HOO	
JAMES BAKER PYNE	A VIEW OF ETON COLLEGE	MARTIN? COLNAGHI 1893 FOR £250 1913:£100 (BH457 PD)	LUTON HOO	
SIR HENRY RAEBURN	PORTRAIT OF MRS BALFOUR (IN A WHITE DRESS AND BLUE CLOAK, AND A RED CURTAIN BEHIND, LANDSCAPE TO THE LEFT) HALF LENGTH	1913:£3750 (BH485 YD)		
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF LADY CAROLINE PRICE (IN A BLACK DRESS WITH BLUE SASH, AGAINST A RED CURTAIN) HALF LENGTH	CHRISTIE'S 6.5.1893(59) 3700GS, BT WERTWORTH BT BY AGNEW'S(7228) ?17.5.1895 FOR £3150; SOLD TO JW ?13.5.1895 FOR £3885; 1913:£5500 (BH486, YD)	LUTON HOO	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF THE COUNTESS OF BELLAMONT	(?)BT FROM LANGTON DAVIS FOR £8000 IN 1905 NB: SEE BURLINGTON OCT 1905 P.46. 1913:£9000 (BH478, YD)		
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MRS QUARRINGTON AS ST AGNES	1913:£3000 (BH477, YD)	LUTON HOO	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS 1994: CIRCLE OF	PORTRAIT OF SIR JOHN MACPHERSON BART./ (1994:RICHARD BARWELL) OVAL, HALF LENGTH	1913:£400 (LH9, HALL)	LUTON HOO	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MRS FARRER (WEARING A WHITE DRESS AND A BLUE SASH, SEATED ON A RED CHAIR)	SEDELMAYER 1897(99), 1913:£3000 (BH482, YD)	LUTON HOO	
GEORGE ROMNEY 1994: CIRCLE OF	LARGE PORTRAIT OF A GIRL IN A WHITE DRESS HOLDING A BUNCH OF FLOWERS IN A LANDSCAPE, FULL LENGTH	1913:£2500 (BH484, YD)	LUTON HOO	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MISS TURNER (IN A BROWN DRESS, TURNED TO THE LEFT) HALF LENGTH	1913:£3000 (BH485, YD)		

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<b>ITALIAN SCHOOL</b>				
STUDIO OF BOTTICELLI	TONDO: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH SAINTS	BROMLEY DAVENPORT, 1897 (JW TO WB, 16.10.1897) 1913:£1800 (BH340, RR)	LUTON HOO	
BRONZINO 1995: CIRCLE OF	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN IN BLACK	1913:£2000 (BH331, RR)	LUTON HOO	
CANALETTO	RIVER SCENE WITH A BRIDGE, ETC RIVER SCENE WITH BUILDINGS, ETC (20.5 X 27.5")	1888:£50 EACH; 1913:£40 EACH (BH518/9, BR)	SOLD BY HW, CHRISTIE'S 2.11.1945 FOR £99.155	
FRANCESCO FRANCIA	VIRGIN AND CHILD BETWEEN SAINTS NICHOLAS AND CECILIA	BT BY AGNEW'S (9541) FROM BOUSSOD VALADON 3.11.1900 FOR 18700FR (746); PAID DR L[IPPMAN?] COM. OF £385, SOLD TO JW ON 18.6.1901 FOR £1700 1913:£2250 (BH330, RR)	LUTON HOO	
FLORENTINE SCHOOL (?LORENZO DI CREDI)	VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ST JOSEPH AND TWO ANGELS (ARCHED FRIEZE OF FLOWERS)	CHRISTIE'S 13.5.1899(80), BT BY COLNAGHI'S, £714 1913:£2000 (BH341, RR)	LUTON HOO	
NORTHERN ITALIAN SCHOOL C.1500; ATTRIBUTED TO GIAN FRANCESCO DI MAINERI	HOLY FAMILY (WITH ARCHITECTURAL BACKGROUND AND INFANT IN THE FOREGROUND)	1913:£2000 (BH348, RR)	LUTON HOO	
FRANCESCO GUARDI	RIVER MOUTH WITH HARBOUR (47.5 X 28.5")	1913:£400 (BH382, LB)		
FRANCESCO GUARDI	RIVER LANDSCAPE WITH BUILDINGS, A BRIDGE, FIGURES AND DUCKS (7.25 X 9.75")	1895:£93, 1913:£150 (BH460, PD)	SOLD BY MRS D. BUTLER C.1990 FOR £70000	
FRANCESCO GUARDI	PAIR: COLONNADE WITH FIGURES RUINED ARCH (7 X 5.5")	1895:£170 1895:£220 1913:£185 (PAIR) (BH460/1, PD)	PAIR SOLD BY C. BUTLER C.1990 FOR £80000	
FILIPPINO LIPPI	REST ON THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT	BT BY AGNEW'S (8217) JOINTLY WITH F. MURRAY FROM HASKARD & SONS FOR £776 ON 6.10.1897; SOLD TO R KANN 11.3.1898 FOR £2500; TRADED BACK 7.5.1898 FOR £3000 (8473); SOLD TO JW 24.6.1898 FOR £3300 1913:£600 (BH350, RR)	LUTON HOO	
PANNINI	PAIR: RUINED BUILDINGS IN ROME	1913:£200 (LH18, OVAL ROOM)	SOLD BY HW, SOTHEBY'S 8.5.1970 FOR £5200	

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TITIAN 1991: WORKSHOP OF	PORTRAIT OF GIACOMO DI AGOSTINO DORIA	BT BY AGNEWS(8570) JOINTLY WITH F. MURRAY FROM HASKARD & SONS ON 30.6.1898 FOR £4000, SOLD TO JW 29.7.1898 FOR £8000 1913: £10000 (BH342, RR)	LUTON HOO	G. DE PELLEGRINI, 'MR JULIUS WERNHER'S TITIAN', <u>BURLINGTON MAGAZINE</u> , 7, JULY 1903, PP267-8; H.E. WETHEY, <u>THE PAINTINGS OF TITIAN</u> , LONDON, 1971, VOL. II, NO. 25
(?) VENETIAN SCHOOL C.1500	ANNUNCIATION	??CHECK 1913: £3000 (BH336, RR) (39 X 24.5") SEE DESCRIPTION IN INV.	LUTON HOO	
ZUCCARELLI	LANDSCAPE WITH STREAM AND BUILDINGS WITH FIGURES IN THE FOREGROUND	1889: £96, 1913: £120 (BH516, BR)	SOLD BY HW, CHRISTIE'S, 1946 FOR £270	
<b><u>FRENCH SCHOOL</u></b>				
LOUIS LÉOPOLD BOILLY	UNIDENTIFIED	BEQUEST TO JULES PORGÈS [TREVELYAN]		
BOUCHER SCHOOL	PAIR OF LARGE DECORATIVE LANDSCAPES	1913: £400 (LH, HALLWAY)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (570-1)	
383 CLAUDE LORRAIN	A COVE AT SUNSET WITH BOATS AND AN ARTIST SKETCHING	CHRISTIE'S 11.5.1895 (359) BT DAVIS FOR 485GNS 1913: £60 (BH521, BR)	SOLD CHRISTIE'S 15.4.1992(36) £220000	
COYPEL 1994: CARLE VAN LOO	VENUS IN A SHELL DRAWN BY DOLPHINS	1897: £800, 1913: £500 (LH131, STAIRCASE)	LUTON HOO	
J.B. HUET	LANDSCAPE WITH POINTER DOG AND PHEASANT (30 X 57")	1913: £80 (LH126, HALL)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (473)	
STYLE OF NICOLAS LANCRET	FETE GALANTE	1913: £1250, (BH454, PD)	?LUTON HOO	
STYLE OF CORNEILLE DE LYON (ACTIVE 1533-74)	PAIR OF SMALL PORTRAITS OF MEN	1913: £2500 (PAIR) (BH344/5, RR)	LUTON HOO	
JEAN BAPTISTE OUDRY	PAIR OF LARGE LANDSCAPES WITH DOGS, AND A WOLF, AND A FOX (115 X 80")	1913: £1000 (LH125, HALL)	LUTON HOO SALE 17.5.1949 (465-6)	
JEAN ANTOINE WATTEAU	LA GAMME D'AMOUR	CHRISTIE'S 9.5.95(366) BT AGNEW'S (7219), 3350GS SOLD TO JW 13.5.1895 FOR £3869.5 [10% PROFIT]	BEQUEATHED BY JW TO NATIONAL GALLERY, 1912 (NG2897)	

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FRENCH SCHOOL	LARGE DECORATIVE PAINTING, 'GRISAILLE', OF TWO GIRLS REPRESENTING SCULPTURE AND PAINTING	1913:£50 (BH509, SS)	CHRISTIE'S 25.11.1946 (272)	
FRENCH SCHOOL	FOUR OVER-DOORS	1913:£300 (LH127, HALL)		
<b>GERMAN SCHOOL</b>				
ALBRECHT ALTDORFER	CHRIST TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER	ROBERT LANGTON DOUGLAS, 1904, FOR £3-4000 (RLD LETTERS TO WB, DEC. 1904) 1913:£4500 (BH510, SS) [HAD SOLD FOR 23GS AT CHRISTIE'S IN 1884]	SOLD BY THE TRUSTEES OF WERNHER ESTATE TO NATIONAL GALLERY 1980, FOR £3M (NG6320)	A SMITH <u>CHRIST TAKING LEAVE OF HIS MOTHER</u> , (AQUISITION IN FOCUS) LONDON,1983
LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER 1994:CHRISTOPH AMBERGER	PORTRAIT OF BEARDED MAN WEARING A BLACK HAT	1913:£800 (BH338, RR)	LUTON HOO	
HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER 1994:GERMAN SCHOOL	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN WEARING A STRIPED GREY TUNIC	SEDELMAYER 1897 CAT (10) 1913:£1250 (BH335, RR)	LUTON HOO	
HANS MEMLING 1996: NETHERLANDISH SCHOOL	VIRGIN AND CHILD	BT FROM COL., ROME, IN 1905 FOR 32000MARKS (JW TO WB, 25.7.1905) 1913:£1500 (BH346, RR)	LUTON HOO	
GERMAN SCHOOL C.1550	MADONNA AND CHILD SURROUNDED BY PUTTI PLAYING MUSIC IN THE GARDENS OF A MANSION	1913:£2000 (BH349, RR)	LUTON HOO	
<b>SPANISH SCHOOL</b>				
BARTOLOMÉ BERMEJO	ST MICHAEL TRIUMPHANT OVER THE DEVIL	DOWDESWELL, 1899 1913:£9000 (BH332, RR)	SOLD TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY, 1995, FOR APPROX. £10M	
AUGUSTIN ESTEVE STUDIO OF/AFTER FRANCISCO DE GOYA	THE DUCHESS OF ALBA	PRINCE MEDICI (CONDE DE COLLESANO?) NAPLES 1898 1913:£5500 (BH511, SS)	LUTON HOO	
HISPANO-FLEMISH SCHOOL	POLYTYCH: SCENES FROM THE PASSION		LUTON HOO	
SPANISH SCHOOL	A PAIR OF SMALL OILS: DESCENT FROM THE CROSS		LUTON HOO	
<b>CONTEMPORARY</b>				
HUBERT VON HERKOMER	SIR JULIUS WERNHER	PAINTED IN 1912, £1000	LUTON HOO	



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PHILIP DE LAZLO	LADY LUDLOW	PAINTED IN 1916		
JOHN SINGER SARGENT	LADY WERNHER	PAINTED IN 1904	LUTON HOO	
LORD FREDERICK LEIGHTON	LANDSCAPE WITH A RIVER	1913:£25	SOLD CHRISTIE'S 9.11.1945 FOR £18.18	
LORD FREDERICK LEIGHTON AFTER VERONESE	LAST SUPPER	1913:£45 (BH334, RR)	SOLD BY HW CHRISTIE'S 8.12.1950 (65) FOR 3GS	
LORD FREDERICK LEIGHTON AFTER RUBENS	PEACE AND WAR	1913:£80 (BH338, RR)	SOLD BY HW CHRISTIE'S 8.12.1950 (65) FOR 3 GS	
W.P. FRITH	PORTRAIT OF NORA CREINA	1895:£65.12.0, 1913:£15 (BH459, PD)	GIVEN TO CHARITY SALE APRIL 1949	
F. GOODALL	BANKS OF THE NILE	1913:£21	CHRISTIE'S 9.11.1945 FOR £3.3.0.	
J.J. SHANNON	PORTRAIT OF ALEX WERNHER IN A BLUE COSTUME HOLDING A COLLIE DOG BY A LEAD			
J.J. SHANNON	PORTRAIT OF ALEX AND HAROLD WERNHER WITH A PONY			
A. DE PETTENKOGN	HUNGARIAN VILLAGE FAIR	1913:£100 (LH27,BR)	LUTON HOO	
<b>SIR HAROLD WERNHER</b> (Although his acquisitions fall outside the parameters of this thesis, they are of interest because his purchases are often mistaken for those of his father.)				
LUDOLF BAKHUIZEN	SHIPPING IN A SQUALL		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (29)	
J. BAPTISTE	BASKET OF FLOWERS AND FESTOON OF FRUIT		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (30)	
JAN BRUEGHEL II 1997: CIRCLE OF	A PAIR: LANDSCAPES WITH FIGURES		CHRISTIE'S 4.7.1997 (254)	
JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE	COASTAL SCENE WITH NUMEROUS FIGURES ON A JETTY AND FISHING VESSELS BEYOND	CHRISTIE'S 28.7.1926 (27)	CHRISTIE'S 27.6.1975 (75)	

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE; CONTEMPORARY VALUATIONS; LOCATION IN BATH HOUSE OR LUTON HOO	DATE WHEN IT LEFT. WERNHER COL; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
H.M. CARLISLE	THE YELLOW ROSE		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (31)	
JOHN CONSTABLE	HARNHAM BRIDGE, SALISBURY	LEGGATT'S; 1937	OFFERED FOR SALE ON LONDON ART MARKET C.1992	G.REYNOLDS, <u>THE LATER PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS OF JOHN CONSTABLE,</u> NO.20.54
RICHARD COSWAY	CHARLES, LORD PETERSHAM, AS INFANT (ANGEL)		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (32)	
LUKE CRADOCK	BIRDS IN A LANDSCAPE		SOLD BY HW PRIVATELY	
AELBERT CUYP	LANDSCAPE WITH CATTLE WITH HERDSMAN IN A RED COAT	LEGGATT'S VIA AGNEW'S, 1927	CHRISTIE'S 4.7.1997 (13)	
GILLIS CLAESZ D'HONDECOETER	AN EXTENSIVE WOODY LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES ON A PATH AND A VILLAGE AND MOUNTAINS BEYOND	DAVID CRICHTON	CHRISTIE'S 27.6.1975 (76)	
WILLEM DUYSER	SOLDIERS LOOTING	1925	CHRISTIE'S 4.7.1997 (12)	
FRANS HALS	HEAD OF A YOUNG BOY, CIRCULAR	LEGGATT'S VIA AGNEW'S, 1929		
JAN VAN DER HEYDEN	PALACE OF BRUSSELS (18.25 X 23.25")			
J. HIGHMORE	PORTRAIT OF LADY SUSAN, DAUGHTER OF DUKE OF HAMILTON ETC		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (33)	
MEINDERT HOBBERMA	WOODS WITH COTTAGE AND STREAM	CHRISTIE'S 1.6.1934(33) BT LEGGATT'S FOR £3570		
J. HOLLAND	THE DOGES' PALACE		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (34)	
PIETER DE HOOCH	COURTYARD WITH A ROSE GARDEN		CHRISTIE'S 27.6.1975 (72)	
NASMYTH	HIGHLAND LANDSCAPE			
BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO	INFANT CHILD ASLEEP	LEGGATT'S VIA CHRISTIE'S		
AERT VAN DER NEER	WINTER SPORTS ON A FROZEN RIVER	LEGGATT'S, 1928	CHRISTIE'S 4.7.1997 (11)	
JOHN OPIE	THE MATCH GIRL		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (35)	

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE; CONTEMPORARY VALUATIONS; LOCATION IN BATH HOUSE OR LUTON HOO	DATE WHEN IT LEFT. WERNHER COL; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	INTERIOR OF A BARN		SOLD BY HW TO E. SLATER 1958	
W. OWEN, R.A.	A BACCHANTE		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (36)	
(?)REMBRANDT	PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN (9 X 11")	CHRISTIE'S 9.7.1919(28), AGNEW'S, BT BY HW FROM LEGGATTS IN 1926		
(?)REMBRANDT	PORTRAIT OF A GIRL WITH BROWN HAIR			
(?)RAEBURN	PORTRAIT OF MRS BALFOUR			
RUBENS 1994: (?)ABRAHAM VAN DIEPENBECK	BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS		LUTON HOO	
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	WOODED LANDSCAPE WITH A MAN FISHING IN A STREAM AND PEASANTS DRIVING SHEEP BEYOND	HABERSTOCK, BERLIN, 1931	CHRISTIE'S 27.6.1975 (74)	
JAN STEEN	THE CHEMIST	1933	CHRISTIE'S 4.7.1997 (253)	
L. DE VADDER	A LANDSCAPE WITH FARM BUILDINGS AND FIGURES AND CATTLE		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (37)	
S. VERELST	FLOWERS IN A SCULPTURED VASE		CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (38)	
PHILIPS WOUWERMANS	CART, HORSES AND FIGURES	LEGGATT'S, 1927	CHRISTIE'S 27.6.1975 (73)	
FRANCESCO ZUCCARELLI (28 X 45")	AN ITALIAN LANDSCAPE	BT BY HW[TREVELYAN]	?CHRISTIE'S 6.12.1946 (39) OR ?CHRISTIE'S 4.7.1997 (114)	

## APPENDIX 2: INVENTORY OF THE BEIT COLLECTION

### REFERENCES (UNLESS STATED, THE LOCATION OF ALL AUCTION SALES IS LONDON)

- S. FORT : Fort, G. Seymour, *Alfred Beit: a study of the man and his work*, London, 1932
- BODE 1904 : Wilhelm Bode, *The art collection of Mr Alfred Beit at his residence, 26 Park Lane, London*, Berlin, 1904 (In this catalogue the paintings are not numbered, hence I am only able to indicate whether they are included.)
- BODE 1913 : Wilhelm Bode, *Catalogue of the collection of pictures and bronzes in the possession of Mr. Otto Beit*, London, 1913  
(An 'A' in front of the catalogue number listed beneath denotes that the catalogue entry was pasted in after 1913)
- CHRISTIE'S 1946 : *Catalogue of pictures by old masters: the properties of Mrs Arthur Bull removed from Tewin Water, Welwyn, Herts, formerly part of the collection of the late Sir Otto Beit, Bart., K.C.M.G. ....*, Christie's, London, 25 October 1946, with auctioneer's annotations in Christie's Archives, London
- SANG 1949 : *Old master paintings from the Beit Collection*, with an introduction by John Paris, National Gallery of South Africa, Cape Town, 1949, *Old Master Paintings from the Beit Collection: Supplement*, National Gallery of South Africa, 1950
- CAPE TOWN 1952 : *Catalogue of fine old paintings ... the property of Sir Alfred Beit and Mrs G.W. Hawley which will be sold by auction....*, Macleod & Siddons, Wynberg Cape Town, 19, 20 and 21 May 1952
- NGI 1988 : A. Le Harivel, R. Mulcahy and H. Potterton, *The Beit Collection*, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 1988
- AGNEW'S : Stockbooks and daybooks, London
- KNOEDLER'S : Stockbooks, New York
- AB TO WB : Correspondence between Alfred Beit and Wilhelm von Bode, Central archives, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
- RLD TO WB : Correspondence between Robert Langton Douglas and Wilhelm von Bode, Central archives, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

### ABBREVIATIONS

- AB : ALFRED BEIT
- OB : SIR OTTO BEIT
- S.AB : SIR ALFRED BEIT, SIR OTTO BEIT'S SON
- MRS AB : MRS ANGELA BULL, SIR OTTO BEIT'S DAUGHTER
- THEODORE BULL : SON OF MRS ANGELA BULL (I.E. SIR OTTO BEIT'S GRANDSON)
- MRS JOHN WEBBER : DAUGHTER OF MRS ANGELA BULL (I.E. SIR OTTO BEIT'S GRANDDAUGHTER)
- MRS CLAIRE HUNTER : DAUGHTER OF MRS JOHN WEBBER (I.E. SIR OTTO BEIT'S GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER)
- MRS JAMES GUNN : DAUGHTER OF MRS CLAIRE HUNTER (I.E. SIR OTTO BEIT'S GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER)
- LADY MUNRO : SIR OTTO BEIT'S DAUGHTER
- SIR ALAN MUNRO : LADY MUNRO'S SON (I.E. SIR OTTO BEIT'S GRANDSON)
- NEIL MUNRO : LADY MUNRO'S SON (I.E. SIR OTTO BEIT'S GRANDSON)
- TW : TEWIN WATER, ALFRED AND SIR OTTO BEIT'S COUNTRY HOUSE, THE COLLECTION INHERITED BY MRS A. BULL ON SIR OTTO'S DEATH, MOST OF THE COLLECTION SOLD AT CHRISTIE'S 1946
- S.AB FOUNDATION : ALFRED BEIT FOUNDATION, RUSSBOROUGH, COUNTY WICKLOW, IRELAND

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
<b><u>SPANISH SCHOOL</u></b>								
FRANCISCO DE GOYA	PORTRAIT OF DOÑA ANTONIA ZARATE		1	1	OB	KNOEDLER'S NEW YORK STOCK NO.12038 OWNED JOINTLY WITH COL.NAGHI'S (BT INTO KNOEDLER'S STOCK IN APRIL 1910) SOLD TO OB ON 30.6.1910	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988; STOLEN MAY 1986	NGI 1988, CAT.NO.2
BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO	PRODIGAL SON SERIES OF 6	YES	2-7	2-7	AB	EARL OF DUDLEY, 1896	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI 1988, CAT.NO.7-12
BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO	MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST JOHN	YES			AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BEQUEATHED BY AB TO FRANZ VOELKLEIN 1906	
DIEGO VELÁZQUEZ	A KITCHEN MAID SERVING SUPPER AT EMMAUS		8	8	OB	HUGH LANE [?]GRAFTON GALLERY 1913	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI 1988, CAT. NO.16
<b><u>DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS</u></b>								
LUDOLF BAKHUIZEN	STORMY SEA WITH BOATS	YES	9		AB	AMONG AB'S 1ST PURCHASES, C.1890 (BODE, 1904:21)	OFFERED FOR SALE BY S.AB CAPE TOWN, 19.5.1952 (250)	
NICOLAAS BERCHEM	LANDSCAPE		10		?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
GERARD TER BORCH	THE LUTE/ MANDOLIN PLAYER	[YES]	63	31	AB	'RECENT ACQUISITION' (BODE 1904:11)	POSSIBLY SOLD BY S.AB TO DAVID SOMERSET IN 1960	
UNCERTAINTY: SAME PAINTING? GERARD TER BORCH [68.75 X 55CM]	PORTRAIT OF HERMANNA VAN DER CRUIS		62		?		LEFT BY OB TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON 25.6.1931, INV. NO.4596	N.MACLAREN <u>THE DUTCH SCHOOL</u> , NG, 1991
GERARD TER BORCH [22 X 19.5"]	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GIRL AT A TABLE	YES			AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904 ??SEDELMAYER 1905 (41)		
QUIRINGH BREKELENKAM	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		A158		OB	ACQUIRED AFTER 1913 (CAT. ENTRY PASTED INTO 1913 CAT.)	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
ADAM CAMERARIUS	PORTRAIT OF YOUNG MAN (THE PUPIL)		11		?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	OFFERED FOR SALE BY MRS BULL, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 13 FOR 94.10 GS, BI, BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE	WINTER SCENE IN A VILLAGE	YES	12		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BY DESCENT, ALAN MUNRO, ON LOAN TO BIRMINGHAM ART GALLERY	<u>IMAGES OF A GOLDEN AGE: DUTCH 17TH CENTURY PAINTINGS</u> , BIRMINGHAM, 1990, NO.117.



ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BETT COL; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
AELBERT CUYP	CAVALIERS HALTING OUTSIDE A CASTLE			155	56 OB	AGNEW'S (J1700) SOLD 28.5.1914 FOR £5000 + EXCHANGE OF DE JONGH 'PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN'	SOLD BY S.AB SOTHEBY'S 5.12.1969 (101) FOR 5500GS TO "O'NIENS"	
AELBERT CUYP	SUMMER MORNING: ON THE BANKS OF THE MAES				AB	R. KANN, BT AGNEW'S FOR £6000 (8783) £6300 22.2.1899	RETURNED BY AB TO AGNEW'S 23.1.1906 IN PART-PAYMENT FOR VAN DE VELDE 'MARINE WITH SHIPPING' AND POTTER 'LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES AND OXEN'	
ANTHONY VAN DYCK	PORTRAIT OF A MAN - VAN DER HEYDEN			15	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY S.AB TO SOUTHAMPTON ART GALLERY	E.LARSEN, <u>PAINTINGS OF V. DYCK</u> , 1988, II, NO.50
ANTHONY VAN DYCK	PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN - WIFE OF VAN DER HEYDEN			16	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY S.AB TO SOUTHAMPTON ART GALLERY	E.LARSEN, <u>PAINTINGS OF V. DYCK</u> , 1988, II, NO.51
JAN VAN GOYEN	THE ROAD	YES		17	57 AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	S.AB FOUNDATION	
JAN VAN GOYEN	RIVER MOUTH	YES		18	11 AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	S.AB FOUNDATION	
JAN VAN GOYEN	THE CANAL	YES		19	AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	BY DESCENT, MRS CLAIRE HUNTER	
JAN VAN GOYEN	THE CANAL	YES		20	AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	BY DESCENT, DAUGHTER MRS JOHN WEBBER	
JAN VAN GOYEN	LANDSCAPE			21	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
JORIS VAN DER HAAGEN	VIEW OF 'HUIS TEN BOSCH' IN A WOODED LANDSCAPE	YES		22	AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 20 FOR 147GS	
FRANS HALS 1990:CIRCLE OF HALS	LAUGHING BOY HOLDING A FLUTE BIRMINGHAM, 1990, NO.54	YES		23	AB	AMONG AB'S FIRST PURCHASES (BODE 1904:21)	BY DESCENT, ALAN MUNRO ON LOAN TO BIRMINGHAM GALLERY	SLIVE, <u>FRANS HALS</u> , 1974, V.3, NO.27; C. GRIMM, <u>FRANS HALS</u> , 1990, P.291; <u>IMAGES OF A GOLDEN AGE: PAINTINGS, DUTCH 17TH CENTURY</u>

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE		SANG	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
		1904	1913					
FRANS HALS/JUDITH LEYSTER	THE LUTE PLAYER			24	12	OB LORD HOWE, COLNAGHI 1912 FOR £50000	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI 1988, CAT. NO.3 F.F.HOFRICHTER, <u>JUDITH LEYSTER</u> , 1989 <u>LEYSTER</u> , 1989, NO.41
FRANS HALS /DOUBTFUL	PORTRAIT OF A MAN					?AB	BARONESS G.W.H.M. BENTINCK- THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA	SLIVE, <u>FRANS HALS</u> , 1974, VOL.3, NO. D39
FRANS HALS /DOUBTFUL	MAN WITH A HERRING BARREL					AB	AB GAVE IT TO KUNSTHALLE HAMBURG 1891, DEACCESSIONED IN 1931, NOW IN AUGSBURG STÄDTISCHE KUNSTSAMMLUNGEN	SLIVE, <u>FRANS HALS</u> , 1974, VOL. 3, NO. D15
ASCIBED TO MARTEN VAN HEEMSKERCK	PORTRAIT OF A MAN			25		? ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY EXECUTORS OF MRS AB TO NATIONAL GALLERY OF WALES, CARDIFF	
ASCIBED TO MARTEN VAN HEEMSKERCK	PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN			26		? ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY EXECUTORS OF MRS AB TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF WALES, CARDIFF	
JAN VAN DER HEYDEN	AT THE TOWN GATE	YES		27	13	AB JOHN WALTER, 1895	SOLD BY S.AB TO D SOMERSET C1950	
MEINDERT HOBBEEMA	THE PATH ON THE DYKE	YES		28	14	AB AGNEW'S(6493) (BT DUDLEY COL. CHRISTIE'S 25.6.1892(7) FOR £10080), SOLD 6.1.1895 FOR £11000	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI, 1988, CAT.NO.4
PIETER DE HOECH	A LADY STANDING BESIDE A CELLO PLAYER	YES		29		AB 'OPPORTUNELY ACQUIRED ALONG WITH SOME MORE VALUABLE' WORKS (BODE 1904:9)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S, 25.10.1946 LOT 21, 1785GS	P.C.SUTTON, <u>PIETER DE HOECH</u> , 1980, NO.115
SIMON KICK ATT. BY BODE IN 1904 1913: STYLE OF PIETER DE HOECH	DUTCH INTERIOR	YES		30		AB ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BY DESCENT, MRS CLAIRE HUNTER	
JUDITH LEYSTER PURCHASED AS A WORK BY FRANS HALS	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GIRL	YES		31		AB AMONG AB'S 1ST PURCHASES C.1890 (BODE 1904:21)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S, 25.10.1946 LOT 23, 178.10 GS	F.F.HOFRICHTER <u>JUDITH LEYSTER</u> , 1989, NO.B7

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
NICOLAES MAES	THE MILK MAID	YES	32	15	AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895(BODE 1904:9)	SOLD S.AB, TO D SOMERSET C1950	
GABRIEL METSU	A MAN WRITING A LETTER	YES	33	17	AB	PELHAM HOPE COL.1898 COLNAGHI & WERTHEIMER	NGI, DUBLIN BEIT BEQUEST 1988; STOLEN MAY 1986	NGI, 1988, CAT. NO.5
GABRIEL METSU	A WOMAN READING A LETTER	YES	34	16	AB	PELHAM HOPE COL.1898 COLNAGHI & WERTHEIMER	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988; STOLEN MAY 1986, RECOVERED 1991	NGI, 1988, CAT. NO.6
PAULUS MOREELSE	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		35	58	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	S.AB FOUNDATION	
ANTONIO MORO 1990:ANTHONIS MOR VAN DASHORST	PORTRAIT: GIOVANNI BATTISTA DI CASTELDO		A157		OB	PURCHASED AFTER 1913 (CAT. ENTRY PASTED INTO CAT.)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 (26) FOR 630 GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.6.1962 (29); THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA COLLECTION	I.GASKELL <u>THYSSEN- BORNEMISA COLLECTION: 17TH CENTURY AND FLEMISH PAINTINGS</u> , 1990, NO.16
ISAAC MOUCHERON	LANDSCAPE		36		?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
AERT VAN DER NEER	LANDSCAPE AT EVENING	YES	37	18	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	SOLD BY S.AB TO DAVID SOMERSET C1960	
AERT VAN DER NEER	MOONLIGHT LANDSCAPE	YES	38		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	SOLD BY S.AB, CAPE TOWN, 19.5.1952 (251), BT BY MRS PEVSNER, MUIZENBERG, CAPE TOWN; CHRISTIE'S, LONDON, 7.4.1995 (13)	
AERT VAN DER NEER	WINTER LANDSCAPE	YES	39		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BY DESCENT, NEIL MUNRO	
ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	A PEASANT AT A WINDOW	YES	40	19	AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895	??	
ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	THE ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS	YES	41	20	AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895	S.AB FOUNDATION	
ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	PEASANTS DANCING IN A TAVERN	YES	42	59	AB	SEDELMAYER 1896 (26)	SOLD BY S.AB TO D SOMERSET C1950	
ISAACK VAN OSTADE	TRAVELLER AT A COTTAGE DOOR	YES	43	21	AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895	SOLD BY S.AB TO DAVID, SOMERSET,C1960; SOTHEBY'S 27.6.1962(29); THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA COLLECTION	I.GASKELL, <u>THYSSEN- BORNEMISZA COLLECTION OF 17TH - CENTURY DUTCH AND FLEMISH PAINTING</u> , 1990, NO.46

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
ISAACK VAN OSTADE	THE FORD		YES	44	22 AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895	SOLD BY S.AB TO D SOMERSET C1950	
ANTHONIE PALAMEDESZ.	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN			45	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 29 FOR 78.15 GS	
PAULUS POTTER	LANDSCAPE WITH FOUR OXEN				AB	AGNEW'S(1731) (BT FROM JH WARD 3.11.1905 FOR £2150) SOLD FOR £4000 23.1.1906	RETURNED BY OB TO AGNEW'S 12.10.1908, IN PART EXCHANGE FOR GAINSBOROUGH 'COTTAGE GIRL'	
REMBRANDT VAN RIJN 1988: WORK OF A PUPIL FROM REMBRANDT'S IMMEDIATE CIRCLE NOT EARLIER THAN 1631	THE TRIBUTE MONEY			46	61 AB	(BODE 1913:5) R LANGTON DOUGLAS	SOLD S.AB TO D SOMERSET, NOW IN NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTOWA	REMBRANDT CORPUS, I, C7
REMBRANDT VAN RIJN ?1991: PUPIL OF	ST FRANCIS		YES	47	60 AB	SEDELMAYER 1896 (31)	SOLD BY S.AB TO AGNEW'S SEPT. 1955 FOR £8000; BT BY COLUMBUS GALLERY OF FINE ART, OHIO	REMBRANDT CORPUS, III, C90
REMBRANDT VAN RIJN	PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST/ OF A YOUNG MAN		YES		AB	AGNEW'S(7398) (BT FROM WERTHEIMER 4.11.1895 FOR £3875) (SOLD TO R.KANN 2.12.1895), SOLD 28.6.1896 FOR £6000	EXCHANGED BY OB SHORTLY BEFORE 1913 (BODE 1913:5) WITH KNOEDLER'S (12209) IN PART PAYMENT FOR HALS 'LUTE PLAYER'	
REMBRANDT VAN RIJN	PORTRAIT OF A MAN		YES	48	AB	AGNEW'S(8776) (BT FROM WERTHEIMER 23.2.1899), SOLD 19.6.1899 FOR £10000 (?SOLD FIRST TO R.KANN 2.3.1899)	SOLD BY S.AB TO MARSHALL SPINK LONDON 1951, BT NATIONAL GALLERY OF VICTORIA MELBOURNE, INV.NO.2372/4	REMBRANDT: THE MASTER AND HIS WORKSHOP, 1991, NO.50
PETER PAUL RUBENS	PORTRAIT OF PHILIP IV OF SPAIN		YES	49	AB	BARON HIRSCH COL., BT C.1900 'RECENT PURCHASE' (BODE 1904:22)	'SCHOOL PICTURE', SOLD BY S.AB IN 1940S	
PETER PAUL RUBENS	PORTRAIT OF A DOMINICAN MONK			A161	24 OB	AGNEW'S (6712) 27.6.1927 £5500 + EXCHANGE OF J. VERSPRONCK 'PORTRAIT OF A LADY'	S.AB FOUNDATION ; STOLEN MAY 1986, RECOVERED 1993	
PETER PAUL RUBENS	HEAD OF A MAN (ERIC DE PUT OR ERICIUS PUTEANUS)			A163	62 OB	AGNEW'S (7815) 17.7.1930 £4250	S.AB FOUNDATION; STOLEN MAY 1986	
PETER PAUL RUBENS	JUPITER REASSURING VENUS				23 S.AB	COLNAGHI'S, 1946	S.AB FOUNDATION	J. HELD, OIL SKETCHES OF PETER PAUL RUBENS, 1980, VOL. I, NO.247
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	BENTHEIM CASTLE		YES	50	25 AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI, 1988, CAT NO.14

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	ROUGH SEA	YES	51		AB	?COLNAGHI'S ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	SOLD BY S'AB; MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON,	SLIVE AND H.R. HOETINK, <u>JACOB VAN RUISDAEL</u> , 1981, NO.48, NO. 57.4
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	THE CORNFIELD		52	26	OB	KNOEDLER'S (12062), SOLD ON 30.6.1910, 'RECENT PURCHASE' (BODE 1913:20)	S.AB FOUNDATION	
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	HILLY LANDSCAPE WITH A WATERFALL		53		?	?RLD, ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 33 FOR 252GS	
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	A WATERFALL		A156		OB	GEORGE SALTING COL., AGNEW'S (4092) £500 25.2.1916	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	[UNIDENTIFIED WORK]				?		EXCHANGED WITH KNOEDLER'S (12064) FOR A CREDIT 30.6.1910	
SALOMON VAN RUYSDAEL	A RIVER LANDSCAPE	YES	54	27	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	SOLD S.AB TO D SOMERSET C1950	
JAN STEEN	THE PATIENT	YES	55	63	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	?LEFT BY OB TO NG	
JAN STEEN	INTERIOR OF AN INN/ THE BROKEN EGGS		56		AB	R LANGTON DOUGLAS, AUGUST 1905 (RLD - WB 29.8.1905) FOR £1000 (OB TO WB 8.8.1907)	LEFT BY OB TO NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON 1941, INV. NO.5637	N.MACLAREN ET AL, 'THE <u>DUTCH SCHOOL</u> , NG, 1991
JAN STEEN	MARRIAGE FEAST AT CANA	YES	57	28	AB	JOHN WALTER, 1895	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI 1988, CAT. NO.15
ABRAHAM VAN DER TEMPEL	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		58		?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	DONATED BY OB TO RED CROSS SALE, CHRISTIE'S, 22.3.1917 (1308), BT BY 'MARTIN' FOR £ 273	
UNCERTAINTY: SAME PAINTING? DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER [56.5 X 77CM]	PEASANT FEAST AT THE GATES OF ANTWERP	YES	59	29	AB	?JOHN WALTER, 1895 (BODE 1904:57)	S.AB FOUNDATION	
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER [55 X 75CM]	RURAL FETE					AGNEW'S (7438) £2750 24.2.1896		
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER 1993: FOLLOWER OF	A PEASANT TEACHING A SHEPHERDESS TO PLAY THE PIPES	YES	60	30	AB	AGNEW'S(9678) (BT FROM JH WARD 15.1.1901 FOR £150), SOLD 15.2.1901 £450	S.AB COL.	
MANNER OF TENIERS	LANDSCAPE		61		?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER	MARINE WITH SHIPPING		64	64	AB	AGNEW'S(1646) (BT FROM SULLY 17.6.1905 FOR £2000), SOLD 23.1.1906 FOR £3150	GIVEN TO SANG CAPE TOWN BY S.AB, 1953 INV. NO. 53/48	M.S. ROBINSON <u>VAN DE VELDE</u> , 1990, NO.371[1]



ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
UNCERTAINTY: SAME PAINTING? WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER [33 X 40CM]	CALM SEA		YES	65	34 AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	S.AB FOUNDATION	
WILLEM VAN DER VELDE THE YOUNGER [29.4 X 48.75CM]	A CALM WITH SHIPPING				AB	AGNEWS(7859) (BT FROM A.DE ROTHSCHILD 30.11.1896 FOR £800) SOLD 3.2.1897 £1200	POSSIBLY SOLD BY MRS BULL	
WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER	STORMY SEA		YES	66	33 AB	PELHAM HOPE COL.1898, COLNAGHI & WERTHEIMER (SEE PRECEDING V.D.VELDE)	SOLD BY S.AB C.1960	M.S. ROBINSON, <u>VAN DE VELDE</u> , 1990, NO.77[1]
WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER	HEAVY SEA		YES	67	32 AB	PELHAM HOPE COL.1898, COLNAGHI & WERTHEIMER (WERTHEIMER WAS ASKING £3500 FOR A V.D.VELDE FROM HOPE COL. (AB TO WB 1.10.1898))	SOLD BY S.AB C.1960	M.S. ROBINSON, <u>VAN DE VELDE</u> , 1990, NO.78[1]
JOHANNES VERMEER 1993:?	A LADY AT A SPINET		YES	68	36 AB	BT IN PARIS BY BODE FOR AB 1892 (AB TO WB 25.4.1892)	SOLD AB TO D SOMERSET, WHEN?	
JOHANNES VERMEER	A LADY WRITING A LETTER			69	35 ?AB	SECRÉTAN/MARINONI COL. BT BY R.KANN FOR AB FOR £8000 FROM KLEINBERGER IN PARIS IN NOV.1904 (AB TO WB 12.7.1904)	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988; STOLEN MAY 1986	NGI, 1988, CAT. NO.17
JOHANNES VERSPRONCK	PORTRAIT OF A LADY			70	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	PART-EXCHANGED BY OB WITH AGNEW'S 27.6.1927 FOR RUBENS 'DOMINICAN MONK' ?S.AB FOUNDATION	
PHILIPS WOUWERMANS	A VILLAGE FESTIVAL		YES	71	65 AB	PELHAM HOPE COL.1898, COLNAGHI & WERTHEIMER (WERTHEIMER WAS ASKING £8000 FOR A WOUVERMAN FROM THE HOPE COL. AND WOULD NOT ACCEPT LESS THAN £7500 (AB TO WB 1.10.1898))	SOLD S.AB TO D SOMERSET C1950	
JAN WIJNANTS	HILLY LANDSCAPE			72	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	S.AB COL.	
REINER NOOMS (CALLED ZEEMAN)	STORMY SEA		YES	73	AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
REINER NOOMS (CALLED ZEEMAN)	CALM SEA		YES	74	AB	EARLY PURCHASE OF AB, C.1889-1895 (BODE 1904:21)	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
DUTCH SCHOOL MANNER OF CUYP/VERMEER	PORTRAIT OF A BOY			13	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 48 FOR 52.10 GS	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
DUTCH SCHOOL/ MANNER OF PALAMEDESZ. IN 1904 CATALOGUE AS 'UNKNOWN, DUTCH SCHOOL 1635, 'PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GIRL'	PORTRAIT OF WOMAN	YES	14		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 16 FOR 68.5 GS	
<b><u>BRITISH SCHOOL</u></b>								
SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY	PORTRAIT OF MISS LOUISE GIFFARD		80		?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913		BY DESCENT, MRS CLAIRE HUNTER
SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY	PORTRAIT OF THE ACTRESS MRS SIDONS	YES	81		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904 (BODE 1913:36 MENTIONS THAT IT HUNG AT TW)		BY DESCENT, MRS CLAIRE HUNTER
SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY	?				?	?		IN PART-EXCHANGED WITH AGNEW'S (3748) 12.7.1911 FOR RAEBURN 'MRS CAY'
R.P.BONINGTON	FIGURES ON THE SEASHORE	YES	82	37	AB	SEDELMAYER, ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904		S.AB FOUNDATION
(?)JOHN CONSTABLE	FOREST LANDSCAPE	YES			AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904		NOT RECALLED BY S.AB
DAVID COX	THE LOST LAMB				OB	AGNEW'S(4367) £225 25.2.1916		DELIVERED BY AGNEW'S TO THE BRITISH RED CROSS SOCIETY ??CHRISTIE'S 6.4.1916 (408)
DAVID COX	CROSSING LANCASTER SANDS				OB	AGNEW'S (222) £200 23.3.1923		NOT RECALLED BY S.AB
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF THE COUNTESS OF WALDEGRAVE, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER	YES			AB	AGNEW'S(8279) (BT 14.1.1898 FOR £4700+ £400 COM.), SOLD 8.3.1898 FOR £7750		RETURNED BY AB TO AGNEW'S 28.6.1904 IN PART EXCHANGE FOR REYNOLDS 'MRS BOONE & DAUGHTER'
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	WOODED LANDSCAPE WITH WINDING PATH (1904: 'PATH THROUGH THE WOODS')	YES	83	41	AB	AGNEW'S(171) (BT 6.12.1901 FROM BOUSSAD, V.&CO), SOLD 23.1.02 FOR £220 +£100 ON EXCHANGE		S.AB FOUNDATION  J.HAYES, <u>THE LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS OF GAINSBOROUGH, 1982, NO.4</u>
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	WOODED LANDSCAPE FIGURES, CATTLE AT A POOL (1904: 'POOL IN THE WOOD')	YES	84	42	AB	AGNEW'S(8065) (BT FROM ROBINSON&FISHER 27.5.1897(172)), SOLD 9.3.1898 FOR £131.5		S.AB FOUNDATION  J.HAYES, <u>THE LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS OF GAINSBOROUGH, 1982, NO.84</u>
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	'UPRIGHT LANDSCAPE'				AB	?		AB PART EXCHANGE (VALUED AT £100) WITH AGNEW'S(243) 23.1.1902 FOR GAINSBOROUGH 'WOODY LANDSCAPE WITH WINDING PATH' (SOLD BY AGNEW'S 4.1.03 FOR £55 TO W.G.RAWLINSON)

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES				AB	AGNEW'S(1593) (BT CHRISTIE'S 20.5.1905 (102) FOR 300GS), SOLD 23.1.1906 FOR £525	RETURNED BY OB TO AGNEW'S 12.10.1908, IN PART EXCHANGE FOR GAINSBOROUGH 'COTTAGE GIRL'	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	THE DANCER BACCELLI	YES	85	40	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE DEC. 1899 (EXH. AT NEW GALLERY, WINTER 1899, AS PROPERTY OF AB)	S AB FOUNDATION, STOLEN MAY 1986, RECOVERED 1992	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF SQUIRE JOHN WILKINSON				AB	AGNEW'S(1383) (BT FROM E.DAVIS 27.9.1904 FOR £5000), SOLD 27.9.1904 FOR £5000	SENT IN 1904 TO KAISER- FRIEDRICH- MUSEUM, BERLIN, AS DONATION	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF THE HON. MRS WATSON		86	39	OB	'RECENT ACQUISITION' (BODE 1913:33)	OFFERED FOR SALE BY S.AB, CAPE TOWN, 19.5.1952, LOT 247, BI, 700GS, RES: 1000GS; SOLD BY S.AB TO AGNEWS, 18.3.1964, IN PART EXCHANGE FOR OUDRY 'INDIAN BLACK BUCK AND POINTERS'	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF MARGARET GAINSBOROUGH		87	?		ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BEQUEATHED BY OB TO NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON, 1941, NG 5638; TRANSFERRED TO TATE GALLERY	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	THE COTTAGE GIRL		88	38	OB	AGNEW'S (J1324) (JOINTLY OWNED WITH WERTHIEMER 23.1.1907), SOLD 12.10.1908 FOR £23000	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI, 1988, CAT. NO.1
THOMAS SWORD GOODE	THE SCHOOL MASTER				?	?	BY DESCENT, MRS CLAIRE HUNTER	
JOHN HOPPNER	COUNTESS OF ALDBOROUGH		89	?		ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, SIR ALAN MUNRO	
JOHN HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF LADY COOTE	YES			AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BEQUEATHED BY AB TO FRANZ VOELKLEIN 1906	
JOHN HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF THE COUNTESS OF POULETT	YES	90		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
JOHN HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF CHARLOTTE, MRS SYMPSON (WIFE OF ROBERT SYMPSON)				OB	AGNEW'S (3113) 26.11.1909 £13500 INCL. REYNOLDS' 'NO AND BACCHUS'	EXCHANGED WITH KNOEDLER'S (12064) ON 30.6.1910	
SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE	PORTRAIT OF MRS HILLYER		91		AB	AGNEW'S(J1285) (BT 24.7.1905 FROM ?FORBES FOR £600), SOLD 13.10.05 FOR £300 & ROMNEY 'LADY HAMILTON AS SERENA' (TRADED IN AT £2000) I.E.TOTAL COST = £2300	LEFT TO MRS AB, IN TURN TO HER DAUGHTER MRS CLAIRE HUNTER, IN TURN TO HER DAUGHTER MRS JAMES GUNN	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
LORD FREDERICK LEIGHTON	PHOEBE				OB	AGNEW'S(8698) (BT 19.12.1898 FOR £585), SOLD 20.12.1898 FOR £650	WHEREABOUTS UNCERTAIN, NOT RECALLED BY S.AB	
GEORGE MORLAND	CHOOSING A HORSE				AB	AGNEW'S(9327) (BT 25.4.1900 FOR £600), SOLD 2.5.1900 FOR £850	S.AB COL.	
PATRICK NASMYTH	HARBOUR SCENE ON THE THAMES			92	43 OB	AGNEW'S(9220) (BT 6.2.1900 FOR £100), SOLD 27.2.1900 FOR £200	S.AB COL.	
JOHN OPIE	PORTRAIT OF MASTER HENRY LEVERTON				AB	AGNEW'S (831) 22.4.1904 £725	RETURNED BY OB TO AGNEW'S 12.10.1908, IN PART EXCHANGE FOR GAINSBOROUGH 'COTTAGE GIRL'	
JOHN OPIE	THE PEASANT'S FAMILY			93	OB	AGNEW'S(1631) (BT FROM CJ PALMER 7.6.1905 FOR £210 + £100 COM.), SOLD 18.11.1905 FOR £900	BEQUEATHED BY OB TO THE NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON 1948 NG5834; TRANSFERED TO TATE GALLERY 1951	
R.M. PAYE	BOYS PLAYING AT PEG TOP				153 OB	AGNEW'S(4167) 12.6.1913 £400 FOR PAIR	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
R.M. PAYE	BOYS PLAYING MARBLES				154 OB	AGNEW'S (4167A)	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
SIR HENRY RAEBURN	PORTRAIT OF SIR JOHN AND LADY CLERK OF PENICUIK			94	44 OB	SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS CLERK, THROUGH RLD (OB - WB 15.1.1911)	NGI, DUBLIN, BEIT BEQUEST 1988	NGI, 1988, CAT. NO.13
SIR HENRY RAEBURN	PORTRAIT OF MRS JOHN CAY			95	OB	AGNEW'S (3443) 12.7.1911 FOR £2050 + EXCHANGE OF 3 KAUFFMANS + BEECHLEY (BODE 1913:37 MENTIONS IT HANGING AT TW)	BEQUEATHED BY OB TO NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON, 1941, NG5639; TRANSFERED TO TATE GALLERY 1951	
ALLAN RAMSAY 1993: ATTRIBUTED TO THOMAS HUDSON	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG LADY	YES		96	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF LADY TALBOT	YES		97	AB	AGNEW'S(7464) (BT FROM EARL OF SHREWSBURY 7.1.1896 FOR £8800), SOLD 30.4.1896 FOR £10650	BEQUEATHED BY OB TO NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON 1941 NG5640, TRANSFERED TO TATE GALLERY 1949	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF LADY COCKBURN AS CARITAS AND HER THREE ELDEST SONS	YES			AB	BEQUEATHED TO NG IN 1892 BY LADY HAMILTON, RECLAIMED BY CO-HEIRESSES OF SIR JAMES COCKBURN IN 1900, SOLD THROUGH WERTHEIMER (?&AGNEW'S) IN 1900 FOR £22 000 (S. FORT P.221)	BEQUEATHED BY AB TO NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON 1906 NG 2077	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MRS HARRIET BOONE AND HER DAUGHTER				AB	AGNEW'S(1086) (BT 23.12.1903 FROM JC GARTH FOR £4500), SOLD 28.6.1904 FOR £5000 + GAINSBOROUGH 'COUNTESS OF WALDEGRAVE' (TRADED-IN FOR £7700) I.E. TOTAL COST=£12700)	BEQUEATHED BY AB TO THE KAISER-FRIEDRICH-MUSEUM, BERLIN 1906 ?DESTROYED IN WWII	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF LADY DECIES AND HER SON JOHN		98		45 OB	HOPE TRUSTEES, AGNEW'S(J1567) (BT JOINTLY WITH COLNAGHI'S) SOLD 31.1.1911 FOR £15000 + EXCHANGE OF REYNOLDS 'INO AND BACCHUS'	OFFERED FOR SALE BY S.AB CAPE TOWN 19.5.1952, LOT 248, B1, AT 900GS, RES:1500GS; SOLD BY AB TO D SOMERSET C1960?	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	INO AND THE INFANT BACCHUS				OB	AGNEW'S(2234) 26.11.1909 £13500 INCL. HOPPNER 'MRS SYMPSON'	RETURNED BY OB 31.1.1911 IN PART EXCHANGE FOR REYNOLDS 'LADY DECIES'	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MRS ELIZABETH BERESFORD				OB	COLNAGHI'S (JOINTLY OWNED BY KNOEDLER'S (12097)) 28.2.1911	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MRS HENRY AINSLIE AND CHILD	YES	99		46 AB	AGNEW'S(8466) (BT 12.5.1898 FROM COL. OF MESSRS AINSLIE & WILLIAMS), SOLD 16.5.1898 FOR £3350	SOLD BY S.AB CAPE TOWN, 19.5.1952 (249)	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF LADY HAMILTON AS 'SERENA'				AB	AGNEW'S(1263) (BT 3.5.1904 FOR £850), SOLD 13.6.1904 FOR £2100	RETURNED BY AB 13.10.05 IN PART EXCHANGE FOR LAWRENCE 'MRS HILLYER'	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MISS THORNHILL WITH DOG				AB	AGNEW'S(6493) (BT FROM [?M]COLNAGHI FOR £1200) SOLD 31.7.1895 FOR £1500	WHEREABOUT UNKNOWN, NOT RECALLED BY S.AB	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MASTER THOMAS THORNHILL		152		AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1898 (ILLUS. IN SEDELMAYER '300 PICTURES', 1898, AS NO. 300 AS PROPERTY OF AB)	BEQUEATHED BY AB TO FRANZ VOELKLEIN, REACQUIRED BY OB CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913(109) £6090 (BT AGNEW'S FOR OB); BY DESCENT THEODORE BULL, SOLD C.1990	
JAMES STARK	WOODLAND SCENE				47 AB	AGNEW'S (9422) 10.7.1900 £220	S.AB COL.	
J.M. SWAN	THE PURSUIT				OB	KNOEDLER'S (12038), 30.6.1910		
(J.M.W. TURNER) 1993: WILLIAM DANIELL	BANQUET IN THE GUILD-HALL (GIVEN TO THE ALLIED SOVEREIGNS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF NAPOLEON)	YES			AB	BEFORE 1904	S.AB COL.	
GEORGE FREDERICK WATTS	JOAN OF ARC				AB	CHRISTIE'S 15.3.1902(33) 160GS BT AGNEW'S (341) FOR AB	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN, NOT RECALLED BY S.AB	



ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
FRANCIS WHEATLEY	GINGERBREAD (PART OF 'LONDON CRIES SERIES')			162	OB	ACQUIRED AFTER 1913 (CAT. ENTRY PASTED IN 1913 CAT.)	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	
ENGLISH SCHOOL, 18TH CENTURY	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GIRL ?			100		ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN, NOT RECALLED BY S.AB	
ENGLISH SCHOOL, 18TH CENTURY ATTR. TO REV MATTHEW PETERS	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		?	101		ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL	
ENGLISH SCHOOL, 18TH CENTURY	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		?	102		ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	
ENGLISH SCHOOL 18TH CENTURY	PORTRAIT OF YOUTH WITH POWDERED HAIR		?	103		ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	
<b><u>FRENCH SCHOOL</u></b>								
JEAN BAPTISTE GREUZE	PORTRAIT OF A LITTLE GIRL	YES		75	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1904	BY DESCENT, NEIL MUNRO	
ANGELICA KAUFFMANN	JUDGEMENT OF PARIS				AB	AGNEW'S (1371) 8.9.1904 £850 INCL. KAUFFMAN PAIR	RETURNED BY OB TO AGNEW'S 12.7.1911 IN PART EXCHANGE FOR RAEBURN 'MRS CAY'	
ANGELICA KAUFFMANN	'PAIR OF UPRIGHT PAINTINGS'				AB	AGNEW'S (1372/3) 8.9.1904 £850 INCL. KAUFFMAN 'JUDGMENT OF PARIS'	RETURNED BY OB TO AGNEW'S 12.7.1911 IN PART EXCHANGE FOR RAEBURN 'MRS CAY'	
JACQUES DE LA JOUE	CABINET PHYSIQUE DE M.BONNIER DE LA MOSSON				48 S.AB	WILDENSTEIN	S.AB COL.	
JACQUES DE LA JOUE					S.AB	WILDENSTEIN	S.AB COL.	
JEAN MARC NATTIER	PORTRAIT OF MADAME VICTOIRE, DAUGHTER OF LOUIS XV	YES		76	AB	AGNEW'S(8328) (BT FROM R.KANN), SOLD 18.3.98 FOR £2500	BY DESCENT, SIR ALAN MUNRO; SOLD AT CHRISTIES, LONDON, 1970S	
JEAN MARC NATTIER	PORTRAIT OF THE DUCHESS OF CHARTRES AS HEBE	YES		77	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1898 (ILLUS. IN SEDELMAYER '300 PICTURES', 1898, AS NO. 276 AS PROPERTY OF AB)	GIVEN BY S.AB TO A YWCA SALE IN 1949	
JEAN BAPTISTE OUDRY	INDIAN BLACK BUCK WITH POINTERS				S.AB	AGNEW'S, 1962	S.AB COL.	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
HUBERT ROBERT	LE PAVILLION RUSTIQUE				S.AB	?	?	
JOSEPH VERNET	FOUR MARINE SCENES				S.AB	FRANK PARTRIDGE	S.AB COL.	
ANTOINE VESTIER	PORTRAIT OF PRINCESSE DE LAMBALLE			79	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	S.AB COL. STOLEN MAY 1986	
FRENCH OR DUTCH SCHOOL. 18TH CENT	LUXEMBOURG GARDENS			78	?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER	

#### ITALIAN SCHOOL

IN MOST INSTANCES THE PROVENANCE IS NOT KNOWN. IT IS PROBABLE THAT SUCH WORKS WERE PURCHASED TOGETHER WITH THE COUNTRY HOUSE TEWIN WATER.

IL BACCHIACCA	PORTRAIT: YOUNG MAN			104		?RLD FOR £ 1650 (OB - WB 19.1.1910)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 4 FOR 157.10 GS	
BERNARDO BELLOTTO	THE RIVER ARNO, FLORENCE (PONTE ALLA CARRAIA, FLORENCE)			106	49		S.AB FOUNDATION	
BERNARDO BELLOTTO	PONTE VECCHIO, FLORENCE			107	50		S.AB FOUNDATION	
SODOMA (GIOVANNI ANTONIO DE'BAZZI)	HOLY FAMILY WITH ST. ELIZABETH AND THE ST. JOHN			105			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 42 FOR 105 GS	
BONIFAZIO DE PITATI/ BONIFAZIO VERONESE	ALLEGORY OF THE PURSUIT OF FORTUNE			108		MANFRIN COL. ?(AB SENT WB £210 FOR A BONIFAZIO ON 13.11.1903) AB QUERIED THE MEANING OF THE TWO BONIFAZIOS BODE BT (AB TO WB 20.5.1904) AS WITH PRECEDING PAINTING	OFFERED FOR SALE BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 9 FOR 21 GS BI, GIVEN TO NASH COURT NAT. ASSOCIATION OF BOYS CLUBS	
BONIFAZIO DE PITATI/ BONIFAZIO VERONESE	ALLEGORY OF THE PURSUIT OF FAME			109			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 8 FOR 52.10 GS	
LORENZO DI CREDI	ALLEGORY OF CHASTITY			110			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 15 FOR 525 GS	
FERRARESE SCHOOL EARLY 16 C./LODOVICO MAZZOLINO	MADONNA AND CHILD			111			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 25 FOR 136.10 GS	
FERRARESE SCHOOL EARLY 16TH C./G.A. BOLTRAFFIO	MADONNA AND CHILD			112			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 7 FOR 68.5 GS	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE		SANG	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
		1904	1913					
FLORENTINE SCHOOL LAST QUARTER 15TH C. FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO GHIRLANDAIO, 1993: ATTRIBUTED TO MASTER OF SANTA LUCIA SUL PRATO	ADORATION OF THE INFANT SAVIOUR			113		?PERHAPS THE TONDO BT FROM RLD ON WB'S RECOMMENDATION IN 1910 (RLD - WB 28.2.1910)	BY DESCENT, THEODORE BULL, SOLD 1993	
FLORENTINE SCHOOL EARLY 16 C./ PIERO DI COSIMO	ADORATION OF THE INFANT SAVIOUR			114			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 31 FOR 273 GS	
FLORENTINE SCHOOL EARLY 16TH C./ ALBERTINELLI	FOUR SCENES FROM LIFE OF THE VIRGIN			115- 118			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 2 FOR 31.10 GS	
FLORENTINE SCHOOL EARLY 16TH C.	MADONNA AND CHILD WITH INFANT ST. JOHN			119			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 17 FOR 105 GS	
FLORENTINE SCHOOL 16TH C./ BRONZINO	PORTRAIT OF A LADY WITH TWO CHILDREN			120			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 11	
RAFFAELINO DEL GARBO	PORTRAIT OF LADY AS THE MAGDALEN			A160	OB	ACQUIRED AFTER 1913 (CAT. ENTRY PASTED IN 1913 CAT.)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 18 FOR 504 GS	
FRANCESCO GUARDI	THE PIAZZA LOOKING TOWARDS SAN MARCO	YES		121	51 AB	?POSSIBLY THE 'PAIR OF CLEVER VENETIAN VIEWS' THAT BODE 1904:27 REFERS TO AS RECENTLY PURCHASED BY AB	S.AB COL.	A. MORASSI, <u>GUARDI</u> , ?1970, CAT. NO.331.
FRANCESCO GUARDI	THE PIAZZETTA WITH A VIEW OF SAN GIORGIO	YES		122	52 AB	AS WITH PRECEDING GUARDI	S.AB COL.	A. MORASSI, <u>GUARDI</u> , ?1970, CAT. NO. 375.
FRANCESCO GUARDI	THE GRAND CANAL WITH VIEW OF THE PALAZZO GRIMANI	YES		123	53 AB		S.AB FOUNDATION	A. MORASSI, <u>GUARDI</u> , ?1970, CAT. NO. 566.
FRANCESCO GUARDI	COMPOSITION WITH FIGURES AND BUILDINGS - FANTASIA			124	54 ?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	S.AB FOUNDATION, STOLEN MAY 1986	
FRANCESCO GUARDI	COMPOSITION WITH FIGURES AND BUILDINGS - FANTASIA			125	55 ?	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1913	S.AB FOUNDATION, STOLEN MAY 1986	
FRANCESCO GUARDI (SCHOOL?)	SANTA MARIA DELLA SALUTE			126	OB	AGNEW'S(2113) (BT FROM JH WARD 5.02.1907) FOR £1300), SOLD 12.10.1908 FOR £2000	?RE-ENTERED IN AGNEW'S STOCK BOOKS 12.10.1908; ?BY DESCENT, ALAN MUNRO	
ITALIAN SCHOOL 16TH C./SALVIATI	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN			127			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 35 FOR 26.5 GS	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
ITALIAN SCHOOL 16TH C. /SOFONISBA ANGUISCIOLA	PORTRAIT OF LADY			128			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 3 FOR 42 GS	
ITALIAN SCHOOL 16TH C.	HEAD OF YOUTHFUL WOMAN			129			WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	
N.ITALIAN SCHOOL 16TH C./BOCCACCINO	MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST CATHERINE			130			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 6 FOR 57.5 GS	
PIETRO LONGHI	A PAIR OF VENETIAN INTERIORS						BY DESCENT, MRS CLAIRE HUNTER	
SCHOOL OF LORENZO LOTTO	MADONNA AND CHILD WITH SAINTS			131		?BT FROM RLD BY OB (RLD - WB 11.8.1909)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 24 FOR 73.10 GS	
ALESSANDRO MAGNASCO	ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA PREACHING TO THE FISHES				9 S.AB	AMSTERDAM ANTIQUES FAIR LATE 1930S FROM A SWEDISH DEALER	S.AB FOUNDATION	
ALESSANDRO MAGNASCO	ST. AUGUSTINE ENCOUNTERING THE CHRIST-CHILD				10 S.AB	AMSTERDAM LATE 1930S FROM A SWEDISH DEALER	S.AB FOUNDATION	
JACOPO MARIESCHI 1989: MICHELE MARIESCHI	PAIR: RIALTO AND PALAZZO; DUCAL PALACE, VENICE			132 133			PAIR, BY DESCENT, MRS JOHN WEBBER; SOLD CHRISTIE'S 8.12.1989 (115) FOR £ 820000	
GIOVANNI BATTISTA MORONI	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN IN A BLACK CAP			134			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 28 FOR 210 GS	
WORKSHOP OF PALMA VECCHIO	HOLY FAMILY WITH THE MAGDALEN IN LANDSCAPE			135		?BT FROM RLD FOR £ 200, 1905 (RLD - WB 22.8.1905)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 30 FOR 52.10 GS	
PITTONI	ADORATION OF THE MAGI					S.AB	S.AB COL.	
D ROBUSTI/ DOMENICO TINTORETTO	PORTRAIT OF VERONICA FRANCO			136			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 43 FOR 63 GS	
GUISEPPE PORTA SALVIATI/FRANCESCO SALVIATI	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN			137			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 34 FOR 94.10 GS	
ANDREA SCHIAVONE	THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS			138		OB BT 2 'SCHIAVONE'S' FROM RLD IN 1909 (RLD - WB 2.1.1910)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 37 FOR 147 GS	
ANDREA SCHIAVONE	DIANA & ACTAEON			139			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 36 FOR 47.5 GS	

ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
ANDREA SCHIAVONE	DIANA & ACTAEON			140			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 38 FOR 94.10 GS	
ANDREA SCHIAVONE	RAPE OF EUROPA			141			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 39 FOR 84 GS	
ANDREA SCHIAVONE	TRIUMPH OF CHASTITY			142			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 40 FOR 42 GS	
SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO	PORTRAIT OF A LADY AS ST LUCY			143			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 32 FOR 315 GS	
LUCA SIGNORELLI	THE HOLY FAMILY			A159	OB	ACQUIRED AFTER 1913 (CAT. ENTRY PASTED IN 1913 CAT.)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 41 FOR 525 GS	
TINTORETTO	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN			144		? AB BT <u>A</u> TINTORETTO THROUGH WB FOR £280 (AB TO WB 6.3.1907.)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 44 FOR 157.10 GS	
TINTORETTO	PORTRAIT OF A VENETIAN SENATOR			145		? RLD HAD <u>A</u> TINTORETTO 'VENETIAN SENATOR' ON OFFER IN JAN. 1906 (RLD - WB 1.1.1906)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 45 FOR 236 GS	25.10.1946 LOT 45 FOR 236 GS
TINTORETTO	PORTRAIT OF A VENETIAN SENATOR			146	?AB	? AB BT <u>A</u> TINTORETTO FROM LANGTON DOUGLAS IN 1904 FOR £2000 (AB TO WB 9.1.2.1904)	SOLD BY OB (NOTE PASTED IN LATER IN 1913 CAT.)	
PIETRO DELLA VECCHIA	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN			147			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 47 FOR 23.2 GS	
VENETIAN SCHOOL LATE 16TH C./ CARPACCIO	LANDSCAPE WITH FIVE FIGURES			149			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 14 FOR 126 GS	
ATTR. TO PAOLO VERONESE	PORTRAIT OF ALESSANDRO ALBERTI AND HIS PAGE	YES		148	AB	ACQUIRED BEFORE 1901 BECAUSE MENTIONED IN LETTER (AB TO WB 16.9.1901)	SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 49 FOR 504 GS	
<b><u>GERMAN SCHOOL</u></b>								
BARTHOLOMEUS BRUYN THE ELDER	PORTRAIT OF GENTLEMAN			150			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 12 FOR 304.10 GNS.	
GERMAN SCHOOL 16th	'DER. HER. VON FRO' (PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN)			151			SOLD BY MRS AB, CHRISTIE'S 25.10.1946 LOT 27 FOR 63 GS	



ARTIST	TITLE	BODE 1904	BODE 1913	SANG 1949	PURCH- -ASER	SOURCE	DATE IT LEFT BEIT COL.; PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
H. SCHMIECHEN	SASCHA				AB	CHRISTIE'S 15.3.1902 (82) 46GS, BT AGNEW'S (342) FOR AB	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN, NOT RECALLED BY S.AB	
<b><u>OTHER</u></b>								
J.M.W TURNER	W/C OF RHINE					S.AB ?	S.AB COL.	
JOHN SINGER SARGENT	COPY OF VELASQUEZ, 'THE WEAVERS', 1870					S.AB CHRISTIE'S, WHEN?	S.AB COL.	
JOHN SINGER SARGENT	COPY OF VELASQUEZ, APOLLO IN 'FORGE OF VULCAN'					S.AB CHRISTIE'S, WHEN?	S.AB COL.	
DEREK HILL	SIR ALFRED AND LADY BEIT					S.AB	S.AB COL.	

(SEE SOTHEBY'S 7.10.1948, WHERE BODE NOS 166-170, 173-180, 182 WERE SOLD)

### APPENDIX 3: INVENTORY OF THE SIR LIONEL AND LADY PHILLIPS COLLECTION

- SOURCES** : (UNLESS STATED, THE LOCATION OF ALL AUCTION SALES IS LONDON)
- CHRISTIE'S 1913** : *Catalogue of the collection of pictures by old masters, pastels and drawings, formed by Sir Lionel Phillips, Bart., removed from Tylney Hall, Winchfield, sold owing to the owner's decision to reside permanently in South Africa ...*, Christie's, London, 25 April 1913
- 1941** : *Catalogue of valuable antique English, Empire and Dutch period furniture... being the collection formed by the late Sir Lionel and Lady Phillips....* The Colonial Orphan Chamber and Trust Company, Cape Town, 9 June 1941

#### **ABBREVIATIONS:**

- LP** : SIR LIONEL PHILLIPS  
**DP** : LADY PHILLIPS

In this inventory of the Phillips collection, the names of the artists are usually only preceded by their initials. This practice follows the convention used in auction catalogues which indicates that the attribution of the work to that artist is not certain. Because most of the paintings in the Phillips collection were 'school' pictures, it is seldom possible to locate their present whereabouts to establish if the attributions were correct.

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COL PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
<b><u>BRITISH SCHOOL</u></b>				
JOHN CONSTABLE	BRIGHTON BEACH, HEAVY SURF	AGNEW'S (8197) FOR £950, 23.10.1897		
JOHN CONSTABLE	VIEW IN WESTMORLAND	AGNEW'S (8243) FOR £650, 18.11.1897		
RICHARD COSWAY	PORTRAIT OF LADY IN A WHITE DRESS, A LANDSCAPE BEHIND	EXH. NEW GALLERY 1899/1900	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (44) £215.5., BT TOOTH	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	THE HARVEST WAGON	COLNAGHI £5400?, 1898 EXH: NEW GALLERY 1899/1900	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (45) £20160, BT AGNEW, NOW IN ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO	J. HAYES, <u>THE LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS OF THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH</u> , 1982, VOL. 2, NO.157
T. GAINSBOROUGH	A RIVER SCENE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (46) £27.6.	
A. GRISON	INTERLUDE DURING THE CHASE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (30) £6.6.	
A. GRISON	A CELLAR WITH WINE-CASKS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (31) £2.12.6.	
A. GRISON	CONTEMPLATING NATURE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (32) £7.7., BT LEGGATT	
R. HILDER	WOODY LANDSCAPE WITH COTTAGES		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (33) £42, BT LEGGATT	
J. HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF LADY STANDING ON A TERRACE IN A BLACK SILK DRESS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (47) £651, BT AGNEW	
J. HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF A LADY IN A WHITE BODICE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (48) £546, BT AGNEW	
J. HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF A LADY IN A DARK DRESS WITH NECKLACE OF CORAL BEADS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (49) £84	
AFTER J. HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF THE COUNTESS OF OXFORD IN A RED DRESS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (50) £6.6.	
KNELLER	PORTRAIT OF LADIES IN BLUE AND WHITE DRESS, A PAIR		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (51) £5.5.	
KNELLER	A SET OF FOUR PORTRAITS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (52) £10.10	

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COL. PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
KNELLER	THREE PORTRAITS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (53) £5.5.	
T. LAWRENCE	PORTRAIT OF MRS SIDDONS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (54) £1890, BT AGNEW	
G. MORLAND	THE SPORTSMEN		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (55) £168, BT LEGGATT	
G. MORLAND	TWO DOGS ON THE SEASHORE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (56) £12.1.6, BT LEGGATT	
G. MORLAND	WATERING THE HORSE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (57) £63	
ATTRIBUTED TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF A CHILD		SOLD BY THE ESTATE, 9.6.1941 (412) FOR 305 GNS	
ATTRIBUTED TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF YOUNG GENTLEMAN		SOLD BY THE ESTATE, 9.6.1941 (418) FOR 250 GNS	
J. REYNOLDS	A GIRL AND A DOG	EXH: NEW GALLERY 1899/1900	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (58) £997.10 BT. AGNEW	
J. REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF COUNTESS SPENCER		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (59) £105	
J. REYNOLDS	THE INFANT ST JOHN		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (60) £52.10	
J. REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MASTER HARE IN A WHITE FROCK	EXH: NEW GALLERY 1899/1900	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (61) RES: £1300, BI: 270GS	
J. REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MISS MEYER AS 'HEBE'		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (62) £9.9.	
J. REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF LADY HAMILTON AS BACCHANTE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (63) £26.5.	
J. REYNOLDS	THE SNAKE IN THE GRASS		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (64) £9.9.	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MRS ARABELLA PHIPPS	AGNEW'S (8219) FOR £1850 6.11.1897 EXH: NEW GALLERY 1899/1900	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (65) £819	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF LADY HAMILTON	CHRISTIE'S 25.6.1898 (101) BT ON COM. BY AGNEW'S (8556) +5%com		
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN AT THE WARREN HASTINGS TRIAL WITH A FIGURE OF FAME (W. SICHEL WROTE TO LP ON 25.11.1908 REQUESTING A PHOTOGRAPH OF THIS PAINTING, LP PAPERS, BR)			

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COL. PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
F.W. WATTS	A MOUNTAIN SCENE		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (34) £9.9. BT GOOD & FOX	
BRITISH SCHOOL	PORTRAIT OF A LADY IN A WHITE DRESS		CHRISTIES 25.4.1913 (43) £11.11	
<b><u>ITALIAN SCHOOL</u></b>				
GIOVANNI BOLDINI	PORTRAIT OF LIONEL PHILLIPS	THE ARTIST		DONATED BY LP TO JHB ART GALLERY
GIOVANNI BOLDINI	PORTRAIT OF FLORENCE PHILLIPS	THE ARTIST		DONATED BY LP TO HUGH LANE GAL. OF MODERN ART, DUBLIN
GIOVANNI BOLDINI	PORTRAIT OF FLORENCE PHILLIPS	THE ARTIST		DONATED BY DP TO SANG
CANALETTO CANALETTO	VIEW IN VENICE VIEW IN VENICE	AGNEW'S (7883) AGNEW'S (7884) THE PAIR FOR £950, 18.1.1897		ESTATE SALE LOT 147 100GS ASHEBY'S CAPE TOWN 31.1.1985 (166) (166) R5500 TO 'MR GIOVANNI'; CHRISTIE'S LONDON 5.7.1985 £680000 TO 'HIRSCHL AND ADLER'
F. GUARDI	ST GIORGIO MAGGIORE, VENICE			CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (36) £8.8. BT J. SELIGMANN
F. LAVAGNA	FOUR GARDEN SCENES WITH FLOWERS, FRUIT AND STILL LIFE			CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (39) £231
ANTONIO MANCINI	PORTRAIT OF FLORENCE PHILLIPS	THE ARTIST		JHB ART GALLERY
ANTONIO MANCINI	PORTRAIT OF EDIE PHILLIPS	THE ARTIST		JHB ART GALLERY
G.B. MORONI	PORTRAIT OF VITTORIO MICHELE			CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (40) £273
G.B. MORONI	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN IN A BLACK DRESS AND CAP			CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (41) £15.15
ANDREA DEL SARTO	SAINT IN A RED CLOAK			SOLD BY THE ESTATE, 9.6.1941 (74) FOR 310GNS



ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COL. PRESENT LOCATION, WHEN KNOWN	REFERENCE
<b><u>FRENCH SCHOOL</u></b>				
F. BOUCHER	MADAME DE POMPADOUR		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (66) £36.15.	
F. BOUCHER	LADY IN A GARDEN (PASTEL)		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (19) £336	
F. BOUCHER	A LADY WITH A FAN (PASTEL)		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (20) £231	
CLOUET	PRINCESS ELIZABETH		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (67) £23.2.	
COYPEL	SET OF PANELS DISPLAYED IN GROSVENOR SQUARE HOUSE	?	?	
J.M. NATTIER	LE POINT DU JOUR: MARQUISE DE LA TOURNELLE	THROUGH R. KANN IN PARIS, 2.1898	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (68) £3255	
J.M. NATTIER	LE SILENCE: MARQUISE DE FLAVACOURT	THROUGH R. KANN IN PARIS, 2.1898	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (69) £4830	
J.M. NATTIER	PORTRAIT OF LORD BROOKE	AGNEW'S (8383) FOR £1375, 1.7.98	CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (70) 3360	
J.M. NATTIER	OVAL PORTRAIT OF A LADY (PASTEL)		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (24) £162.15.	
H. RIGAUD	PORTRAIT OF A FRENCH NOBLEMAN		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (71) £756	
A. WATTEAU	SUMMER		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (72) £651	
<b><u>DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS</u></b>				
JAN FYT	FRUIT		SOLD BY THE ESTATE 9.6.1941 (272) FOR 150GNS	
CATHARINA DE HEMESSEN (MINITURES)	PORTRAIT OF A LADY/ PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (37) £75.12, BT AGNEW'S	
AFTER P WOUWERMANS	A HORSE FAIR		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (42) £7.7.	
<b><u>GERMAN SCHOOL</u></b>				
SCHOOL OF COLOGNE	WING OF A TRIPTYCH		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (35) £84	
HOLBEIN	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN IN DARK DRESS AND CAP		CHRISTIE'S 25.4.1913 (38) £17.17	

ALSO A NUMBER OF PAPER WORKS, DRAWINGS AND PASTELS INCLUDED IN THE CHRISTIE'S 1913 SALE.

## APPENDIX 4: INVENTORY OF THE SIR MAX MICHAELIS COLLECTION

In this inventory, the paintings which Lady Michaelis presented to the South African National Gallery and the Pretoria Art Museum in 1930 have been excluded because it is uncertain whether they ever formed part of the Michaelis's private collection.

**SOURCES** : (UNLESS STATED, THE LOCATION OF ALL AUCTION SALES IS LONDON)

**GIBB INV 1896** : List in Michaelis's hand returned by the insurers James Gibb and Son, 24 April 1896, Wernher Beit papers, Barlow Rand archives  
**BAX** : D. Bax, *Catalogue of the Michaelis Collection*, Old Town House, Cape Town, 1967; revised and reissued, 1981  
**CARMAN** : Jillian Carman, *Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings in South Africa: a checklist of paintings in public collections*, Johannesburg, 1994  
**FRANSEN** : H. Fransen (ed.), *Michaelis Collection, The Old Town House, Cape Town: catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings*, Zwolle, 1997

### ABBREVIATIONS:

**MC** : MICHAELIS COLLECTION, THE OLD TOWN HOUSE, CAPE TOWN: THESE PAINTINGS WERE REMOVED FROM TANDRIDGE COURT AND PLACED ON LOAN WITH THE MICHAELIS COLLECTION IN 1923. ON MICHAELIS'S DEATH IN 1932 THEY WERE GIVEN TO THE MICHAELIS COLLECTION.  
**SIR MM** : SIR MAX MICHAELIS  
**CM** : CECIL MICHAELIS, SON OF SIR MAX MICHAELIS  
**MM** : MAX MICHAELIS, SON OF CECIL MICHAELIS  
**IRIS HUGHES** : DAUGHTER OF SIR MAX MICHAELIS

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	PRESENT LOCATION	REFERENCE
<b>BRITISH SCHOOL</b>				
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	RIVER LANDSCAPE WITH RUSTIC LOVERS, HERDSMAN, CATTLE AND SHEEP AND RUINED CASTLE	PURCHASED FROM COL.H.M.SKRINE THROUGH COLNAGHI'S FOR £3000 3.1907	SOLD BY CM THROUGH COLNAGHI'S	J. HAYES, <u>LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS OF THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH</u> , VOL. 2, 1982, NO. 128
HOGARTH	?		COL OF MM, CM'S SON, SOLD	
SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE	DOUBLE PORTRAIT OF THE FULLERTON SISTERS	CHRISTIE'S 10.7.1897 (86), BT COLNAGHI FOR 2200GS ?BT JAMES ORROCK THROUGH COLNAGHI'S 6.1897, (£2000 INCL ROMNEY)	COL OF IRIS HUGHES, (SIR MM'S DAUGHTER), CHRISTIE'S, 12.7.1996(24)	K.GARLICK, <u>LAWRENCE</u> , 1989, NO.317.
GEORGE MORLAND	SIX OILS DEPICTING THE STORY OF LAETITIA	CHRISTIE'S 9.7.1904, BT BY COLNAGHI'S FOR SIR MM	COL OF MM, CM'S SON, SOLD; SOTHEBY'S, LONDON, 8.11.1995 (165)	
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF THE ACTRESS MRS KITTY FISHER	?DOWDESWELL'S GIBB INV. 1896 VALUED AT £1100	CM BY DESCENT, SOLD SOTHEBY'S, 9.3.1988 £48000 TO FUND FOUNDING OF MONTEBELLO	
ROMNEY	LADY HAMILTON	JAMES ORROCK THROUGH COLNAGHI'S 6.1897, (£2000 INCL REYNOLDS)		
<b>DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS</b>				
FOLLOWER OF PIETER BREUGEL THE YOUNGER 1994/7. COPY AFTER DAVID VINCKBOONS	VILLAGE SCENE/ THE BLIND HURDY-GURDY PLAYER		MC	BAX NO.14; CARMAN P.69; FRANSEN NO. 75
GONZALES COQUES 1994. STYLE OF	PORTRAIT OF A DIVINE		MC	BAX NO.16; CARMAN P.29 FRANSEN NO. 92
CROMS	LANDSCAPE WITH HOUSES		COL OF MM, CM'S SON	
JAN VAN DALEN THE ELDER	TAMBOURINE PLAYER		MC	BAX NO.19; CARMAN P.31 FRANSEN NO. 13

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	PRESENT LOCATION	REFERENCE
PIETER DE HOOCH	INTERIOR WITH A WOMAN SEWING AND A MAN DRINKING	J.P.HESELTINE, BT JOINTLY BY AGNEW'S(J1806) AND SULLEY, SOLD BY SULLEY TO MM 3.3.1919 FOR £8500	MC	BAX NO.33; CARMAN P.42; FRANSEN NO. 30; P.C. SUTTON, PIETER DE HOOCH, 1980, NO.83
SCHOOL OF PIETER DE HOOCH 1997: UNKNOWN ARTIST	INTERIOR WITH WOMAN EMBROIDERING		MC	BAX NO.34; CARMAN P.42 FRANSEN NO. 99
FRANS DE HULST	VIEW OF THE VALKHOF, NIJMEGEN		MC	BAX NO.36; CARMAN P.43; FRANSEN NO. 32
MEMLING (?FAKE)	ANNUNCIATION	LONDON ART MARKET C.1918	GAVE TO HIS SECRETARY, MR CHART (CAPE ARGUS, 10.4.1933)	
PAULUS MOREELSE	PORTRAIT OF A BOY WITH GOLF CLUB	CHRISTIE'S 15.5.1914 (10) BT AGNEW'S FOR £504	MC	BAX NO.46; CARMAN P.49 FRANSEN NO. 42
PAULUS MOREELSE 1994/7: COPY AFTER	PORTRAIT OF HELENA VAN DE POLL 1997: PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN LADY	GALLERY ETIENNE DELAUNAY, AMSTERDAM 1902 (TOGETHER WITH PENDANT)	MC	BAX NO.47; CARMAN P.50 FRANSEN NO. 43
OSTADE	SMOKERS - PEASANTS AT AN INN	AGNEW'S (J1745) £800, 3.12.1918	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	
HENDRICK GERRITZ POT? 1994: 18 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY GERMAN 1997: UNKNOWN ARTIST	PORTRAIT OF A GIRL WITH A FAN		MC	BAX NO.56; CARMAN P. 82 FRANSEN NO. 94
FOLLOWER OR REMBRANDT 1997: UNKNOWN ARTIST	PORTRAIT OF A RABBI 1997: HEAD OF AN OLD MAN		MC	BAX NO.63; CARMAN P.87 FRANSEN NO. 89
DIRCK VAN SANTVOORT	COUPLE WITH TWO CHILDREN IN A PARK OF A CASTLE	?DOWDESWELL'S, GIBB INV. 1896 VALUED AT £200	MC	BAX NO.68; CARMAN P.60 FRANSEN NO. 59
JAN STEEN		ST HENRY RT JOHN MILLWAY THROUGH COLNAGHI'S 1.4.1896 GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £2100	SOLD BY SIR MM THROUGH COLNAGHI'S 23.2.1904 (Colnaghi's to MM, 23.2.1904, Colnaghi Letterbook 7, p.27) WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN	
JUSTUS SUSTERMAN 1997: ATTRIBUTED TO	PORTRAIT OF TOMASSA GAVELLI		MC	BAX NO.77; CARMAN P.88 FRANSEN NO. 65
ABRAHAM VAN DEN TEMPEL	PORTRAIT OF ABRAHAM MUYSSART	WILLIAM RADEKE COL., CHRISTIE'S LONDON 8.3.1902 (65) AS 'PORTRAIT OF PIETER VAN RIJNEVELD' BY B. VAN DER HELST	MC	BAX NO.78; CARMAN P.64 FRANSEN NO. 66



ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	PRESENT LOCATION	REFERENCE
ABRAHAM VAN DEN TEMPEL	PORTRAIT OF HESTER PASSAVANT	WILLIAM RADEKE COL., CHRISTIE'S LONDON 8.3.1902 (64) AS 'PORTRAIT OF CORNELIA VAN DE POLL' BY B. VAN DER HELST	MC	BAX NO.79; CARMAN P.64 FRANSEN NO. 67
?SAME PICTURE:				
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER		SEDELMYERS £?275, 23.11.1895 (SEDELMAYER TO MM 23.11.1895, BR)		
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER	INTERIOR OF A PEASANT DWELLING		MC	BAX NO. 80; CARMAN P.64 FRANSEN NO. 68
PIETER CORNELISZ VERBEECK 1994: STYLE OF WOUWERMANS 1997: ATTRIBUTED TO JAN WIJCK	THE WHITE HORSE		MC	BAX NO.86; CARMAN P.76 FRANSEN NO. 80
HENDRICK VERSCHURING	THE SINGERS		MC	BAX NO.87; CARMAN P.69 FRANSEN NO. 74
CORNELIS DE VOS 1997: UNKNOWN ARTIST - FLEMISH SCHOOL, 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	PORTRAIT OF A MAN		MC	BAX NO.90; CARMAN P.71 FRANSEN NO. 96
JAN WIJNANTS	HILLY LANDSCAPE	A.F. WALTER BEARWOOD, CHRISTIE'S 20.6.1913 (38)	MC	BAX NO.97; CARMAN P.77; FRANSEN NO. 82
UNKNOWN ARTIST - FLEMISH OR DUTCH SCHOOL 17 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	COUPLE WITH A BOY		MC	BAX NO.72; CARMAN P.83; FRANSEN NO. 93
FLEMISH SCHOOL, EARLY 17 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY	FISHERMEN WITH THEIR NETS ON A COAST	PURCHASED IN AMERICA?	MC	BAX NO.73; CARMAN P.81; FRANSEN NO. 103

#### OTHERS

THE 1896 GIBB INSURANCE LIST ALSO INCLUDES THE FOLLOWING OF WHICH THERE IS NO TRACE:

?PETERS/ PATER: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £2700 (BOUGHT FROM DOWDESWELL)

2 CANALETTO'S: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £750 (TO BE COLLECTED FROM COLNAGHI'S)

ARTIST	TITLE	SOURCE AND DATE	PRESENT LOCATION	REFERENCE
?PETERS/ PATER: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £280				
?PETERS/PATER: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £250				
LUCAS CRANACH: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £100				
ROSA BONHEUR: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £300				
MEISSONIER: GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £1500				
HOPPNER		?DOWDESWELL'S, GIBB INV 1896 VALUED AT £250		
<b>CONTEMPORARY</b>				
JOHN SINGER SARGENT	CHALK PORTRAIT OF SIR MM, 1913	THE ARTIST	MM'S DESCENDANTS	
JOHN SINGER SARGENT	CHALK PORTRAIT OF LADY MM, 1913	THE ARTIST	MM'S DESCENDANTS	



## APPENDIX 5: INVENTORY OF THE SIR J.B. ROBINSON COLLECTION

### REFERENCES (UNLESS STATED, THE LOCATION OF ALL AUCTION SALES IS LONDON)

- CHRISTIE'S 1923 : *Catalogue of the well-known collection of pictures of old masters of Sir Joseph B. Robinson, Bart., of South Africa...*, Christie's, London, 6 July 1923, with auctioneer's annotations in Christie's archives, London (the lots sold to 'Fairclough' were in effect repurchases by J.B. Robinson because 'Fairclough' was his secretary)
- RA 1958 : *The Robinson collection: paintings from the collection of the late Sir J.B. Robinson Bt., lent by the Princess Labia*, Preface by Charles Wheeler, Foreword on the collection by L.S. le Roux, Introductory notes and catalogue by Ellis Waterhouse, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1958
- SANG 1959 : *The Joseph Robinson collection, Lent by the Princess Labia*, National Gallery of South Africa, Catalogue under revision, reissue with corrections incorporating illustrations, Cape Town, 1959
- SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 : *Catalogue of British pictures including ... the property of the late Princess Labia*, London, 20 November 1963
- SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 : *Catalogue of important old master paintings including ... the property of the late Princess Labia*, London, 27 November 1963
- 418 SANG 1976 : *Natale Labia collection*, On loan to the South African National Gallery, Cape Town, unpaginated, n.d.[1976] The paintings listed in this catalogue are unnumbered, hence I am only able to indicate their inclusion.
- SANG 1988 : Alexander, Lucy, and Patricia Hardy, *Natale Labia Museum, An account of the history of 'The Fort' and its conversion to a museum and cultural centre*, South African National Gallery, Cape Town, 1988
- SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 : *British paintings*, London, 16 November 1988
- SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 : *Old master paintings*, London, 7 December 1988
- SOTHEBY'S 5.7.1989 : *Old master paintings*, London, 5 July 1989
- SOTHEBY'S 6.12.1989 : *Highly important old master and British paintings: the Sir Joseph Robinson collection*, with an introduction by Peter Cannon-Brookes, Sotheby's, London, 6 December 1989
- CARMAN : Jillian Carman, *Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings in South Africa: a checklist of paintings in public collections*, Johannesburg, 1994

### ABBREVIATIONS:

- JBR : SIR JOSEPH B. ROBINSON  
 NL : COUNT NATALE LABIA, RESIDENT AT HAWTHORNDEN, SIR JBR'S RESIDENCE IN CAPE TOWN  
 JL : PRINCE JOSEPH LABIA, RESIDENT IN JERSEY  
 JBR PAPERS : STORED AT HAWTHORNDEN

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG SOURCE 1959	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
<b>BRITISH SCHOOL</b>				
SIR LAWRENCE ALMA-TADEMA	ANTHONY AND CLEOPATRA		AT HAWTHORNDEN SINCE 1920S	SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (98) V. SWANSON, <u>BIOGRAPHY AND CATALOGUE RAISONNE OF THE PAINTINGS OF ALMA TADEMA, N.D. NO.283</u>
SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY	PORTRAIT OF FREDERICA ULRICA CHARLOTTE CATHERINE, DUCHESS OF YORK	1	65 J. GOLDSMID SALE CHRISTIE'S 13.6.1896 (57), BT TOOTH FOR £1470	1923 RES:£3500 BI:1500GS; SOLD SOTHEBY'S, 20.11.1963(100)
SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY	PORTRAIT OF LADY THROCKMORTON	2	66	1923 RES:£2000 BI:850GS; SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (99)
TENNYSON COLE	AFRICAN MUSICIANS; THE TRYSTING PLACE		THE ARTIST	SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (101)
JOHN CONSTABLE	EMBARKATION OF GEORGE IV FROM WHITEHALL	3	J. GOLDSMID SALE CHRISTIE'S 13.6.1896 (52), BT TOOTH FOR £2100	SOLD BY JBR CHRISTIE'S 1923 FOR 2300GS (£2520),RES:£2500; NOW AT ANGLESEY ABBEY G.REYNOLDS <u>LATER PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS OF JOHN CONSTABLE, 1984, NO.32.2</u>
JOHN CONSTABLE 1963: ATTRIBUTED	DEDHAM LOCK			SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (102)
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF MRS DRUMMOND	4	73 LORD REVELSTROKE SALE 3.6.93 (40) BT AGNEWS, SOLD TO MRS FREDERICK AMES BOSTON, 1898, SOON THEREAFTER TO JBR	1923 RES:£20000 BI:10000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.88(57) £1650000 E.K. WATERHOUSE, <u>GAINSBOROUGH, 1958 NO.212</u>
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF MR & MRS DEHANY & THEIR DAUGHTER	5	67 J. GOLDSMID SALE, CHRISTIE'S 13.6.1896 (66), BT TOOTH FOR £2100,	1923 RES:£6000 BI:3200GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.88 (59) £429 000 E.K. WATERHOUSE, <u>GAINSBOROUGH, 1958, NO.192</u>
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF ADMIRAL LORD GRAVES	6	70 FROM COL. OF CLARENCE EDWARD, 4TH BARON GRAVES (NOTE IN JBR PAPERS)	1923 RES:£2500 BI:1500GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (60) £60500 E.K. WATERHOUSE, <u>GAINSBOROUGH, 1958, NO.324</u>
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	THE BLUE PAGE	7	72 CHARLES J. WERTHEIMER C.1900	1923 RES:£25000 BI:7500GS; SOLD BY NL, SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89(109) FOR £1.1M
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF GENERAL BLYTH	8		1923 RES:£3000, SOLD FOR 3100GS (£3255) TO KNOEDLER (STOCK NO. 15665)



ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG SOURCE 1959	PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	PORTRAIT OF MISS KATHERINE EDGAR (OVAL)	9	71	GEORGE DONALDSON, C.1897	1923 RES:£2000 BI:1000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (58)	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	THE WOOD-GATHERERS	10			1923 RES:£2000 BI:1200GS; JL COL?	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	OPEN LANDSCAPE [IN SUFFOLK] WITH PLOUGH TEAM, DONKEYS, WINDMILL, CHURCH, AND FIGURE ON A BANK	11	69	UNTHANK SALE BY ROBINSON & FISHER 28.5.97 (179), BT AGNEW'S, FOR 255GS; SOLD TO JBR 7.9.1899 FOR £577.10	1923 RES:£1400 BI:650GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (82) BI	J.HAYES, <u>LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS OF GAINSBOROUGH</u> , 1982, VOL.2 NO.46
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH 1993: SCHOOL OF	SUDBURY	12			1923 RES:£500 BI:320GS; NL COL, LONDON	
THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH	A HILLY LANDSCAPE WITH A RUINED ABBEY	13	68	EXH AT NEW GALLERY 1897/8 LENT BY SIR J.C.ROBINSON	1923 RES:£1450 BI:600GS NL COL, ON LOAN TO PRINCETON	J.HAYES, <u>LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS OF GAINSBOROUGH</u> , 1982, VOL.2 NO.47; SANG CAT, 1976
ROBERT GLASGOW	SAN GIORGIO MAGGIORE				SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (104)	
FREDERICK GOODALL	'FOR SUCH IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN'			BEEN AT HAWTHORNDEN SINCE 1920S	NL COL, CAPE TOWN	
ST. GEORGE HARE	'FOR NATURAL INSTINCT TEACHES ME'	112			1923 RES:£100 SOLD FOR 120GS(£126) TO 'FAIRCLOUGH'. SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (105)	
WILLIAM HOGARTH 1959: ARTIST UNKNOWN	PORTRAIT OF A LADY	14	75		1923 RES:£1200 BI:1000GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM, CAPE TOWN, 1988	SANG, 1988, CAT NO. 6
JOHN HOPPNER	PORTRAIT OF A LADY IN WHITE MUSLIN SEATED IN A LANDSCAPE	15	76	J. GOLDSMID SALE CHRISTIE'S 13.6.1896 (58), BT TOOTH FOR £1155	1923 RES:£3000 BI:1400GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (106)	
LOUIS BOSWORTH HURT	HIGHLAND CATTLE AT THE EDGE OF A MOUNTAIN LOCH			BEEN AT HAWTHORNDEN SINCE 1920S	NL COL, CAPE TOWN	SANG CAT, 1976
SIR EDWIN LANDSEER	'CHEVY'	115	92	RICHARD HEMMING SALE CHRISTIE'S 25.5.1895(62), BT CHARLES DAVIS FOR 5700GS	1923 RES:£6500 BI:1000GS; SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (107)	
SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE	A BOY WITH A DOG (MASTER LOCKE)	16		EXH. AT NEW GALLERY, 1897	1923 RES:£3500, SOLD FOR 4100GS (€4305) TO 'AMOR'	K. GARLICK, <u>LAWRENCE</u> , 1989, NO.504.

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG 1959	SOURCE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE	PORTRAIT OF MRS WHITTINGTON	17	77	CHRISTIE'S 28.4.1894 (81) BT BY 'LESSER' FOR £750, (?DUVEEN C.1900)	1923 RES:£4500 BI:850GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM, CAPE TOWN 1988; EXCHANGED FOR BOUCHER PANELS 1989, SANG, 1988, CAT. NO.7; K.GARLICK, <u>LAWRENCE</u> , 1989, NO.814
SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN		78		WHEREABOUTS UNCERTAIN
LORD FREDERICK LEIGHTON	FRIGIDARIUM			AT HAWTHORNDEN SINCE 1920S	NL COL.
JOHN LINNELL	WELSH LANDSCAPE WITH SHEP- HERDS DRIVING A FLOCK OF SHEEP (1863)		93	J.GOLDSMIT SALE CHRISTIE'S 13.6.1896 (47) BT TOOTH FOR £840	(?)SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963(108), NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT 1976
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	CHERRY RIPE		94	EXH RA 1898, LENT BY CHARLES WERTHEIMER BT BY JBR	JL COL.
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	GETTING BETTER		95	EXH RA 1898, LENT BY HUMPHREY ROBERTS APPARENTLY BT PRIVATELY BY JBR	NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT, 1976
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	GIRL IN A BROWN DRESS		96		NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT, 1976
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	CINDERELLA		97	EXH RA 1898, LENT BY CHARLES WERTHEIMER	JL COL.
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	SHELLING PEAS		98	LORD LEIGHTON SALE 14.7.96 (331), BT LAWRIE 745.10GS, LATER WITH JAMES ORROCK	NL COL, ON LOAN TO LEIGHTON MUSEUM, LONDON SANG CAT, 1976
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	CHRISTMAS EVE 1887 (MURPHY CASTLE)		99	RA EXH 1898, LENT BY CHARLES WERTHEIMER	SOLD BY JL TO ?FINE ARTS SOCIETY C.1989
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	THE MISTLETOE CUTTER			CHARLES WERTHEIMER	NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT 1976
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	DAY DREAM				NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT 1976
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS	THE OLD GARDEN			EXH AT PARIS EXH. 1900, VALUED AT £6000 (JBR PAPERS)	WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN
GEORGE MORLAND	IN FRONT OF THE BELL INN		79		(?) AGNEW'S; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (84) £16500
GEORGE MORLAND	A RUSTIC SCENE		80		NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT, 1976 (PHOTO REVERSED)

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG 1959	SOURCE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
GEORGE MORLAND	OLD TEMPLE BAR		81		JL COL.
GEORGE MORLAND	THE FARMSTEAD				NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT, 1976 (PHOTO REVERSED)
GEORGE MORLAND	A COAST SCENE				DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN, 1988
GEORGE MORLAND	THE SMUGGLERS				SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (83) £5500
JOHN OPIE	THE FORTUNE TELLER	18	82	MADAME DE FALBE SALE CHRISTIE'S 19.5.1900(36), BT R.W.PARTRIDGE ?1200GS OFFERED TO JBR FOR £350 (JBR PAPERS)	1923 RES:£2500 BI:1400GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (109)
JOHN PHILLIP	EARLY CAREER OF MURILLO	116	100	CHRISTIE'S 25.5.1895(94) BT CHARLES DAVIS FOR 3800GS (£3990)	1923 RES:£4250 BI:1800GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (110), FORBES COL. LONDON
SIR HENRY RAEBURN	PORTRAIT OF MRS PATRICK DUFF SEATED IN A LANDSCAPE	19	83	ACQUIRED FROM THE FRENCH GALLERY (WALLIS & SON) 'SOME YEARS BEFORE 1910' (JBR PAPERS)	1923 RES:£2500 BI:1400GS; JL COL
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MRS MATHEW	20	86	J. GOLDSMID SALE, CHRISTIE'S 13.6.96(70), BT TOOTH FOR £4200	1923 RES:£25000 BI:8000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (61) £154000
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF MISS HARRIOT WHITBREAD	21	85	MRS BRIGHT SALE CHRISTIE'S 7.7.1894 (79) BT 'BATTERSBY' £1575	1923 RES:£6310 BI:4800GS; SOLD BY NL SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89 (108), BT BY ARTEMIS FOR £297 000 ACQUIRED BY SAMUEL WHITBREAD, SOUTHILL PARK
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	PORTRAIT OF CHARLES MANNERS, FOURTH DUKE OF RUTLAND	22	85	J. GOLDSMID SALE, CHRISTIE'S, 13.6.96 (67), BT TOOTH FOR £1470,	1923 RES:£5000 BI:1300GS; SANG, 1988, CAT. NO.12 DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988, EXCHANGED FOR BOUCHER PANELS 1989, NL COL, CAPE TOWN
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS	MRS THEOPHILA PALMER READING 'CLARISSA HARLOWE'	23	87		1923 RES:£3000 BI:1050GS; NL COL, LONDON SANG CAT, 1976
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF URITH, LADY SHORE	24	88	J. GOLDSMID SALE, CHRISTIE'S, 13.6.1896 (61), BT TOOTH FOR £2100,	1923 RES:£4000 BI:2800GS; JL COL.
GEORGE ROMNEY 1959?, 1976/88:ROBERT EDGE PINE	PORTRAIT OF A LADY AND CHILD	25	89		1923 RES:£2000 BI:750GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM, CAPE TOWN, 1988 SANG, 1988, CAT NO 11

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG 1959	SOURCE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN	REFERENCE
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF MRS CHITTY MARSHALL	26		EXH AT GRAFTON GALLERY 1900	1923 RES:£2000, SOLD FOR 3000GS (£3150) TO KNOEDLER (STOCK NO. 15666)	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF JAMES OLIVER	27		J. GOLDSMID SALE, CHRISTIE'S 13.6.1896 (59), BT TOOTH FOR £273	1923 RES:£800 SOLD FOR 800GS (£840) TO KNOEDLER (STOCK NO. 15667)	
GEORGE ROMNEY	PORTRAIT OF A LADY		90		DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988	SANG 1988 CAT. NO.17
JAMES STARK	A WOODY LANDSCAPE	28	91		1923 RES:£300 BI:260GS; NL COL. LOST IN TRANSIT	
J.M.W. TURNER	FALLS AT CLYDE	29		CHRISTIE'S 21.5.1898 (53) BT WALLIS FOR 880GS	1923 RES:£2500 SOLD FOR 2400GS (£2520), BT TOOTH LADY LEVER ART GALLERY	M.BUTLIN & E.JOLL <u>TURNER</u> 1984 NO.510
ENGLISH 18TH CENTURY 1963: GAINSBOROUGH	LADY IN A CHARACTER PART: DUCHESS OF CHANDOS		74		SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963 (103)	
<b><u>SPANISH SCHOOL</u></b>						
BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO	VISION OF ST FRANCIS OF PAOLA	30	15	EARL OF ASHBURNHAM COL. SOLD C.1895	1923 RES:£4000 BI:1100GS; SOLD BY NL, SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89(107) FOR £1.485M	
VELASQUEZ, 1959/1988:ATTRIBUTED TO SEBASTIANO MAZZONI	PORTRAIT OF TWO PRINCESSES/ SMALL GIRLS	31	7	EXH GUILDHALL 1901 BY G DONALDSON	1923 RES:£3000 BI:2100GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (95) FOR £143000	
<b><u>ITALIAN SCHOOL</u></b>						
FRA ANGELICO 1959: SCHOLAR OF 1976: DOMENICO DI MICHELINO	DAY OF JUDGEMENT	32	2	EMILE GAVET SALE PARIS 31.5.-9.6.1897(728)	1923 RES:£4000 BI:3400GS; NL COL, IN STORE IN LONDON	SANG CAT, 1976
PARIS BORDON 1988: SCHOOL OF	A LADY AT HER TOILET		33		1923 RES:£1 500 BI:320GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM, CAPE TOWN 1988	SANG, 1988 CAT. NO.3
AMBROGIO DA BORGOGNONE 1959:VINCENZO CIVERCHIO	THE MADONNA ADORING THE CHILD WITH ANGELS	34	3	CERNUSCHI SALE PARIS 25/6.5.1900(81)	1923 RES:£1200 BI:520GS; JL COL.	

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG 1959	SOURCE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
CANALETTO LATER:SCHOOL	VENICE	35			1923 RES:£500 BI:450GS; JL COL. NOT IN <u>LINK</u> CAT. RAISONNE
PIERO DI COSIMO 1959:ALUNNO DI DOMENICO 1989: MASTER OF 1487	STORY OF JASON/ THE DEPARTURE OF THE ARGONAUTS	36	9	EARL OF ASHBURNHAM COL., SOLD TO GEORGE DONALDSON C.1895	1923 FOR PAIR RES:£10000 BI:6200GS; SOLD BY NL, SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89 (105) FOR £4.62M
PIERO DI COSIMO 1989: BARTOLOMEO DI GIOVANNI	JASON AND MEDEA/ THE ARGONAUTS IN COLCHIS	37	1	" "	" " SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89 (106) FOR £5.06M
CARLO CRIVELLI 1959: NICCOLA DI MAESTRO ANTONIO D'ANCONA	MADONNA AND CHILD ENTHRONED	38	8	LADY ARUNDEL COL., SOLD BETWEEN 1900-1910	1923 RES:£3000 BI:1100GS; SOLD BY NL TO AGNEW'S C.1970
GIROLAMO DA SANTA CROCE	MADONNA AND CHILD BETWEEN ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA AND ST JOHN THE BAPTIST	39	4		1923 RES:£2500 BI:500GS; JL COL.
GHIRLANDAIO 1959:FRANCESCO GRANACCI	NATIVITY OF ST JOHN	40	6	EARL OF ASHBURNHAM COL., SOLD TO GEORGE DONALDSON C.1895	1923 FOR PAIR RES:£5000 BI:2500GS; SOLD BY JL
GHIRLANDAIO 1959:FRANCESCO GRANACCI	ST JOHN PREACHING IN THE WILDERNESS	41	5	" "	" " SOLD BY JL
GUARDI	GRAND CANAL VENICE	42			1923 RES:£300 SOLD FOR 290GS (£304.10) TO GOODARD & FOX
SCHOOL OF PERUGINO	ST CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA	12			JL COL.
SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO 1963:ATTRIBUTED	PORTRAIT OF A SENATOR	43			1923 RES:£1500 BI:400GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (30) £520 TO 'BARTOLINI'
RAPHAEL	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN			GEORGE DONALDSON C.1895-1900	(?)SOLD SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (29) £42000 BT 'NEAME', AGNEW'S, GETTY MUSEUM
ANDREA DEL SARTO 1963:COPY	ST CATHERINE	44		SCIARRA COL., ROME	1923 RES:£1500 BI:400GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (31) £450 TO 'BARTOLINI'
GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO	THE MADONNA OF THE ROSARY WITH ANGELS	45	10	SEDELMAYER 1898 (259)	1923 RES:£1000 BI:900GS; SOLD BY JL SOTHEBY'S 5.7.1989 BT WILDENSTEIN

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S SANG SOURCE		DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
		1923	1959	
JACOPO TINTORETTO 1963:ATTRIBUTED	ESTHER AND AHASUERUS			SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963(32) £550 TO 'LEE'
PIETRO MUTTONI called DELLA VECCHIA	TWO ARMED WARRIORS	46	11	1923 RES:£500 BI:120GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (34) £600 TO 'ROBINSON'
PAOLO VERONESE	PORTRAIT OF A LADY OF A NOBLE FAMILY	47		1923 RES:£3000 BI:520GS; JL COL.
PAOLO VERONESE	PORTRAIT OF A LADY	48		1923 RES:£1000 BI:550GS; JL COL.
SCHOOL OF VERONESE	PORTRAIT OF A VENETIAN LADY	14		SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (33) £850 TO 'ROBINSON'
VENETIAN SCHOOL 16TH C.	SCHOLAR READING	13		WHEREABOUTS UNCERTAIN
<b><u>DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS</u></b>				
NICOLAAS BERCHEM 1994: ATTRIBUTED TO HENDRICK MOMMERS	A RURAL SCENE	29		DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988
				SANG 1988 CAT. NO.2 CARMAN 1994, P.48
GERARD TER BORCH 1988:ATTRIBUTED TO	AN INTERIOR WITH A COUPLE AND A PROCURESS	94	61	1923 RES:£10000 BI:3000GS; SOLD BY JL SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (100), £59400
JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE	A SEA-PIECE	49		1923 RES:£4000 SOLD FOR 4000GS (£4200) TO KNOEDLER (STOCK NO. 15668)
JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE	A CALM SEA	50	30	1923 RES:£2000 BI:1800GS; SOLD BY NL, SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89 (102) £770 000
JOOS VAN CLEVE	THE MADONNA AND CHILD	51		1923 RES:£100 SOLD FOR 120GS (£126) TO 'SABIN'
GONZALES COQUES	A FAMILY PARTY IN THE GARDENS OF A PALACE	52	16	CHRISTIE'S 29.4.1899(59) BT 'BUTTERY' FOR £57.15
				1923 RES:£1250 BI:800GS; (?)SOLD BY NL, SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963(20) £1700 TO 'NEAME'; SOLD SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89(104) BT KUNSTHANDEL HEIDE HÜBNER, WÜRZBURG



ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG 1959	SOURCE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN	REFERENCE
AELBERT CUYP 1988: CIRCLE OF	PORTRAIT OF A LADY	53	31		1923 RES:£600 BI:320GS; SOLD BY JL SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (105), £3080	
AELBERT CUYP	WATERING HORSES	54			1923 RES:£1500 BI:300GS; NL COL, LOST	
SIMON VAN DER DOES	CHILDREN IN A LANDSCAPE	55			1923 RES:£400 BI:80GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (10) £150 TO 'J.A MARAGALL'	
GERARD DOU? 1963: FRANS VAN MIERIS THE ELDER	A SMOKER SEATED AT A WINDOW	56	32		1923 RES:£500 BI:400GS SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (18) £1100 TO 'C. DUITS'	
ANTHONY VAN DYCK	PORTRAIT OF MONSIEUR DE WITTE	95	17	ARNOL DE PRET ROOSSE, DE CALESBERG, ANTWERP, BY 1899	1923 RES:£10000 BI:2000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 24.3.1976 (99)	E.LARSEN, <u>VAN DYCK</u> , 1988, NO.74
ANTHONY VAN DYCK	PORTRAIT OF MADAME DE WITTE	96	18	" "	1923 RES:£10000 BI:850GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 24.3.1976 (100)	E.LARSEN, <u>VAN DYCK</u> , 1988, NO.75
ANTHONY VAN DYCK	PORTRAIT OF LADY HERBERT OF RAGLAN	97	20	DUKE OF BEAUFORT, DUVEEN 1899	1923 RES:£4000 BI:250GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 16.11.1988 (56)	E.LARSEN, <u>VAN DYCK</u> , 1988, NO.964
ANTHONY VAN DYCK	THE MAGDALENE	98	19		1923 RES:£5000 BI:220GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (11) £1400 TO 'PATCH'	
ANTHONY VAN DYCK 1988: SCHOOL OF	PORTRAIT OF PRINCESS MARY	99	21		1923 RES:£800 SOLD FOR 1050GS (£1000) TO 'FAIRCLOUGH'; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988	SANG 1988 CAT. NO.21 CARMAN 1994, P.34
FRANS HALS	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN	58	34	GEORGE DONALDSON AFTER 1892	1923 RES:£25000 BI:19000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S, 7.12.1988 (96), FOR £748000 GALERIE BRUNO MEISSNER ZURICH	S. SLIVE, <u>FRANS HALS</u> , 1974, VOL. 3, NO.130; C. GRIMM, <u>FRANS HALS</u> , 1990, NO.99.
FRANS HALS	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN	59			1923 RES:£1600 SOLD FOR 1550GS (£1627.10S) TO 'THOMSON'	
JAN DAVIDSZ. DE HEEM	STILL LIFE WITH FRUIT ON A TABLE	60	35		1923 RES:£1000 BI:550GS; JL COL.	

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG SOURCE 1959	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN	REFERENCE	
BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST	PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN	61	38	1923 RES:£2000 BI:1900GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 5.7.1989 (92) BI		
BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST	PORTRAIT OF SOPHIA TRIP, WIFE OF BALTHASAR COYMANS	62	37	OVERGAUW-BEETS SALE, F.MULLER, AMSTERDAM 24.4.1900 (11)	1923 RES:£1500 BI:1000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (102), £79200	
BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST	PORTRAIT OF A CAVALIER	63	39	1923 RES:£1500 BI:500GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (14) £400 TO 'GOYEN'		
BARTHOLOMEUS VAN DER HELST	PORTRAIT OF BALTHASAR COYMANS	64	36	OVERGAUW-BEETS SALE, F.MULLER, AMSTERDAM, 24.4.1900 (11)	1923 RES:£2000 BI:500GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (13) £650 TO 'L.KOETSER' SOTHEBY'S 24.3.1976 (83)	
MEINDERT HOBBERMA	FARM HOUSE AT EDGE OF A WOOD		40	JL COL.		
MEINDERT HOBBERMA 1976: JAN VAN KESSEL	OUTSKIRTS OF A WOOD		41	LEGH FAMILY COLLECTION LEGH 1890 CAT NO.29	NL COL, LONDON SANG CAT, 1976	
MELCHIOR D'HONDECOETER	GARDENS OF A PALACE		65	EX COL OF VISCOUNT CLIFDEN 1898: 4357(£ OR GS?)	1923 RES:£4000 SOLD FOR 3900GS (£4095) 'MARTIN'	
PIETER DE HOOCH	AN INTERIOR WITH TWO COUPLES DRINKING	66	42	KLEINBERGER, PARIS; G DONALDSON 1902	1923 RES:£5000 BI:2500GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (15) £11000 TO 'HALLSBOROUGH'	P.C.SUTTON, <u>PIETER DE HOOCH</u> , 1980 NO.106
PIETER DE HOOCH	A COUPLE WITH A MAID-SERVANT POURING WINE IN A BROTHEL	67	43	LEGH FAMILY COLLECTION, LEGH CAT 1890 NO.14	1923 RES:£7000 BI:1700GS; SOLD BY JL SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (101), £198000	P.C.SUTTON, <u>PIETER DE HOOCH</u> , 1980 NO.105
PIETER DE HOOCH 1959: LUDOLF DE JONGH	A GARDEN SCENE	68	45	LONDON ART MARKET C.1900	1923 RES:£9000 BI:1000GS; NL COL, ON LOAN TO PRINCETON	SANG CAT, 1976
JAN VAN HUYSUM	VASE OF FLOWERS	69	44	SIR JOHN KELK SALE 11.3.1899(60), BT MARTIN COLNAGHI 300GS	1923 RES:£2000 BI:680GS; NL COL, ON LOAN TO PRINCETON	SANG CAT, 1976
JACOB JORDAENS	MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK	70	23	POSSIBLY J G DAVID SALE, BRUSSELS 16.5.1898(22)	1923 RES:£1000 BI:120GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (16) £450 TO 'RIOLFO'	

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S SANG SOURCE		DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN		
		1923	1959			
SIMON KICK 1892: GODFRIED SCHALCKENS	INTERIOR OF A GUARD ROOM WITH TWELVE FIGURES	71	46	JOSE GUEDES DE QUEIROZ SALE 11.6.1892 (79.) BT DUVEEN; WITH FORBES AND PATERSON	1923 RES:£3000 BI:700GS; JL COL.	
CHRISTOFFEL LUBIENIECKI	THE TRAVELLING MINSTRELS	72	47		1923 RES:£300 BI:280GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (17) £400 TO 'SPILLER'	
GABRIEL METSU 1959: ATTRIBUTED TO 1976: AFTER 1988: SCHOOL OF	A MUSICAL PARTY	73	45	LEGH FAMILY COLLECTION, LEGH CAT 1890 NO.22	1923 RES:£3000 BI:420GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988	SANG, 1988, CAT. NO. 9 CARMAN 1994, P.47
WILLEM VAN MIERIS	A YOUNG WOMAN AND A MAN DRINKING	74			1923 RES:£750 BI:400GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (19) £500 TO 'W. VERMEULEN'	
FREDERICK DE MOUCHERON & ADRIAEN VAN DE VELDE	THE FORD	75	49	VISCOUNT CLIFDEN SALE, ROBINSON & FISHER, 25.5.1895 (788) BT CHARLES DAVIS	1923 RES:£1000 BI:400GS; NL COL.	SANG CAT, 1976
EGLON HENDRIK VAN DER NEER	FIGURES IN AN INTERIOR	76	50	HOPE COL. SOLD TO A. WERTHEIMER 1898; ADOLPH GOERZ SALE 8.3.1902 (79), W/D	1923 RES:£1500 BI:950GS SOLD BY NL, SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89 (101) £924 000	
JAKOB OCHTERVELT	A LADY AND A CHILD	77	51		1923 RES:£1500 BI:1200GS; NL COL, ON LOAN TO PRINCETON	SANG CAT, 1976
JAKOB OCHTERVELT	THE TOAST	78	52	DOWDESWELL	1923 RES:£1000 SOLD FOR 1250GS TO 'FAIRCLOUGH', NL COL. SOLD SOTHEBY'S 6.12.89(103) BT NEWHOUSE GALLERIES NY £352000	S.DONAHUE, <u>THE PAINTINGS OF J.OCHTERVELT</u> , OXFORD, 1979, P.18, NO.45
ADRIAEN VAN OSTADE	THE VILLAGE SCHOOL	79	53		1923 RES:£750 BI:350GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (21) £500 TO 'PATCH'	
REMBRANDT 1923: AERT DE GELDER 1959: MANNER OF REMBRANDT 1963: SCHOOL OF REMBRANDT 1991: JAN LIEVENS	PILATE WASHING HIS HANDS	57	56		1923 RES:£1500 BI:420GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (22) £1000 TO 'DENT'; LEIDEN, STEDELIJK MUSEUM 'DE LAKENHAL'	SEE <u>REMBRANDT AND HIS WORKSHOP</u> , LONDON, 1991, NO.54
REMBRANDT VAN RYJN 1959: ATTRIBUTED 1988: ATTRIBUTED TO WILLEM DROST	PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN WEARING A CAP	80	54	G DONALDSON	1923 RES:£15000 BI:11500GS; SOLD BY JL SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (103), £35200	

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S 1923	SANG 1959	SOURCE	DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
REMBRANDT VAN RYJN	PORTRAIT OF HIS SISTER LYSBETH VAN RYJN	81			1923 RES:£4500 SOLD FOR 4300GS (£4515) TO COLNAGHI
SCHOOL OF REMBRANDT 1976: JAN VICTORS	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG LADY (?)AS FLORA	82	55		1923 RES:£4000 BI:420GS; NL COL, CAPE TOWN
RUBENS AND SEGHERS 1963: JAN PAUWEL GILLEMANS THE ELDER	VIRGIN & CHILD WITH ST CATHERINE SURROUNDED BY A GARLAND OF FRUIT AND FLOWERS	83	22		1923 RES:£1500 BI:350GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 27.11.63 (12) £320 TO 'F. COLLIN'
PETER PAUL RUBENS 1988: SCHOOL OF	PORTRAIT OF COUNT DE WERVE	84	25		1923 RES:£10000 BI:1500GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988
PETER PAUL RUBENS 1963: ATTRIBUTED TO	PORTRAIT OF HELENA FOURMENT	85	26	EX COL. OF E A LEATHAM (DIED 1900)	1923 RES:£1500 BI:1300GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (23) £2200 TO 'PATCH'
PETER PAUL RUBENS 1988: STUDIO OF	A HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY	86	24		1923 RES:£1200 BI:420GS; SOLD BY ?NL, SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (104), £10780
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	A WOODY LANDSCAPE	87	57	CHRISTIE'S 22.7.93(71), BT MARTIN COLNAGHI	1923 RES:£4000 BI:900GS; SOLD BY NL TO AGNEW'S C1970
JACOB VAN RUISDAEL	A SCANDINAVIAN LANDSCAPE WITH A WATERFALL	88	58	SEDELMAYER 1900(36)	1923 RES:£5000 BI:680GS; SOLD BY JL SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (99), BI
JAN STEEN 1963: ATTRIBUTED	THE SICK LADY	89	60		1923 RES:£3500 BI:500GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (27) £850 TO 'L. KOETSER'
JAN STEEN	THE WAX-FIGURE SELLER	90	59	E. MARTINET SALE, PARIS, 27.2.1896(39)	1923 RES:£2500 BI:420GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (97), BI
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER	THE INTERIOR OF A GUARD ROOM	91	27		SEDELMAYER 1901(45) SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (26) £2500 TO 'D. VANDERKAR'
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER	SKITTLE PLAYERS OUTSIDE AN INN	92	28	LEGH FAMILY COLLECTION, LEGH CAT 1890 NO.23	1923 RES:£1500 BI:600GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (24) £7000 TO 'BETTS'

1923 RES:£6000 BI:800GS;

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S SANG SOURCE		DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN
		1923	1959	
DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER	A HURDY-GURDY PLAYER	93	EX EARL OF ASHBURNHAM COL.	1923 RES:£900 BI:520GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963(25) £3000 TO 'MISS SEXTON'
WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER 1988: FOLLOWER OF	SHIPPING IN A CALM, ONE FIRING A SALUTE	100	62	1923 RES:£2500 BI:1000GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (106), £17050
WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER	SHIPPING IN A CALM	101		1923 RES:£2500 BI:1050GS; NL COL, CAPE TOWN M.S.ROBINSON, VAN DE VELDE, 1990 NO. 2[3]
ADRIAEN VAN DER WERFF	ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS	102	63	1923 RES:£400 BI:260GS; NL COL, CAPE TOWN SANG CAT, 1976
PHILIPS WOUWERMANS	THE OUTSKIRTS OF A WOOD	103	64 SEDELMAYER 1897 (49)	1923 RES:£750 BI:500GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 7.12.1988 (98), BI
PHILIPS WOUWERMANS	A CAVALRY ENGAGEMENT	104		1923 RES:£750 BI:300GS; SOTHEBY'S 27.11.1963 (28) £2200 TO L. KOETSER'
DUTCH SCHOOL 18TH C.	DRINKING SCENE	33		WHEREABOUTS UNCERTAIN
<b>FRENCH SCHOOL</b>				
FRANÇOIS BOUCHER	EVENING	105	103 REGINALD VAILE SALE CHRISTIE'S, 23.5.1903 (56-59), BT EN BLOC BY TOOTH FOR 22300GS(£23415)	1923, FOR THE FOUR RES:£40000 BI:18000GS; DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM, CAPE TOWN 1989
	FORTUNE TELLER / VERTUMNUS AND POMONA	105	102	SOLD BY JL, PARKE-BERNET, NEW YORK, 3.11.1963 (61B) FOR \$160000
	LOVE'S OFFERING/ L'OFFRANDE A L'AMOUR	105	104	DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM, CAPE TOWN, 1989
	THE LOVE MESSAGE' / LE BILLET DOUX	105	101	SOLD BY JL, PARKE-BERNET, NEW YORK, 3.11.1963 (61A) FOR \$120000 ?PALACE OF LEGION OF HONOR, SAN FRANCISCO
FRANÇOIS BOUCHER	LANDSCAPE WITH A RUSTIC BRIDGE	106	106 SEDELMAYER 1900 (71); GEORGE DONALDSON, 1901	1923 RES:£1500 BI:1100GS; SOLD BY JL, SOTHEBY'S 5.7.1989(54)

ARTIST	TITLE	CHRISTIE'S SANG SOURCE		DATE WHEN IT LEFT THE COLLECTION; REFERENCE PRESENT LOCATION, IF KNOWN	
		1923	1959		
FRANÇOIS BOUCHER	A LANDSCAPE WITH PEASANTS	107	105	1923 RES:£1000 BI:700GS; NL COL, LONDON	SANG CAT, 1976
FRANCOIS BOUCHER	THE LOVE-LETTER		108	1923 RES:£1500 BI:900GS; JL COL.	
FRANCOIS BOUCHER	A PASTORAL SCENE		109	1923 RES:£1000 BI:850GS; JL COL.	
ÉLISABETH LOUISE VIGÉE LE BRUN	THE PET KITTEN		[110]	1923 W/D; JL COL.	
JEAN-BAPTISTE MARIE HUET	SHEPHERD BOY AND HIS DOG	107	REGINALD VAILE SALE 23.5.1903 (35), BT TOOTH FOR 410GS	SOLD BY NL, TO AGNEW'S?	
LAUCÉE	PEASANT AND CHILD		AT HAWTHORNDEN SINCE 1920S		
ATTRIBUTED TO PIERRE MIGNARD	PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XIV		111	1923 RES:£1500 SOLD FOR 1450GS (£1522/10S) TO BORENIUS	
LOUIS TOCQUÉ	PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN AS FLORA	108	REGINALD VAILE SALE CHRISTIE'S 23.5.1903 (52), BT TOOTH FOR 820GS	DONATION BY NL TO NATALE LABIA MUSEUM CAPE TOWN 1988	SANG 1988 CAT.NO.20
<b><u>NINETEENTH CENTURY</u></b>					
LEO HERRMANN	L'INCROYABLE		113	TOOTH'S WROTE TO JBR ON 19.1901 SAYING OFFER OF £200 WAS ACCEPTED (JBR PAPERS)	1923 RES:£200 BI:190GS; JL COL.
CONRAD KIESEL	WATER-LILIES		[114]	1923 W/D; NL COL, CAPE TOWN	
EUGÈNE VERBOECKHOVEN	GOATS IN A PASTURE			SOLD SOTHEBY'S 20.11.1963(111)	
HAL HURST	LADY ROBINSON			NL COL, CAPE TOWN	
EDWARD ROWORTH	PORTRAIT OF JBR: HALF LENGTH			NL COL, CAPE TOWN	
EDWARD ROWORTH	PORTRAIT OF JBR: FULL LENGTH			NL COL, CAPE TOWN	
TENNYSON COLE	PORTRAIT OF FLORENCE, JBR'S DAUGHTER			NL COL, CAPE TOWN	
TENNYSON COLE	PORTRAIT OF TWO OF JBR'S SONS			NL COL, CAPE TOWN	



