MARY CASSATT (1844-1926): ADVISING AGAINST CONVENTION

by

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DEDICATION

This project would not have been possible without my parents, who always instilled in me a love of stories. Growing up, my mom, Sally Shortridge, recounted the lives of people she had read about in her newest and gigantic non-fiction, which she could never put down. She would bring to life Cleopatra, Elizabeth I, or whomever she was reading about around the breakfast table. My dad, McCarthy Hanger, read to us at night. If he wasn't making up his own stories on the spot, he was reading us the Harry Potter books with distinct voices for each character. I am forever in debt to their love of storytelling which inspired a deep devotion and tenderness toward the many incredible tales of humanity. Thank you.

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ABSTRACT

American artist, Mary Cassatt became an advisor when she joined the Impressionists and by the 1890s, she as a celebrated advisor, who worked with elite Gilded Age collectors like the Havemeyer's of New York, the Palmers of Chicago, the Sears of Boston, and others. Anchored in market-based and epistolary research, this thesis will examine Cassatt's advising career and her graphic work. Cassatt taught her clients to value artworks that included both stylistic elements comfortable to American taste and unfamiliar modernist tropes. As an advisor, Cassatt educated her clients to acquire works which were hybrid in nature and borrowed stylistic qualities from accepted artwork and from modernist esthetics. The addition of these in-between works to American collections primed American taste to incrementally accept modernism, realism, and the avant-garde into Gilded Age collections. Cassatt's impact on her clients' collections shaped American collecting habits and the collections of American national museums.

CHAPTER ONE

CASSATT

Introduction

From a young age, Mary Cassatt was determined to become a serious artist. She studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia (PAFA) from 1860 to 1864. Cassatt was uninspired by America's prosaic art scene. Although she had been exposed to prominent collections in the states, they did little to aid Cassatt's artistic education. Conventional collections were commonly compiled of eighteenth-century British portraiture, seventeenth-century Dutch works, American landscape painting and no masterworks. Mary wrote to her friend and colleague from PAFA, Emily Sartain, "I cannot tell you what I suffer for want of seeing a good picture."[1]

Following graduation from the PAFA Cassatt adventured to six countries in eight years.[2] She studied under renown artists. She traveled alone, without an escort and managed her own finances. Her parents paid for her living expenses but not for art classes, studio space or supplies which forced Cassatt to both succeed in the art market and to understand its many complexities. Early in her career she received acceptance at the salon. For centuries, the French academy was the deciding power, determining, training, and judging high art in the western cannon. The academy voted by jury to either accept or reject an artist's submission to exhibit at the salon. The salon favored the genres of history painting, mythology, genre scenes, portraiture, landscape, and

[1] Laura Dickey Corey. "Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), American Tastemaker: Portrait of the Artist as Advisor." Dissertation, ProQuest, 2018. 58.

[2] Corey. "Mary Cassatt." 23, 45. With the exception of 1869, because for the Franco-Russian War.

still-life. Academic work was typically moral and demanded an artist to demonstrate accurate perspective, correct anatomy, idealized forms, unseen brushstrokes, and naturalistic modeling.

During the final three decades of the nineteenth century, contemporary artists viewed academic standards as formulaic and suffocatingly homogeneous. Spearheaded by rejected artists like Degas, Manet and others the *Salon des Refusés,* emerged. The salon of the refused, held and alternative exhibitions which contended and challenge salon's authority with painterly brushstrokes, incorrect perspective, pure flat color, disregarded modeling, and contemporary subject matter. Cassatt achieved academic notoriety at the salon. [3] However, when she embraced a new style in her art in 1876 she was rejected from exhibition. Following her refusal she joined the avant-garde. Cassatt recounted seeing Degas work for the first time "How well I remember... seeing for the first time Degas pastels…I used to go and flatten my nose against the window and absorb all I could of his art. It changed my life. I saw art then as I wanted to see it." Cassatt experience a sense of freedom when she saw work which broke tradition and is the type of experience she wanted to foster with American collectors. Joining the Impressionists deeply shaped the works she advised. Cassatt said to her biographer Achille Segard, "I had recognized which were my true masters. I admired Manet, Courbet, and Degas. I hated conventional art. I started to live." Cassatt's true masters were the artists she recommended most to collectors.

Cassatt encouraged other American artists who expatriated to Paris to revolt against academic authority and that the salon had rejected their finest artists and would continue too.

[3] Mary Cassatt, and Nancy Mowll Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters*. New York, NY: Abbeville Press, 1984. 66.

In 1877, Cassatt moved to Paris with her family. They were her models and images of familial scenes are what Cassatt is most known for. Freshly part of the Paris community, Cassatt, who recently turned thirty, met Louisine Elder. Louisine was well traveled, educated, and part of American upper class. She was receptive to Cassatt's passion and knowledge of art. Louisine in her memoir, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector,* recounted that,

> "When we first met in Paris she was very kind to me, showing me the splendid things in the great city, making them still more splendid by opening my eyes to their beauty through her own knowledge and appreciation. I felt then that Miss Cassatt was the most intelligent woman I had ever met, and I cherished every word she uttered and remembered almost every remark she made. It seemed to me no one could see art more understandingly, feel it more deeply or express themselves more clearly than she did. She opened her heart to me about art while she showed me about the great city of Paris."[4]

In 1877, Cassatt took Louisine to see Degas's work. On Cassatt's advice Louisine bought a pastel, the *Ballet Rehearsal*.[5] Although, Louisine stated that she did not fully understand the pastel or liked it, she purchased the work because of Cassatt's encouragement.[6] Louisine would become the future and impressive collector Mrs. Havemeyer. This sale marks the start of Cassatt's advising career and the first work of Impressionism to be sold to an American, thirty years before it was an appropriate acquisition for prominent American collectors. The attitude of Americans towards Impressionism and the avant-garde can be seen in *The American Register*'s review of the Impressionist exhibition in 1879. They printed,

> "We cannot in fact understand the purpose of the new school. It is founded neither on the law of Nature nor the dictates of common sense. We can see in it only the uneasy striving after notoriety of a restless vanity, that prefers celebrity for ill doing rather than an unnoted persistence in the paths of true Art…[The exhibition] was worth seeing for the

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[4] Havemeyer, Louisine. *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector.* Edited by Susan Alyson Stein. New York: Ursus Press, 1993.269-270.

[5] Laura Dickey Corey, "Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), American Tastemaker: Portrait of the Artist as Advisor" (dissertation, ProQuest, 2018), p. iv-341, 21-22

[6] Cynthia Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures*, 109–44. New York, NY: Penguin Group, 2009.123.

> same reason that one would go to see an exhibition of pictures painted by the lunatics of an insane asylum."[7]

Regardless of the critics and the public's opinion of Impressionism and modernism, Cassatt's tactic to educate and shepherd her family's collections, prestigious private American collections, like the Havemeyers, the Palmers, the Sears, the Popes and American institutions was successful. She utilized her upper-class position, artistic knowledge, artistic status, her connections, and her femininity to work with Gilded Age American collectors as their art advisor.

It is well known that Cassatt educated American collectors to purchase Impressionism. Cassatt scholars like Laura Dickey Corey, Cynthia Saltzman, Adelyn Breeskin and Nancy Mowll Mathews have determined that Cassatt guided her American clients to collect realism, the avant-garde and the Old Masters. In connecting Impressionistic aesthetics with the Old Masters, or who she called the "Old Moderns," was successful in legitimizing and promoting modernism to an American market. However, this thesis is the first to study the works that Cassatt successfully placed in her clients' collections. Although other historians had stated that Cassatt prioritized her own taste over her clients' leanings, this thesis disagrees. Cassatt advised Gilded Age American collectors to acquire artworks that held both modern and traditional stylistic qualities as an approach to guide American taste toward modernism. This thesis is the first of its kind to claim that Cassatt's educational lessons, her own artwork and guidance expanded her clients' taste to be able to embrace, accept, and value modern art.

Conventional Gilded Age American collections were fond of French academic work because it had met the qualifications of high art and would maintain steep market values.

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[7] The American Register, May 17, 1879, 4. Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*135.

Through market-based and epistolary research, this thesis will prove that during Cassatt's advising career and in her graphic work, Cassatt taught her clients and audiences to value and collect artworks that included both stylistic elements conformable to American taste and unfamiliar modernist tropes. As an advisor, Cassatt educated her clients to acquire works which hybrid in nature and borrowed stylistic qualities from accepted work and from modernist esthetics. The addition of these in-between works to American collections primed American taste to incrementally accept modernism, realism, and the avant-garde into Gilded Age collections. Cassatt's impact on her clients' collections shaped American collecting habits and the collections of American national museums.

The chapters of this thesis are structured thematically. The following chapter, Chapter Two, examines the American art market during the Gilded Age. The first section of the chapter explores the economic climate during the period, and what was collected by the nouveau riche American collectors. The following section of the chapter describes where Gilded Age collectors purchased artworks and the many malfeasances in the American art market. Chapter Three investigates what types of artworks were typically in Gilded Age American collections. Chapter Four examines Cassatt's advising tactic and her recommendations. The first part of the chapter evaluates her advising style and her opinion on artworks. The second part of this section explores Cassatt's graphic work as a pedagogical tool to shape American Taste. The final section focuses on Cassatt's success in implementing Corot's mythological nudes, Courbet's pastoral nudes and Degas's contemporary nudes into her clients' collections. Chapter Five concludes this thesis and focuses on Cassatt's impact on American taste and American national museums.

Cassatt was an advocate for Impressionism, the avant-garde, modernism, unidealism, and the Old Masters. However, the artworks that joined her clients' collections appealed to and prodded American taste towards the aesthetics Cassatt's championed. Her legacy was educating and challenging Gilded Age collectors to accept and collect works with modern qualities, which changed how and what American museums acquired and displayed.

CHAPTER TWO

AMERICAN GILDED AGE COLLECTING

In America

In the three decades following the Civil War, America joined the international art market. Gilded Age America saw a spike in wealth, and a new class of industrialist American tycoons emerged. New industries in transportation, real estate, manufacturing, and finance gave birth to a new American, who had disposable income and purchased major European artworks for their collections.

During the same period, Europe experienced a sharp decrease in the production of grains. Europeans were forced to import grain from America, Canada and other countries and this caused a recession across the continent.[8] The British aristocracy, whose vast lands were barren, felt tremendous financial stress. The British government levied a large inheritance tax, and that forced the British gentry to sell family heirlooms to American buyers. American collectors had increased buying power compared to their European peers. European, and especially French, art functioned as cultural capital in the US.

Scholars Manfred Holler and Barbara Klose-Ullmann in their article "Art Goes America," in the *Journal of Economic Issues*, stated that artworks previously owned by European noblemen or royalty were highly sought after by American buyers. They argued that

[8] Manfred J Holler and Barbara Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America." *Journal of Economic Issues* 44, no. 1 (2010): 89–112. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40647712, 107. Grain prices in England fell more than 50% between 1880 and 1894.

art which adorned castles, estates, palaces, had the perfect pedigree and notoriety for American industrialist collections.[9] These factors invigorated the new industrialist collections in America.

The period from 1876 to 1917 has been called the "Golden Age of collecting in the United States." Scholar Leanne Zalewski has also dubbed it the "Postbellum Picture Boom," when Americans purchased works with predetermined cultural value. Zalewski notes a telling shift in auction catalogs from the years preceding and following the Civil War. Antebellum auction information only included the artist's nationality, whereas during the postwar boom, both collection and auction pamphlets included the artist's biography, training, teachers, exhibitions, accolades, and awards. Catalogs listed an artist's commercial value as well as a comprehensive analysis of the works' cultural benefit including its authenticity, artistic lineage and the collector's knowledge and status.[10] The inclusion of specific information in auction and collection catalogues indicates that American collectors were interested in acquiring works that both balanced their collection and included the most sought after and celebrated artists, genres, and periods according to traditional European collecting habits. It is clear from this information that American collectors wanted to purchase works that amplified both the collections' cultural value and the individual collector's public legacy. American collectors studied catalogues, worked with experts, followed conventional collecting habits to achieve a prestigious and well-rounded collection of masterpieces; but they also wanted to be remembered as a great American collector. Tension between self-indulgence, public legacy, and National responsibility formed

[9] Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America."92.

[10] Leanne Zalewski, "Creating Cultural and Commercial Value in Late Nineteenth-Century New York Art Catalogues." In *Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914*, edited by Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna, 6:99–126. Brill, 2019. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctvrxk3fq.9. 108

American Industrialist collections, and made collection advisors valuable guides in this new world.

American universities responded to the growing interest in European works. Both Yale and Harvard established fine arts courses during the 1870s and 1880s.[11] In 1878 alone, American industrialist collectors spent $3 million ($88 million today) on French works; and just four years later, in 1882, they spent $15 million on European paintings, roughly half a billion today. The Congressional Tariff Act of 1883 raised levies on foreign artworks from ten to thirty percent, but this did not deter Gilded Age collectors. Instead, the act only fortified the desirability and resale value of foreign artworks.[12] Art critic, Clarence Cook said, "the harder they made it for rich men to buy the better sort of foreign pictures, the more pride the rich men took in snapping their fingers at the money-barrier put up to fence in the market."[13] Exorbitant prices, paired with high import taxes made conventional European artworks a measure of the collector's financial status and personal taste. Contemporary French academic paintings like the Barbizon school, orientalist works, alongside works from the Rococo, Old Masters, and English portraiture were prized commodities on the market. It was thought that buying contemporary academic work shielded collectors from unverified and fluctuating market values with the established authority of the salon. While French academic painting was popular with most wealthy American collectors, the painter and art advisor Mary Cassatt is notable for inspiring her clients to acquire works that were not endorsed by the salon. Her plan to change American collecting habits was to expand

[11] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 40.
[12] John Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market: Blockbuster Auctions and Bourgeois Identity in Gilded Age America." *Winterthur Portfolio* 42, no. 2/3 (2008): 133–58. https://doi.org/10.1086/589594 151, 135,145.
[13] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market."145.

Americans' understanding of modernist art. She met millionaires at museums and taught them about Old Masters' techniques. She explained the link between masterworks and modern artists. Cassatt's strategy was to train Gilded Age collectors to value artists who experimented and took risks as a marketable and important part of their role. Cassatt recommended works to her American clients that both continued aspects of conventional collecting habits and also venturing into riskier acquisitions.[14] Although, Cassatt was interested in educating American taste toward modernism and realism she had to pivot and endorsed impressionistic works which appealed to American taste, like the Rococo, as a way to invite American taste into modernism.

As an expatriate living in Paris and as an advisor participating in the "Picture Boom", Cassatt was aware of the impact the new American collecting habits had on European private collections. She wrote triumphantly to Carroll Tyson, a fellow Philadelphian artist and collector, "Fine pictures are going over [to America] fast and soon there will be little left in private collections on this side." [15] Cassatt championed and advised American buyers to purchase Old Masters, not only to strengthen the American collections, but also to legitimize what was known as "New Painting": meaning Impressionism and modern aesthetics like asymmetrical compositions, raw and unfinished qualities. As an advisor, Cassatt opposed mainstream American collecting habits, and encouraged her clients to reject high prices and traditional academic aesthetics. In a short period of time, American Industrialist collectors had secured important European works, like Old Master works, which was one component of Cassatt's plan: to connect modern works to master works. Cassatt's clients acquired both the masters and the

[14] Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America." 90.
[15] Mary Cassatt to Carroll Tyson, November 11, [1909], AAA Mary Cassatt collection and transcript in AAA Sweet research material. Tastemaker 235. November 11, 1909

moderns so that their aesthetics could be seen and compared to each other at museum or private gallery in the United States.

Americans successfully acquired seventy Rembrandts, and of the thirty-five Vermeers, in existence thirteen joined the American Collection.[16] American Gilded Age collectors were competitive. As an advisor, Cassatt opposed the mainstream collecting habits of wealthy American buyers. She encouraged her clients not to follow standard collecting habits, but to acquire works seen as original within the history of fine art. Cassatt pushed American buyers to purchase works that displayed the artist's creativity and innovation rather than their technical skill, judged by academic standards. Cassatt compared the Old Masters to the aesthetics of the avant-garde, to prime an American audience to accept and understand that the role of an artist was not to perpetuate and be a technician of academic standards; but instead the artist was to create original work.

The American Art Association: The Spectacle

American industrialists were drawn into the collecting craze by the thrill, drama and pageantry of the illustrious New York City auction houses, especially the American Art Association (AAA). The AAA and other New York dealers, such as the Duveen Brothers and Knoedler & Co., sold high-priced, salon-approved, prestigious works to the new capitalist class. Although the American Art Association and Cassatt shared some of the same clientele, the works they viewed as imperative opposed one another. This section will examine where the nouveau riche American Gilded Age collectors bought work in the United States. Auction houses and

[16] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 6,194.

dealers like the American Art Association impacted how Gilded Age collectors approached buying work for their collection, which was in opposition to Cassatt's method.

Before the Civil War, American auction houses sold cheap prints and reproductions. They were primarily a venue where artists sold their inventory for steals. During the dawn of the "Picture Boom," the American Art Association (AAA), emerged as an exclusive auction house open only to high society. The members gathered and competed with each other to obtain the most extravagant luxury goods.[17] James F. Sutton and Thomas B. Kirby, founded and managed the AAA, located on the illustrious 5th Avenue in New York City. The AAA fostered an elitist community. Newspapers printed the results of auction acquisitions which fostered the public fascination with their purchases and high prices of artworks.[18] The auction house offered an exclusive night out for American industrialists amidst the eroding boundaries between the social classes.[19] During the end of the nineteenth century new amenities like public parks, department stores, libraries, and the weekend allowed upper and lower classes, for the first-time, to bump into each other and to comingle. The AAA created a space where the client list was exclusively upper class. Counterintuitively for a capitalist venue, bidding on art at the AAA was the most expensive way of purchasing artwork. Auctiongoers had to pay for attendance and pre-auction viewing. It was visible, performative, and grand. Buyers were not only wanted to procure works with cultural values as a reflection of their cultural sensibilities and artistic knowledge, they also wanted to showcase their affluence by paying more than was necessary.[20]

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[17] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market."133. was the peak of the luxury trade market in the United States

[18] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market."136,152. Some dealers charged for artist name, rather than if it was genuine or not. The regularity of the auctions subdued anxieties around authenticity.

[19] Counter to European traditions where art was sold during the day. Sutton and Kirby they sold at night.

[20] Zalewski, "Creating Cultural and Commercial Value."110.

The AAA was also important because it promised authenticity. If an artwork was found out to be a fake, it would immediately depreciate in value. The fake would negatively impact the collection's importance and result in a heavy financial loss for the buyer. This made connoisseurs a necessary part of the market because they could determine whether an artwork was from an Old Master's own hand versus his workshop assistants. It was imperative to verify the authenticity of an artist's work. [21] So while the AAA was a large auction house with many clients it was essential to have relationships with reputable and knowledgeable advisors like the respected advisor and collector, Samuel Avery, this was imperative to its business.

Gilded-age historian John Ott's article, "How New York Stole the Art Market," brings to light the American Art Associations' influence on the creation of spectacle for male corporate buyers and an arena in which they could publicly display their disposable wealth, as they outbid each other to become a great American collector. The AAA was alluring to a specific type of American collector who had plenty of leisure time, which made the venue accessible to the most elite few. [22] AAA auction members included the top fifty richest men in America, including Jay Gould, Henry. O Havemeyer, William Rockefeller, and William H. Vanderbilt, who all had personal fortunes of over $25 million in 1889, which is over $800 million today.[23] Some of AAA's clientele would not consider buying a work that had been shown to another collector, or if it had been exhibited at all.[24] Ott determined in his article "How New York Stole the Art Market," that if a known collector backed out or rejected a painting, the dealer would have trouble selling the work. The dealer Charles Carstairs often worked with Henry Clay Frick, steel

[21] Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America." 93.
[22]Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market." 140.
[23] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market." 125,136-137.
[24] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market." 144-145.

magnate. He once purchased a Rembrandt with his own capital and waited six months for Frick to agree to purchase the Old Master, putting Carstairs in financial trouble.[25] In the interim, Carstairs offered the work to Scott & Flowers, a New York gallery, but they refused.[26] Although Rembrandts were highly sought after, if Frick passed on buying it, finding another collector who would acquire it would be difficult.[27]

At auction, each bidder had their own unique call signal that was understood by the auctioneer. Making a bid during auction could be as subtle as scratching one's ear, rubbing one's nose, or simply slipping a finger into one's shirt buttonhole. [28] The auction house was a game for the magnates of New York; big sums were thrown around nonchalantly either in jest or in a heated scrimmage with their business rivals. Buying and selling art was, at times, a gamble; and the loss of small fortunes made headlines. Unverified resale values of contemporary art made purchasing avant-garde work particularly precarious for the AAA's auctiongoers, who were battling for the title of America's best collector.

In addition to these personal goals, American tycoons could tangibly change America's cultural identity, by acquiring important works from Europe and donating them to public institutions. The act of buying works from across the Atlantic was rooted in a long-standing power dynamic between Europeans and Americans that began in the colonial period. This gave the art advisor an important role in the development of American Art, as they had the power to determine the precedents to which young artists and citizens were being exposed in public

[25] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*189.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 188.
[28] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market."143

collections. Cassatt would defy the conventions of AAA in numerous ways, but the role of advising on public art collections is one aspect of art advising of which she was acutely aware.

Corruption in the American Market.

In contrast to the buying habits outlined above, Cassatt swayed her clients to forgo conventional artwork popular in Gilded Age collections. The AAA's grossly inflated prices had tied price with prestige and value. Cassatt was also unlike other American dealers who took commissions or financially benefited for their role in art dealings. This section examines Cassatt's tactics juxtaposed to the American art market. Cassatt avoided financial entanglements to keep her advising reputation free from the nefarious marketplace.

Hailing from a banking family, Cassatt had a keen sense of finance and the economy. This is why she favored working with people like Alphonse Portier, and other small agents, who could arrange modest deals before artworks became available on the mainstream market.[29] For example, after seeing her brother Alexander Cassatt's collection, Frank Thompson, the sixth president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, reached out to Cassatt to help him find a Monet.[30] Cassatt wrote angrily to her brother, "Portier brought him two Monets or three, cheap, but he preferred buying one from Durand at 3000 frcs. I feel rather snubbed! I advised him to buy cheap, but I suppose he is the kind to prefer buying dear. I have very little doubt Portier's were the best pictures."[31] Thompson's decision was a reflection of postbellum collectors' attitudes around cost; American "Picture Boom" collectors paid exorbitant prices for the notoriety that came with being able to do so. Cassatt, on the contrary, found the best works at the

[29] Corey. "Mary Cassatt." 252.
[30] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,*139.
[31] Mary Cassatt to Alexander Cassatt [September 2, 1886.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*202.

most affordable prices for her clients. Cassatt attempted to change American collectors' association of value with price. She heatedly wrote to Tyson, "Let the dealer take for motto Degas' answer to Vibert about pictures being articles of luxury, "Yours may be, ours are of first necessity.""[32] Cassatt meant by this that conventional works were luxury symbols, hollow of any artistic merit. However, the works that she deemed important for American collections were rooted in intellectual artistic merits that experimented with the limits of the medium itself. Cassatt was a proponent of modernist esthetics. She encouraged American collectors to not continue the tradition of purchasing artwork for decoration.

Scholar Laura Dickey Corey's dissertation, *Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), American Tastemaker: Portrait of the Artist as Advisor* determined through archival research that Cassatt did not take commissions, nor was she paid for her advising services. Cassatt's advising style opposed popular New York dealers like M. Knoedler & Co., Duveen Brothers, and Gimpel & Wildenstein who received a commission of ten percent for every sale they were involved in.[33] Cassatt chose to not financially benefit from her role in the art market so she could maintain impartiality. Through her extended social circle, she sought other advisors who, like her, chose to be impartial to the market. Cassatt wrote to her friend and advisee Louisine Havemeyer to inquire about the art historian and America's first true connoisseur Bernard Berenson. She said, "Mrs. Jack Gardner has an agent a Mr. Berenson...who boasts he is incorruptible; I was told he took no small commission, but occasionally made a big haul... & Louie he is either most ignorant

[32] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*293.
[33] Typically, advisors made 10% on commission. However, Berenson received 5% but misinformed his clients about price.

or, as that is unlikely not incorruptible."[34] Berenson received an annual retainer of 5%, much less than the customary commission, from Boston collector, Isabella Stewart Gardner for all of the purchases she made on his advice.[35]

Berenson was a tastemaker, historian, independent advisor for hire, as well as the author of *Venetian Painters* which elevated Berenson to an expert in the Italian Renaissance. [36] He worked with museums, private collectors, and as an independent dealer he bought and sold works from his own collection.[37] He utilized "scientific connoisseurship" and challenged the scholarship of the day, even declaring that Titian had only created 133 works instead of the presumed one thousand.[38] However as Cynthia Saltzman stated in her book *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures*, Berenson also over-charged his clients and double-crossed his partners.[39] Holler and Klose-Ullmann have similarly argued that Berenson and Joseph Duveen, one of the Duveen Brothers, agreed to manipulate the art market for financial gain. In 1897, Berenson notified his best client, Isabella Stewart Gardner of a work priced at 45,000 more than the asking price, which is 1.6 million dollars today, to put into his own pocket.[40] Berenson made at least $100,000 dollars a year and throughout his career he made over $8 million, which today would be over $172 million.

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[34] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."11 Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havermeyer, February 6, [1903], MMA Havemeyer Family Papers. Partially quoted in Saltzman 2008, 119

[35]Manfred Holler and Barbara Klose- Ullmann, "Art Goes America", 98-99

[36] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*60 Berenson knew Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit and German

[37]Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*67.

[40] The work was Cardinal Tommaso Inghirami, who was the Librarian to Leo X which was later found out not painted by Raphael. More information in Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America." 98. Jack Gardner found out and painting for $35,000 roughly $1.2 million dollars today more information in A museum of ones own: private collecting, public gift, 47

Remaining unsullied by these dealings, Cassatt separated herself from common marketplace advisors. She was credible and transparent with her clients, dealers, and artists both abroad and back in the States.[41] Cassatt maintained her pristine reputation in order to recommend avant-garde works to American buyers were not popular yet in the established market and therefore their inherent value as a sound investment rested solely on her good name.

The Duveen Brothers, famous for their expensive "Duveen prices," seemed to promise quality and authenticity, which lured impressive American collectors like J.P Morgan, Henry Clay Frick, John D. Rockefeller Jr, and Isabella Stewart Gardener.[42] As I have already argued, American collectors were drawn to high-priced items because their collections were a public extension of themselves. Both Henry Clay Frick and Arabella Huntington spent exorbitantly which solidified their collections as exceptional compared to other collectors and to the American public. [43] This is also why the Duveen Brothers, refused to sell contemporary art, because it was not well established and could not command high prices like verified Old Masters.[44] Although the Duveen brothers were revered as the pinnacle of taste in New York City, the US Government charged them with smuggling and failing to declare their value at the US Customs Bureau, which resulted in a fine of $1.2 million, roughly $37 million today.[45] Some supposedly reputable dealers and advisors often utilized high costs as a tactic to seem authoritative when in fact many were accused of malfeasance. As an artist, Cassatt had insider knowledge of the market and how much dealers made on commission. Instead of jeopardizing

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[41] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."11. Thought she was not paid, or evidence of her reviving payment had not been found. She might have received small gifts occasionally like flowers. The collector she worked did own many of her works.

[42] Holler, Klose- Ullmann, "Art Goes America", 100

[43] Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift*. New York, NY: Prestel Pub, 2010. 51

[44]Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America." 94.

[45] Holler, Klose- Ullmann, "Art Goes America", 106.

her reputation, and the merit of her recommendations, Cassatt maintained her unpaid role as an educator and facilitator.

CHAPTER THREE

GILDED AGE COLLECTIONS

Frick: American Collecting Habits

This section will examine Gilded Age collecting habits seen in Henry Clay Frick's acquisitions. The Frick collection was recognized as one of the greatest private American collections from the Gilded Age. This section will assess Frick's collecting habits in order to better understand Cassatt's approach in guiding American Gilded Age taste.

Henry Clay Frick's collection mirrored the taste of the American elite which was counter to Cassatt's aesthetic choices for American collections. As a new member of America's wealthiest men, Frick needed to cement his social standing amongst American gentry and appeal to their conventional taste. Frick was not interested in purchasing works that did not comply with the standards of fine art because of the financial as well as cultural risks of buying the avant-garde. Henry Clay Frick was confined by his desire to achieve philanthropic notoriety which forced Frick's collection to be both conventional and exquisite.

He purchased works which were previously owned by European royalty and aristocrats, such as Velazquez's portrait of *King Philip IV of Spain*, which had not only belonged to the Spanish royal family but previously hung in the Liechtenegg Castle in Austria. [46] He had countless works from Boucher and other artists from the Rococo period, which were staples in American collecting. He acquired works from the Barbizon school like Millet who idealized

[46] Colin Bailey, *Building the Frick Collection: An Introduction to the House and Its Collections*. New York, NY The Frick Collection, 2016. 234.

peasant life.[47] The romance, beauty and ornamentality of the Rococo was seen to elevate and add to delight to home décor. Frick owned Boucher's panels of the *Four Seasons,* which depicts idealized, young beauties who delight in seasonal activities, like sitting amongst a lush garden in spring and taking sleigh rides in winter.[48] Frick owned dozens of European aristocratic portraits. He owned Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Lady Skipwith* and Jacques-Louis David's *Comtesse Daru,* which both represent idealized women of their eras, depicting the fashionable trends of their time and status. His collecting habits demonstrate conventional American taste, which meant collecting established works with cultural value, while also calling attention to one's wealth, which gave him the power to bring works to America.

Partly due to Cassatt's impact on American collecting habits the avant-garde was accepted in convention American collections by the 1910s. The Frick Collection acquired works from the avant-garde by 1914. This in evidence of Cassatt's impact on guiding Gilded Age conventional American taste to collect the avant-garde which had previously lacked the correct prestige for Gilded Age collections.

Henry Clay Frick came from modest means in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania as the grandson of a whiskey distiller. In 1870, he started a small business and by the time he was thirty, he was a millionaire. Frick became chairman at Carnegie Steel, one of the leading steel companies in America. However, the company's founder Andrew Carnegie could overrule any decision Frick made, though Carnegie was often absent overseas.[49]

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[47] Frick owned Millet, *Woman sewing by Lamplight*.
[48] Bailey, *Building the Frick Collection* .26-30.
[49] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*154.

Carnegie was out of the country when troubles began at the Homestead steel plant, which was a few miles from Pittsburg. Frick followed Carnegie's demands to finalize the union deal. Unable to make an agreement, the situation escalated. Frick rashly fired and locked out 3,800 striking workers. Amidst growing unrest, he hired 300 Pinkerton private security agents to control the area. Tension between both sides erupted and resulted in the Pennsylvania governor calling in the National Guard. The homestead incident was one of the bloodiest strikes in American history. Three Pinkerton agents were killed, and seven steelworkers died.

Following bloodshed, a government investigation ruled that the steel company was responsible, and the public condemned both Carnegie and Frick as merciless capitalists.[50] Two months following the riot, Frick was shot by an anarchist gunman, and cabled Carnegie who was still in Scotland, "Was shot twice but not dangerously. There is no necessity for you to come home. I am still in shape to fight the battle out."[51] Although Frick was the man on the ground, Carnegie was calling the shots abroad. Frick was alone in America navigating the public's opinion. Carnegie blamed Frick for the public's reaction. The two could not repair their friendship or their business relationship and cut ties. Frick received a severance, but it was $20 million shy of what he was owed. Their contempt for each other boiled over and was settled in court. Frick was awarded $30 million in damages and the court ruling ignited a war between them for public opinion. The repercussions of this event were far reaching and both Carnegie and Frick spent their lives trying to undo the damage to their legacy. [52]

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[50] Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America."101, Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*157.
[51] Quoted in Saltzman. *Old Masters. New World,* 158
[52] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*164

In order to repair his public legacy, it Frick decided to build a prestigious collection of art. In his forties, Frick secured works with the mission of collecting a great American collection for the public. Both Frick and Carnegie felt the public's disdain and sought to salvage their reputations. Frick spent millions acquiring important works, establishing his collection as one of the great American collections, but one that would not disrupt American sensibilities. Frick could not afford the risk of collecting work which was seen as contentious.[53] This is evidence that the Frick Collection mirrored contemporary American taste during the period.

The Frick Collection, now one of the most impressive private museums in the world, includes 1100 works from the Renaissance to the late 19th century. It is in alignment with the tradition of American collecting habits Frick's collection included Old Masters, Spanish paintings, eighteenth-century French and academic works, as well as contemporary academic works and English portraiture. Purchasing the Earl of Ilchester's Rembrandt (Figure 1) established Frick's collection as a triumph and as a pinnacle of American taste.

Frick's Rembrandt is the artist's self-portrait which was created the same year the artist declared bankruptcy.[54] Rembrandt sits ironically enthroned and embossed in luxurious fabrics. He is no longer a young and eager artist. Instead, he is reserved, and sadness lingers in his eyes. Rembrandt represents himself in fine wears but is unidealized and marred by life. The work is constructed masterfully and displays Rembrandt's understanding of the medium. It is a monumental and an important Master work. Frick's acquisition of Rembrandts's *Self-Portrait* demonstrates conventional American taste that was drawn toward works that were established, remarkable, expensive and conservative.

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[53] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*155.
[54] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*146.

Frick collected a significant number of aristocratic portraits, including works from Gainsborough, Romney, Lawrence, and Reynolds. Frick purchased Gainsborough's *Mrs. Peter William Baker,* (Figure 2) which had been passed from generation to generation within the Baker line, who were part of the English aristocracy. *Mrs. Peter William Baker* met several qualifications of English aristocratic portraiture. The subject is idealized, set in an indiscriminate landscape, and is adorned with fine textiles and precious jewels. Americans collected works with impressive pedigrees either from respected artists or works from fine European families. Frick's purchase displays his desire to collect work which had been owned by to gentry, nobility or royalty.

As an expectation of wealth, American industrialist collectors, like J.P Morgan, Andrew Carnegie and Frick were expected to bring cultural value to America. Frick followed prominent American collectors Henry Marquand and Isabella Steward Gardner who had purchased Vermeer's work years earlier. He purchased Vermeer's *Girl Interrupted at Her Music* (Figure 3) and paid four times the price that Isabella Steward Gardner paid for her Vermeer nine years before. Frick happily paid an inflated price because the painting's cost was correlated to its value on the market as well as in American collections.

The work embodies Vermeer's skill in rendering light. A woman turns her head to face the viewer. She has been interrupted whilst in a her meeting with a man. The man above her does not notice the viewers intrusion. She abandons her music while she accepts what is perhaps a love letter. This was typical of Vermeer's genre scenes which usually depict images of love and fidelity. This is evidence of Frick following established trends pioneered by other collectors in the American market.

Frick approached his collection much as he conducted his business. Charles Schwab described him as a "thinking machine, "methodical" who "cut straight to the point," and he built his collection in the same way.[55] Instead of collaborating with connoisseurs, or artists as advisors, he worked with salesmen, like Charles Carstairs and Otto Gutekunst, who knew market values to form his collection.[56] Whereas, Cassatt taught her clients to disregard price and prestige. Frick seized work which yielded notoriety.[57] Frick collected impressive and expensive works which fortified his collection as a success and a leading example of excellence based on American values during the Gilded Age. Louisine Havemeyer wrote in her memoir, *Sixteen to Sixty,* that Frick "acquired a collection of pictures which for price and renown was unequaled in the United States."[58] Frick's reputation was at stake and his collection was designed to earn social acceptance from the American elite and affirm a positive public image and legacy.

The Frick Collection was the epitome of good taste. In 1914, later in his collecting career, following the acceptance of the avant-garde into conventional collecting habits Frick acquired both Degas and Manet's work. This is evidence that both these Impressionists were accepted into prominent American collections by that time. Degas' *The Rehearsal* (Figure 4) cost Frick an extreme price of 165,000 francs.[59] The exorbitant price displays that both Degas's ballet works were accepted by the market as a desired commodity, and that they were desirable to have in important American collections. Subjects from the avant-garde like ballerinas in motion, masculine and exotic matadors, and soft burry landscapes were more palatable to the established

[55] Full Charles Schwab quote found in Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.* 148.
[56] Worked with Charles Carstairs, a salesman for M. Knoedler & Co. and his partner Otto Gutekunst who worked for P. & D. Colnaghi & Co. Ltd.
[57] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.* 195.
[58] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty.* 32.
[59] Information found in the Frick Collection digital archives.

American taste than other subjects like unidealized contemporary prostitutes in brothels or singers, performers, and actors.[60]

The Rehearsal depicts a man playing the violin for three practicing ballerinas. The man wears dark clothing which disrupts and flatten the space. The ballerinas are wearing light fabric tutus and float airily. The composition is painterly and asymmetrical. The inclusion of Degas's ballet work notes an important shift in American collections which welcomed some modern aesthetics like expressive painterly brushstrokes, asymmetrical compositions, and appropriate contemporary subject matter.

Henry Clay Frick collected works which were established, costly and linked to nobility. His purchases conformed to what was expected within American collections. He was intent on redeeming his public legacy through collecting masterworks for the good of the public.[61] The inclusion of some avant-garde works into Frick's collection proves that some impressionistic works were eventually accepted by American taste. Today, the Frick Collection and Henry Clay Frick are remembered for benefitting America. Gifting Frick's private collection as a museum for the public to enjoy rescued his public legacy and his is memorialized as one of America's great collectors.

Gardner: Gilded Age Collections

This section assesses Isabella Stewart Gardner's collecting habit. She was a renown Gilded Age collector. Unlike Henry Clay Frick utilized his collection to gain acceptance by both the general public and Gilded Age elites, Isabella Steward Gardner did not collect artwork to

[60] The work was most likely exhibited at the fourth Impressionist's exhibition in 1879. It had was originally bought by Henri Rouart, Degas's friend and after his death in 1912, his collection was available for purchase.
[61] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*196.

improve her social standing. Gardner was part of old American wealth. She did not purchase works because of their high market prices, rely on advisors' recommendations, or buy work in an art craze. She built her collection guided by her own judgment. This section examines what another great American collection was comprised of during the Gilded Age.

Isabella Stewart Gardner did not follow American collecting habits during her day. Counter to Henry Clay Frick, Isabella Stewart Gardner collected work which embraced European collecting trends or idealism and sensuality. She rebelled against established American collecting habits which were conservative, traditional, and aligned with realism. As an advisor, Cassatt introduced works into American collections which were simple, intellectual, and raw. This section will explore Isabella Stewart Gardner's embrace of European collecting habits which was counter to Cassatt's aesthetic ideals regarding American taste.

Unlike other female collectors during the period, Gardner was financially independent. Although her husband, Jack Gardner, was a shipping magnate and part of Boston's bourgeoisie, she never needed his money for her collection.[62] In 1891, Isabella inherited two million dollars from her father's estate, roughly $65 million today, which spurred her into collecting. Soon after receiving her inheritance, she collected work with opening a museum in mind. An inscription at entrance of her museums stated, *C'est Mon Plasier,* meaning *It Is for My Pleasure*.

In a little over a ten-year period, Gardner started her collection and opened a museum in Boston of her own design.[63] She collected the works from established genres like the Italian Renaissance, medieval works, Old Masters and some contemporary works. She collected jewels,

[62] Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America."103. John Lowell Gardner Jr, who went by Jack was the Grandson to ship magnate, Joseph Peabody.

[63] Gardner helped eccentric young male artists, writers, and creatives. She supported their careers and was a kind of benefactor to Sargent, Henry James, Whistler, Ralph Curtis, Joseph Lindon Smith and Bernard Berenson.

sculpture, tapestry, porcelain, and antique furniture. [64] She collected work connected to royalty. Gardner imported ancient Roman columns, sarcophagi and mosaics which were the architectural foundation of her museum. Like Cassatt, Gardner did not like English portraiture and the only English work Gardner bought, she returned.[65]

Isabella Stewart Gardner was one of the early collectors of Vermeer. She traveled to France to purchase Vermeer's *The Concert* (Figure 5) at auction. She utilized the services of a Parisian dealer, Fernand Robert, to bid in place of her at auction. When Gardner brought her handkerchief to her face, he was instructed to increase the bid.[66] They won *The Concert* for her museum and paid a little over $6,000 which made it the first Vermeer to Boston and the second in the United States.[67] Gardner was no novice to the market. She intentionally hired a Parisian dealer, who other French dealers would not bid against. Gardner strategically hired Robert, who was a Frenchmen, and could secure the Vermeer for her collection. *The Concert* depicts three figures, who gather around a piano and listen to music. Light floods in from the window on to the floor and reflects against the women's pearls. The work is filled with textures, objects, and patterns. The man's elaborately patterned coat, the checkered floor, rugs, paintings, and fabrics, fill the space.

Conventional American taste gravitated toward simplified forms. Vermeer's work is compact with objects, luxury, texture, patterns, delightful light, and narrative. Gardner's

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[64] Gardner did work with other agents and connoisseurs besides Berenson. She worked with Henry Adams, Charles Eliot Norton, Frank Curtis, Fernand Robert, Anders Zorn and Sargent. casey riley, "commerce and connoisseurship-95

[65] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*76.

[66] Casey Riley, "commerce and connoisseurship" 99. More information See Morris, Carter, *Isabella Stewart Gardner and Fenway Court,* Boston, Mass,. 1925. P. 135

[67] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*46.

purchase of Vermeer's Concert does prove her affinity toward visually busy genre scenes which was a desirable commodity in European collections.

Unlike, Cassatt, Gardner disliked Rembrandt's portraiture even during the height of the Rembrandt craze. She wrote Berenson and said 1900, "… I really don't adore Rembrandt. I only like him." [68] He wrote back, "I am not anxious to have you own braces of Rembrandts, like any vulgar millionaire."[69] This is evidence of Gardner's rejection of realism in her collection. Cassatt favored Rembrandt's work because it is raw and simple. She was also a proponent of work which explored the creative limits within mediums, which Rembrandt was a master of. Moreover, Cassatt was drawn toward Rembrandt's unidealized forms, where he was comfortable with exploring unappealing works which she linked to a pursuit of truth. Her clients, the Havemeyer's acquired, eight Rembrandt portraits over their collecting career together.[70] Gardner's hesitation owning a Rembrandt portrait, even during a trend, signifies that Gardner was swayed by idealism in her collecting habits.

Like Cassatt, Gardner was drawn to work based on their formal qualities like shape, texture, subject matter, and tone.[71] Gardner and Cassatt both rejoiced and embraced in controversial works which the majority of American collectors would have deemed noxious. Whereas Gardner collected the beautiful and the sensual, Cassatt encouraged her clients to acquire works which embraced simple and raw forms. This illuminates two polarizing and competing beliefs of American collecting habits. Cassatt was interested in intellectual work that

[68] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*47.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*125.
[71] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*54.

embraced creativity and experimentation whereas Gardner acquired works that were soft, idealized, beautiful and pleasurable.

Cassatt encouraged her clients to procure works which displayed artistic creativity and experimental qualities. Gardner had her own money and was not afraid to buy erotic work.[72] Gardner's purchase of Titian's *Europa* indicates her affinity toward idealism, sensuality, mythology, narrative, which were all attributes of European collecting habits.

Gardner's purchase of Titian's *Europa* would not have been purchased by a conventional American collector because of its explicit sensuality. It had an impressive European pedigree. It was commissioned for Philip II of Spain and was inherited by the 4th Earl of Darnley. It was hung in the Earl's estate in Surrey, Cobham Hall.[73] Berenson told Gardner it was 2,000 pounds more than the asking price. She purchased the work for 20,000 pounds or $100,000 which would be $3.5 million today. [74] She bought the six by seven-foot canvas and hung it in her living room. [75] The work depicts the scene Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Jupiter disguises himself as a white bull. Europa hops on his back and is abducted by the god. Soon after, Europa gives birth to Minos, the founder of European civilization. Titian composed Europa's body to sprawl the entirety of the canvas. She grips on to the bull's horn, with one hand while the other signals distant beach for help. Her graze is towards the sky, which allows the viewer to study her body. Her idealized anatomy is thinly vied by a transcalent cloth. As Europa struggles to be free Titian captures her in an erotic pose her legs are parted, a breast exposed, and she looks away from the view. The bull stares directly at the viewer defiant even amidst her screams and protest.

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[72] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*125.
[73] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*73.
[74] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*77.
[75] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*77,79.

The work satisfied several aspects of conventional American collecting habits. It was crafted by a master's own hands. It has academic aesthetics like smooth brushstrokes, accurate perspective, and the artist's understanding of anatomy. However, erotic, almost entirely nude and a mythology paining would meet American collecting taste. Berenson had offered *the work to the* Museum of Fine Arts Boston before Gardner, who had rejected it because of its explicit nature. [76] Gardner's decision to acquire Titian's work exemplifies here rejection of conventional American taste.

Unlike Henry Clay Frick, Isabella Stewart Gardner was guided by her own taste. She collected works that were sensual, beautiful, patterned and decadent. The Isabella Steward Gardner collection is an experience. She designed every detail of her museum. She picked the furniture, every knickknack, the works displayed, how they were arranged, the color scheme of each room, and more. Gardner was the curator of her museum. As a Gilded Age collector Gardner aligned herself with European collecting habits rather than conventional American taste. As an advisor, impacting Gilded Age collecting, Cassatt guided Americans to collect realism and modernism, which was counter to established standards in Gilded Age collections in the America.

[76] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.* 75-79.

CHAPTER FOUR

ADVISING AGAINST CONVENTION

Cassatt's Taste

Mary Cassatt's advising style was unusual compared to other traditional methods of precuring art for American industrialist collectors. Cassatt was an expatriate living in Paris and a member of the independents. She invited American millionaires like Theodate Pope to, "Come over & I will go to the Louvre with you & teach you to see the Old Masters methods."[77] She positioned herself as an art educator to American Gilded Age collectors and as someone who could arrange private deals between her clients and European collectors or artists. Her advising style was not grand or a spectacular; it was intimate and took time.

Cassatt's advising career began with Louisine Havemeyer, who bought, on Cassatt's advice, America's first work of Impressionism, Degas' pastel the *Ballet Rehearsal* in 1877 about thirty years before it became proper for American collectors. Cassatt positioned herself as an approachable, feminine, upper class American and convinced several American collectors to acquire modernist works.

Cassatt's clients listened, learned, and took risks on her endorsements. Cassatt preferred to introduce her clients to living artists, which she believed strengthened the relationship between collector and artist's work.[78] Additionally, as the middleman between artists and collectors,

[77] Mary Cassatt to Theodate Pope [February 10th 1911.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.* 306.
[78] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."38.

Cassatt was the liaison between two worlds, and this advising tactic not only highlighted her connections, but also offered a unique bridge for American collectors.

Her family's background in banking had a profound impact on her advising style. She worked with Alphonse Portier, as an agent and other smaller dealers who were on the fringes of the market that could arrange modest sales.[79] She struck deals with private collectors and artists themselves, instead of working with costly mainstream dealers.[80] New purchases came to fruition through a series of letters back and forth. Cassatt's bargains were made possible through her friendships and through relationship with the avant-garde art circles and upper-class American connections. As an expatriate she could intercede between American elites and the French avant-garde. Unlike other American artists like William Morris Hunt, J. Alden Weir, and John Singer Sargent, who acted as advisors and shaped American taste throughout their careers, Cassatt was a the only American artist who was part of the French avant-garde. She advised her clients to acquire stylistically in-between artwork with modern and accepted aesthetics.[81]

Conventional American collecting habits included English portraiture, Dutch pictures, American landscapes, French academic works, and the Rococo such as Boucher, Fragonard, and Watteau were heavily collected. Henry Clay Frick owned enough Fragonard's and Boucher's to fill entire rooms. Although French eighteenth-century works were favored in the market Cassatt did not recommend purchasing works from the Rococo. Instead, as a tactic to appeal to American taste Cassatt encouraged her clients to purchase avant-garde works with similar stylistic qualities to the Rococo, like pastel colors and soft form. This tactic was a major

[79] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."252. but occasionally did work with dealers who received a commission.
[80] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World.*118.
[81] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."3.

contributing factor that led to the success of Monet's works to American buyers. Monet's work was considered to be more ornamental than his contemporaries. Cassatt wrote to Harrison Morris, director of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, "When I was at home a few years ago it was one of the things that disheartened me the most to see that we were slavishly copying all the evils of the French system."[82] Cassatt urged the American collection to change, in the exact same way she wanted the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts' curriculum to change breakaway from salon traditions and move toward modernism. As an advisor, Cassatt promoted works that were pared down, raw and works that both had stylistic qualities familiar to American Taste and the French avant-garde. Cassatt pushed her American clients to purchased works which were not acceptable but were not entirely radical for American collectors. She advised her clients to "collect American," which directly rejected traditional European collecting habits and conventional American collecting habits. She educated her client to reject beauty and academic stylistic traditions for realism and modernistic qualities.

Mary Cassatt valued the work of Old Masters Velazquez, and Rembrandt. She wrote Emily Sartain when studying abroad, "I have found few French artists copying here, and all with one accord agree with me; I think that one learns how to paint here, Velazquez manner is so fine and so simple." [83] Cassatt was a proponent of simple artwork which revealed stylistic truths. This quote expresses the growing divide between Cassatt and the traditions within fine art. The French students did not study Velazquez, who was her favored old Master. As an advisor, Cassatt promoted artists like Courbet whose work aligned with the aesthetic principles Cassatt wanted Americans to be understand and purchase. Louisine recounted seeing Courbet with

[82] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.* 291.
[83] Mary Cassatt to Emily Sartain [October 13th, 1872.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*108.

Cassatt. Louisine wrote "She took me there, explained Courbet to me, spoke of the great painter in her flowing, generous way, called my attention to his marvelous execution, to his color, above all to his realism, to that poignant, palpitating medium of truth though which he sought expression."[84]

Cassatt trained her clients to experience an artwork rather than look at its marketable value. Louisine demonstrates her retention of Cassatt's lessons and art education. As well as her understanding that Courbet's stylistic tendencies resembled Cassatt's favored Old Masters, Velazquez and Rembrandt, which made Courbet's work a valuable acquisition for an American collector.

Cassatt was often infuriated, by her client, James Stillman. He was president and chairman of the National City Bank of New York, and frequently seemed to disregard Cassatt's lessons. A dealer remembered seeing Cassatt as an advisor with Stillman. He said,

> "Mary Cassatt bullies Stillman, and that's how she's made a collector of him. In front of the Velázquez [a work in Gimpel's gallery] she told him: 'Buy this canvas, it's shameful to be rich like you. Such a purchase will redeem you.' Stillman smiled."[85]

Cassatt often felt like Stillman did not listen or respect her guidance because he bought works that she did not endorse like the Rococo.

For example, when Stillman purchased several Rococo works, Cassatt was disappointed. She wrote heatedly to Louisine Havemeyer, her confidant in all advising matters "I was rather cut-up when Mr.S [Stillman] told me he had bought one of the Nattier's because I admired it. So

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[84] Louisine Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*: Memoirs of a collector, 190.
[85]Corey. "Mary Cassatt."272.

I did, for a Nattier."[86] Cassatt believed the Rococo was decorative and not serious enough to be considered as artwork worthy to join American collections. She did not want her clients to collect work from the Rococo, not only because it embraced the French salon aesthetics of beauty, but because it rejected American aesthetic leanings that she wished to revive by encouraging the collection of realism in American collections. Cassatt criticized the Rococo for its embrace of the sentimental, the beautiful and fantasy. She continued to educate Stillman and prod his taste along.

Eventually, Stillman would acquire a contemporary nude, which was the most controversial work to own in America during this period. This is evidence that Cassatt did have an impact of Stillman's collecting habits. His change from collecting the Rococo which was dictated by conventional taste to procuring a contemporary nude which was not an established convention in American collecting habits, demonstrates Cassatt's impact of Stillman's taste.

As an advisor, she promoted works which spurned idealism and celebrated works which were "intellectual" and "original." Cassatt disliked "society portraitist" John Singer Sargent's work because he beautified his sitters, but also because Cassatt considered artists like Sargent and Beaux not as creators but as technicians.[87] Cassatt's approach was much the opposite; although she painted mother and child, which could be interpreted as sentimental, she did not embellish her sitters. Instead, Cassatt rendered her subjects as objectively as she saw them.[88] Cassatt disliked society portraitist as much as she disliked English portraiture.

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[86] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*118. Corey. "Mary Cassatt."267. Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer, May 13, 1910, MMA Havemeyer Family Papers. At the same Gimple sale, Stillman seized a Van Loo and two Fragonard's

[87] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*270.

[88] Stillman's collection was actioned off at the American Art Association on February 3, 1927.

For example, when Cassatt discovered her client, Colonel Oliver Payne, retired Colonel from the Civil war, was contemplating procuring a work by English portraitist, Hoppner, she did not conceal her disappointment. Hoppner studied at the Royal Academy and was known for his portraits of British aristocrats. Cassatt wrote dismayed to Louisine Havemeyer, "fantastic [for] a third rank painter for a school which had not produced a single painting of absolute first rank! In comparison, the Goya's are a bargain."[89] Cassatt rejected the aesthetics of the Royal Academy and thwarted the inclusion of Hoppner and Reynolds into American collections. Cassatt had similar feelings about English portraiture as she did with the Rococo and believed it did not belong in the American collection. Cassatt likewise persuaded her new client, Stillman, to decline a Joshua Reynolds portrait in 1906. Even at a reduced price, Cassatt would not endorse *Selina, Lady Skipwith*. Reynolds depicted her as an idealized beauty with porcelain skin, rosy cheeks, and a powdered wig. Reynolds's Grand Manner style displayed in *Lady Skipwith,* blended and borrowed the stylistic treatments of the renaissance and classism which Reynolds admired. Cassatt disapproved of Reynolds's works because of their romantic forms, but also because she viewed him as derivative. Shortly after Stillman refused the work, Henry Clay Frick snatched it up. He bought the Reynolds's from Knoedler paying over $155,000 which would be over five million dollars today. In keeping with the tycoon buying habits described above, Frick's purchase had exceeded Stillman's offer by $30,000.[90]

As an advisor, Cassatt was not interested in balancing an individual's collection to include a smattering of the important periods, artists and works. Instead, she was intent on

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[89] Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer [November, 29, 1906.] MMA Havemeyer Papers, and Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World*. 117-18. Corey. "Mary Cassatt." 244-245

[90] Corey. "Mary Cassatt." 245.

amplifying and aggrandizing private American collections in the hopes those works would end up in public American collections. Cassatt promoted works that opposed the ornamentality an idealized forms seen in both English portraiture and the Rococo. Cassatt endorsed both the works from the "Old Moderns" and the unidealized avant-garde works.

Cassatt also rejected the works from the Barbizon school because its sentimentalized realism. Eliza Haldeman wrote to her father about her and Cassatt's experience with the Barbizon school. She wrote "We were at Barbizon last week but she was not pleased with the Master she intended taking. You can imagine the horror we were seized with on hearing he only painted without models, a sort of French Rothermel. He is one of the best of the school of Barbizon." [91] This is evidence why Cassatt rejected the works from the Barbizon school. The school did not use models and did not work from real life, instead they embellished and idealized realism. To Cassatt, the Barbizon school was more aligned with French stylistic trends than raw realism.

Mary Cassatt was not the only American female advisor in Paris. Elizabeth Gardner, who was not related to the impressive collector and heiress, Isabella Stewart Gardner, also guided American collections abroad. She was born in New Hampshire and settled in Paris in the hopes of taking nude drawing classes, which was a new possibility for female artists, in Paris. Gardner wanted to learn how to depict the human form correctly, which was paramount for salon

[91] Eliza Haldeman to Samuel Haldeman [April 24th 1868.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*51.

recognition.[92] As an advisor Gardner encouraged American collectors to purchase French academics like Merle, Bouguereau, Gérôme, Cabanel, and Doré.[93]

France itself was deeply tied to the salon's authority. For centuries, the salon was the deciding power, determining, training, and judging high art in the western cannon. The academy voted by jury to either accept or reject an artist's submission to the salon exhibition. The academy favored the genres of history painting, mythology, genre scenes, portraiture, landscape, and still-life. Academic work was sentimental or moral and demanded an artist to demonstrate accurate perspective, correct anatomy, idealized forms, unseen brushstrokes, and naturalistic modeling. [94] French academic work was alluring to American buyers because it had already been greenlit by the establishment, met the qualifications of good art, and would maintain its market value.

During the final three decades of the nineteenth century, contemporary artists viewed academic standards as formulaic and suffocatingly homogeneous. Artists who were rejected from exhibiting at the salon were Degas, Manet, Pissarro, Monet, Renoir, Morisot, and others. Spearheaded by rejected artists, the *Salon des Refusés,* emerged and allowed new aesthetics to be seen, questioned, critiqued, and celebrated. The salon of the refused, held an alternative exhibition which challenge salon's authority. They challenged the stylistic traditions of high art armed with painterly brushstrokes, incorrect perspective, pure flat color, disregarded modeling, and contemporary subject matter. Cassatt was the student of Gérôme, who was a member of the

[92] Women were recently allowed to attend drawing classes with a nude model. Gardner disguised herself in men's clothing and slipped into classes.
[93] Tiffany M. Reed, "Elizabeth Gardner: Passion, Pragmatism, and the Parisian Art Market." *Woman's Art Journal* 20, no. 2 (1999): 7–30. https://doi.org/10.2307/1358978.7-9
[94] Leanne Zaleski, "Creating Cultural and Commercial Value,"112 Gérôme's works were highly sought after by American audiences, who paid steep prices for his works.

salon jury. Early in her career she achieved academic notoriety. However, when she embraced a new style in her art in 1876 she was rejected from exhibiting at the salon.[95] Following her refusal she joined the avant-garde. Cassatt recounted seeing Degas work for the first time and wrote Louisine "How well I remember... seeing for the first time Degas pastels…I used to go and flatten my nose against the window and absorb all I could of his art. It changed my life. I saw art then as I wanted to see it."[96] This is evidence of the sense of freedom she felt when seeing art which broke tradition. This quote is evidence of the work and the experience she was trying to foster and forge in American collectors. When Cassatt joined the Impressionists, it deeply shaped the works she advised. She encouraged sale of works which aligned with the values of the avant-garde like works that opposed the ornamental, contributed unique ideas to the history of fine art, and explored new techniques with in a medium. Cassatt had said to her biographer Achille Segard, "I had recognized which were my true masters. I admired Manet, Courbet, and Degas. I hated conventional art. I started to live."[97] Cassatt's true masters, Degas, Manet, and Courbet's were the artists she recommended most to collectors.

Cassatt exhibited in four out of five Impressionist exhibitions in 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1886. [98] According to Cassatt, impressionistic works had earned a space in American collections, like the Old Masters. She advised American collectors to purchase works that challenged salon standards and authority. Cassatt wrote to a newly settled American artist, Clarence Gihon, who just arrived in Paris,

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[95] Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, and Mary Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue raisonné of the Graphic Work*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979. 13

[96] Louisine Havemeyer, Mary Cassatt" The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin V0l. 22 1927, P. 377 quoted in Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*.13

[97] Quoted in Corey. "Mary Cassatt."23

[98] Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*. 13

> "The jury system has proved a failure since hardly a single painter of talent in the last fifty years in France has not been a victim to the system --- Amongst those refused again & again are Corot, Courbet, Millet & hosts of others, these men were kept back for years. We need a new system, the old one is used up--- I hope you will help to inaugurate a new one."[99]

Cassatt counteracted established taste. She recommended works to Gilded Age collectors, which did not conform to conventional collecting habits in the United States. Cassatt endorsed artists spurned by academic notoriety to Gilded Age collectors. She challenged and taught her clients to weigh established fine art. Cassatt viewed the works that the AAA and conventional American dealers sold to American collectors as tasteless. When American artists expatriated to Paris in the hopes of salon recognition, Cassatt encouraged them to revolt against academic authority and that the salon had rejected all their finest artists and would continue too.

Cassatt's Print a Pedological Device.

From the medieval period up until the invention of photography, renown artists utilized print reproductions to sell their work to a larger market. Inexpensive prints both commodified and circulated an artist's work. Ingres had earned more from reproductions of the *Grande Odalisque,* than from the sale of the original. Additionally, at times dealers purchased a painting to control reproduction sales.[100] The invention of photography rendered printmaking obsolete in high art. However, the onset of Japanese woodblock prints publicized other stylistic modes counter to western academic traditions. By the 1870s Japanese woodblock prints were a prized commodity amidst artists and collectors in both America and France.[101]

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[99] Mary Cassatt to Clarence Gihon [September 13th 1905]. Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*297.
[100] Michel Melot and Caroline Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996. 11
[101] Julia Meech-Pekarik. "Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 17 (1982): 93–118. https://doi.org/10.2307/1512790. 96-97. Cassatt, Monet, Van Gogh, Degas and Lautrec all shopped for print at Bings Store. Degas traded his own paintings for prints, Monet

Avant-garde artists were drawn to Japanese stylistic traditions, of bold flat color, casual scenes from every day and asymmetrical compositions, and the use of patterning which disrupted depth. Excited by the new possibilities, the avant-garde resurrected printmaking in the west.[102]

The sale of Whistler's "French Set" in 1858, was a pivotal moment in elevating graphic art of the avant-garde to a collector's item. Whistler crafted and sold a set of twelve standardized etchings and drypoints for fifty francs.[103] The price was higher than that of conventional prints at the time, but lower than that of oil paintings. The higher cost legitimized the medium to collectors. The "French Set" became a sought commodity within the fine art because it was original, ensured by the limited number of editions. Whistler's offset graphic art's connection to middle class ornamentality with his stylistic embrace of realism. The work depicts what he saw and experienced in France. The series is sketchy, gestural, and captures France's whimsy. "French Set" established original graphic work as an important collector's item and marks a change in consciousness surrounding graphic work, which Cassatt would build on.[104] Following the "French Set" he released several other series like "Thames Set" in 1871 and the "First and the Second Venice Set" in the1880s. Whistler's print series had immense success with prominent dealers and sold to Samuel Avery, Cassatt's clients the Havemeyer's and Harris Whittemore, Henry Clay Frick and Isabella Stewart Gardner. Gardner had purchased both the "First and Second Venice Set" for an inflated price of $750 in 1890. This demonstrates that graphic work was pursued by collectors and resulted in their desirability and increase in price on the market. In

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purchased twenty-eight Utamaro prints from Bing alone and American artist, J. Alden Wier was described as rabid for prints.[101] Cassatt owned dozens of Utamaro prints .

[102] Meech-Pekarik. "Early Collectors of Japanese Prints." 93.

[103] Melot, Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*. 38.

[104] Antonia Lant,"Purpose and Practice in French Avant-Garde Print-Making of the 1880s." *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 1 (1983): 18–29. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360188. 27.

1915, Henry Clay Frick, a conventional American collector, acquired the "First Venice Set" indicating that original prints were accepted by conventional taste at that time.[105] Whistler's success in American collections demonstrates not only the acceptance of graphic work but also collectors' and artists' interest in original print as a new marketable commodity.[106]

As an advisor, Cassatt recommended American collectors to purchase works that initiated them into modernism. She guided American elites first to understand the role of the artist, and slowly shift their conventional sensibilities toward contemporary art by connecting Impressionist aesthetics to Old Masters. Additionally, she recommended works that were both a step outside conventional taste while also maintaining aesthetics familiar to American taste like the Rococo, landscape and the arcadian nude.

Cassatt, as an artist and as a printmaker, shaped the perception of the artist as an innovator rather than a technician of tradition. During the nineteenth century early states of known reproductions were considered rare collectors' items especially if the final state had circulated widely.[107]It was unthinkable and unusual for preliminary and unpolished work to be seen at exhibition. Most connoisseurs, collectors and viewers in France and America were unaccustomed to unfinished artwork. As a member of the Impressionists, Cassatt was accustomed to showing unfinished paintings. However, at the Fourth Impressionist Exhibition she premiered her "unfinished prints" at exhibition. Michel Melot, in his book *The Impressionist Print*, determined that the etchings displayed were *Woman Reading* and *Woman at the Theatre* both in their first and last state. [108] This indicates that she was intent on unveiling the creative

[105] Gardner archives and Frick archive digital archives.
[106] Lant, "Purpose and Practice."23.
[107]Ibid.
[108] Melot, Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*. 181. Unable to find an images.

process from start to finish and display the artistic choices made leading up to a "final" print, which was considered ready for reception. Cassatt displayed the beginning state and the completed state which targeted the viewer's curiosity to trace her choices, from start to finish. Cassatt's pedagogical tactics in printmaking mirrors her aim in shaping, one step at a time, American taste towards modernism. This section argues that Cassatt showed her prints as a pedagogical tactic to shape a public's understanding around the role of the artist to both viewers and buyers.

Cassatt's initiation into graphic art was through Degas. Amidst the popularity of subscription-based print magazines, Degas aimed to construct a magazine that would champion the ideals of Impressionism.[109] He invited Cassatt and Pissarro to work on *Le Jour et la Nuit*, meaning day to night.[110] Although the magazine failed to make it to production, it forged a friendship with Degas and Pissarro and Cassatt's interest in graphic work. Within a year, Cassatt had crafted 250 etchings and one lithograph.[111]

Cassatt prioritized learning the medium. She could have hired a printer to replicate her designs; instead she hired printers like Salomon and LeRoy who she worked alongside, learning the process.[112] Cassatt described her process to Samuel P Avery. She wrote "the printing is great work; sometimes we work all day (eight hours) both, as hard as we could & only printed eight or ten proofs in a day. My method is very simple."[113] Cassatt ignored her gender and social class,

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[109] Melot, Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*. 9 Older members of the Impressionists like Pissarro, Desboutin, Bracquemond, Degas, LeGros and Lepic taught the younger Impressionists like, Cassatt, Raffaëlli, and Forain printmaking. Monet was the only Impressionist who never made a single print.

[110] Adelyn Dohme Breeskin, and Mary Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue raisonné of the Graphic Work*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979.14. Lettres de Degas (Paris, editions Bernard Grassett, 1931) 29.

[111] Melot, Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*, 225.

[112] Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*.14.

[113] Mary Cassatt to Samuel P Avery [June 9th 1891] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*221.

which expected her to remain an amateur. Instead, she chose to learn to pull prints from her own hand which proves that Cassatt was interested in knowing the printing process fully. Many scholars have noted that Cassatt was both experimental and methodical as a printmaker. She was improvisational and would amend the design from state to state. Cassatt did not follow the traditional guidelines in print which valued getting to the finished product. Degas wrote Félix Bracquemond, a fellow artist who specialized in print, "The aquatint is progressing even without you (you should be teaching us instead of leaving us to our own devices).[114] "We have made some experiments. Mlle. Cassatt is in the midst of some at this moment."[115] Cassatt was not interested in a perceived goal with her work, instead she was intent on exploring artistic paths. [116] Her prints were inconsistent right down to her paper choice and varied in different types, sizes, color and textures. [117] Regardless of *Le Jour et La Nuit's* failure Cassatt's experimentations during that period led her to call attention to the creative process, which was typically unseen in high art, in her own prints displayed at exhibition.

Cassatt continued displaying unfinished prints at exhibition. At the Durand-Ruel exhibition in Paris, in 1893 Cassatt showed *The Banjo Lesson* in four separate states of the print along with her paintings and pastels.[118] Through her printmaking career Cassatt continued to promote the artist's role as a creator and originator and displayed her experiments with the medium.

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[114] Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*.14.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Britany Salsbury,"Daring Methods: The Prints of Mary Cassatt." *Art in Print* 3, no. 1 (2013): 25–27. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43045522. 26.
[117] Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*. 31. Cassatt used verdâtre which had a blueish-green hue on special prints.
[118] Melot, Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*, 228.

The states of *The Banjo Lesson* exhibited in 1893 are evidence that Cassatt showed the public the choices she made, one step at a time, to create a painterly print.[119] The *first state (Figure 7)*, is paired down with gestural lines. The entire composition is filled with dark gray ink. Two centrally composed female figures, a woman and a young girl, gather around a banjo. In the *second state* (Figure 8) the woman's hair is darkened and there is more detail in the clothes and facial expressions. The *third state* (Figure 9) changes, and Cassatt filled in the female figures faces, clothes, circumference of the banjo with pure flat brown ink. In the *fourth state,* (Figure 10) Cassatt placed pastel ink of baby blue and soft pink of the ladies' dresses. However, the blue and pink skirts trail off as if they were painted by a brush. Cassatt's emphasis on displaying what was usually hidden from viewers expresses her true aim; I argue that Cassatt displayed the transition from one state to the next not only to celebrate but also to show collectors, artists, and viewers that exploration was an important part of being an artist. Cassatt wrote to aspiring artist, Clarence Gihon, "Our profession is enslaved, it is up to us to set it free."[120] This quote is evidence that Cassatt both felt the confines of tradition and was determined to display an alternative in her work, as well as inspire other artists to do the same.

Cassatt sold various states of prints to either an individual collector or she sold differing states to separate collectors which is evidence that Cassatt was uninterested in picking a "final" variation of a print to circulate on the market. Cassatt sold multiple states of a print as a series to collectors which was tied to her process, evidence of aesthetic choices and labor. This suggests that Cassatt tied cultural value to her works by displaying creativity and its process.

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[119] Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Mary Cassatt: The Color Prints*. New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1990. 164.
[120] Mary Cassatt to Clarence Gihon, [September 1905], in Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.* 297.

Cassatt sold all three states of *Costume Study after Gavarni*, which was an etching, dry point, and aquatint, to collector, Robert Hartshorne. The *first state* (Figure 11) depicts a dark-haired woman in motion. The woman is wearing contemporary dress. The work is highly gestural, sketchy and parts of her dissolve into the light background. The *second state* (Figure 12) is flecked with aquatint which darkens the entire composition. The outlines of the dry point are less noticeable than the first state. In the *third state* (Figure 13) all detail like, depth, facial features, and hair are removed. The central figure is blurry, soft and haloed by the surrounding dark background. Cassatt toys with expectation that the work will both get more beautiful and improve toward the qualities decreed by salon standards like depth, detail, modeling, and instead Cassatt inverts expectation around progress and process.[121] Additionally, the fact that Cassatt sells these works in a series to a single collector is proof that Cassatt is a proponent of process. Cassatt is interested in expanding American collectors' understanding of fine art, that included new modes of thinking about art and unveiling hidden aspects of creation to collectors as a marketable tactic.[122] Cassatt wrote Theodate Pope, "you must remember that art is a great intellectual stimulus, & not reduce everything to a decorative plane."[123] This proves that Cassatt displayed and sold her unfinished prints to engage with the viewer and her choice to exhibit them in a series of process, at exhibition but also in a sale; this is evidence that Cassatt is making un-decorative art tangible for collectors and viewers. Cassatt's prints engaged with the viewer to see art as more than decoration for the wall.

[121] Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*.43.
[122] Found in the New York City Library Database.
[123] Mary Cassatt to Theodate Pope, [September 1903], in Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle*, 285.

Additionally, Cassatt sold her print *At the Dressing Table,* in three different states to three different collectors. The *first state* (Figure 14) was sold to Clarence Buckingham, which now belongs int the Art Institute of Chicago. The *third state* (Figure 15) was secured by Samuel Avery, which joined the New York Public Library collection; and fourth and final state was purchased by her client Harris Whittemore. [124] The *first state* depicts a contemporary woman sitting at her dressing table. the woman centrally composed is depicted without any facial features in a medium gray hue. Whereas the floor, frame of the mirror, table and parts on her dress are the lightest shade. The background is constructed with the darkest shade.[125] Samuel Avery's print, the *third state* is constructed on different paper, than the *first state.* The figure, features, hair, dress, objects and are all outlined in black ink. The work has more detail and a lamp has appeared on the dressing table, it was not in the *first state*. The *fourth state* and final state Cassatt constructed was purchased by Harris Whittemore. This work has more dimension than the other state. Cassatt has added a light highlight to the skirt, lamp, mirror, and parts of the woman's dress, and the woman's hair is filled in with dark ink. Although the transition from one state to the next is more expected, and follows traditional artistic principles, the sale of all these prints into separate collectors proves that Cassatt was uninterested in uniformity within her work. Instead, this is evidence that Cassatt treated each state as work of art that could stand alone. Cassatt sold standardize print series in both here set of ten color series and a twelve drypoint series,[126] it is more telling that Cassatt sold her prints in a variety of states to a single collectors

[124] Nancy Mowll Mathews, Marc Rosen, and Sarah Bertalan. *Mary Cassatt: Prints and Drawings from the Collection of Ambroise Vollard*. New York, NY: Adelson Galleries, 2008. 33.
[125] Buckingham's first state is one of three knowns of this impression in existence.
[126]Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle*. 305. Cassatt's twelve drypoint series was sold for $50.

and different states of a print to different collectors. [127] As seen in *Costume Study after Gavarni* and *At the Dressing Table* , Cassatt's graphic work is defiant of academic traditions within fine art. She sold, circulated unperfected prints and displayed the process of art creation to prominent American collectors.

Scholar Adelyn Breekskin in her book *Mary Cassatt: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Graphic Work* determined that Cassatt never listed her prints in an exhibition catalogue, labeled their state or signed her work until years later.[128] Breeskin interpreted this as a blunder from the artist. Antonia Lant, in "Purpose and Practice in French Avant-Garde Printmaking of the 1880s" pointed out that Pissarro was probably the first Impressionist to sign, number and mark the order of his prints.[129] Cassatt was not interested in labeling because every work was a creative exercise and regardless of state was completed to her.

Similar to Whistler, who marked his prints with a butterfly stamp, Cassatt signified her graphic work with a custom MC stamp in blue ink. Breekskin determined that Cassatt arbitrarily placed the stamp on different states from "finished" to a "primary state."[130] However, Nancy Mowll Mathews, Marc Rosen and Sarah Bertalan have disagreed in their book, *Mary Cassatt: prints and drawings from the collection of Ambroise Vollard*. They determined that a print which received a stamp identifies it as a complete state of a print. The inclusion of her stamp signifies not only it finished state but that the work embodied the aesthetics Cassatt aimed for.

[127] She also sold Robert Hartshorne the drawing *The Bath*, part of her color series.
[128] Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*. 31.
[129] Lant, "Purpose and Practice."18.
[130]Breeskin, Cassatt. *Mary Cassatt*. 31.

In Cassatt's drypoint *Repose,* both the fourth state as well as the *fifth state* received the Cassatt's blue stamp.[131] Although the *fourth* and the *fifth states* are similar; however the *fourth state* (Figure 16) lacks shading and contour lines. Cassatt was interested in crafting flat space with limited dimensionality. This work would meet those standards and thus receive a stamp.[132] Which is evidence that Cassatt was uninterested in uniformity. Even Cassatt's drypoint proof, *The Parrot* (Figure 17), at an early state received her blue stamp which resembles a sketch.[133] The woman holds a parrot with both hands. Her skirt is constructed with only a handful of lines, whereas her top is defined as both textured and stripped. The woman's facial features are soft, she looks at the bird unaware of the viewer. Her hair is constructed of singular strands, which is illuminated by a highlight on top of her head. Cassatt stamped this work because it met her stylistic qualifications. Cassatt said, "In drypoint you are down to the bare bones, you can't cheat"[134] which meant that drypoint was unforgiving and an artist had only one chance to mark the plate right. Drypoint is a measure of an artist drawing skill but also a measure of what an artist viewed as important in their work. The work displays her draw skill, which was an academic standard, and Cassatt's choice to intentionally reject expectations in high art. The limited gestural lines which form the skirt are telling of Cassatt's decision. She has pared down the idea of a skirt to a gestural oval. It is simple. It is refined and invites the viewer to attempt to trace and marvel at her artistic decisions. Cassatt's printmaking displays her artistic aim in elevating viewers' understanding around the role of the artist.

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[131] Mathews, Rosen, Bertalan. *Mary Cassatt.*85-56.
[132] Ibid.
[133]Mathews, Rosen, Bertalan. *Mary Cassatt.*86.
[134] Frederick A. Sweet, *Miss Mary Cassatt: Impressionist from Pennsylvania*. Norman, OK: University Of Oklahoma Press, 1966. 117

As an advisor and as a graphic artist Cassatt challenged idealism. She was a proponent of the gestural works in process and artwork that explored and mastered the medium. Her work also challenged tradition in how she revealed the unseen process of art making. Cassatt embraced and showcased her prints which expressed artistic choice, possible variation, her decisions and unexpected outcomes. She sold her work to collectors regardless of state, or within a series of states that displayed the start and outcome. Cassatt as a printmaker was intent on inviting collectors to understand process, craft, dedication to respect the cultural value of the role of the artist. Cassatt wrote Louisine of her print and said, "I hope that Durand-Ruel will put mine [prints] on the market at reasonable price. For nothing, I believe will inspire a taste for art more than the possibility of having it in the home."[135] This displays that Cassatt's goal was to foster and encourage taste in America and to accept modern esthetics. Although, the American poor could not afford Cassatt's prints, the middle class could.[136] Cassatt's prints offered high art to an American public for a reasonable price. Cassatt's graphic work exemplify the importance of creativity and new possibilities to a public, in order to prioritize and emphasized the modernist qualities which Cassatt pushed onto American collecting habits.[137] Based on her work creating, exhibiting, and selling prints she was disrupting the status-quo in print culture to validate artistic choice to the art world.

Impressionism and New York.

Marry Cassatt's brother, Alexander Cassatt was the wealthiest in his family and could afford a collection of repute. He was the seventh President of the Pennsylvania Railroad and

[135]Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty.* 284.
[136]Melot, Beamish. *The Impressionist Print*. 229.
[137] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."158.

asked his sister to advise his collection. He acquired over thirty Impressionistic works including: ten Monets, four Manets, four Pissarros, four Renoirs, three Degases, two Whistlers, a Morisot, a Courbet, a Guillaumin, a Raffaëlli, and several his sister's work.[138] However, Cassatt treated her brother's acquisitions gingerly and she recommended works that were more palatable for American taste. She wrote her brother "Did you get the photographs I send you? I only sent them to give you an idea of Degas style, I don't like to buy anything for you, without your having some idea of what it would be like."[139] Mary understood that Impressionistic works were unconventional additions to Gilded Age collections. Cassatt was aware of how his collection could impact his nuevo rich status. She recommended a Degas with appropriate subject matter for her brother's collection. A few months later, Mrs. Cassatt, Mary's mother wrote to her son, Aleck. She wrote,

> "Mary is keeping a lookout & whenever she sees anything of his or anyone else's which she thinks you would like at what she thinks reasonable prices she will buy them – She says she is afraid to order anything from Degas as he might make something so eccentric you might not like it." [140]

Mary avoided recommending artwork which could damage her brother's reputation and protected his collections' integrity. Mary successfully secured Degas' *The Ballet Class,* (Figure 18) for Aleck's collection in 1881 for 6,000 francs, a reasonable price. *The Ballet Class* depicts ballerinas at practice. A woman sits square in the foreground, waiting for practice to be over. She slides down her chair, immerse in her newspaper. The composition is cut by empty space in the center of the work, which segregates the ballerinas into two groups. This work embodies avant-garde esthetics like painterly qualities, a distortion of depth and inaccurate perspective. Degas

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[138] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."43.
[139] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*152.
[140] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*155.

work resembles Mary's own oil painting of her Mother *Reading Le Figaro.* The inclusion of *The Ballet Class* to an American collection was an modest and acceptable subject from the avant-garde. The soft qualities, subject matter, and pastel colors all appeal towards American taste. Two years later, Mary excitedly wrote Aleck that Impressionism was starting to gain momentum in the mainstream market. She wrote, "Monet is coming up, [Georges] Petit the man you bought your Raffaelli from, has gone to Monets pictures with a will, bought forty of them from Durand, & it seems refused 10,000 frcs for one ... so hold on to your Monet's, I am only sorry I did not urge you to buy more."[141] This is evidence that the art market by 1883 was beginning to buzz about Impressionism's potential as a marketable commodity.

Several years later, Impressionism was steadily gaining momentum in the market which caused the American Art Association to partner with Durand-Ruel to bring the First Impressionism Exhibition to the United States. Amidst France's stock market crash in 1882, Paul Durand-Ruel was teetering on financial ruin and decided to try the American market. Mary facilitated the connection between Durand and her brother, Alexander Cassatt. As well as her clients the Havemeyer's. Both let work to the exhibition. This section examines how Americans reacted to Impressionism and the successful tactics used by both Cassatt and Durand-Ruel to tempt American collectors to purchase Impressionism. Impressionism gained popularity with Gilded Age collections because the French deal applied Cassatt's tactic. He utilized comparing Impressionism stylistic tendencies to the Old Masters at exhibitions.

Mary wrote her brother following Durand's enthusiasm about the potential of the American market. She wrote, "he [Durand- Ruel] is going over to make arrangements --- Affairs

[141] Mary Cassatt to Alexander Cassatt, October 14, [1883], Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*172-3.

here he complains are at a standstill & he hopes to have better luck in America. I doubt it however." [142] Cassatt knew the American market was fond of established artforms and she did not expect the 1886 show to yield acceptance or acquisitions for the avant-garde. Early collectors of Impressionism were predominately French and either friends or family of the artists.[143] The only Americans who bought from the Impressionists early on were part of Cassatt's sphere of influence and fellow artist, and advisor, J. Alden Weir's client financier Erwin Davis.[144]

Durand-Ruel borrowed works from Alexander Cassatt, Erwin Davis, and H.O. Havemeyer's collection.[145] Both Cassatt's brother, Aleck and the Havemeyers had been guided by Mary to accept and collect French avant-garde early. Aleck's *The Ballet Class,* which Mary had secured for her brother, in five years earlier, was displayed at 1886, Impressionism exhibition in America. [146] Forty-three crates, around $81,799 of work traveled across the Atlantic to Manhattan. The exhibition opened April 10th and showed 289 paintings, pastels, and watercolors by the Impressionists.[147] Like Cassatt predicted, the exhibition received had mixed reviews. The *Brooklyn Eagle* announced, following the opening, "There are a few good pictures, but they are the ones that are not impressionistic, and the mass of contributions look amazingly as if painted in a lunatic asylum." [148] This is proof that America was conflicted about Impressionism and felt strongly about the stylistic change from classical works to the avant-

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[142] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*195.
[143] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."100. More information about early collectors of Impressionism found there. Like Ernest Hoschedé, Baptiste Faure, Charles Ephrussi, Charles Deudon and Léon Clapisson
[144] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."101. – more information on Erwin Davis. Davis was advised buy Impressionism through J. Alden Weir, American painter, printmaker, and advisor.
[145] Patry, Sylvie, and Anne Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the Modern Art Market*. London ;New Haven: National Gallery Co :Distributed by Yale University Press, 2015.142-3
[146] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*, 72. Robert Cassatt to Alexander Cassatt, April 18, 1881, in Mathews 1984, 160-161 and Boggs et al. 1988, 335.June 18, 1881
[147] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism.* 218.
[148] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism.*143. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 11 April 1886, p.2.

garde. The exhibition earned $18,000 worth of pictures and Durand-Ruel had to pay $5,500 in import duties.[149] It was a modest sum in comparison to what the AAA usually generated. During the same year, Sutton and Kirby sold Mary J. Morgan's collection at auction which drew $885,000 in one evening.[150] American buyers were not tempted by the first American exhibition of Impressionism.[151]

Berthe Morisot's *Woman at her Toilette*, (Figure 19) which was one of the few works to elude criticism. A reviewer wrote, "*Woman at her Toilette* is considered by many to be the finest picture here."[152] I argue that the reason why the Morisot was so beloved was because of its swirls of color, light, soft textures and whimsical female figure. Morisot's work does have modernistic qualities such as, distorted perspective and painterly brushstrokes. However, I argue that the pastel color pallet was familiar to an American audience as it resembled the celebrated Rococo. This work was part of Cassatt's own collection. And she sold it to American artist, William Merritt Chase, following the exhibition. This sale displays Cassatt's tactic of appealing American taste through an in-between artwork, which both holds traditional collecting elements while also expressing modern ones.

Other Americans, Erwin Davis, and Henry O. Havemeyer also bought works from the exhibition, but both collectors had previously acquired works by Impressionists. Henry Havemeyer purchased Manet's *Le Saumon* for 15,000 francs which was around $750.[153] The avant-garde became part of American collections partly due to Cassatt's prodding. Regardless of

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[149] Sweet, Miss Mary Cassatt Impressionist from Pennsylvania 106
[150] Ott. "How New York Stole the Luxury Art Market."134. Forty-nine works were sold to Americans.
[151] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,*143. The exhibition was open for two weeks and then relocated to the National Academy of Design, for a month
[152] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,* 260.
[153] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,* 244.

its outcome, Durand-Ruel remembered, that "Without America, I would have been lost, ruined, after having bought so many Monets and Renoirs. The two exhibitions there in 1886 saved me.

The American public bought moderately, it is true, but thanks to that public Monet and Renoir were enabled to live and after that, the French public followed suit."[154]Although the exhibition was not a success it did expose American buyers to the avant-garde and kept Durand-Ruel in business. Initially, the aesthetics of Impressionism struggled to attract wealthy American buyers. The Impressionist exhibition in 1886, was a flop and did little to improve Impressionism's standing with the American audience. The following year, Durand Ruel tried again with the second Impressionism exhibition in America and earned $9,870. [155] The prices for the works ranged from $255 to $2,400.[156]The revenue from the second exhibition was discouraging. American collectors were not interested in investing in the avant-garde which had such little cost which was a negative quality for American Industrialist collectors. Additionally, the avant-garde lacked the timelessness of ratified academic work and Old Masters. In the late 1880s, Durand-Ruel implemented Cassatt's tactic of connecting Impressionism with the Old Masters. At future American exhibitions, Durand- Ruel would predominantly exhibit Barbizon and Old Master such as Rubens, Hals, Rembrandt, de Hooch and others works alongside a limited number of impressionistic works.[157] The tactic was successful in fortifying the relationship between Impressionism and fine art in the eyes of the American elite. Less than a decade later Impressionism gained momentum and was considered a suitable purchase for

[154] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*,115.
[155] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,*146. The art Amateur, Col. 17/no.1, June 1887, p2.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism, 148,*151.

American Industrialists.[158] Durand-Ruel had confirmed that by 1895, 300 Monets were in America.[159]

In 1891, Durand-Ruel exhibited a series of Monet's haystack paintings. Almost all the paintings were bought by American collectors, and the majority by Cassatt's clients. One of the reasons, the 1891 show was a success was because Cassatt encouraged and educated her clients, who then purchased the bulk of Monet's haystacks.[160] This is evidence that Monet's work is more approachable for Americans buyers than other Impressionists. Monet's work embodied avant-garde aesthetics while simultaneously accompanied by soft forms and colors. Monet's work strongly resembled decorative motifs which were comfortable for American collectors.[161] The results of the 1891 show demonstrates that certain types of Impressionism started to solidify as a desired commodity on the market.[162]

Initiating the Modern Nude in America.

Industrialist collectors were responsible for elevating America's cultural standing and felt the pressures of choosing correctly. They worked with connoisseurs, advisors, dealers, studied catalogs, traveled, learned, and spent their time and fortunes to establish a collection worth remembering. This section will assess the qualities of an academic nude. Purchasing a nude

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[158] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,*148.
[159] Patry, Robbins. *Inventing Impressionism,* 280. – In an 1985 letter to a unknown recipient, Durant-Ruel estimated that over 300 Monets were in American. 3 March 1895, ADR Letterbook. For Monet reception in American, See Deisenhofer, 1984 and Zarafran, Newwork 2007, pp. 81-151
[160]Corey. "Mary Cassatt." 51. The Palmers of bought nine, and the Havemeyers, Whittemores, and Popes each bought two.
[161] Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer, [September 8th, 1918] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*331. Monet's work that his work was the best. Cassatt had described Monet's work as "glorified wallpaper.
[162] Corey. "Mary Cassatt." 101. Other American buyers included: Cyrus Lawrence, George Seney, William Loring Andrews, Albert Spenceere, Desmond Fitzgerald, William H. Fuller and A. W. Kindman. J. Alden Weir, recommended that Davis buy Manets, Degases, Monets, and Pissarros from Durand- Ruel early on.

artwork, even the academic nude, was a challenging for conventional Gilded Age American collectors. As an advisor, Cassatt educated several of her clients to acquire nude works.

During the period, Anthony Comstock served as secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice (NYSSC) and inspector for the US Postal Service between 1872 and 1915.[163] Comstock was responsible for removing obscene images and for perusing criminal charges. Throughout his career he removed over 3,000,000 immoral pictures and postcards, 700 offensive paintings, 88,000 dirty newspaper advertisements and more.[164] Comstock brought criminal charges against August Muller, art dealer at Bonaventure Gallery, and Edmund Knoedler, esteemed New York dealer from Knoedler and Co. for distributing obscene images.[165] Both Muller and Knoedler had sold small reproductions of celebrated academic art, such as Alexandre Cabanel's *Birth of Venus* and William-Adolphe Bouguereau's *Nymphs and Satyr*. [166] Comstock determined that small reproductions of the famous nude works were offensive and lude. Regardless of Comstock's feeling about the smaller reproductions he refused to bring charges against the New York collectors who owned the original works, because he thought the original painting were high art. This proves the nuanced nature of the nude in America and the precarious relationship of the nude to dealers, buyers, and advisors.

The quintessential French academic nude was considered to be Cabanel's *The Birth of Venus. (Figure 20)* As a mythological work, *The Birth of Venus* depicts a nude goddess of love, which shielded the work from impropriety and christened the work as academic as well as the

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[163] Amy Werbel, "The Crime of the Nude: Anthony Comstock, the Art Students League of New York, and the Origins of Modern American Obscenity." *Winterthur Portfolio* 48, no. 4 (2014): 250. https://doi.org/10.1086/679370.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Amy Werbel, "The Crime of the Nude." 264.
[166] Ibid.

collector who owned it. American John Wolf commissioned Cabanel just a couple of years before the Comstock raids in 1875 to construct *The Birth of Venus* for his collection. The work was given and displayed to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1893. The Metropolitan's exhibition of *The Birth of Venus* signifies that the artwork met the standards within the American art world and that the museum was proud to display it to a larger American public, regardless of Comstockery.

A hairless, pale, and idealized nude Venus lays on top of the sea. Her dark hair wraps around her and flows into the water. Venus awakens and stretches one arm overhead and the other rests by her face. The goddess had her eyes closed which allows a viewer to survey her body. Waves break around her as putti signal her arrival. The background has an expressive pastel sky whereas the foreground depicts the calm gentle ocean that supports the body of the waking goddess. The artist's choice to rendered Venus, who was recognized by her nudity, sheds light on the nuanced relationship between the female nude in academic art compared to other tabooed female nudes, like the contemporary nude and the Acadian nude. If a work was titled "Venus", any female, idealized, reclining nude would meet academic standards, like Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, which does not depict a goddess "Venus", but instead a courtesan masquerading as her. If a nude was not of a mythological subject or historical narrative the woman would be assumed to be a member of the lower classes. Placing a non-mythological nude into American collections was even more challenging.

Another academic artist, who depicted the mythological nude was Jean Baptiste Camille Corot. Corot struggled to consistently achieve acceptance at the salon, his landscape paintings were abundant in American collections. Given Americans obsession with landscape throughout

the 19th century, this is expected. More surprising is the fact that his mythological nudes which managed to make their way, on Cassatt's recommendations, into the collection of several of her clients. The mythological nude seen in both the Havemeyer collection as well as that of Colonel Oliver Payne, financier and retired civil war Colonel's collection, indicates Cassatt's impact on the reception of the academic nude into her clients' collections, and eventually, nudes which defied both academic stylistic techniques and conventional mythologizing narratives altogether.

French dealers were confident Corot's landscapes would sell in the American market. Isabella Stewart Gardner's husband, Jack Gardner who was a prominent Boston Brahman and was more conservative in his purchases than his wife. Jack bought Corot's provincial landscape *Noonday* in 1880 for $1,500 or roughly over $35,000 today, at a Boston gallery, Doll & Richards. Corot's work traveled from France to Boston, in the hopes it would be tantalizing to a member of Boston's moneyed classes. This signifies the marketability and the dealers' reassurance landscape painting would succeed with American consumers. Like Jack Gardner, Henry Clay Frick bought several Corot landscapes. Frick's purchases were the epitome of an established taste who relied on the academic standard set forth by the salon. His collection included contemporary French academic work, the Rococo, English portraiture, and Old Masters. Frick acquired four salon approved Corot landscapes to his collection in 1889, 1899, 1903, and 1906. Corot landscapes in both Gardner and Frick's collection does indicate American collectors' affinity for landscape painting. However, Cassatt advised her clients to went acquiring Corot's academic nudes.

The Havemeyer's purchased two mythological nude works by Corot in 1897 and 1901 both of which depicted Greek Maenads, the female followers of Dionysus. They paid 31,500

francs to Durand-Ruel to secured Corot's *Bacchante by the Sea*, (Figure 21*)* which depicts a reclining maenad, a follower of Bacchus. She lying on a leopard skin which is iconographically associating her with the cult of Dionysus. She faces the sea, unaware she is being watched by the viewer. Her idealized body is positioned and presented to the viewer. The maenad is the focus of the composition, while the foreground is brushy and seemingly unfinished, and the background is lazily constructed with a white capped sea, a loose backlit tree, and a muted sky. The Havemeyer's also bought an unfinished *Bacchante in Landscape* (Figure 22*)* which is closely related to the other work but likely unfinished according to analysis by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Both*, Bacchante by the Sea* and *Bacchante in Landscape* although from an artist accepted by the salon are not strong examples of academic aesthetics, despite their classical subject matter. Both paintings lack accurate perspective, unseen brushstrokes, and naturalistic modeling, and *Bacchante in Landscape* was particularly sketchy and unresolved as a picture. The inclusion of Corot's nudes into the Havemeyer's collection is evidence of Cassatt's tactic succeeding. Cassatt's recommendations appeal to American leanings. Corot's mythological nudes are both academic and express impressionistic aesthetics. This is evidence of Cassatt tactic to American collectors. The work encompasses both academic authority and modern aesthetics. The inclusion of these mythological nudes into the Havemeyer collection indicates a comfortability with owning an academic nude, which was appropriate for European collections and American Museums but was avoided in American private collections. The Havemeyer's inclusion of a Corot's nude proves not only the impact Cassatt had on their collection but their defiance of American collecting habits. The Corot nudes simultaneously signifies that the Havemeyer's

chose to acquire works with academically approved subject matter. rebelled against the sanctioned aesthetics within the traditions of high art.

Colonel Oliver Payne, who was the Havemeyers' neighbor, became Cassatt's client. Before seeking Cassatt's advice, Payne's collection was modest and conformed to the archetypal American collection. However, during the same year the Havemeyer's bought the Corot nudes, Payne followed his neighbors lead and bought two mythological nudes, *Bacchante with a Panther* and *Venus Clipping Cupid's Wings* from Corot.[167] Although depicting traditional subject matter, either a nude maenad and a nude Venus, these works were shielded from impropriety because of their relationship to salon authority, where still rare for private American collections and utilized unsanctioned stylist approaches to the art. The inclusion of mythological nudes to both the Havemeyer's collection and Payne's collection, may express collector's ambivalence about Cassatt's recommendations or their hesitation to stray too far from convention. Both the Havemeyer's and Payne dipped into salacious subject matter for American collectors, through works which maintain salon authority but fail to represent salon approved stylistic conventions.

Although conventional American collecting habits reveled in American landscape painting. Cassatt did not recommend the genre to her clients' collections.

For example, when her client, Stillman expressed surprise that Cassatt's prized Havemeyer collection did not own a single American landscape, which was unlike most postbellum Gilded Age art collections. Cassatt wrote Louisine about the interaction "He wonders you don't have any American landscapes in your collection. I try to make him understand that we have produced nothing original as yet, and that copies of other are not the finest things."[168]

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[167] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*, 172-173.
[168] Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer [January 9th 1912.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*307.

Cassatt recommended art which broaden American collecting habits. She encouraged collectors to buy work which at times, was challenging but resembled something appealing to American conventions, although she did not endorse American landscapes because its relationship to English picturesque traditions. Cassatt did recommend impressionistic landscape painting and work which included two genres. Works like Monet's *On the Bank of the Seine* could be understood to be both contemporary genre scene and landscape. She encouraged her clients the Palmers of Chicago, to purchase Monet's *On the Bank of the Seine, Bennecourt* (Figure 23) which depicts a woman seated by the river. Monet's work is painterly and uses big swathes of pure color. The sky is represented with a pure cornmeal blue. Flowers are represented on the bank with yellow and white pain smears. The houses along the riverbank are reflected in the water. This work Corey had stated is neither a contemporary work nor a true landscape, and so is emblematic of Cassatt's recommendations.[169] This work is evidence of the type of landscape Cassatt is advocating for. It is contemporary, it is a landscape and has a female figure.

Cassatt sold Monet's Springtime (Figure 24) from her own collection to Henry Walters. S*pringtime* depicts a contemporary woman, wearing a pink dress, sitting in a landscape. She is wrapped in a landscape. The branches, trees and grass are expressive. The various shades of green in the background and foreground disrupt and disorient the viewer's perception of space. The figure reads her book. This work is an example of a continued motif in Impressionists' circles of women reading undisturbed. This work is also an example of two genres being displayed in a painting. This work is neither a contemporary scene or a landscape. Cassatt will

[169] *The Artist's House at Argenteuil* (1873, W 284), which they bought in 1891 and returned by 1894. See Wildenstein 2001. 141.

utilize American fondness of landscape and realism to implant both the pastoral nude and the contemporary nude.

Landscape, The Gateway to the Contemporary Nude.

As an advisor, Cassatt promoted works that were simple and pared down. She advised her clients to "collect American," which was a direct rejection of beauty, academic traditions, and European collecting habits. In Roger Gilman's article "American Tastes in Painting" he described early Republic taste as democratic, homely, crude, simple, casual, and aligned with realism.[170] Gilman argued that although American artists traveled abroad, they were unimpacted by the trends of Europe. This is evidence of an innate relationship in the American consciousness with realism which was essential in Mary Cassatt's advising and artistic career. Cassatt was bold and direct with the works and genres she liked and didn't like; however, at times, especially with controversial work, Cassatt taught her clients to value and offered work which elements that were both comfortable to American Taste and broadened it. Cassatt educated American collectors and patiently changed American taste. Cassatt targeted American Gilded Age collector's affinity with landscape painting to implement the pastoral nude into American collections, as a step toward the contemporary nude.

Although the academic mythological nude met the salon's endorsement most conventional American collectors shied away from acquiring any nudes. Academic nudes usually captured a modest idealized female with a downcast gaze, accurate perspective, and realistic modeling. The academic nude was acceptable for collectors in America but the contemporary

[170] Roger Gilman, "American Tastes in Painting", 7 Works titled *Corn-Husker*, *Raffling the Goose*, or *Ringing the Pig* were common subjects part of the early Republic.

nude, which depicted contemporary subjects and modernist aesthetics, was controversial. The Museum of Fine Arts Boston in 1879 voted to use ceramic fig leaves to cover nudity on artwork.[171] Just ten years later Henry Marquand, President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and American financier, donated fifty paintings, none which depicted a nude, to the institution. Cynthia Saltzman in her book *Old Masters, New World* claimed that Henry Clay Frick, industrialist collector, never purchased a single nude.[172] This is evidence that conventional American collectors were uncomfortable with purchasing nude artworks. Despite American attitudes, other than Corot, Cassatt was successful in placing several nudes in her clients' collections. Cassatt recognized that non-mythological nudes were an unattainable acquisition for most American collectors at the time. She wrote to Louisine Havemeyer and said, "Degas's art is for the very few. I cannot believe that many would care for the nude I have. Those things are for painters and connoisseurs."[173] Cassatt knew the challenges inserting a "vulgar" nude into American collections. Regardless, she successfully placed mythological nudes and continued to inch collectors toward more daring acquisitions, like the pastoral nude and the contemporary nude.

Following Manet's death in 1883, *Olympia* entered the market, and it was rumored that it would be purchased by an American collector.[174] The work triumphed anti-salon esthetics and

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[171] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 76. More information about nudes.
[172] Frick did acquire a mythological figurine, later in his collecting career in 1916. Barely a foot tall, the little bronze statuette from the sixteenth century depicts a screaming woman, in the *Venus Pudica* posture, one hand covers her breast and the other covers her pubic region. The figurine is believed to be the biblical figure Suzanne, who was propositioned and surprised by peering elders or the goddess of the hunt Dianna who realizes she is being spied on by Actaeon. Regardless, this figurine would have been an appropriate buy for a capitalist, acquiring European treasures.
[173] Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer.
[174] K. Adler, B. Weinberg, and E. E. Hirshler. *Americans in Paris 1860- 1900*. London, UK: National Gallery, 2006. 207.

subject matter while simultaneously vilifying hypocrisy within society, both in the art world and in contemporary life. Monet was irate and rallied his countrymen to keep Manet's best work in France. In 1889, he raised 20,000 francs and bought *Olympia* back for the nation. Cassatt wrote Pissarro and said, "I wish it had gone to America."[175] This deeply impacted Cassatt not only to implement and enumerate nudes into American collections but caused tension between her and the French Impressionists. She was the only member of the Impressionists who did not donate to the cause and did not support France holding on to the contemporary nude.[176] Regardless of how important Cassatt viewed the contemporary nude and how determined she was for it to accompany established American collections, Cassatt pivoted and negotiated with American taste, encouraging her clients to purchase work of a nude in a landscape, the pastoral nude.

The image of vast untapped lands signified American values and distinguished it from the visual representations of Europe. Americans had a history with and affinity toward American landscape painting and, despite European influences, landscape painting maintained a constant in the American market.[177] In order to place the contemporary nude into American Industrialist's collections, Cassatt appealed to America's fondness of the landscape.

Cassatt's clients, the Havemeyer's, were her most unconventional collectors. Louisine Havemeyer recounted seeing a Courbet nude with Cassatt for the first time in her memoir *Sixteen to Sixty*,

> "I listened to her with such attention as we stood before his pictures and I never forgot it. She led me to a lovely nude, the woman drawing the cherry branch down before her face, and I recall her saying to me: 'Did you ever see such flesh painting? Look at that bosom,

[175] Mary Cassatt to Camille Pissarro [November 27th 1889.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*213.
[176] Adler, Hirshler. *Americans in Paris.* 207. which created tension between the French Impressionists and Cassatt, the only American.
[177]Gilman. "American Tastes in Painting."7.

> it lives, it is almost *too* real! The Parisians don't care for him. You must have one of his nude half- lengths someday."[178]

Cassatt introduced Louisine to Courbet's work. She empathized Courbet's realistic qualities and France's disinterest in his work. Cassatt previously fortified the link between Courbet and Rembrandt, establishing its desirability to an American market.

This section will examine the qualities of Courbet's nudes. Courbet's pastoral nudes are typically located in dark and wild landscapes. His works differ from the other nudes in a landscape during the Gilded Age. Although many American artists avoided representing the nude, artists from the Art Students League of New York such as Kenyon Cox, did render the nude. Cox's pastoral nudes typically use vague mythological symbolism to shield the work from impropriety. However, his works do not have clearly labeled or define mythological subjects, which would completely protect it from controversy. They are ambiguous. Alternatively, Courbet's nudes differ from common nudes in a landscape by not use any mythological symbolism or flooding the scene with light. Instead, Courbet's landscapes are dark and mysterious. Courbet's stylistic choice to depict a dark, muted, strange landscape; can be interpreted as challenging the typical stylistic tenancies associated with a nude woman in a landscape. Depictions of a nude women in a landscape are affiliated with the ideals of innocence and virginity. However, Courbet negates these ideals by painting an unusual and discomforting landscape, which makes it impossible to associate his figures with innocence.

Courbet's *Nude with a Flowering Branch* (Figure 25) depicts an amber-haired woman in a close and cropped composition. Her body dominates the foreground, from head to pubis, and diagonally spans the majority of the canvas. The figure's pubic area meets the edge of the

[178] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*,190. Taste 36

canvas. Her unidealized body is laid bare to the viewer as she meets the audience's gaze in the wilderness. Her arms are lifted above her head, holding on to a blossoming branch. The background is muted and vegetal. Courbet's work does not depict an idealized beauty but rather a woman in a landscape. Courbet omits typical mythological or historical context. The lack of narrative references gives birth to a new type of nude, a pastoral nude. The viewers of the painting could be left confused because of its lack of context. This work is not as controversial as Manet's *Olympia* and not as conventional as Cabanel's *Birth of Venus.* It is somewhere in-between. This is evidence of Cassatt's tactic. She recommended work that shared aspects of appropriate taste while the work simultaneously embodied modernist aesthetics. Cassatt used this as a tactic to appeal and broaden American taste. Cassatt recommended realism. Louisine recalled learning about Courbet and said,

> "As usual, I owe it to Miss Cassatt that I was able to see the Courbets. She took me there, explained Courbet to me, spoke of the great painter in her flowing, generous way, called my attention to his marvelous execution, to his color, above all to his realism, to that poignant, palpitating medium of truth though which he sought expression."[179]

This indicates that Cassatt was advocating for Courbet's works because of his embrace of realism and unidealized landscape.

Louisine, purchased her first nude, Courbet's *Nude with a Flowering Branch in* 1882. She knowingly defied her husband's wish not to collect nudes and acquired it anyway. Louisine purchased the work for $1,800 from Durand-Ruel. Upon seeing the Courbet, Mr. Havemeyer immediately returned it. She recounted the incident in her memoir,

> "I begged Mr. Havemeyer to buy the picture, not to hang it in our gallery lest the anti-nudists should declare a revolution and revise our Constitution, but just to keep it in America, just that such a work should not be lost to the future generations nor to the

[179] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*,190.

> students who might with its help, and that of other pictures, someday give a national art to their own country."[180]

Louisine Havemeyer purchased the work not just for her own collection but future generations.

The following day Henry Havemeyer repurchased *Nude with a Flowering Branch* for his wife, but they agreed to keep the work not in the main gallery. Cassatt endorsed works with contemporary subjects and modern aesthetics.[181] Both Louisine and Henry Havemeyer knew the work was polemic in nature. After weighing the consequences, they added a pastoral nude to their collection, fully aware of the tension between "appropriate nudes", like their Corot and those that were somewhere in the middle, like the Courbet nudes.

Louisine Havemeyer, with Cassatt's encouragement, acquired the largest collection of Courbet nudes. She bought *The Woman in the Waves* in 1893, *Woman with a Parrot* in 1898, *The Source in* 1916, and *The Young Bather* in 1917. All of Courbet's nudes are unidealized. The figures have splotchy textured skin, are hairy, with fleshy bodies. While the woman in *Nude with a Flowering Branch* gazed out toward the viewer, the rest of the nudes either direct their gaze down or off into the distance.

The Source (Figure 26) depicts a woman from behind. She is standing calf deep, in a small pool, in an undefined landscape. She faces an obscure waterfall with her backside to the viewer. Her hair is wet and gathers by her neck. A gestural forest is in the background. However, the woman seems to be completely at home here. Although she is exposed to the elements, she is

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[180]Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*,196.

[181] Corey. "Mary Cassatt."37. Alicia Faxon observed in "Painter and Patron: Collaboration of Mary Cassatt and Louisine Havemeyer," Courbet's socialist politics were at odds with the Havemeyers' status as conservative American millionaires, they still acquired several of his depictions of workers and, even more radically, his sensual nudes.

contented and compatible with the untamed wilderness.[182] *The Young Bather* composition depicts the nude frontally, it expresses the same image of a contented woman in the forest. *The Young Bather* (Figure 27*)* depicts a woman at the river's edge. She holds on to a tree limb to steady herself as she dips a toe into the stream. Her nude body is rendered as realistic, fleshy, imperfect. A winding river and lush forest are in the background. Courbet's figure seems to be idly enjoying her time in the landscape. Both *Young Bather* and *The Source* depict simple scenes of women in the wilderness. The figures are strong, unidealized, and the women and the landscape are synonymous in their essence and power. These works follow early Republican trends in American art, which celebrated simple forms, unidealized figures and banal scenes. Cassatt encouraged a rejection of idealism for reality, which was inherently part of the American identity.

Although Cassatt was a proponent of realism, American artists were guided by established taste. American artists rarely depicted a nude, but if they did paint a nude, it was in the French fashion. American artists idealized the nude and used mythological symbolism. William Jacob Baer, an American painter, titled his nude *Nymph* (Figure 28). The work depicts an idealized woman sitting on the bank of a river. She gazes downriver and dangles her feet at the water's edge. The figure takes up most of the foreground, and she is displayed in profile view. The landscape is well-lit. Several figures are performing a ritual in the background. This work is a typical example of the American nude. Cassatt was successful in educating her clients to collect contemporary nudes. Regardless of American attitudes surrounding the nude, several

[182] Patrick McCaughey. "Native and Nomad: Winslow Homer and John Singer Sargent." *Daedalus* 116, no. 1 (1987): 133–53. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20025089.140-44 Information about tradition in American landscape painting and women depicted in the landscape.

of Mary Cassatt's clients had acquired them. Louisine wrote in her memoir, "I think I know most of Courbet's nudes, they are realistic and frank, but never vulgar; he never even, like that crushing cynic Degas, treats them with brutal force nor reveals the degradation of their class."[183] There was a perceived difference between nudes from Courbet's and the nudes Degas painted during the period. Although Louisine felt Degas's contemporary nudes were vulgar, she purchased over five. Stillman collected a contemporary nude and the Palmers owned Degas' *Morning Bath*. *The Morning Bath*, (Figure 29) displays a lower-class woman, in the moment when she releases her towel to get into a bathtub. The work is painterly and displays several banal objects of the contemporary which forges the work as indexical of the period and polemic. The figure is clearly not Venus or some other historical woman. She is a real woman in a real space, which makes this artwork inappropriate for American collectors. The contemporary nude in American was a challenging recommendation and acquisition for both Cassatt and her clients. At the end of her life Cassatt offered her nude by Degas to Louisine. None of Cassatt's family would inherit it because of its bold nature. Cassatt wrote "I would like a museum to buy it but none of ours would dream of such a thing." [184] The contemporary nude was not accepted in the museum space and was an unacceptable item for great American collectors. Additionally, with Comstock's control over obscene images made Cassatt's efforts to place the contemporary nude into her clients' collections even more impressive. Cassatt's clients were fully aware of the ramifications of owning a nude that the public was not ready for, and some, like the Havemeyers, stowed their controversial works in their private gallery until the works were better understood.

[183] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*, 198.
[184] Mary Cassatt to Louisine Havemeyer [December 28th 1917.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*330.

Cassatt's tactic to appeal to American collectors' love of landscape painting to initiate the pastoral nude was successful. It was a pivotal step for American collectors to acquire more controversial works like the contemporary nude. Cassatt's advice, education and artistic opinions did impact her clients' purchases. Her clients' acquisitions challenged conventional taste, and many pioneered purchasing artworks that the American public was uncomfortable with and unable to appreciate. Cassatt advised American collectors to purchase artwork that needed to be acquired for the future good of the American art world.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Cassatt's Impact on American Taste

Cassatt reshaped American collections and American consciousness to accept more than the Impressionist movement but to also prioritize modernist values. Cassatt intended to alter conventional American collecting habits. She pushed collectors, during the many years she worked with them, to regard an artist as a creator instead of a technician who conformed to academic standards. She taught her advisees to value artistic freedom, process, and the importance of experimentation. Her recommendations and lessons soon seeped into American millionaires' private collections and ultimately amalgamated with public institutions.

The Havemeyers proved to be Cassatt's most eager students. In Louisine's memoir she wrote, "You long to know why we put so much money into a picture, when we might have had a gorgeous academic, an imposing English portrait, or some splendid eastern scene for the same price. I answer art, art, art. You must feel it."[185] Cassatt's teaching and guidance had a profound influence on the Havemeyer's consciousness. They both learned how to appreciate art not for its notoriety, but for the works' aesthetic and intellectual qualities. The Havemeyer's were members of the top fifty richest people in the United States. They had the financial capital to buy any artwork. They collected divergent work compared to conventional collecting habits in America. The Havemeyers weighed their decisions carefully and ultimately purchased works which were

[185] Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty,*239

problematic to their reputations. Louisine remembered purchasing Manet's *The Dead Christ with Angels*. In her memoir, *Sixteen to Sixty*, she recounted

> "When my husband bought it, I knew it was not suitable for our gallery, but I felt if it once left our shores it would never return to America, so to please me Mr. Havemeyer bought it, saying as he gave it to me: "I really do not know what you will do with it." I hung it in various places in our home." [186]

Louisine acquired the work not to hang in her gallery but to hold on to it for when America was ready, just like she had done with Courbet's nudes. She said she only donated the work, "When Manet was better understood" [187] and that when they did, she "sent it to the Metropolitan Museum."[188] Cassatt's clients understood their role in shaping American taste. Louisine was confident that elites as well as the public would eventually understand and value modern works. The Havemeyer's listened, learned, and collected work based on Cassatt's principles but acquiring this type of work did have more than a financial cost.

Henry Havemeyer suffered two rejections from the Metropolitan's administrative board.[189] The invitation and acceptance to the Metropolitan's board was a mark of taste and status. Great American collectors like Henry Marquand, J. P Morgan and Samuel Avery were part of the administration.[190] Marquand was celebrated as, "the greatest collector in America because he collects not for himself alone, but for people and for all the world."[191] This is evidence that collectors who had conventional taste were championed by the public and by the

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[186] Havemeyer. *Sixteen to Sixty,*236.
[187] Havemeyer. *Sixteen to Sixty,* 237.
[188] Havemeyer. *Sixteen to Sixty,* 237.
[189] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 126..
[190] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*39-40. Financier, Marquand was selected as the second president in 1890. He donated some fifty works to the museum which included an impressive roster of Old Masters and included Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna*, Jan Van Eyck's *Lamentation*, and the first Vermeer to the United States *Young Woman With a Water Pitcher*, joined the Metropolitan's collection.
[191] Alfred Trumble in *The Collector*, Quoted in Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,*40.

Metropolitan as having good taste.[192] Henry Clay Frick became a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and served for a decade from 1909 to 1919.[193] This indicates that even new money like Henry Clay Frick could achieve admission to the Metropolitan's board if the collector had an exquisite collection that conformed to conventional American taste. Although the Havemeyers donated $10,000 to keep the museum open on Sundays, lent both their Japanese works and Tiffany glass and had purchased eight Rembrandts in the course of five years with the intention of donating them to the Metropolitan, Henry was not accepted on to the board.[194] He never received the jury's approval which would have confirmed his place with other great American collectors at one of the most prestigious Museums in America. Samuel Coleman, who had previously been Henry's art adviser when he was a more conservative collector said, "Mr. Havemeyer is a hard man to get along with! --- though very knowing."[195] Marquand agreed, "fear he won't do."[196] The dialogue between Coleman and Marquand indicates that the disagreeable nature of the Havemeyer collection caused friction between him and other leaders of American taste. The nature of the Havemeyer's collection prevented him from meeting the acceptance of established taste and a board position. Cassatt herself had to defend the Havemeyer collection on multiple occasions. She wrote the daughter of her clients, Theodate Pope:

> "As to the Havemeyer collection about which you feel so strongly, I consider they are doing a great work for the country in spending so much time & money in bringing together such works of art. You say "no collection can be interesting as a whole"--- There again you are thinking of decoration, but I know two Frenchmen who are thinking of a

[192] Holler, Klose-Ullmann. "Art Goes America."101. J. P. Morgan was President from 1904 until his death in 1913 and when he died, he donated $40 million to the Metropolitan and to The Morgan Library & Museum for the public's enjoyment.
[193] Holler,Klose- Ullmann. "Art Goes America," 101
[194] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 126.
[195] Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 126.
[196]Saltzman. *Old Masters, New World,* 126.

> journey to New York, *solely* to see the Havemeyer collection because only there can they see what they consider the finest modern pictures in contact with the finest old Masters, pictures which time has consecrated & only there can they study the influences which went to form the Modern School, or at least only there see the result."[197]

Cassatt viewed the Havemeyer's collection as a triumph. Together, Cassatt and the Havemeyers successfully fixed the visual link between the aesthetics of the Old Masters and the Impressionists across the Atlantic. Cassatt hoped to build an understanding around artistic freedom and an affinity for realism.

As an advisor and through her graphic work Cassatt guided her clients to collect modernism. Cassatt's clients donated their private collections to public institutions these include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Art, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago and many others. Over one thousand objects are part of American national museums because of Cassatt's influential role as an art advisor. She taught Gilded Age American collectors to value, house and donate avant-garde works for the future art world of America.

[197] Mary Cassatt to Theodate Pope [September 1903.] Cassatt, Mathews. *Cassatt and Her Circle.*286.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Figure 1: Rembrandt, *Self- Portrait*, 1658. Oil on canvas. 52 5/8 x 40 7/8 in. (133.7 x 103.8 cm) The Frick Museum.



Figure 2: Thomas Gainsborough, *Mrs. Peter William Baker,* 1781. Oil painting, 89 5/8 x 59 3/4 in. (227.6 x 151.8 cm.) The Frick Museum.



Figure 3: Johannes Vermeer, Girl. *Interrupted at Her Music*, 1660-1. Oil on canvas, 39.3 x 44.4 cm. (15 1/2 x 17 1/2 in.) The Frick Museum.



Figure 4: Edgar Degas, *Rehearsal of Ballet.* 1878-79. Oil on canvas. 18 3/4 x 24 in. (47.6 x 61 cm) The Frick Museum.



Figure 5: Johannes Vermeer, *The Concert*, 1663-1666. Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 64.7 cm (28 9/16 x 25 ½ in.) The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. (Stolen)



Figure 6: Titian, *The Rape of Europa,* 1559-1562. Oil on canvas, 70 1/16 x 80 11/16 in. The Isabella Steward Gardner Museum, Boston, MA. Purchased: Isabella Steward Gardner Museum



Figure 7: Mary Cassatt, *The Banjo Lesson, first state,* 1893. Color Drypoint and aquatint with monoprint 1st state. Plate: 1`5 x 9 3/4 (388 x 248 c,m0 sheet. Bibliotèque d'Art et d'Achéologie



Figure 8: Mary Cassatt, *The Banjo Lesson, second state, 1893.* Color Drypoint and aquatint with monoprint 2nd state. Plate: 15 5/16 x 10 1/8 inch. (390 x 256 mm) sheet. The R. Stanley and Ursula Johnson Collection.



Figure 9: Mary Cassatt, *The Banjo Lesson, third state,* 1893. Color Drypoint and aquatint with monoprint 3rd state. Plate: 13 5/8 x 10 3/8 in. (346 x 264 mm) sheet. Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Figure 10: Mary Cassatt, *The Banjo Lesson, fourth state,*1893. Color Drypoint and aquatint with monoprint 4th state. Plate: 29.85 x 23.81 cm (11 ¾ x 9 3/8 in.) sheet: 41.9 x 29.2 cm (16 ½ x 11 ½ in.) National Gallery of Art.



Figure 11: Mary Cassatt*, Costume Study after Gavarni, first state.* 1878. Extent: 1 print on cream laid paper : etching, drypoint, and aquatint ; plate mark 20.5 x 13.7 cm. (8 1/16 x 5 3/8 in.), on sheet 26.2 x 20.4 cm. (10 5/16 x 8 1/16 in.) New York Library Collection Robert Hartshorne



Figure 12: Mary Cassatt, *Costume Study after Gavarni, second state,* 1878. Etching, print on cream laid paper : etching and drypoint on cream laid paper ; plate mark: 20.5 x 13.7 cm. (8 1/16 x 5 3/8 in.), on sheet 26.2 x 20.4 cm. (10 5/16 x 8 1/16 in.) New York Library Collection Robert Hartshorn



Figure 13: Mary Cassatt, *Costume Study after Gavarni, third state*, 1878. print on cream laid paper : etching, drypoint, and aquatint, with burnishing ; plate mark 20.5 x 13.7 cm. (8 1/16 x 5 3/8 in.),on sheet 25.1 x 20.1 cm. (9 7/8 x 7 15/16 in.) New York Library Collection Robert Hartshorne



Figure 14: *Mary Cassatt, At the Dressing Table, first state,* 1880. Soft ground and aquatint on cream wove paper. Image: 32.1 × 20.9 cm (12 11/16 × 8 1/4 in.); Plate: 34.9 × 22.8 cm (13 3/4 × 9 in.); Sheet: 43.1 × 30.8 cm (17 × 12 3/16 in.) Clarence Buckingham Collection. Art Institutes of Chicago.



Figure 15: Mary Cassatt, *At the Dressing Table, second state,* 1880 1 print on tan laid stiff paper : etching, soft-ground, aquatint ; image: 32.9 x 21 cm. (12 15/16 x 8 1/4 in.), on sheet 44.2 x 30.1 cm. (17 3/8 x 11 7/8 in.) Samuel Avery. The New York Public Library Collection



Figure 16: Mary Cassatt, *Repose, fourth state,* 1890. Drypoint 4th state of five. Plate: 23.5 5 x 16.9 cm (9 1/4 x 6 5/8 in.)sheet: 37.2 x 25.2 cm (14 5/8 x 9 7/8in.) Location unknown.



Figure 17: Mary Cassatt, *Parrot, early plate,* 1891. Drypoint unrecorded early state. Plate: 16 x 11.9 cm (6 1/4 x 4 3/4 in.) sheet: 31.2 x 24 cm (12 1/4 x 9 3/8 in.) Location Unknown.



Figure 18: Edgar Degas. *The Ballet Class,* ca. 1880. Oil on canvas, 32 3/8 x 30 ¼ in. Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Figure 19: Berthe Morisot, *Woman at Her Toilette,* 1877. Oil on canvas, 18 1/8 x 15 in. Location unknown.



Figure 20: Alexandre Cabanal, *The Birth of Venus*, 1863, Oil on Canvas, 41 3/4 x 71 7/8 in. (106 x 182.6 cm). Gift of John Wolfe, 1893, The Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art.



Figure 21: Camille Corot, *Bacchante by the Sea*, 1865. Oil on Wood. 5 1/4 x 23 3/8 in. (38.7 x 59.4 cm) Metropolitan Museum of art, Havemeyer.



Figure 22: Camille Corot, *Bacchante in Landscape*, 1865-70. Oil on canvas. 12 1/8 x 24 1/4 in. (30.8 x 61.5 cm) Metropolitan Museum of art, Havemeyer.



Figure 23: Claude Monet's *On the Bank of the Seine, Bennecourt,* 1868. Oil on canvas, 81.5 × 100.7 cm (32 1/16 × 39 5/8 in.) Potter Palmer Collection. Art Institute of Chicago.



Figure 24: Claude Monet, *Springtime, 1872,* oil on canvas H: 19 11/16 x W: 25 13/16 in. (50 x 65.5 cm); Framed H with build-up: 29 9/16 x W: 35 5/8 x D: 5 1/8 in. (75.09 x 90.49 x 13.02 Acquired by Henry Walters, 1903 From Mary Cassatt. Walters Museum.



Figure 25: Gustave Courbet, *Nude with a Flowering Branch*, Courbet, 1863. Oil on canvas. H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 26: Gustave Courbet*, The Source,* 1862. Oil on canvas. 47 1/4 x 29 1/4 in. (120 x 74.3 cm) H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, Metropolitan Musuem of Art.

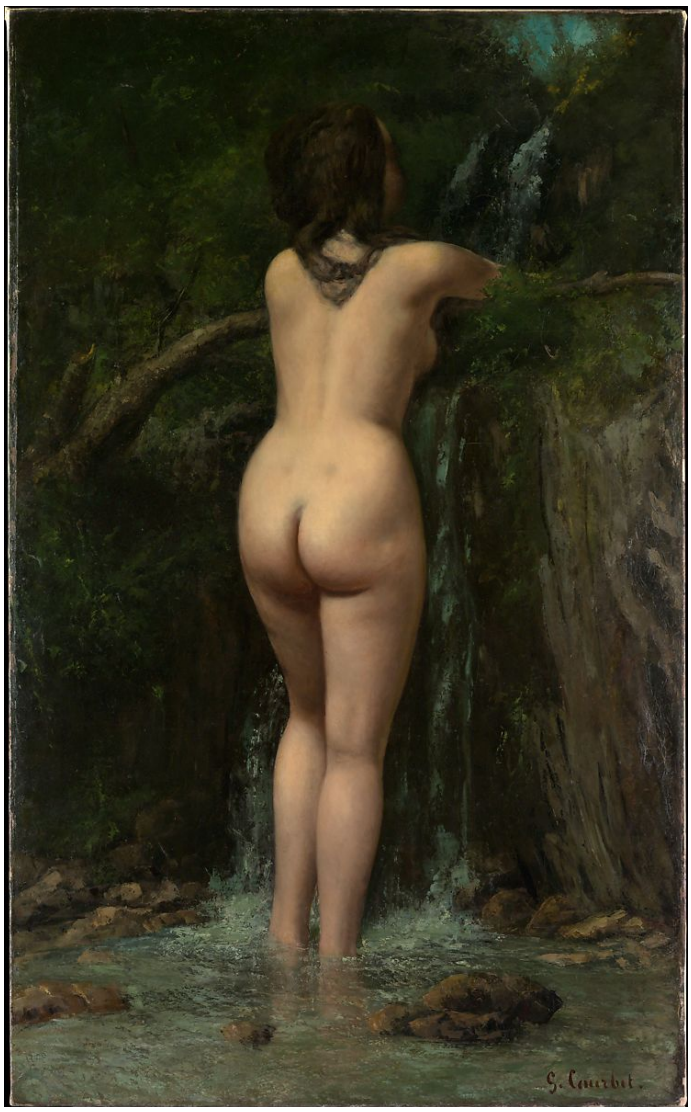


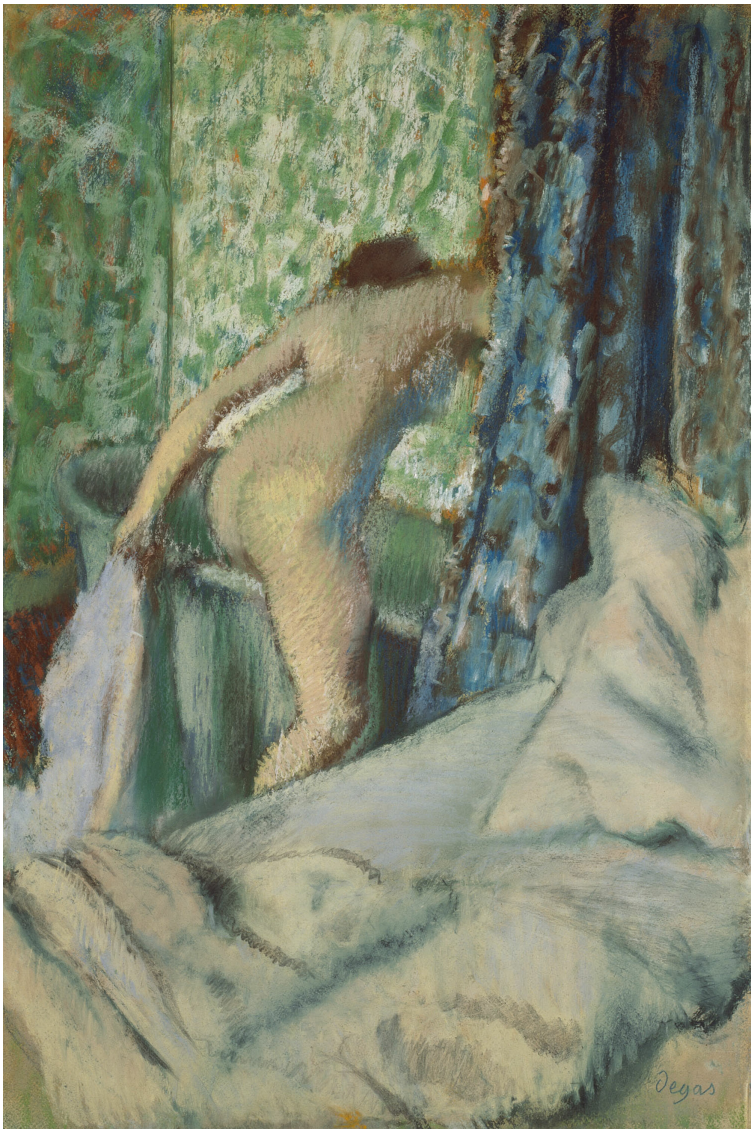
Figure 27: Gustave Courbet, *The Young Bathe, 1866.* Oil on canvas. 51 1/4 x 38 1/4 in. (130.2 x 97.2 cm) H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 28: William Jacob Baer, *Nymph,* 1898. Watercolor on ivory, wood H: 4 5/16 × W: 5 13/16 in. (11 × 14.7 cm) Framed H: 9 13/16 × W: 11 1/4 × D: 9/16 in. (25 × 28.5 × 1.4 cm) Henry Walters, Baltimore, prior to 1899; by bequest to Walters Art Museum, 1931.



Figure 29: Edgar Degas, *Morning Bath,* 1887-1890. Pastel on off-white laid paper mounted on board. 70.6 × 43.3 cm (27 13/16 × 17 1/16 in.) Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer Collection. Art Institute of Chicago.



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