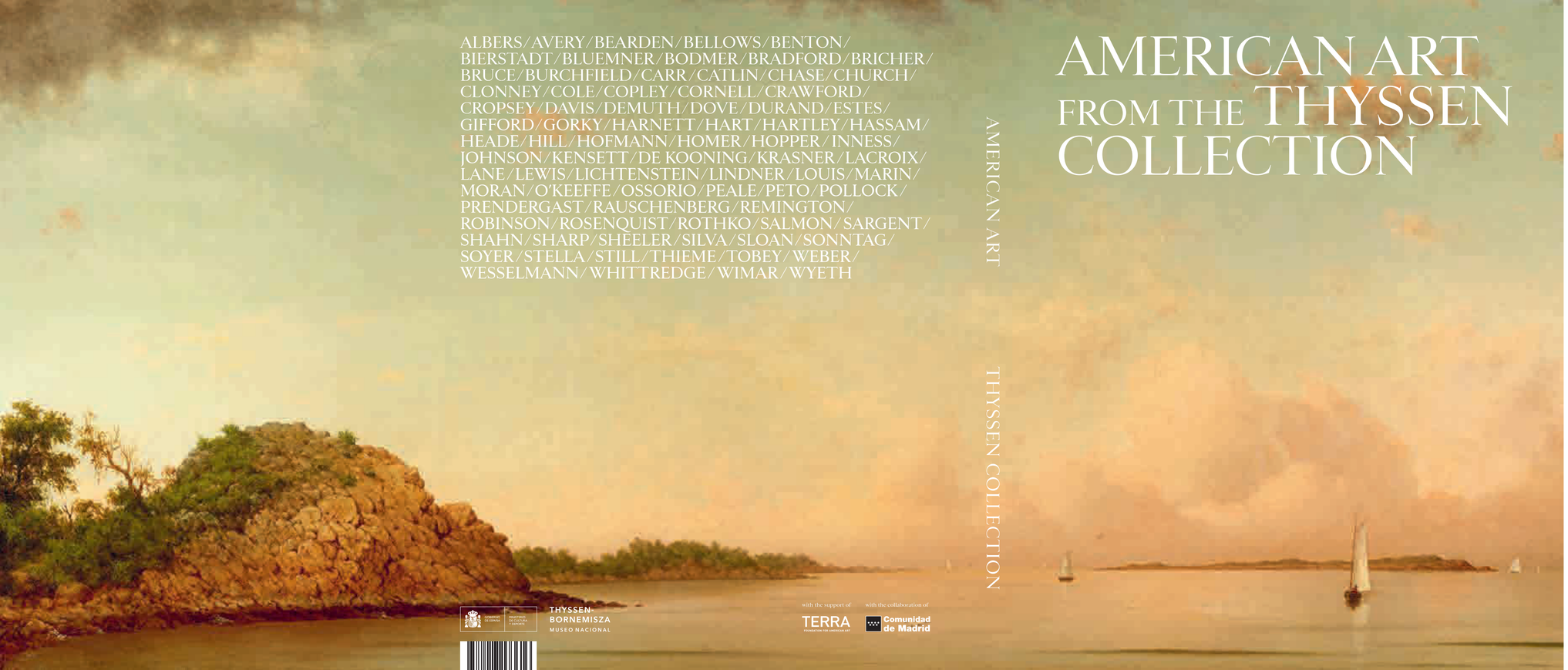

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CROPSEY/DAVIS/DEMUTH/DOVE/DURAND/ESTES/
GIFFORD/GORKY/HARNETT/HART/HARTLEY/HASSAM/
HEADE/HILL/HOFMANN/HOMER/HOPPER/INNESS/
JOHNSON/KENSETT/DE KOONING/KRASNER/LACROIX/
LANE/LEWIS/LICHTENSTEIN/LINDNER/LOUIS/MARIN/
MORAN/O'KEEFFE/OSSORIO/PEALE/PETO/POLLOCK/
PRENDERGAST/RAUSCHENBERG/REMINGTON/
ROBINSON/ROSENQUIST/ROTHKO/SALMON/SARGENT/
SHAHN/SHARP/SHEELER/SILVA/SLOAN/SONNTAG/
SOYER/STELLA/STILL/THIEME/TOBEY/WEBER/
WESSELMANN/WHITTREDGE/WIMAR/WYETH

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA · MINISTERIO DE EDUCACIÓN, CULTURA Y DEPORTE

THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA MUSEO NACIONAL

with the support of TERRA FOUNDATION FOR AMERICAN ART

with the collaboration of Comunidad de Madrid

AMERICAN ART

THYSSEN COLLECTION

AMERICAN ART FROM THE THYSSEN COLLECTION

AMERICAN ART FROM THE THYSSEN COLLECTION

Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza
December 14, 2021 to June 26, 2022

GOBIERNO DE ESPAÑA
MINISTERIO DE CULTURA Y DEPORTE

THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA
MUSEO NACIONAL

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AMERICAN ART FROM THE THYSSEN COLLECTION

Paloma Alarcó
Alba Campo Rosillo

and texts by
Clara Marcellán
Marta Ruiz del Árbol

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We would also like to express our sincere appreciation to the following persons and institutions for their collaboration and help in obtaining valuable documentation:

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Our special thanks go to Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's descendants, Francesca, Alexander, and Lorne Thyssen-Bornemisza, and to Baroness Carmen Thyssen for their unconditional support and generous loans.

Miquel Iceta i Llorens
Minister
Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport

American Art from the Thyssen Collection brings to a close the centennial celebrations of the birth of Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza (1921–2002), a distinguished collector whose curiosity about art gave rise to the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza. The baron held the belief that "nations separated by political barriers or with clashing ideologies can find common ground and a path to understanding in the universal language of art," and put it into practice by organizing exhibitions of American art that traveled the world. Thanks to his keen eye, since 1992 the museum houses a broad selection of American painting, especially from the nineteenth-century, and is a key place to view it in Europe.

Through categories such as history, politics, science, the environment, material culture, and urban life, the exhibition seeks to examine the collection of American art from a new themed and cross-cutting approach in order to analyze the complexities of American art and culture more deeply. The show reflects the journey from cultural clashes, conflicts, and denial to fascination for the city, stopping along the way to look at the fruitful tradition of the first painters of the American Eden, the enjoyment and splendor of urban leisure, the development of material consumption, and magical objects of the native American peoples. The vast, rich holdings on view – works varying from realist to abstract and from Romantic to avant-garde, by artists as significant as Edward Hopper, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Thomas Cole, and Georgia O'Keeffe – survey the social, political, and cultural history of the United States in all its complexity.

This research initiative would not have been possible without the close and productive cooperation of all the institutions involved: the Terra Foundation for American Art, which has been collaborating actively with the museum for years, the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza itself, and the Regional Government of Madrid. We would like to express our heartfelt thanks to them all.

Isabel Díaz Ayuso
President
Regional Government of Madrid

In the mid-twentieth century, when Europeans were not yet interested in American art, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza became a unique exception. While the United States was starting to rediscover its own artistic territory in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, Baron Thyssen set about assembling an outstanding collection of nineteenth-century American art.

Shunning Old Continent prejudices, the baron, fascinated by the love of nature reflected in nineteenth-century American landscape art and the inspiration these artists drew from seventeenth-century Dutch painting, espoused a trend that called for American art to be recognized as part of Western art. Thereafter his collection gradually grew, becoming the finest and largest of its kind in the whole of Europe.

Today the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza's permanent exhibition attaches great importance to American art, which has carved out a place for itself in the awareness and history of Western art.

The Regional Government of Madrid is glad to support this new display as part of the *American Art from the Thyssen Collection* exhibition, funded by the Terra Foundation for American Art, which examines the traditional and modern schools of American art from a new themed and cross-cutting perspective instead of from the usual chronological approach. This new viewpoint will allow visitors from Madrid and from all over the world to gain a fuller and more complex idea of American art and culture, and enjoy it in relation to the European context of the permanent collection.

Art is an investment with a double return that is both economic and emotional. It is an unquestionable source of wealth through cultural and leisure tourism, but above all a source of reflection and inspiration that enables us to understand, build, and change the world. Put another way: it makes us freer.

Sharon Corwin
President and Chief Executive Officer
Terra Foundation for American Art

The Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza is home to an extensive collection of nineteenth and twentieth-century American painting assembled between the 1970s and 1990s by Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza. Over the past few years, the museum has undertaken a research project devoted to this collection, seeking to rethink how American art is presented and contextualized at its venue. As part of this research project, the Terra Foundation for American Art is proud to sponsor a two-year visiting fellowship, awarded to Alba Campo Rosillo. Campo Rosillo along with Paloma Alarcó, Head of Modern Painting, and fellow curators have taken a closer look at American painting, examining artworks, themes, and approaches through the lens of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and language. The new installation and collection catalog interrogate and broaden definitions of American art. In doing so, the museum invites Spanish and international audiences to discover and rediscover these pictures in new ways.

On behalf of the Terra Foundation for American Art, I would like to extend my deep appreciation to the staff of the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza for their commitment to encouraging new scholarship through the careful study of their collection. Their desire to recontextualize stories of American art matches the Terra Foundation's desire to expand, transform, and enrich narratives. I would also like to express my gratitude to the authors who contributed to this catalog: Paloma Alarcó, Alba Campo Rosillo, Clara Marcellán, Marta Ruiz del Árbol, Wendy Bellion, Kirsten Pai Buick, David Peters Corbett, Catherine Craft, Karl Kusserow, Michael Lobel, and Verónica Uribe Hanabergh.

Guillermo Solana
Artistic Director
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

When we designed the program to celebrate the centenary of the birth of the museum's founder, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, we decided to begin the commemorations with an exhibition devoted to German Expressionist painting, his earliest passion as a collector, and to end them with his last great adventure: his collection of American art. This is the subject of the current show, which once again sets out to complement the museum's own holdings with works that have remained in the Thyssen-Bornemisza family to give an idea of what the baron's original collection was like. The result is a group of some 140 artworks that have been installed on the first floor of the museum, organized into four main themed sections – "Nature," "Culture Crossings," "Urban Space," and "Material Culture" – that establish dialogues between pieces from different periods, bringing together art from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The exhibition involved preparatory research – made possible by the Terra Foundation for American Art – aimed at reinterpreting Baron Thyssen's collection of American art from a new approach that pays attention to issues of gender, ethnicity, and social class as well as environmental matters in order to offer visitors a critical and up-to-date survey of the history of American art and culture. This reinterpretation is fittingly explained in the catalog in the texts written by the two curators, Paloma Alarcó, Head of Modern Painting at the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, and Alba Campo Rosillo, Terra Foundation Fellow of American Art, as well as Clara Marcellán and Marta Ruiz del Árbol, curators of Modern Painting at the museum. My congratulations to them all on their excellent work. I would also like to thank the members of the Thyssen family for generously contributing to the show with loans from their collections, and the Regional Government of Madrid, which has sponsored this and all the other exhibitions and activities commemorating Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's centenary.

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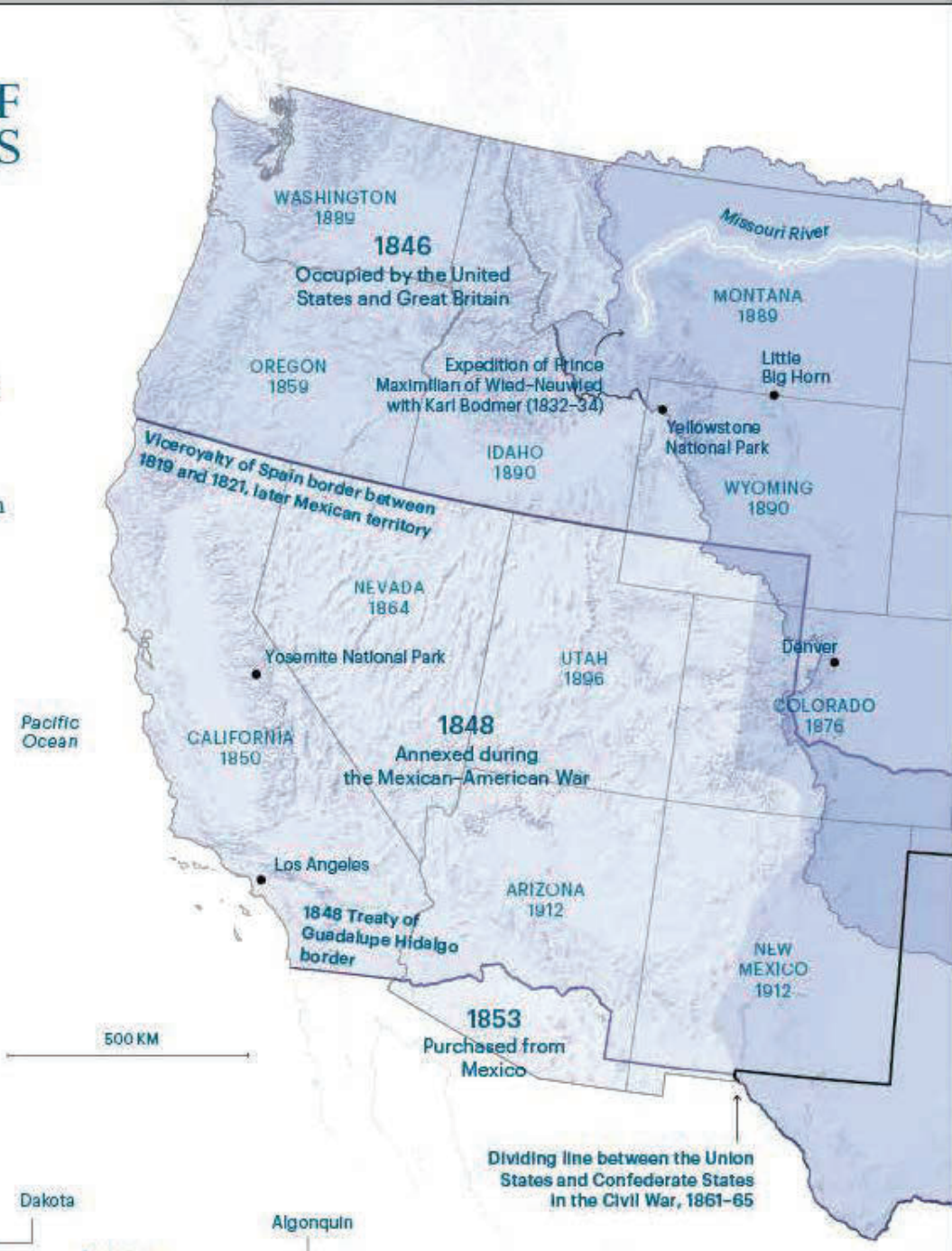
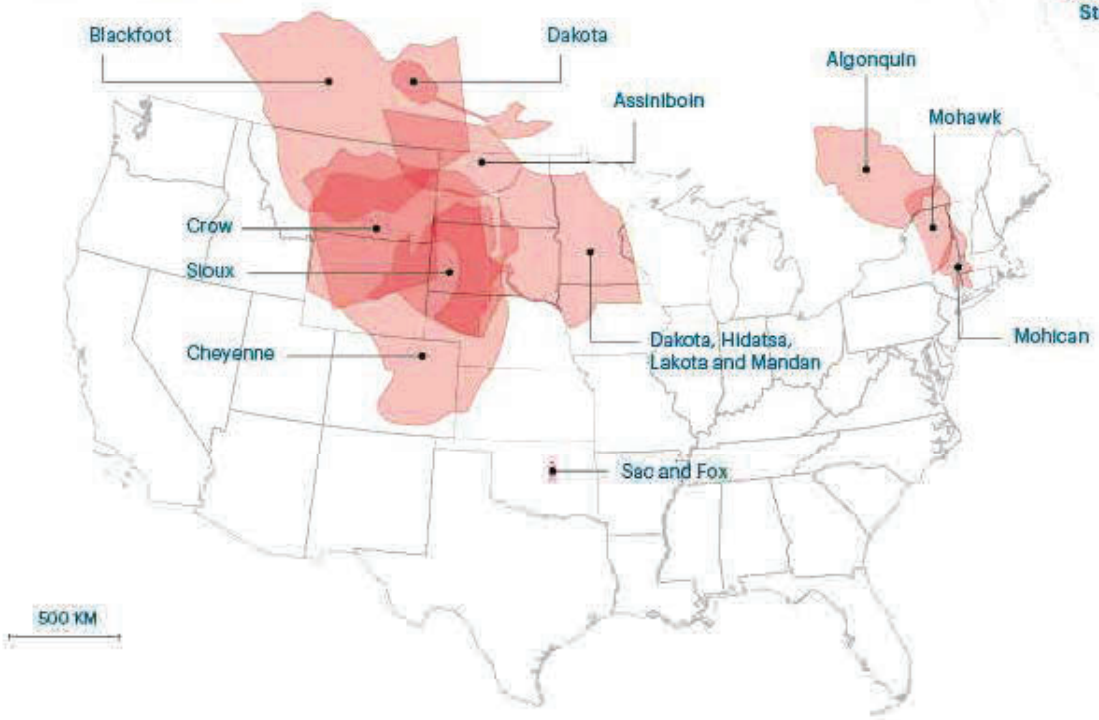
HISTORICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

This map shows the changing appearance of the American territory and its inhabitants, from the ancestral lands of various indigenous peoples to the territorial expansion of the United States from 1776 to the present day. The main cities, geographical features, and historical processes alluded to in the exhibition are identified on the map.



Indigenous nations




CANADA
1818
British cession
NORTH DAKOTA 1889
MINNESOTA 1858
SOUTH DAKOTA 1889
NEBRASKA 1867
IOWA 1846
1803
Louisiana Purchase
KANSAS 1861
OKLAHOMA 1907
TEXAS 1845
1845
Texas annexation
Fort Worth
ARKANSAS 1836
MISSOURI 1821
LOUISIANA 1812
Mississippi River
Missouri River
Minneapolis
Fort Snelling
1783
New colonies
WISCONSIN 1848
Oshkosh
MICHIGAN 1837
Detroit
Chicago
ILLINOIS 1818
INDIANA 1816
OHIO 1803
Cincinnati
St. Louis
Ohio River
KENTUCKY 1792
TENNESSEE 1796
MISSISSIPPI 1817
ALABAMA 1819
GEORGIA
1819
Spanish cession
St. Augustine
FLORIDA 1845
Gulf of Mexico
STATE
Year of entry
VERMONT 1791
MAINE 1820
1776
Territory of the original thirteen States
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Boston
NEW YORK
MASSACHUSETTS
Hartford
Providence
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
Montclair
New York
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Washington D.C.
DELAWARE
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Atlantic Ocean
ME
VE
White Mountains
Adirondack Mountains
Prouts Neck
Lake George
NH
NY
Gloucester
Hudson River
MA
Singing Beach
The Berkshires
Cape Cod
Catskill Mountains
CT
RI
Nantucket
Long Island Sound
PA
Greenwood Lake
Shinnecock Hills
NJ
Toms River
100 KM
Other US territories
Midway Atoll (1867)
Alaska
Johnston Atoll (1858)
Hawaii
US Virgin Islands (1917)
Kingman Reef (1922)
Palmyra Atoll (1900)
Puerto Rico (1898)
Jarvis Island (1857)
Baker and Howland Islands (1857)
American Samoa (1899)
Navassa Island (1857)
Northern Mariana Islands (1947)
Wake Island (1899)
Guam (1898)

AMERICA FROM EUROPE

Paloma Alarcó

European Travelers

"My idea of America, like that of so many French, was, and perhaps still is, rooted in Chateaubriand," confessed French painter André Masson in a series of interviews, published by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in 1946, with several European artists who had sought refuge in the United States during the war.[1] French writer François-René de Chateaubriand was not alone in spreading an imaginary idea in Europe of America as a New Eden and developing the myth of Americans as "good savages" by glorifying their natural state and Rousseaunian innocence compared to rational, enlightened Europeans.

Fleeing from the French Revolution, the young Chateaubriand journeyed to the United States in 1791. Accompanied by a Dutch guide, he traveled up the Hudson River to Albany, where he penetrated deep into Mohawk lands. He reached as far as Niagara and the Great Lakes before heading southward across French Louisiana along the Mississippi to Natchez territory. In his tales inspired by this adventure – *Travels in America* (1827) and the exotic novels *Atala* (1801), *René* (1802), and *The Natchez* (1827) – and his *Memoirs from beyond the Grave* (1848), he illustrated the splendor of America's landscapes and described the customs of the natives, not taking care to omit scenes of the cruelty of the war between the indigenous peoples and the Europeans who had arrived in their lands. We now know than many of Chateaubriand's stories were the product of his romantic imagination, but they nevertheless succeeded in shaping a mythicized image of America that took root in European popular culture for several generations. A paradigmatic example of how it is reflected in painting is *The Burial of Atala* by French painter Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson [fig. 1], a literary myth of the New World adapted to the European conventions of pre-Romantic Neoclassicism. Girodet illustrates the scene where the Natchez Indian Chactas mourns the suicide of his beloved Atala, a mixed-race Christian.

Other European explorers and writers traveled around America too, attracted by the exuberance of its landscapes and the exoticism of its natives.[2] One particularly remarkable adventure was undoubtedly that of Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, a German explorer, ethnographer, and naturalist who journeyed to the new continent to study its geography, nature, and inhabitants. Departing from St. Louis on April 10, 1832, accompanied by Swiss painter Karl Bodmer, Maximilian followed the legendary trail blazed by Captain Meriwether Lewis and William Clark from 1804 to 1806 during their military expedition to map Louisiana, a territory newly acquired by Thomas Jefferson. They went up the Missouri River in the steamboat *Yellowstone*, escorted by the trappers and traders of the American Fur Company, who had been dealing in pelts there since 1808. From Fort Clark in North Dakota, they visited the Mandan and Hidatsa peoples, whom Bodmer depicted in a series of sketches and watercolors, as painter George Catlin had done the previous year. Lastly, on passing Fort Union, they came into contact with the Assiniboine, and at Fort McKenzie with the Piegan or Blackfeet, all of whom the painter portrayed.

The account of this expedition in the form of Prince Maximilian's diary, which was published with aquatint illustrations based on Bodmer's watercolors,[3] is considered to be one of the most significant documents on the indigenous nations of the Missouri River

1 Sweeney 1946, p. 3.
2 Harry Liebersohn has studied the construction of fictitious images of the American Indians by European travelers. See Liebersohn 1998.
3 See Prince of Wied 1843–44. The work was very soon translated into French and English, considerably boosting its dissemination. The Maximilian-Bodmer Archives were acquired in 1962 by the Northern Natural Gas Company and deposited at the Joslyn Art Museum of Omaha, Nebraska. See also Witte and Gallagher 2008–12.

← Robert Rauschenberg *Express*, 1963 [detail of cat. 111]

fig. 1

Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy-Trioson
The Burial of Atala, 1800–25
Oil on canvas, 207 × 267 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre, 4958

Plain, as it is contemporaneous with their gradual disappearance as a result of territorial expansion and the endless wave of settlers who progressively transformed the American West.[4] No less noteworthy is the fact that for decades it was a source of inspiration for a host of writers, filmmakers, and artists. German author Karl May's adventure novels set in the American Old West and featuring the noble Apache chief Winnetou and his brother "Paleface" Scharlih, a German who had emigrated to the United States and was nicknamed Old Shatterhand on account of his strength, draw, among other sources, from Maximilian's stories and Karl Bodmer's repertoire of prints and watercolors. The portrait of Mandan chief Mató-Tópe (Four Bears) [cat. 72], whom Bodmer depicted twice, may have been an essential reference for May when he created his literary hero.

Most of these old myths have now been dismantled by recent historians, but there is no denying that, like Chateaubriand's "good savage," the heroic characters in May's accounts and Bodmer's illustrations helped shape an idea of native Americans that to an extent lingers on in the European imaginary today.[5] One of the keenest readers of Karl May's adventure stories as a boy was Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza; the impact they made on him stimulated his future interest in American art and culture. The earliest evidence of this passion was the acquisition of 70 hand-colored prints by Karl Bodmer that marked the start of his American collection in the late 1950s.[6]

It is by no means insignificant that it was Europeans rather than Americans who projected a mythical image of America in Europe, and nor is the fact that they later helped demythify it. Leaping forward in time, we find that a very different trip made by another foreigner, French writer Michel Butor, dismantled the American myth and succeeded in conveying a more truthful idea of America's many sides through hundreds of interlinked references. Butor, an author with an insatiable curiosity, toured the United States in 1959 and on returning to France published a book titled *Mobile* (1962), which he dedicated to Jackson Pollock.[7] The text, which has no common thread running through it and is written vertically, is a collage of many snippets of rapidly jotted-down notes, advertisements, names of cities, newspaper cuttings, and quotes by Chateaubriand or Thomas Jefferson, as well as writings by some native Americans. Although the book conveys the natural beauty and energy of this vast country, it also explicitly highlights the contradictions of American life, especially the racial segregation that still exists. From it we learn that the United States is a country as particular and diverse as it is impossible to define.

4 See Goetzmann et al. 1984.
5 Beneke and Zeilinger 2007.
6 See cats. 70–75 and 148–53.
7 Butor 1962.

fig. 2

Frederic Edwin Church
Niagara, 1857
Oil on canvas, 164.5 × 286.4 cm
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art,
Corcoran Collection, Museum Purchase,
Gallery Fund, 2014.79.10

Muses of Europe

Despite venerating this mythicized image of America, Europeans remained uninterested in the country's art. For various reasons – but above all because for decades it was regarded as a lesser school deriving from European art – it took the whole of the 1800s and the first half of the 1900s for American art to find a receptive audience in the Old Continent.

The United States was admired for its new ideas on democracy, freedom, technical innovation, and economic prosperity, but Europe continued to be seen as the source of classical tradition and history. In spite of the country's major progress, the first American artists considered it essential to travel to the Old World to learn from the "courtly Muses of Europe," as Ralph Waldo Emerson put it: initially to England and Germany, and later on to Paris. As a result, they produced works that fluctuated between invention and dependence in their quest for ways of applying long-established conventions to the new specifically American experience.

After the Civil War, when the United States attempted to convey a new image of Americanness and present itself at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867 as a newly reunified country, its presence went almost unnoticed at the major meeting of cultures.[8] The American industrial products on display in the grand pavilions on the Champ-de-Mars were admired by everyone, but the landscapes of Frederic Church, Asher B. Durand, and Albert Bierstadt, and the heroic war paintings of Winslow Homer, which are now hailed as masterpieces, were hardly mentioned and only Church's impressive panoramic view of *Niagara* [fig. 2] won a modest silver medal.

Some 70 years later, when *Trois siècles d'art aux États-Unis* opened at the Jeu de Paume museum in Paris in 1938 – a time of great instability in Europe – European audiences remained unenthusiastic. The aim of this ambitious show, organized by the MoMA in New York at the request of the French government and curated by its director

8 Troyen 1984, p. 6.

fig. 3

View of the *Trois siècles d'art aux États-Unis* exhibition at the Jeu de Paume museum, Paris, in 1938

fig. 4

Edward Hicks
Peaceable Kingdom, c. 1834
Oil on canvas, 74.5 × 90.1 cm
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, 1980.62.15

Alfred H. Barr together with Dorothy C. Miller, was to convey an international image of American art and trace the development of an "American tradition" from the folk art and the sublime and Arcadian American landscapes to contemporary Modernism [fig. 3]. In his book *Have We an American Art?* written to mark the occasion, Edward Alden Jewell, art critic for *The New York Times*, complained of the show's poor reception among the European public, and the critics' lukewarm reviews.[9]

In 1946, soon after World War II ended, the Tate Gallery in London, with the collaboration of the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the support of the American government agencies, staged *American Painting: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*, an exhibition that was also greeted with less enthusiasm than hoped.[10] The works selected for the show, not very different from those presented at Paris in 1938, ranged from the earliest colonial art to the most avant-garde examples. The inclusion in both displays of a picture belonging to a famous series executed around 1834 by folk painter Edward Hicks, *Peaceable Kingdom* [fig. 4] – an expression taken from the Book of Isaiah (11:1–9) referring to a world in which all creatures live in harmony – indicates an intention to disseminate internationally the Arcadian image of America so widely fostered by Chateaubriand's writings.

9 Jewell 1939.
10 On this exhibition, see Riley 2018.

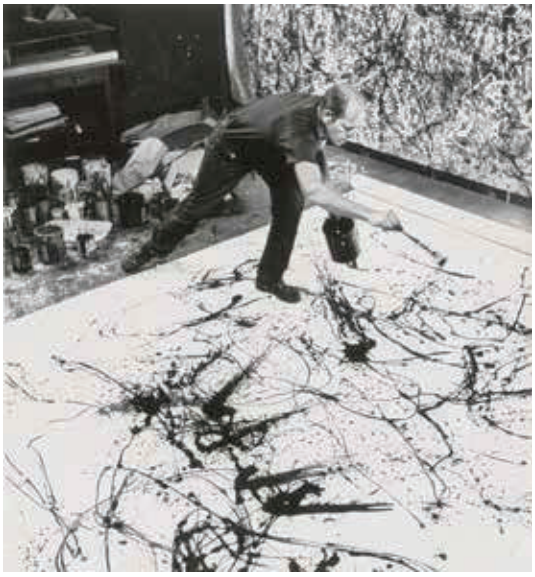


fig. 5

Hans Namuth
Jackson Pollock at work, early 1950s
Gelatin silver print, 37.6 × 35.1 cm
Washington D.C., National Portrait Gallery,
Smithsonian Institution, Gift of the Estate of Hans Namuth,
NPG.95.155

Americanness

Soon afterwards, at the height of the Cold War, the reception of American art in the Western-bloc countries changed radically. The American government not only helped rebuild Europe but set about disseminating its own image of freedom and prosperity, in contrast to the restrictions of the Soviet bloc, through an active program of propaganda and support for America's new painting, film industry, and jazz music. The United States Information Agency (USIA), established in 1953 by President Dwight Eisenhower, and the International Council of the MoMA, which started out in 1952 with the backing of the New York museum's president, Nelson Rockefeller, were convinced of the potential of staging traveling international exhibitions of modern American art.[11]

Americanness no longer lay in that Arcadian image of an early American artistic tradition but in the cutting-edge Abstract Expressionism. The young New York artists – Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, Barnett Newman, Clyfford Still, Mark Rothko, and Franz Kline – whose hitherto unseen energy expressed the deepest anxieties embedded in North American culture, appealed to a whole generation of Europeans marked by a feeling of pessimism stemming from the war.

The new painting was expressive and heroic but, above all, it was genuinely American. It was precisely when they broke free from European tradition that artists succeeded in transforming earlier indifference into acceptance, and they even sparked a progressive Americanization of European art.[12] Whereas up until then American art had drawn from European sources, it was now American culture that was influencing the Western world. Irving Sandler spoke somewhat chauvinistically of the "triumph of American painting"[13] and, years later, in an essay that interpreted Abstract Expressionism from a political perspective, Serge Guilbaut admitted that New York had stolen Paris's leading role on the art scene.[14]

Prominent among the rather long list of international activities staged by the MoMA's International Council to promote art was *The New American Painting*, an exhibition that toured eight European cities during 1958 and 1959.[15] Critic Lawrence Alloway compared the artists featured in this show to the heroes of Hollywood movies: "Action Painters have since become associated with 'the man of action,' such as the Western film hero."[16] Actually, it was Jackson Pollock whom he had in mind when writing these words.

In the mid-twentieth century, Pollock, the inventor of a revolutionary manner of painting, was unquestionably the most famous artist in the United States and would soon be in Europe too [fig. 5]. His first mentor was American collector Peggy Guggenheim, who had returned to her native country in 1940, fleeing from the Nazi occupation of France. She met Pollock when he was working as a maintenance man at what was then the Museum of Non-Objective Painting owned by her uncle, collector Solomon R. Guggenheim. In 1943, during the throes of war, Peggy put together the painter's first exhibition at her New York gallery, Art of This Century,[17] and was also responsible for his European debut in a show at the Museo Correr in Venice in 1950. As we know, he achieved lasting recognition in 1949, when *Life* magazine asked: "Is he the greatest living painter in the United States?",[18] and his tragic death in a car crash in 1956 turned him into a legend. It was obvious that it would only be a question of time before Baron Thyssen purchased his first Pollock,[19] signalling the beginning of his collection of modern American art.

11 This subject has spawned a long list of publications: Kozloff 1973; Saunders 2000; Dossin 2012; and Menand 2021, among many others.
12 Lewison 1999.
13 Sandler 1970.
14 Guilbaut 1983.
15 It opened in Basel on April 19, 1958 and traveled from there to Milan, Madrid, Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels, Paris, and London (ending in late March 1959). In Spain, at the time governed by Franco, it was put on display in the summer of 1958 at the Museo Nacional de Arte Contemporáneo in Madrid.
16 Lawrence Alloway, "Myths and Continuance of American Painting," *Art News Bulletin*, London, July–August 1958, quoted from Spicer 2018.
17 Through her gallery Art of This Century, which was open from 1942 to 1947, Peggy Guggenheim supported the Surrealist group in New York and young artists Robert Motherwell, William Baziotes, Arshile Gorky, Mark Rothko, and Clyfford Still, as well as Jackson Pollock.
18 Seiberling 1949. The article included photographs by Martha Holmes and Arnold Newman.
19 It was *Brown and Silver I* [cat. 127], acquired in 1963.

fig. 6

Ugo Mulas
Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns rooms,
32nd Venice Biennale, 1964
Ugo Mulas Archive

fig. 7

Ugo Mulas
Transporting Robert Rauschenberg's *Express*
in the Giardini, 32nd Venice Biennale, 1964
Ugo Mulas Archive

fig. 8

Ugo Mulas
Transporting Robert Rauschenberg's paintings
across the lagoon, 32nd Venice Biennale, 1964
Ugo Mulas Archive

fig. 9

View of the exhibition *The Natural Paradise: Painting in America 1800–1950* held at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1976

During the 1960s, when the United States was steeped in an air of romanticism owing partly to advertising, movies, and the boundless success of the new Action Painting, Europe was once again unable to resist the appeal of Pop Art. The new language did away with the heroic and subjective desires of the previous Abstract Expressionism and brought art back to the real world, to objects closely related to American culture.[20] It chalked up its biggest victory in April 1965, when Andy Warhol's paintings appeared on display at the Ileana Sonnabend gallery in Paris. The show was described by American poet John Ashbery, then living in the French capital, as "the biggest transatlantic fuss since Oscar Wilde brought culture to Buffalo in the nineties."[21]

There were two sides to the myths of daily life that Pop Art was so interested in exploring: a constructive optimism deriving from a newfound faith in progress, on the one hand, and a syndrome of decadence and fear of disaster, on the other. This duality was reflected in the contradictory behavior that characterized the post-World War II years: a feeling of acceptance and a need for self-assertion. The contrast was clearly embodied by the American representation at the Venice Biennale of 1964. The USIA, which sponsored that year's event, appointed as curator Alan R. Salomon, director of the Jewish Museum of New York. Most of the pavilions were hung with pictures by artists influenced by American Abstract Expressionism, but Salomon decided to combine works by painters belonging to the two art movements then in vogue: Morris Louis and Kenneth Noland, representatives of the color field painting supported by the influential Clement Greenberg; and Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, who were closer to Pop Art. The abstract works of Louis and Noland were shown in the American pavilion, whereas Johns's American flags and all but one of Rauschenberg's Combines and silkscreen collages were hung in the American consulate owing to lack of space. There is a curious anecdote about this: when it was confirmed that Rauschenberg was going to be awarded the Grand Prize, three of his large canvases – including *Express*, which joined Baron Thyssen's collection in 1974 [cat. 111] – had to be transported by boat along the Grand Canal from the consulate to the American pavilion in the Giardini grounds [figs. 6–8] to satisfy the judges' eligibility requirements.[22]

Jasper Johns's transformation of the American flag into an artistic motif was driven not so much by a nationalistic urge as by his refutation of the frustrating political atmosphere of the Cold War and the dubious methods employed by McCarthyism. Similarly, Rauschenberg's prizewinning silkscreen paintings also conveyed an element of protest against the hysterical patriotism that had triggered the desire to assert America's identity during the post-war period.

Years later, just when the Watergate scandal and the disastrous end of the Vietnam War were sullying the United States' image, the celebration of the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence in 1976 ushered in a return to the nostalgic evocation of nineteenth-century sublime Romanticism in order to link it to the most contemporary art trends. This was the aim of *The Natural Paradise*, an exhibition organized by the MoMA [figs. 9 and 14] for, as Robert Rosenblum stated in the catalog, "now, in the year of the Bicentennial, it is especially appropriate to explore the native land from which the Abstract Expressionists grew."[23]

20 Crow 1996.
21 Ashbery 1965.
22 See Tomkins 1981, p. 10.
23 Rosenblum 1976, p. 15. Rosenblum had put forward his theory of the tradition of the sublime in 1961 and developed it in 1975 See Rosenblum 1961 and Rosenblum 1975.

fig. 10

Thomas Cole
The Course of Empire: Desolation, 1836
Oil on canvas, 99.7 × 160.7 cm
New-York Historical Society,
Gift of The New-York Gallery
of the Fine Arts, 1858.5

Efforts to glorify the "Americanness" of American art went back to focusing on unspoiled nature as the repository of eternal truths and moral values; on the sublime paintings of the Hudson River School initially led by Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand, and Frederic Church; and, as Barbara Novak wrote in the exhibition catalog, on mysterious images imbued with an almost otherworldly calm and silence, from the so-called Luminism[24] to its abstract version in the New York School.

This linear discourse from early Romantic landscape art to abstraction managed to catch on. Interest in pre-1945 American art grew, albeit very timidly in Europe. In 1975, for example, the Musée du Louvre acquired Cole's *Cross in the Wilderness* of 1827–29, a paradigmatic example of the new style of majestic and sublime landscape showing an Indian chief mourning at the tomb of the man who had revealed the Christian faith to him. Not long afterwards, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, who had by that time assembled sizable holdings of modern American painting, began collecting works by Cole and his followers.

Cole's Prophecy

Since the end of the past century, the work of Thomas Cole, who is traditionally hailed as the father of the first American school of landscape painting, has become open to new interpretations. Among other things, current trends stress that the rise in popularity of American landscape art coincided with the progressive destruction of nature as a result of expansion and industrial development. Indeed, Cole's heroic and paradisiacal landscapes, which explored the relationship between humans and nature, can now be seen as a prophecy of the perils of the annihilatory force of civilization.

When asked to represent the United States at the 2005 Venice Biennale with works on the theme of progress, Californian artist Ed Ruscha, aware of this new conception, decided to take as a reference Thomas Cole's *The Course of Empire* series of paintings, executed between 1834 and 1836. Cole's five paintings tell of the advance of civilization from an Arcadian state to final decadence, and constitute an allegory of the history of America. They serve as a warning

24 Novak 1976b.

fig. 11

Ed Ruscha
Blue Collar Tool & Die, 1992
Acrylic on canvas, 132.1 × 295 cm
New York, Whitney Museum of American Art,
Purchase with funds from The American
Contemporary Art Foundation, Inc.,
Leonard A. Lauder, President, 2006.8

of the disastrous consequences for nature deriving from President Andrew Jackson's expansionist policy. The first two pictures in the series, *The Savage State* and *The Arcadian State*, lead to *The Consummation of Empire* and its *Destruction*. The last one, *Desolation* [fig. 10], presents a dystopic image of a city in ruins from which people have disappeared as a result of their self-destruction.

Ruscha's interpretation of the *Course of Empire* for Venice was inspired by the idea of evolution conveyed by Cole's sweeping panoramas, and warned of the dangerous transformation America was undergoing. Ever attentive to the city's iconography, he brought five black-and-white pictures of industrial buildings of Los Angeles from his *Blue Collar* series, dated 1992 [fig. 11], face to face with five color paintings executed more than ten years later. The differences are noticeable at first sight, and allude to the changes wrought by the passage of time on the urban landscape.

The two artists created a very different model of American landscape art – Cole conveyed an image of sublime New World nature, whereas Ruscha depicted industrial landscapes of huge perfection and simplicity – but they both offered a menacing vision of the consequences of devastation caused by a particular political conduct. However, in contrast to Cole's apocalyptic prophecy, in Ruscha's industrial images nature and signs of civilization are not at odds with each other;[25] rather, the artist seems to shrug his shoulders and say to us: "Accept the consequences."

Until a relatively short time ago, pre-World War II American art was practically unknown in Europe. It has taken years for the continent to acknowledge its specific qualities and the uniqueness of its cultural, political, and artistic context. However, as borne out by recent studies and the many exhibitions held in several European cities, the greater cultural exchange witnessed in the past years shows how the circulation of ideas can foster mutual enrichment in this period of growing relativism.[26]

Not long ago, French historian François Brunet, one of the leading figures of the new transatlantic dialogue, offered an attractive contemporary vision of America as the civilization of image.[27] In keeping with his proposal, by surveying how the iconography of the native peoples became mythicized as a result of the exploration of the Wild West and early depictions of sublime American landscapes, which shaped a national identity and prophesized humankind's annihilating capacity; and by examining the active policy of artistic propaganda that led to the Americanization of the Old Continent and the modernization of its image, we set out to examine the visual myth of the United States through European eyes.

25 See Whiting 2006, p. 80.
26 See Thielemans 2008.
27 Brunet 2013.

BARON THYSSEN-BORNEMISZA AND THE DISSEMINATION OF AMERICAN ART

Alba Campo Rosillo

The collection of American art assembled by Baron Thyssen was possibly the largest of its kind outside of the United States.[1] More than 330 paintings passed through its holdings over the course of three decades (1960–90), and the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza currently owns nearly 200 works; Baroness Carmen Thyssen another 100; and the baron's children about 60. Some of the pieces from these family collections are currently on view to the public in the exhibition *American Art from the Thyssen Collection* and are reproduced in this publication.

All together, these works reflect the baron's personal taste and entrepreneurial spirit, as well as trends in private collecting and socio-political ambitions that will be analyzed in due course. The baron regarded art in general as an agent of change capable of establishing peace. It was through his traveling exhibitions and loans of works to cultural and diplomatic institutions in particular that he established his holdings of American art as a standard-bearer of this idea, familiarizing people around the world with the collection and influencing international politics.[2]

The Beginnings of the American Collection

The purchase of Jackson Pollock's *Brown and Silver I*, executed in 1951 [cat. 127], marked the start of the baron's collection of modern American art in 1963.[3] That same year John McCoubrey published a study claiming that Abstract Expressionism, the artistic movement to which Pollock belonged, was the most significant school of American art. According to the art critic, this was because it contained elements of indigenous US American culture and Puritan thought, such as the abstract impulse. McCoubrey also believed that America's vastness influenced the artist, who painted "the raw, unsettled landscape."[4] Hans Heinrich did not acquire any more American paintings until five years later, when he purchased Mark Tobey's *Earth Rhythms* of 1961 [cat. 33].[5] This second work belonged to the same school of art and was equally highly regarded by critics.[6]

Shortly afterward, in 1972, business interfered with the gestation of his incipient American art collection when the Thyssen-Bornemisza business group acquired the Indian Head industrial conglomerate, a

1 Testimony of Barbara Rose reported in Grosvenor 1982, p. 61.

2 Baroness Francesca Thyssen-Bornemisza defined her father's philosophy during the presentation of the symposium *Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza as an Art Collector* at the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza on October 15, 2021. Simon de Pury expressed the same idea in his lecture "The Cultural Diplomacy of Baron H. H. Thyssen-Bornemisza: Personal Recollections of my Tenure as Curator of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection from 1979 to 1986," at the same event. For further information, see Moore (in press).

3 The work was on show at Toninelli Arte Moderna, in Milan, as part of a traveling exhibition organized by Marlborough Fine Art of London.

4 McCoubrey 2000, pp. 2, 17–28. See also Guilbaut 1983.

5 It was acquired in 1968 in an auction at Sotheby's London, a frequent source of his art purchases.

6 These acquisitions may have been made taking advantage of a major opportunity in the art market, as the petroleum crisis forced many collectors to sell their possessions, which had depreciated in value. Thyssen-Bornemisza 2014, p. 213.

← Jackson Pollock
Brown and Silver I, c. 1951
[detail of cat. 127]

fig. 12

Henry F. Farny
Indian Head, 1908
Oil on panel, 24.1 × 16.5 cm
Private collection

financial transaction involving the acquisition of 55 factories operated by a total of 18,000 employees.[7] This major expansion of his business empire not only led the baron to spend long periods in the United States running the companies from his New York office, but also enabled him to devote more time to purchasing artworks.[8] Two paintings, Lowell Nesbitt's *Two Bridges, New York* of 1975 and Henry F. Farny's *Indian Head* of 1908 [fig. 12], the corporation's image, hung in the main office of Indian Head in New York in 1979.[9]

Baron Thyssen's acquaintance with the United States predates that time. He had been traveling to the United States since 1946. In his memoirs he tells of his early years in America during which he became a protégé of the Loeb family; and it was precisely Louis Carl Loeb, a stockbroker and commercial agent, who introduced him to the American business world.[10] In 1972, after purchasing Indian Head, the baron became a full-fledged industrial tycoon in the United States.

A turning point came in 1973. Up until that time, as we have seen, Hans Heinrich owned two paintings, but he then went on to purchase seven more American works in just one year [including cat. 11, 91, 92, and 105]. More striking still is the fact that of these, five were from the same source: the former collection of gallerist Edith Gregor Halpert [fig. 13]. After acquiring these five, either at the sale of her estate[11] or through intermediaries, he carried on buying pieces from Halpert's collection, amassing a total of 15 works previously owned by the gallerist in the space of ten years. This circumstance attests to the baron's huge interest in the provenance of the artworks he acquired,[12] whose previous ownership – in this case a respected collection – was their best credential.

Edith Gregor Halpert, a forward-thinking gallery owner, was a pioneer in collecting mid-century American art. Born in 1900 in present-day Ukraine, she emigrated with her family to New York in 1906 to escape the anti-Jewish pogroms. She studied fine arts and founded The Downtown Gallery in 1926 to promote contemporary American art, which only five other New York galleries sold then.[13]

In the brochure of an exhibition held at the gallery in 1935, she defined American art as follows:

> The individualism of expression, the diversity of approach, the variety of technique, distinguish the personality and each artist in relation to the others [...]. The long sojourn in New York, our national art center, and the close study of all great art traditions, have created a broad universal language rather than an expression of limited provincialism [... and] reflect the American spirit of today.[14]

Romare Bearden, Stuart Davis, and Ben Shahn, three of the many artists Halpert worked with, perfectly epitomize her conception of American art. Bearden, who was an African American from Charlotte, North Carolina, included numerous artistic references in his collage paintings of scenes of African-American communities to express the universality of human experience. Davis, who was a white Philadelphian, specialized in compositions of everyday objects painted in an abstract manner. Shahn, a Jew and Lithuanian immigrant, addressed social themes in naïve images. These three painters, with diverse profiles, produced works that were very different in style and subject matter, embodying Halpert's definition of American art: an individualistic art with a broad universal

7 Litchfield 2006, pp. 300, 303; Thyssen-Bornemisza 2014, pp. 139–40.
8 López-Manzanares and De Cos Martín 2020, p. 237.
9 Stiftung zur Industriegeschichte Thyssen-Archiv, Duisburg, hereafter Duisburg Archives, TB/3864. I am grateful to Falk Liedtke of the Duisburg Archives for his assistance.
10 Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part One, 1987–1988, pp. 66–67.
11 See New York 1973a.
12 Solana 2020, p. 249.
13 Halpert knew the artists personally and represented leading figures such as Romare Bearden, Stuart Davis, Charles Demuth, Arthur Dove, Marsden Hartley, John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, Ben Shahn, Charles Sheeler, and Max Weber, all of whom are present in the Thyssen Collection.
14 Brochure of the exhibition *Practical Manifestations in American Art*, held at The Downtown Gallery in 1934, in Downtown Galley Records, reel 5640, frames 560–61; Brochure of the exhibition *14 Paintings by 14 American Contemporaries*, held at The Downtown Gallery, 1935, Downtown Gallery Records, reel 5640, frames 566–68, quoted in Shaykin 2019, p. 63, n.39.

fig. 13

Catalog of the sale of works previously owned by Edith Halpert with annotations by Baron Thyssen, 1973. Library, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

language. This idea provides a clue as to why Baron Thyssen found her viewpoint so appealing: born in the Netherlands, of Swiss nationality, a resident of Monaco, with a Hungarian noble title and a German fortune, he cut a cosmopolitan and global figure.

In addition, Halpert cleverly connected the work of the avant-garde artists of the period with nineteenth-century painting and folk art, opening up a whole new world of possibilities for her clients. The concept underlying the relationship between works so far apart in time and subject matter was their primitivist spirit, expressed in their naive, sometimes even crude character. This idea was inspired by the contemporary European artworks Halpert had seen during her stay in Paris in 1925–26, which drew from sources as diverse as Russian and Breton folk art and African sculpture.[15] She considered artists such as William Harnett and Winslow Homer forerunners of contemporary Americans, establishing a link between the past and the present. The Thyssen Collection currently has two works by Harnett and came to own a total of eight by Homer, the most accomplished nineteenth-century precedent. This shows that Baron Thyssen not only sought to build a prestigious collection but was furthermore concerned with endowing it with an inner logic based on conceptual unity.

Theorizing the Collection

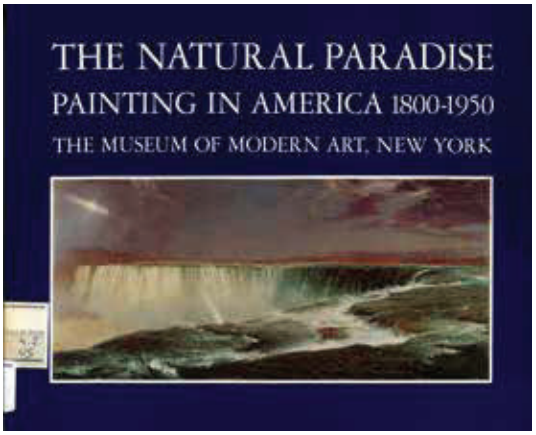
The bicentennial of the US Declaration of Independence in 1976 rekindled interest in American art. In addition to the celebrations that took place in countless towns and cities across the country, several museums staged exhibitions of the art produced over the last 200 years, albeit from different perspectives.[16] Baron Thyssen often traveled to America and visited many of these shows, acquiring catalogs for his personal library.

The bicentennial and its multiple cultural expressions spurred Hans Heinrich to begin buying American art of past periods. With 33 twentieth-century paintings in his possession, in 1977 he purchased two canvases by Winslow Homer, one of which has been loaned for this show [cat. 68]. *The Natural Paradise* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York proved to be a particularly eye-opening experience for the baron, since it focused on landscape painting – his favorite genre – and its various themed sections brought together works from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries [figs. 9 and 14] Barbara Novak's ideas, expressed in the exhibition's catalog, deeply influenced the baron's way of thinking.[17] Novak, born in New York in 1928, is one of the foremost American art specialists. According to her, American painting has its

15 Harrison, Frascina and Perry 1993.
16 Chambers 1975; Howat and Tracy 1975–76; Brindle and Secrist 1976; McShine 1976; Philadelphia 1976.
17 Novak 1976b.

fig. 14

Cover of the catalog of the bicentennial exhibition *The Natural Paradise: Painting in America 1800–1950*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1976. Library, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza



origins in Luminism, a movement that is characterized by a linear, restrained, and conceptual style applicable mainly to landscape, but also to other genres.

Novak's theory provided an innovative and comprehensive conceptualization of American painting from the eighteenth century to the present day. Her idea had already appeared in her first two books published in 1969 and 1980, of which the baron owned copies [fig. 15].[18] The second came out precisely when Hans Heinrich, guided by Simon de Pury, then the curator of his collection, was looking for a specialist to advise him on his acquisitions. De Pury, a Swiss auctioneer, art dealer, and collector who worked for Baron Thyssen from 1979 to 1986, was aware, like Hans Heinrich, of the importance of having an expert analyze and validate the works of art prior to their purchase. That is how Novak became the baron's advisor and influenced the acquisition of more than 70 landscape paintings, 30 of them with a Luminist aesthetic.[19] The resulting collection was a set of highly representative works by foremost American artists of the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, and it included five canvases by Frederic Church, the painter of *Niagara*, executed in 1857 [fig. 2], which was reproduced on the cover of the abovementioned catalog of the MoMA show. Novak also became established as the official theorist of the Thyssen collection and wrote the catalogue raisonné of the American collection among other publications [fig. 16].[20]

A handwritten note by Novak preserved in the Thyssen Archives in Duisburg indicates that she and Baron Thyssen were in contact at least from 1981 onward, and they are known to have remained friends until the baron's death.[21] Their friendship set the course for future acquisitions. Beginning in 1979, the collection was joined by many landscape paintings by artists and in styles praised by Novak in her books, including Martin Johnson Heade's *Jersey Marshes* of 1874 [cat. 37], Henry Fitz Lane's *The Fort and Ten Pound Island, Gloucester, Massachusetts* of 1847 [cat. 40], and George Inness's *Morning* of about 1878 [cat. 14]. In 1981, Novak stated that "Heade's haystack drawings are [...] the finest drawings in the luminist group, and I think it safe to call them some of the most impressive drawings of the American nineteenth century at large."[22] Writing elsewhere about Henry Lewis's *The Falls of Saint Anthony* of 1847 [cat. 62], Novak expressed her liking for such works, which she regarded as historical illustrations because they provided an insight into early topography and culture.[23]

Novak belonged to a trailblazing generation of researchers who shared certain misgivings about the technical quality of the works. They harbored a certain inferiority complex that led them to consider American art to be less technically proficient than European art of the same period. Partly for this reason, Novak and her colleagues were careful to combine formal analysis with a reading of literary sources in their interpretations to demonstrate that what this art truly expressed was national identity. In addition, many of them worked for museums and private collectors such as Baron Thyssen and wrote monographs for galleries.[24] Novak spoke of her decision to devote herself to American art in an interview given in 2013: "I thought that was a more worthwhile scholarly thing to do, to really go into a field that needed work. Plus, I felt it was ours. It wasn't that I thought that it was the greatest art in the world, but I thought it was tremendously interesting."[25]

18 Novak 1969, Novak 1980, and Novak 2007.
19 Thyssen-Bornemisza 2014, p. 215.
20 Novak 1982 and Novak 1986.
21 "Dear Heini – It was really wonderful! Thank you for the generous gift of your time while I was abroad – and for making the visit so lovely. / Warmest regards, / Barbara." Letter from Barbara Novak to Baron Thyssen, May 27, 1981, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2766. Novak is probably referring to her visit to Villa Favorita to admire the art collection.
22 Letter from Barbara Novak to Pat Madelyn Dey-Smith, March 4, 1981, in the Thyssen museum archives.
23 Letter from Barbara Novak to Pat Madelyn Dey-Smith, March 13, 1981, in the Thyssen museum archives.
24 Corn 1988.
25 Recorded interview by James McElhinney with Barbara Novak, from October 8 to 17, 2013, available at Oral history interview with Barbara Novak, 2013 October 8–17 | Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution (si.edu).
26 Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in Washington 1984–86, p. 11.
27 See Ruiz del Árbol 2016, pp. 2–6.
28 He acquired 5 works in the bicentennial year; 30 in 1977; 12 in 1978; 25 in 1979; 45 in 1980; 31 in 1981; 23 in 1982; and 15 in 1983. These figures also include works that are no longer part of the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza or the family collections, but they may have been even higher as some works, of

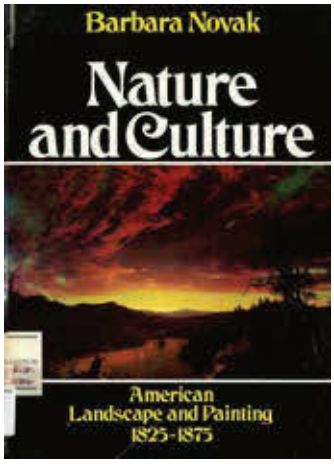


fig. 15

Cover of the book *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825–1875*, of 1980, which Baron Thyssen had in his library. Library, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

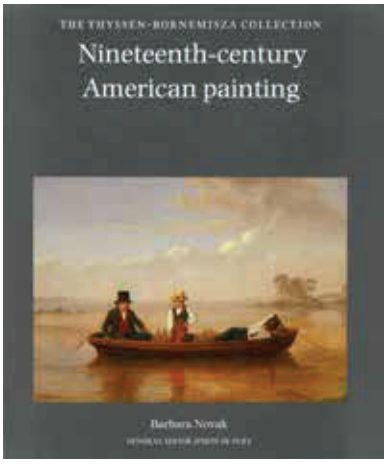


fig. 16

Catalog of Baron Thyssen's American collection written by Barbara Novak, 1986. Library, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

which there is no trace in the records, were sold shortly after being purchased, and there are 40 documented works whose date of purchase or sale is unknown.

29 The artists praised in the article were John Singleton Copley, Charles Willson Peale, Winslow Homer, Edward Hopper, Ben Shahn, and Andrew Wyeth. See Schwartz 1984, p. 66.

30 Young 1983, p. 82.

31 See Rockefeller 2002, p. 448, and Solana 2020, p. 249. Other collector friends of Hans Heinrich Thyssen's were: Peggy (b. 1947) and David Rockefeller (1915–2017), who assembled an art collection of more than 1,500 pieces, including works by Edward Hopper, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Thomas Hart Benton (see *The Collection of Peggy and David Rockefeller: Art of the Americas*, Christie's New York, May 9, 2018; Drue Heinz (1915–2018), who was a member of the board of trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh; and Henry Ford II (1917–1987), with whom Thyssen struck up a close friendship and who, together with his first wife Anne McDonnell, also a member of the board of trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, amassed a collection of Impressionist, Postimpressionist, and twentieth-century works, among others.

32 Artists such as Mary Cassatt, Thomas Eakins, William Harnett, Maurice Prendergast, John Singer Sargent, Gilbert Stuart, and Andrew Wyeth are represented in the Hammer Collection.

Novak's statement "I felt it was ours" clearly strikes a chord with Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's own interest in American art. In the catalog of his American art collection, published in connection with a traveling exhibition in the early 1980s, he stated: "I am very attracted by all American artists, maybe because I am a quarter American."[26] It should not be forgotten that his maternal grandmother, Mathilde Louise Price, came from Delaware, and that the baron grew up reading the books of the German writer Karl May telling of the adventures of the fictional character Winnetou, a Native American in the Far West.[27] The baron thus felt American art to be "his," too, and this emerges in the pace and scope of the purchases he made over the next seven years (1977–83) – when he assembled more than 150 works of art.[28] In 1984, the collection was viewed as "safe, but top-drawer," as it contained works by artists regarded as essential.[29] Over the following years, the rate of purchases tailed off to an average of four per year, and since 1993 Baron and Baroness Thyssen – and since 2002 Carmen Thyssen on her own – acquired a further 23 works of American art. The quality and diversity of the collection was acknowledged by a former director of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, who stated that "in scope and catholicity it is probably unique in Europe."[30]

Collectors' Circles

As we have seen, Baron Thyssen managed to amass a collection of American artworks that was unparalleled outside the United States. From an early age, business and social events brought him into close contact with other art enthusiasts, who enlightened him about collecting habits and the public management of holdings. Many of them had assembled important art collections, but chiefly or exclusively of European works.[31] The baron was the most ambitious European collector of American art in the 1970s and 1980s, and sent his artworks to exhibitions all over the world, broadening America's cultural horizons.

Hans Heinrich Thyssen also met and learned from several American art collectors born to foreign parents in the United States. It is understandable that international entrepreneurs with businesses in the United States should have shown their political allegiance to the West in the throes of the Cold War by extolling the culture of their country of adoption. One such businessman was Armand Hammer, the son of Russian immigrants, who was president of Occidental Petroleum for 40 years [fig. 17].[32] During the 1971 touring exhibition of his art collection, Hammer received negative reviews criticizing the quality of some of his works, as a result of which he

fig. 17

Armand Hammer and Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in Villa Favorita, Lugano, 1983
Photograph courtesy of Carmen Thyssen

fig. 18

Opening of the exhibition *Maestri americani della Collezione Thyssen-Bornemisza*, Musei Vaticani, Vatican City, in 1983
Photograph courtesy of Carmen Thyssen

hired John Walker III, the second director of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, to weed out the more dubious pieces and recommend new purchases.[33] A similar refinement process was carried out on the Thyssen Collection under the direction of Simon de Pury and his successors. In 1981, De Pury drew up a list of works, detailing their purchase price and market value at the time; two years later, seven American paintings had been sold to make way for future acquisitions.[34] The criteria adopted as part of this operation led Baron Thyssen's American art collection to be considered groundbreaking on account of its marked thematic variety and technical excellence.[35]

Baron Thyssen was a client of the New York-based Spanierman Gallery, as were two other key collectors of American art: Detroit-born Richard A. Manoogian (1936–), the director of Masco Corporation, and Daniel J. Terra (1911–1996) of Chicago, the founder of Lawter Chemicals and the Terra Foundation for American Art.[36] Manoogian, the son of Armenian immigrants, began collecting American art with his wife Jane in the 1970s, initially buying modern pieces and subsequently turning his attention to nineteenth-century works, just as the baron did around the same time.[37] In fact, the connection between Manoogian and Thyssen went further when the baron acquired four landscapes directly from the Manoogian collection in 1980, and years later, in 1998, when the baron and his wife bought a fifth work [cat. 7, 27, 50, 55, and 114].

The other Spanierman Gallery client, Daniel Terra, was the son of Italian immigrants. He started out as a collector in 1973 and publicly showed his holdings of American art for the first time in 1977, encouraged by the spirit of the bicentennial celebrations. The following year he set up the Terra Foundation for the Arts to promote the study of America's artistic and cultural legacy.[38] His philanthropic work in the field of art and his support for Ronald Reagan's election campaign secured him an appointment as Ambassador-at-Large for Cultural Affairs in 1982.[39] During his term in office, Reagan chose to privatize the cultural sector by promoting private patronage.[40] Daniel Terra and Baron Thyssen earned international fame for their pioneering collecting of American art in the 1970s and 1980s, a time when American museums were acquiring works by Abstract Expressionists to fill empty rooms instead of buying historical pieces.[41] As we will see, Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza aimed to internationalize art in general and American art in particular, and Terra shared this clearly humanistic outlook.

Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy was a derivative aspect of collecting to which Baron Thyssen devoted considerable energy with a view to facilitating dialogue between nations.[42] This activity entails using a country's culture for political ends.[43] Hans Heinrich put it into practice with the aim of promoting American culture on three different fronts: the first involved loaning his works within the United States, to the headquarters of the Federal Reserve; the second

33 Hammer and Lyndon 1987, pp. 438–43.

34 The paintings were by Jasper Francis Cropsey, Charles Demuth, Thomas Doughty, Martin Johnson Heade, Robert Motherwell, and Andrew Wyeth. See Duisburg Archives, TB/3362. In a letter De Pury reported on the existence of a possible buyer for Edward Hopper's *Hotel Room* of 1931 [cat. 103], adding that it was an "untouchable" work. Letter from Simon de Pury to Baron Thyssen, September 12, 1984, Memorandum, in the Thyssen museum archives. Thyssen purchased eight works by Georgia O'Keeffe and sold three of them (in 1977, 1978, and 1987) in order to acquire others of higher quality or belonging to a different genre [cat. 11, 12, 88, 132, 133]. Another example of the refinement of the collection is the sale of a small portrait painted by John Singleton Copley to acquire a larger canvas of Mrs. Joshua Henshaw II (Catherine Hill) [cat. 78]. Letter from Simon de Pury to Baron Thyssen in the Thyssen museum archives.

35 On the definition of a collection as a system of knowledge, see Foucault 1994, pp. XIX-XX.

36 Thyssen-Bornemisza 2014, p. 215. Oaklander 2021.

37 In 2015, the Manoogian Collection featured 39 works by artists such as Frederick Frieseke, William Merritt Chase, Childe Hassam, Anthony Thieme, Andrew Wyeth, Jackson Pollock, and Frank Stella, all of whom are likewise represented in the Thyssen Collection. See Scott Simmons, "Consummate Collector: Paintings from Richard Manoogian's collection come to Lighthouse ArtCenter," *Florida Weekly*, November 12, 2015.

38 When he opened his museum in Evanston (IL) in 1980, it had 50 paintings. By the time of his death in 1992, Terra had acquired 600 artworks, had moved the main museum to the center of Chicago, and had opened another venue in Giverny, France. His favorite artists were John Singer Sargent, William Merritt Chase, and Maurice Prendergast, all represented in Baron Thyssen's collection [cat. 81, 82, and 117, among others]. Kennedy 2002, pp. 19, 20, 26.

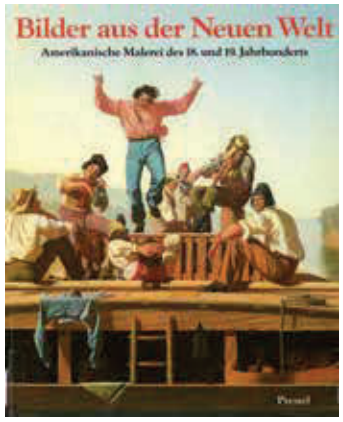


fig. 19

Catalog of the exhibition *Bilder aus der Neuen Welt: Amerikanische Malerei des 18 und 19 Jahrhunderts*, Berlin and Zurich, 1988–1989. Library, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

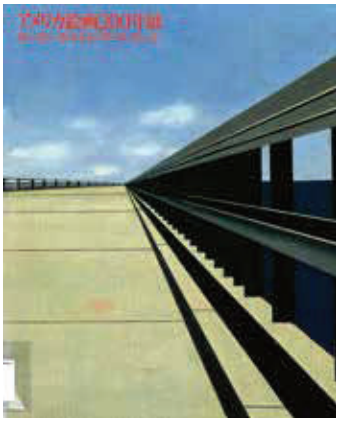


fig. 20

Catalog of the exhibition *Two Hundred Years of American Paintings from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, which toured Japanese cities such as Kobe, Nagoya, Tokyo, and Hiroshima in 1991. Library, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

consisted of increasingly ambitious exhibitions of his collection of American art that toured the world; and the third and perhaps the most significant was in the diplomatic sphere and entailed lending works to embassies or as backdrops for meetings of heads of state. His faith in art's ability to "transcend boundaries" became enshrined in the cultural diplomacy strategy devised for the American collection.[44]

In 1977, Mary Anne Goley founded the Federal Reserve's "Art Program," which was designed to bring art to Federal Reserve employees and visitors.[45] Just as Baron Thyssen had works of art on display in his many offices, so, too, did the bank set about decorating its workspaces with artworks on loan.[46] By February 1978, the baron had already lent the institution a work by Richard Estes [cat. 95], which he then replaced with Stuart Davis's *Pochade* of 1956–58 [cat. 128], also committing to lend it one by O'Keeffe [cat. 12].[47] Over the years, works by Romare Bearden [cat. 86], Arshile Gorky [cat. 107], and Reginald Marsh [see fig. 45] also hung there on loan.[48] The paintings, all dating from the early to mid-twentieth century, showcased the richness and complexity of the American avant-garde movements – or, to put it another way, they embodied the universality of the language of art advocated by Halpert in the 1930s. It is telling that the architect of the program, Arthur F. Burns, thanked the magnate for his efforts to make the initiative a success as early as 1978.[49]

Baron Thyssen's growing collection of American art soon began to be admired abroad as well, thanks to the traveling exhibitions that he organized from 1979 onward. The collector believed that art was "man's heritage" and painters' passport.[50] As an example of this idea, firstly on his own and subsequently with his wife Carmen Thyssen, Hans Heinrich showed his American artworks between 1979 and 1999 in 11 touring exhibitions that traveled to places as far apart as the Vatican Museums [fig. 18], the National Art Gallery of New Zealand, and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Hiroshima, as well as passing through numerous American museums [figs. 19 and 20].[51] The timing could not have been better: following a decade of major US cultural diplomacy initiatives in the 1960s, the use of art as an official political instrument had plummeted by 1970. The John F. Kennedy administration had started up the "Art in Embassies" program in 1963, promoted by the State Department, but events such as the Vietnam War (1955–75) and racist violence triggered a wave of anti-Americanism, leading it to lose momentum.[52] As a result of this, the dissemination of American art and culture was left to private initiatives and collectors such as Hammer, Terra, and Thyssen, who filled the void with various actions of cultural diplomacy.

Two people spurred Baron Thyssen to start exhibiting his American works at a frenetic pace. The first was Annemarie Henle Pope (1910–2001), a German-born art historian and exhibition curator. Beginning in 1977, she made the baron's paintings the core feature of the shows organized by the International Exhibitions Foundation, a non-profit institution she had directed since establishing it herself

39 See Ronald Reagan, "Nomination of Daniel J. Terra to be United States Ambassador at Large for Cultural Affairs Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project," available at: https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/246135.
40 Kennedy 2002, pp. 23 and 26.
41 Simon 2001, p. 36.
42 Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part Two, 1987–88, p. 74.
43 Rugh 2009, p. 7, and Krenn 2017, pp. 1–3.
44 Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part Two, 1987–88, p. 70.
45 Taylor 2017, p. 90. The US government banned Baron Thyssen from exhibiting his works in the country until the origin of his American assets had been clarified, to avoid influencing public opinion. See Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part One, 1987–88, p. 67. The program was devised during the Richard Nixon administration but was implemented under President Gerald Ford. See Goley 2021, p. 1. It was the brainchild of Arthur F. Burns, who drew inspiration, during a visit to the country in 1970, from how the Bank of Spain was disseminating its art collection through loans. See Arthur F. Burns's letter to Baron Thyssen, January 26, 1978, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2752.
46 Contact was most likely established through business, as Mr. Miller, a member of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, had worked with the cofounder of Indian Head, Royal Little. Letter from Baron Thyssen to Nathan Cummings, January 3, 1978, in ibid.
47 Letter from Baron Thyssen to Mary Anne Goley, February 8, 1978, in ibid.
48 Goley 2021, pp. 28–30.
49 Letter from Arthur F. Burns to Baron Thyssen, January 26, 1978, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2752.
50 In Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part Two, 1987–88, p. 69.
51 Sydney 1979–80; Houston 1982; Washington 1982; Vatican City–Lugano 1983–84; London 1984; Tokyo–Kumamoto 1984; Washington 1984–86; Madrid 1986; Barcelona 1988; Berlin–Zurich 1988–89; Tokyo 1991; Shanghai–Beijing 1996–97; New York–Hartford 1997–98; Tokyo–Takaoka–Nagoya–Sendai 1998–99.
52 Cultural diplomacy waned to such an extent that the United States almost did

fig. 21

Invitation to the luncheon to mark the opening of the exhibition *American Masters: The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, November 14, 1985
Photograph courtesy of Carmen Thyssen

fig. 22

Ronald and Nancy Reagan greeting Baron Thyssen in the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C.
Photograph courtesy of Carmen Thyssen

in 1965.[53] Pope was also a member of the Circle of Friends of the National Gallery of Art, and she and its third director, John Carter Brown III, were patrons of the Federal Reserve's "Art Program." It is therefore no coincidence that works from the Thyssen collection were repeatedly displayed at the latter two institutions, especially bearing in mind the prominent role that the baron played in both of them.[54] By 1985, Pope had staged more than 150 exhibitions and her foundation was considered "an international museum without walls," fully in keeping with Hans Heinrich's humanistic philosophy.[55] One of the most famous shows was *American Masters: The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection* (1984–86), which featured more than 110 works and visited eight American cities [fig. 21].[56] The introduction to the catalog, written by Americanist John I. H. Baur, former director of the Whitney Museum of American Art, praised the presence in the show of major American artworks across movements.[57]

The second prominent figure responsible for giving impetus to this initiative was Vladimir Semyonov, the Russian ambassador to West Germany (1978–86), who decisively influenced the direction of Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's cultural diplomacy. The ambassador enlightened Baron and Baroness Thyssen with his philosophy on art during a meeting in Cologne: "For me [...] painting begins to take on a universal nature when [...] artists express their art on a panel or on a canvas, which can be transported from one place to another [...], granting it the human ability to travel around the world."[58] The baron reflected on the mobility of paintings and how it enabled them to "become ambassadors of art."[59] Actually, he became an ambassador himself, entertaining the belief that "nations separated by political barriers or with clashing ideologies can find common ground and a path to mutual understanding through the universal language of art."[60] The enterprising collector succeeded in organizing

not take part in the Seville Universal Exposition of 1992, to which it was invited as "guest of honor." See Krenn 2017, p. 135.

53 In 1947 Annemarie Henle married John Alexander Pope, director of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington.

54 Letter from Mary Ann Goley to Baron Thyssen, July 14, 1978, in Duisburg Archives, TB/2754; see also Duisburg Archives, TB/01147-Part One, p. 29.

55 Art critic Paul Richard expressed this idea in an article dated 1985, quoted in Pearson 2001.

56 See Washington 1984–86.

57 See Baur 1984, p. 15.

58 Thyssen-Bornemisza 2014, p. 226.

59 Ibid., p. 220.

60 Ibid.

61 Anna Somers Cocks, "Death of an amiable, astute and generous collector," *The Art Newspaper*, April 28, 2002, in the Thyssen museum archives.

62 Hammer and Lyndon 1987, pp. 433–37.

63 Thyssen-Bornemisza 2014, p. 220.

64 Taylor 2017, p. 89. See also Paloma Alarcó's essay, p. 23, nn. 11–14. Tellingly, Charles Demuth's *The Primrose* [cat. 130] – whose title indicates the name of the plant and means "the first" – had been on display in the

four traveling exhibitions in the midst of the Cold War as part of a reciprocal agreement with Russia, once even managing to arrange for works from Russian collections to be shown at the National Gallery in Washington D.C.[61] It should nonetheless be pointed out that his friend and eternal rival in the art world, Armand Hammer, had beaten him to the punch. In 1964, Hammer made arrangements for reciprocal exhibitions of Russian art in New York and American art in Moscow, and in 1972 he organized a tour of his collection to six Russian cities in exchange for an exhibition of Russian art at the National Gallery in 1973. This second initiative even received letters of support from President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev, sparking a glimmer of progressive rapprochement between the two countries. Finally, between 1971 and 1986, the Armand Hammer collection toured 50 cities in 18 countries.[62] The baron followed Hammer's example but did so with greater ambition and a clearly American accent, his aim being to "foster dialogue between different countries," in this case the Soviet Union and the United States.[63]

Art and Peace

Another aspect of Baron Thyssen's diplomatic efforts began in the late 1970s with loans of works of art to US embassies around the world. American art, with its variety of artistic styles, reflected the freedom of a democratic society and fostered the movement of national products in a free and global marketplace.[64] Driven by a similar spirit, in 1979 Baron Thyssen sent a group of his works to Moscow as a sample of the diversity of styles (from abstraction to photorealism) of American art of the previous century: [65] Georgia O'Keefe's *From the Plains II* of 1954 [cat. 12], Richard Estes's *People's Flowers* of 1971 [cat. 147], and Newell C. Wyeth's *Kuerner's Farm* of about 1916[66] (previously hung in the White House). Similarly, the American embassy in Mexico City in 1979 enjoyed Charles Sheeler's *Wind, Sea and Sail* of 1948 [cat. 43], which was joined there between 1981 and 1986 by Arthur Dove's *Orange Grove in California, by Irving Berlin* of 1927 [cat. 126], Robert Vickrey's *The Poet* of 1981, and Richard Estes's *People's Flowers*.[67] On taking over from his predecessor as American ambassador to Moscow, Arthur Adair Hartman borrowed four American pictures from a list of 13 in the Thyssen collection, including works by Rockwell Kent and John Twachtman from a selection of nineteenth-century landscape paintings.[68] The combination of very different periods, themes, and artistic styles, with a special emphasis on twentieth-century paintings, showed the world and its leaders that the United States enjoyed an important historical legacy and dominated avant-garde art, reconciling tradition and modernity.

The selection of works from the Thyssen collection loaned to other cities such as Brussels, Budapest, London, and Paris during the 1980s is equally revealing on account of the messages these works convey. For example, Ernest Lawson's Impressionist landscape, *Stream by the Farm* of about 1908, graced the walls of the US diplomatic headquarters in Brussels. The works chosen for Soviet Budapest were figurative and evocative: Thomas W. Dewing's *The Garland* of about 1916, George Innes's *In the Berkshires* of about 1848–50 and *Summer Days* of 1857 [cat. 21 and 23], David Johnson's *View on the Androscoggin River, Maine* of about 1869, and Worthington Whittredge's *Ocate Valley*.[69] The London embassy received three works: John Singleton Copley's *Portrait of Mrs. Joshua Henshaw II (Catherine Hill)* of about 1772 [cat. 78], which extolled Britain's colonial past in the United States; Robert Henri's *Marjorie Reclining* of 1918; and Charles Burchfield's *Cicada Woods* of 1950–59 [cat. 17].[70] A broad variety of works passed through Paris – an indication of its cosmopolitan tastes – such as Eastman Johnson's *Girl at the Window* of 1870–80 [cat. 99], Guy Pène du Bois's *Forty-Second Street* of 1945, John Twachtman's *Snow Scene* of 1890–95,[71] Charles Burchfield's *Cicada Woods* and Lee Krasner's *Red, White, Blue, Yellow, Black* of 1939 [cat. 135].[72] Besides decorating these buildings, the Thyssen Collection enjoyed a presence at the United Nations embassy in New York and, although there is no record of which works were exhibited there, the fact is that Hans Heinrich carried his efforts to use art to promote dialogue between countries through to a logical conclusion by lending works to the center of global diplomacy, whose purpose is to maintain peace.

Most of the loans made to US embassies were arranged through the "Art in Embassies" program, which was a full-blown cultural diplomacy strategy. The baron's archives hold a copy of an explanatory brochure dated April 1989 and signed by Lee Kimche McGrath, its director. The introduction reads as follows: "Art is a powerful form of international currency – it promotes understanding among people of diverse cultural backgrounds." The brochure also reported that, thanks to the program, more than 3,000 works of art, all of them American and of high quality, valued at 35.2 million dollars, were in circulation in 123 countries. It went on to explain that this was

residence of the American embassy in Copenhagen from 1961 to 1964, years before the baron purchased it in 1981, and it may have been the seed of his cultural diplomacy.

65 Maxine Cheshire, "Old Masters in Moscow," *The Washington Post*, October 28, 1979.

66 Carmen Thyssen Collection, inv. CTB 1978.59.

67 Duisburg Archives, TB/3864. Letter from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection to Sidney L. Hamolsky, in the Thyssen museum archives. Letter from Simon de Pury to Lee Kimche McGrath, May 22, 1986, in Duisburg Archives, TB/3385.

68 Letter from Simon de Pury to Baron Thyssen, February 18, 1982, in Duisburg Archives, TB/3385.

69 Telex, October 22, 1985, in the Thyssen museum archives. Letter from Susanne Thesing to Mark Palmer, October 31, 1986, in Duisburg Archives, TB/3385.

70 Letter from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection to Lee Kimche McGrath, March 11, 1986, in ibid.

71 These last two works now belong to the Carmen Thyssen Collection, CTB.1981.29 and CTB.1980.89.

72 Telex, October 22, 1985, in the Thyssen museum archives.

fig. 23

Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev at their first meeting of heads of state during the Geneva summit on November 19, 1985
Photograph courtesy of Carmen Thyssen

fig. 24

Faith Ryan Whittlesey, US ambassador to Switzerland, with Baron and Baroness Thyssen during her visit to Villa Favorita, Lugano, in 1985
Photograph courtesy of Carmen Thyssen

possible thanks to the collaboration between the government and the private sector, and that there were lenders, such as Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, who donated works to the program if necessary.[75] President Ronald Reagan championed the idea of American "exceptionalism," according to which the United States is a different country with a special destiny.[74] It is highly likely that the baron shared this idea, and the presence of this brochure suggests that he stopped collaborating with the program around that time, just months after Reagan stepped down as president [fig. 22].

Baron Thyssen's interest did not, however, lie in simply paying homage to Americana but ultimately extended to promoting international understanding at a time of global tension during the Cold War. Accordingly, in 1985, as a Swiss citizen, he lent two paintings by Arshile Gorky [cat. 107 and 108] to the Swiss embassy in Washington to underline the balance between foreign (the Swiss diplomatic headquarters in the United States) and national (American art) aspects in America. What is more, the US ambassador to Switzerland, Faith Ryan Whittlesey, visited Villa Favorita in Lugano that same year and enjoyed a guided tour of the baron's art collection [fig. 24].

However, one of the major milestones of the cultural diplomacy undertaken by Hans Heinrich was the loan of Martin Johnson Heade's landscape painting *Singing Beach, Manchester* of 1862 [cat. 54] for the Geneva summit of November 19 and 20, 1985.[75] It was a historic moment when Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan met for the first time [fig. 23]. This summit marked "the beginning of the end of the Cold War,"[76] and the nineteenth-century seascape was chosen to "set the mood" of the talks.[77] Who knows, perhaps Barbara Novak influenced the choice of a painting by a member of the Luminist movement – a school that the art historian always viewed in terms of spirituality (owing to the handling of the light and the stillness of the elements) and moral responsibility (because of the artists' faithful depiction of the landscape).[78] The painting might have had a positive effect, since the meeting succeeded in establishing the necessary trust between the two politicians for a cessation of hostilities to take place.[79]

Rewriting History

The true culmination of Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza's cultural diplomacy came when he agreed to bring his collection to Madrid, filling a gap in the Spanish art scene. As is widely known, the collection entered the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum on a loan basis in 1992, and the Spanish State formalized its purchase the following year, acquiring 775 works. As Elizabeth Boone notes, Spain's roots and legacy in the United States had been played down at the end of the nineteenth century in order to shape an American national identity around Britishness.[80] With the presence of the American art collection in Spain, the ties between the two countries were reinforced and historical relations began to be rewritten.

The opening of the Madrid museum did not mark the end of American art collecting, as Carmen Thyssen has continued to acquire works up to the present day.[81] In addition, since the baron's death in 2002, attention has continued to be paid to American art in various exhibitions.[82] In fact, the current show, which reinterprets the collection with support from the Terra Foundation for American Art, brings to a close an important stage in the life of the American paintings in the Thyssen holdings and with its new approach ushers in a future equally intent on fostering international dialogue.

73 "Fact Sheet. Art in Embassies Program, U.S. Department of State. April 1989," in Duisburg Archives, TB/3385.
74 Davis 2003, pp. 544–45.
75 See Paloma Alarcó, "Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza: Collector of Modern Art," in Alarcó 2009, pp. 11–36, here p. 17.
76 "La cumbre de Ginebra de 1985, el principio del fin de la Guerra Fría," EFE Moscow, June 13, 2021, onine version available at: La cumbre de Ginebra de 1985, el principio del fin de la Guerra Fría | Mundo | Agencia EFE.
77 De Pury and Stadiem 2016, n.p.
78 Novak 1986, pp. 28–30.
79 Baron Thyssen closely followed the developments in the Cold War. Found among his papers was an essay written in 1991 by Peter Henry Berry Otway Smithers analyzing the past, present, and future of the West's international relations with the Communist bloc. Peter Henry Berry Otway Smithers, "Opportunity Passes By," October 6, 1991, pp. 1–15, in Duisburg Archives, TB/1710.
80 Boone 2019.
81 In 1996, 8 works joined his collection, 4 in 1997, another 8 in 1998, 4 in 1999, and a further 5 since then [cat. 6, 10, 55–58].
82 See, among others, Llorens 2000; Alarcó 2014; Bourguignon, Fowle and Brettell 2014; and Ruiz del Árbol 2021.

1/NATURE

Paloma Alarcó

Asher B. Durand
A Creek in the Woods
1865

[detail of cat. 20]

SUBLIME AMERICA

At President John F. Kennedy's inauguration ceremony on January 20, 1961, poet Robert Frost recited from memory "The Gift Outright," a poem about the origins of the United States:

> The land was ours before we were the land's.
> She was our land more than a hundred years
> Before we were her people. She was ours
> In Massachusetts, in Virginia,
> But we were England's, still colonials,
> Possessing what we still were unpossessed by,
> Possessed by what we now no more possessed.[1]

Exactly 60 years later, on January 20, 2021 – this time during the ceremony of the current president, Joe Biden – African-American poet Amanda Gorman read "The Hill We Climb," a metaphor about overcoming the past in order to address the future:

> We are striving to forge a union with purpose,
> To compose a country committed
> To all cultures, colors, characters,
> And conditions of man.[2]

Frost's poem, written from a Eurocentric perspective, was based on the idea of America as a promised land – the myth of the Manifest Destiny, the divine mission that guided the pioneers who occupied the new territory. In contrast, Gorman's verses defend the diversity of modern American society and speak of putting an end to injustice and inequality. This preamble, which sums up the shift in thinking in two periods of US history – from an expansionist past to a conciliatory present – serves as an introduction to our survey of the American art that Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza collected over the span of three decades.

First and foremost, it should be noted that in North America, possibly more than anywhere else, the concept of nature was essential to shaping the identity of the young republic. The genesis and development of the genre of American landscape painting is therefore inseparable from the nation's history and political awareness – a particular combination that is not found in Europe. Years ago, Barbara Novak and Perry Miller wrote that the first American artists drew their inspiration not from culture but from nature and, as a result, landscape painting helped define the country, while also representing it.[3] Depicting unspoiled nature accordingly became established as the best means of asserting the burgeoning national spirit.[4]

Whereas during the colonial period landscape merely provided a decorative background for portraits of the Puritan settlers [cat. 48], following the achievement of Independence in 1776, and in the early 1800s in particular, artists grew aware of the greatness of the land where natives and Europeans had first crossed paths. As the artists had recently arrived from Europe or trained there,[5] American landscape was initially an adaptation of European Romantic avant-garde trends to the exuberance of the New World, combined with a religious and patriotic sentiment.[6]

Thomas Cole, a British-born "transatlantic" artist[7] who emigrated to the United States in 1818 and acquired American nationality in 1834, was the first to reveal man's relationship with nature using the conventions of sublime Romanticism. From 1825, the year of his first trip up the Hudson River, to his premature death in 1848, he devoted many of his paintings to the forests and mountains north of New York City. In the paradoxical *Expulsion. Moon and Firelight*, painted around 1828 [cat. 1], Cole combines an imaginary landscape influenced by English Romantic painter John Martin[8] with sketches made from life the year before in the White Mountains [fig. 25]. The picture, which contains the primary elements of matter according to the aesthetic of the sublime – water, earth, and fire – seems to plunge the viewer into a gloomy abyss;[9] yet our gaze is drawn to the radiance of Paradise, from which Adam and Eve have been expelled, a symbol of God's hand that controls nature.[10] Cole displays the same insuperable ability to express a religious sentiment in a later work executed around 1848, *Cross at Sunset* [cat. 2]: the landscape is dominated by a huge cross standing opposite the glow of the setting sun's rays, which are rendered with a biblical sense of Creation.

A Transcendentalist like Cole, Frederic Church also sought to express God's plan for the world by studying nature. Unlike his master, he adopted a more scientific approach in keeping with his explorer's zeal. Influenced by the German naturalist Alexander von

1 Robert Frost attempted to read a poem he had written especially for the occasion but the pages were flapping and the sun was blinding him, so he decided instead to recite from memory "The Gift Outright," which he had published in 1942 in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* 18:2, p. 242. "The Gift Outright," in Frost 1969, p. 348.
2 "The Hill We Climb," in Gorman 2021, p. 15.
3 Novak 1980 and Miller 1967.
4 Christadler 1992.
5 Most artists traveled to train in London, Paris, Rome, or Düsseldorf.
6 The Transcendentalism of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882) and Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862), which expressed in literature man's communion with nature from a moral viewpoint, was an essential reference point for the early landscapists.
7 See Barringer et al. 2018.
8 Especially the *Expulsion* scene in the illustrations John Martin made for John Milton's *Paradise Lost* in 1827.
9 Sarah Burns has studied the dark side of Cole's painting. See Burns 2004.
10 In literature, it was his friend William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) who first associated nature with God.

fig. 25

Thomas Cole
The Bridge of Fear, 1827
Graphite pencil and crayon
on wove paper, 14.9 × 12.4 cm
Detroit Institute of Arts,
Founders Society purchase,
William H. Murphy Fund, 39.367

Humboldt, he traveled to South America twice in the mid-1800s.[11] Between the two trips he painted *Cross in the Wilderness* in 1857 [cat. 3], a desolate tropical landscape that lacks the luxuriant vegetation of his *South American Landscape* from 1856 [cat. 66]. The foreground cross adorned with garlands of flowers, an allusion to the Christian symbols of death, commemorates the passing of one of the sons of William Harmon Brown, who commissioned the work from him.[12]

Allegories of the cross continue to be found in the work of a few twentieth-century Abstract Expressionists, particularly in that of expatriates. In *The Cross in the Garden*, executed in 1950 by Alfonso Ossorio [cat. 4], a Philippine-born painter with a Catholic upbringing, it takes the form of a distorted figure with outstretched arms in order to explore divine nature and human desolation. *Abstraction* by Dutch-American artist Willem de Kooning [cat. 5], an abstract, material and gestural composition from 1949–50 based on the iconography of death, likewise explores laceration and bodily distortion. It also introduces the symbolism of the crucifixion by violently dissecting the symbolic attributions of Golgotha. As his wife Elaine de Kooning confirmed, "Bill always had the Crucifix [sic] in the back of his mind."[13]

During his mature period under the influence of the Christian mystic ideas of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), painter George Inness developed an interest in metaphysical questions. In the artist's own words, "a work of Art does not appeal to the intellect. It does not appeal to the moral sense. Its aim is not to instruct but to awaken an emotion,"[14] and this intention is certainly conveyed by *Morning* [cat. 14], an extremely visionary and poetic work from around 1878. By the time Inness died in 1894, the practitioners of sublime landscape painting had been virtually consigned to oblivion, though the mark they left can be traced in the Romantic leanings of twentieth-century American painting. The artists belonging to the circle of photographer and gallerist Alfred Stieglitz were the first to redeem American landscape painting's mystic past as a trait of modernism. In their images of Lake George, by then a leisure spot frequented by upper-class New Yorkers, Stieglitz and Georgia O'Keeffe [fig. 26] succeed in conveying unfathomable sensations aroused by gazing at nature. *Abstraction. Blind I* [cat. 11], painted by O'Keeffe in 1921 with her unmistakable style of almost invisible brushstrokes and neutral colors, captures the magic of the night through a mysterious image that conjures up visions of planets around a resplendent moon. In *From the Plains II*, executed in 1954 [cat. 12], she explores her fascination with cattle being herded across the vast plains of Texas, kicking up dust and causing a deafening din. Although the artist displays the formal and symbolic influence of Romantic painting, her compositions are not sweeping views like those of Cole or Church but alluring blow-ups of minute details or fragments of nature.

11 See the text by Alba Campo Rosillo in this volume, pp. 105–13.
12 See the text by Kirsten Pai Buick on this work in this volume, pp. 54–55.
13 In Yard 1991, p. 14.
14 George Inness, "A painter on painting," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 56, February 1878, pp. 458–59, cited in Bell 2006, p. 60. On this subject see DeLue 2004.

fig. 26

Georgia O'Keeffe
From the Lake No. 1, 1924
Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 76.2 cm
Des Moines Art Center,
Purchased with funds
from the Coffin Fine Arts Trust,
Nathan Emory Coffin Collection, 1984.3

EARTH RHYTHMS

During the central years of the twentieth century, a few artists continued to explore sublime nature through abstraction.[15] As can be seen in *Untitled (Green on Maroon)* of 1961 [cat. 15], a painting with great dramatic and spiritual intensity, Mark Rothko attempts to look beyond appearances and succeeds in enveloping the viewer in its overwhelming force. The subtle irradiation of his paintings stimulates an atmosphere of inner withdrawal, causing them to appear more beautiful when viewed unhurriedly.

As in so many works painted in his characteristic language of superimposed, uneven color fields, in *1965 (PH-578)*, executed in 1965 [cat. 16], Clyfford Still wants viewers to feel as overawed by the material and sensuous properties of the picture surface, as they are by the dramatic effects of nature portrayed by the Romantics. The huge watercolors of Charles Burchfield, a long-misunderstood artist who defies classification, can also be considered part of the American Romantic tradition [cat. 17–19].[16] Burchfield always veered between two complementary tendencies: nostalgic criticism of the unstoppable industrialization of the modern age and a certain Romantic spirit of exaltation of the hidden forces of nature.

Whereas the influence of European Romanticism pervaded early American landscape painting, as we have seen, from the mid-nineteenth century onward the post-Darwinian positivist mindset aroused growing scientific interest in the natural environment.[17] Unlike the artists who took a pantheistic approach in keeping with the aesthetic categories of the sublime, the second-generation landscapists were closer to the naturalist trend predominant in Europe for much of the nineteenth century and developed an interest in natural history and nature's constant changes.

From the time of his first outings into the countryside with his master Thomas Cole, Asher B. Durand became a committed *plein-airiste* and urged artists to paint from life in his writings: "Go first to Nature to learn to paint landscape."[18] *A Creek in the Woods*, painted in 1865 [cat. 20], is an example of his own particular portrayal of the exuberance of the woodlands of New England. This picture is notable for the towering beech trees in the foreground, whose monumentality is emphasized by the vertical format. There is a painstakingly scientific realism in the rendering of the moss-covered rocks and the reflection of the sun on the bark of the trees, not far removed from the landscapes of Gustave Courbet. The same naturalistic leanings and a similar attention to detail are found in John Frederick Kensett's *Trout Fisherman* of 1852 [cat. 22], George Inness's *In the Berkshires* from around 1848–50 [cat. 21], and also James McDougal Hart's *Summer in the Catskills* of about 1865 [cat. 25], where the mossy rocks are rendered with great geological accuracy and the vegetation is meticulously lifelike.

In the 1870s, after returning from a long trip around Europe and the Middle East, Frederic Church had Olana, a neo-Persian-style mansion, built beside the Hudson River. There he keenly studied the new scientific treatises on light and color and captured in his paintings the changes that took place

15 In 1961, Robert Rosenblum published an article defining Mark Rothko, Barnett Newman, Clyfford Still, and Jackson Pollock as examples of the survival of the Romantic spirit. See Rosenblum 1961.
16 On Burchfield's use of watercolor, see Burlingham 2009, pp. 11–19.
17 Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was published in 1859.
18 Durand 1855.

fig. 27

Asher B. Durand
Kindred Spirits, 1849
Oil on canvas, 111.8 × 91.4 cm
Bentonville, Crystal Bridges Museum
of American Art, 2010.106

in the surrounding landscape under the varying atmospheric conditions that are characteristic of the different seasons of the year. *Autumn*, executed in 1875 [cat. 7], reflects his enthusiasm for this season's colors, which he also expressed in a letter to his painter friend Jervis McEntee (1828–1891): "When the autumn fires light up the landscape you will see Nature's palette set with her most precious and vivid colors."[19]

Like Church, Jasper Francis Cropsey withdrew to the idyllic nature setting of Aladdin, his mansion in Warwick beside Greenwood Lake. An example of his output from this period is *Greenwood Lake*, a late work of 1870 [cat. 24] marked by the influence of John Ruskin (1819–1900), whom he met in England. Cropsey combines a sweeping, dramatic view of the lake amid the explosion of color of the Indian summer that precedes the advent of winter with a painstaking rendering of the tiniest details of the vegetation. The panoramic format, which began to catch on in American painting toward the mid-century – here deliberately enlarged horizontally – accentuates the play of the light from the sky and its reflection on the broad horizon with its golden sunset. If we look carefully, two tiny figures gazing at the multicolored sunset above the lake from a rocky promontory can be made out in the lower left area. These two people, dwarfed by Cropsey to exaggerate the grandeur of nature, invariably bring to mind the *Kindred Spirits* – Thomas Cole and William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) – Durand immortalized standing on a rock and gazing in awe at the immensity of the landscape [fig. 27].

A similar luminosity is found in John Frederick Kensett's *Lake George* of about 1860 [cat. 50], the setting for *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) by James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), a heroic story about the natives during the French and Indian War (1754–63), and in Thomas Moran's landscapes of Yellowstone. In 1871, Moran joined the geological expedition led by Ferdinand V. Hayden (1829–1887) to the northwest region of Wyoming and Yellowstone.[20] The many sketches he made during the trip provided him with the basis for the large canvases he produced on returning, such as *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone* of 1872 [fig. 28], which was acquired by the US Congress and hung in the Capitol in Washington for years. Both the explorations themselves and, no doubt, Moran's paintings too contributed significantly to the debates that culminated in Yellowstone being designated a national park by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1872. William Turner (1775–1851) was a key reference point for Moran, who in sketches like *Hot Springs of Yellowstone Lake* of 1873 [cat. 26] adapts Romantic conventions to the view of the famous geyser that the first travelers gazed at with astonishment. The tiny figures of two indigenous people in the center and background of the composition represent the inhabitants of this region, whose lives were disrupted by the arrival of the expeditions.

The Old Bridge, painted by Theodore Robinson in 1890 [cat. 27], displays the incipient

19 Letter from Frederic Church to Jervis McEntee, dated September 23, 1874, in Albert Duveen Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., cited by Katherine Manthorne in Novak 1986, p. 100.

20 Ferdinand V. Hayden published a detailed description of Yellowstone in the February 1872 issue of *Scribner's Monthly* 3:4, pp. 388–96, with illustrations by Moran. See Bedell 2002. See also Knox 2018.

fig. 28

Thomas Moran
The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, 1872
Oil on canvas mounted on aluminum,
245.1 × 427.8 cm
Washington D.C., US Department
of the Interior Museum, L.1968.84.1

influence of French Impressionism and its concern with capturing fleeting moments. The same influence is found in William Merritt Chase, who helped spread Impressionism in America when he established the Shinnecock Hills Summer School of Art in 1891. Chase painted many landscapes around his home near Southampton, on Long Island, such as *Shinnecock Hills* of 1893–97 [cat. 28], in which, as Karl Kusserow states in this volume,[21] he turns his back on the ocean, concentrating instead on the effects of light in the sky and on portraying the vegetation-covered dunes that separate the dry land from the seashore.

Further into the twentieth century, special mention should be made of Arthur Dove, an artist ever attentive to the changes in the inner forces of the Earth and varying atmospheric conditions. In *U.S.*, painted in 1940 [cat. 29], and *Blackbird*, an abstract oil painting of 1942 [cat. 30], as well as in other compositions from his final period, we find a few traces of biomorphic shapes and repetitive rhythms with great organic vitality that indicate an intention to integrate abstraction and nature. Rachel DeLue likened *U.S.* to certain compositions by the artist that were inspired by the war, aerial views that attest to his interest in geography and meteorology.[22]

Hans Hofmann, a German-born painter who emigrated to New York and opened a school for artists in Provincetown in 1935 and later in New York, also stressed to his pupils that "nature is always the source of [an artist's] creative impulses."[23] At the end of the 1940s, Hofmann began to adopt an organic figurative style that he was still using in the early 1950s, as in *Blue Enchantment* of 1951 [cat. 31], which combines his European roots and training with the novelties of his American experience.

According to an old anecdote, when Hofmann advised Jackson Pollock to paint from nature, Pollock replied: "I am nature."[24] *Number 11*, executed in 1950 [cat. 32], is a good example of what the artist meant by this sagacious statement. The choreography of the artist moving his body and hand over the canvas placed on the floor – a combination of the gestural nature of the new action painting and his absolute mastery of painting materials[25] – was quite a ritual linked to the natural world [see fig. 5]. According to his wife, Lee Krasner, Pollock had stated that he wished to reproduce the rhythms of the Earth because he believed that "man was part of nature, not separate from it."[26] But he also pointed out that the way in which the artist acts as a medium in the

21 See pp. 80–81 in this volume.
22 DeLue 2016, p. 140.
23 Seitz 1963, p. 11.
24 Testimony of Lee Krasner reported in Karmel 1999, p. 28.
25 The combination of spontaneousness and control was the basis of Kirk Varnedoe and Pepe Karmel's interpretation of the artist in the Pollock exhibition at the MoMA in 1998.
26 Testimony of Lee Krasner reported in Rose 1983, p. 134.

fig. 29

Thomas Cole
View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm – The Oxbow, 1836
Oil on canvas, 130.8 × 193 cm
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1908, 08.228

HUMAN IMPACT

> Yet I cannot but express my sorrow that the beauty of such landscapes is quickly passing away – the ravages of the axe are daily increasing – the most noble scenes are made destitute, and oftentimes with a wantonness and barbarism scarcely credible in a civilized nation.[28]

creative process is similar to native American rituals: "I feel nearer, more a part of the painting, since this way I can walk around it, work from the four sides and literally be *in* the painting. This is akin to the method of the Indian sand painters of the West."[27]

Like Pollock, who avoided direct contact with the canvas, Morris Louis refrained from intervening in the execution process, acting instead as a mere "facilitator" by allowing the colors to follow their own logic, driven by the force of gravity present in nature. His refined technique of pouring thin glazes onto the canvas can be seen in the *Pillars of Hercules* of 1960 [cat. 34]. In this operation the Magna acrylic paints, greatly diluted with turpentine, very quickly soak into the canvas, staining it and irreversibly becoming part of it.

Earth Rhythms, executed by Mark Tobey in 1961 [cat. 33], is an excellent example of this artist's unique delicate and linear style deriving both from observation of nature and from Surrealist automatism. As in most of his paintings, the all-over structure is built from a vocabulary of floating and interlaced calligraphic forms, called "white writing," that provide a glimpse of his particular spatial vision of the cosmos.

Painter Thomas Cole's complaints of the increasing "ravages of the axe" show that he was ahead of his time in his realization of the perils of progress,[29] and his reflections are especially relevant to the present age of environmental awareness. For Cole nature was "an unfailing fountain of intellectual enjoyment" that awakened "a keener perception of the beauty of our existence."[30] It was precisely this statement that inspired the title of a pioneering study by Alan C. Braddock and Christoph Irmscher on American art from an ecocritical perspective.[31] Ecocriticism, a new specialty in art history, does not merely carry out a traditional analysis of landscape art as a cultural-aesthetic construct but also studies it from the perspective of its environmental implications. In the recent exhibition *Nature's Nation: American Art and Environment* at the Princeton University Art Museum, Karl Kusserow and Alan Braddock considered that although ecology did not exist in the nineteenth century, the tension between civilization and conservation pervaded American painting of that period to such an extent that it paved the way for modern environmental awareness.[32]

Before the arrival of the expedition of Briton Henry Hudson (1565–1611), the vast Hudson River Valley, inhabited by Mohican, Mohawk, and Munsee nations, was full of trees. Over time, however, the colonizers' settlements gradually converted this natural region into farmland. It is hardly surprising that in 1836, the year he published his essays on the American landscape, Cole should have painted his famous *The Oxbow* [fig. 29], which clearly illustrates the transformation of this environment from impenetrable forest into cultivated plots of

27 Pollock 1980.
28 Thomas Cole, "Essays on American Scenery," in *The American Monthly Magazine* 1, January 1836. Reported in McCoubrey 1965, p. 109.
29 Years ago, Barbara Novak looked at the images of felled trees in the paintings of Cole and other landscapists, who denounced progress while symbolizing the advance of civilization. See Novak 1976a. See also Cikovsky 1979. The recent exhibition organized by Elizabeth Mankin Kornhauser and Tim Barringer in New York and London shows that Cole was one of the first to express his discontentment with the advance of industrialization. See Kornhauser and Barringer 2018.
30 McCoubrey 1965, p. 99.
31 Braddock and Irmscher 2009.
32 Kusserow and Braddock 2018. See also Brownlee 2008.

land around a bend in the River Connecticut. The fallen lopped tree at left may allude to the so-called "witness trees" that were marked with incisions to delimit the new properties or indicate the areas to be felled.

As we have seen, most of the early American landscapists retired to the countryside to live. From there they sometimes depicted bucolic scenes of country life or farming activities such as harvesting, which symbolize the bounty of New England and the first settlers' connection with surrounding nature. The image of a small family-run farm in the middle of the landscape is furthermore consonant with Jefferson's ideal of reconciling technological progress with occupation of the land.[33] A good example is Eastman Johnson's *The Maple Sugar Camp–Turning Off* of around 1865–73 [cat. 36], which shows the rural scenery of Nantucket, the legendary island that also provided a setting for Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851). As Brian Allen stresses, unlike sugarcane cultivation in the South, maple syrup was produced by free workers, not slaves.[34] Therefore, rather than conveying an image of exploitation, perhaps Johnson is drawing attention to a moment of solace when several men, women, and children eat, drink, and dance as free citizens working in communion with nature.

Martin Johnson Heade also symbolizes the preservation of the natural environment, especially in the marshy landscapes along the Atlantic coast, which he painted from 1859 to 1904. The simple marshy lands with scenes of sowing and harvesting hay – such as *The Marshes at Rhode Island* of 1866 [cat. 35] and *Jersey Marshes* of 1874 [cat. 37] – are the perfect picture of age-old farming practices that respect the balance of nature. However, another interpretation is also possible: as Maggie Cao recently noted, these are "pictures that defy the genre's expectations and engage in a process of emptying and evacuation that mirrors the period's environmental destruction."[35]

Besides witnessing the expansion of farming, the Atlantic coast was a gateway for explorers, African slaves, and European settlers as well as the cornerstone of maritime trade thanks to its ports: Plymouth, founded by the Calvinist Pilgrim Fathers who arrived in the *Mayflower*, and Gloucester, Boston, and New York. Around 1836, John William Hill painted his *View of New York from Brooklyn Heights* [cat. 38] from Furman Street on the Brooklyn shore, watching the boats sailing along the East River and Lower Manhattan, which was then taking shape as a busy financial district. The port of Boston, used by the natives as a trading hub and transformed by the settlers into a center for exporting goods, was captured in several pictures by British painter Robert Salmon, who established himself in the city in 1828 [cat. 39]. Among the artists who continued to execute port scenes was his friend Fitz Henry Lane. In *The Fort and Ten Pound Island, Gloucester, Massachusetts* of 1847 [cat. 40], Lane depicts the bustle of this legendary port with the island in the background. Ten Pound Island, crowned with a fort and located in the center of the bay, owed its name to the tax the English had to pay on arriving there. The narrative elements in the foreground, where the fishermen are busily engaged in their daily tasks, combine the realism of the scene with an interest in visually exploring the passage of time through human activity.

Francis Silva's *Kingston Point, Hudson River* of about 1873 [cat. 41] is a somewhat magical view of this village on the banks of the Hudson. Before the first Dutch explorers arrived in the seventeenth century, the place had been a farming settlement of the Algonquin people. In the eighteenth century, it began to be transformed into a center of industrial activity, but Silva deliberately avoided showing this aspect, possibly because he wished to depict an unspoiled nature gone forever. Similarly, *Afternoon Sailing* [cat. 42], one of the few landscapes painted by John Frederick Peto, an artist notable for his still lifes, shows the Atlantic coast of Toms River, a place near Island Heights, around 1890. The painting conceals the growing urban development and provides a glimpse of a solitary spot with the sole presence of a small sailboat that alludes to the tradition of sailing in this area. As we see in Charles Sheeler's *Wind, Sea and Sail*, dated 1948 [cat. 43] – a painting far removed from his usual subjects, industrial landscapes and cityscapes[36] – sailing continued to be practiced as a sport for a long time on the East Coast.

At the end of the nineteenth century, when the prominent names of the previous decades had slid into oblivion, Winslow Homer emerged as the heir to the tradition of painting nature. The subject of *Daughter of the Coast Guard*, a watercolor dated 1881 [cat. 45] and made in Cullercoats, a small English fishing village, is one of the local women, whom the artist defined as "stout, hardy creatures."[37] The young woman is exhausted after spending hours searching fruitlessly for the survivors of a shipwreck or a vessel lost in the fog. Her figure, rendered in monumental proportions, conveys such drama that it could be considered a tragic symbol of mankind pitted against the forces of nature. On returning from England at the end of 1882, Homer took up residence in another

33 Hunt 1992.
34 Allen 2004.
35 Cao 2018, p. 71.
36 See the text by Clara Marcellán and Marta Ruiz del Árbol in this volume, pp. 155–65 and cat. 90–91.
37 Cited in Gerdts 1977, p. 21.

fig. 30

Edward Hopper
House with Dead Trees, 1932
Watercolor on paper, 50.8 × 71.1 cm
Private collection

small fishing community, Prouts Neck off the coast of Maine, where he painted simple life with the same Homeric proportions. *Signal of Distress* of 1890, 1892, and 1896 [cat. 44], which captures a moment of heightened tension during a rescue at sea, belongs to a series on the subject of man's heroic struggle against the perilous ocean.

Adventures in the Wilderness (1869), a famous book by Bostonian Reverend William Murray (1840–1904) telling of his adventures in the Adirondacks, aroused growing interest in these northern regions, which inspired Homer to paint nearly a hundred watercolors. One of them, *Deer in the Adirondacks* of 1889 [cat. 46], masterfully reflects the silent calm of this spot, disturbed only by the presence of a dog chasing after a deer. This practice, now banned on account of its cruelty, involved the dog driving the deer into the water, where the hunters awaited it.[38]

Finally, mention should be made of Edward Hopper, who in 1930 began spending his summers in South Truro, on Cape Cod, whose luminous landscapes became a recurring theme in his work. *Dead Tree and Side of Lombard House*, dated 1931 [cat. 47], depicts his friend Frank Lombard's home in the shade. What makes this watercolor so original is the dead tree on the left of the composition. Silhouetted against the luminous sky, its dark, bare branches lend the atmosphere an air of desolation. It could be a sign of the artist's existential pessimism, but if we interpret the presence of dead trees in several of his paintings from an environmental perspective [fig. 30], it is possible to establish a link with the dead trees in Cole's or Durand's paintings, toppled by the destructive human impact.

38 See the text by David Peters Corbett in this volume, p. 100.

NATURE/
SUBLIME AMERICA

1

Thomas Cole
Bolton-le-Moors, United Kingdom 1801–1848 Catskill

Expulsion. Moon and Firelight
c. 1828

Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 122 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 95 (1980.14)

2

Thomas Cole

Bolton-le-Moors, United Kingdom 1801–1848 Catskill

Cross at Sunset
c. 1848

Oil on canvas, 81.8 × 122.4 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 96 (1980.15)

3

Frederic Edwin Church
Hartford 1826–1900 New York

Cross in the Wilderness
1857

Oil on canvas, 41.3 × 61.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 508 (1981.12)

William Harmon Brown commissioned this painting after the death of one of his children. Frederic Edwin Church composed the work based on the landscapes that he saw in Colombia and Ecuador, where people used to articulate their grief through memorials carefully placed in nature. In addition to its connection to human sorrow and suffering, the picture by Church is inseparable from how we understand landscape representation – as symbol and resource in the words of Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels but also, according to W.J.T. Mitchell, as an instrument of power. However, the painting and the artist require us to slow down to consider those connections between power and spirituality, and they reveal to us something of the nature of both.

Countless sources bear witness to New Englanders' engagement with the past during the 1800s. That century was also the proving ground over what type of nation the United States of America would be – one subjugated to Roman Catholicism or a nation led by Protestants. According to Jon Gjerde, "a suspicion of Roman Catholicism was not a new phenomenon in the early national period; indeed, it had deep roots in the British and American colonial past. These sentiments found expression in state and federal law and practice well into the nineteenth century. Legal anti-Catholicism [...] was overlaid with a discourse about the American nation and membership within it in the early decades of the nineteenth century that further complicated the place of Catholics and the Church in American society."[1] Moreover, Gjerde notes that differences over religious affiliation during this time were the primary impediment to white racial formation.

Church was not anti-Catholic, but as a New Englander, he had deep ties to the Puritan past and to its successful integration and mainstreaming within the culture of the United States. His varied expressions of acceptance and respect for the beliefs of others are redolent in his paintings – whether it was depictions of the holy land or crosses (absent the figure of Christ) that appear in many of his works. His deep connections to Protestantism and its literary history are also noteworthy.

Many North American artists depicted wilderness themes in their art, and whether that interest was expressed in the form of painting or sculpture, each instance of portrayal had implications for landscape representation and its power to define cultural, social, and political relations and hierarchies. Like the concept of "progress" (defined since the seventeenth century as a moral journey from damnation to salvation), Puritans and their descendants had a deep connection to the idea of "wilderness," and we need to deal with the idea of the wilderness in its old sense in order to understand the ideology of the frontier.

The concept of "wilderness" did not travel with the Puritans from England but was instead born out of the American wild itself. Arriving at a physical wilderness rather than a garden (of Eden), they suffered plagues, water shortages, famines, a climate wholly unfamiliar to them, and a hostile indigenous populace. The wilderness was the home of Indians, witches, as well as the devil. It was disorienting – literally be-"wild"-ering – a space that could turn men of God into the very entities that they were born to contest. Moreover, westward expansion was antithetical to New England conceptions of society as an organism rather than an aggregate made up of individuals whose movement threatened the integrity of that organism. Therefore, Puritans developed the concept of the West to distinguish

1 Gjerde 2012, p. 26.

wilderness (a place where moral and spiritual exercises take place) from frontier (movement away from society for primarily commercial purposes).

By the nineteenth century, New Englanders remained deeply connected to their ancestors, their history, and to early Puritan experiences. Church's painting is a testament to those connections: it retains the old sense of wilderness as closer to home, as a space that embodied spiritual tests where trials of faith were enacted. New Englanders like Church amplified the idea of wilderness but from a position of hindsight: Indian wars, successful re-settlement of First Nations people, and extermination policies enacted against them transformed the grim findings of the seventeenth century into a land seeded with God's purpose where crosses could miraculously appear to convert the willing.

The schism within the Christian world was profound, and the manner in which Protestants and Catholics began to communicate again was through the language of modernism. As an ideology, modernism fractured objects into two categories – those with a use-function and those with an aesthetic-function. "Discovery of the new world" was largely a semantic and ideological one, so that in order to distinguish itself from the occupants of its own wilderness – First Nations people and the descendants of the Spanish Empire – the United States defined itself by its modernity, a process of secularization that concomitantly created, implicated, and rendered foreign targeted groups within its wilderness/frontier/borders.

Kirsten Pai Buick

4 ←

Alfonso Ossorio
Manila, Philippines 1916–1990 East Hampton

The Cross in the Garden
1950

Gouache and collage on paper, 85 × 61 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1981.3

5

Willem de Kooning
Rotterdam, Netherlands 1904–1997 New York

Abstraction
1949–50

Oil and oleoresin on cardboard, 41 × 49 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 630 (1974.55)

6

Worthington Whittredge
Springfield 1820–1910 Summit

The Rainbow, Autumn, Catskills
c. 1880–90

Oil on canvas, 29.2 × 42.8 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1999.114

7 →

Frederic Edwin Church
Hartford 1826–1900 New York

Autumn
1875

Oil on canvas, 39.4 × 61 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 507 (1980.86)

8

Albert Bierstadt
Solingen, Germany 1830–1902 New York

Sundown at Yosemite
c. 1863

Oil on canvas, 30.5 × 40.6 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1980.9

9

Albert Bierstadt
Solingen, Germany 1830–1902 New York

Evening on the Prairie
c. 1870

Oil on canvas, 81.3 × 123 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 468 (1981.56)

10

William Bradford
Fairhaven 1823–1892 New York

Fishermen off the Coast of Labrador
n.d.

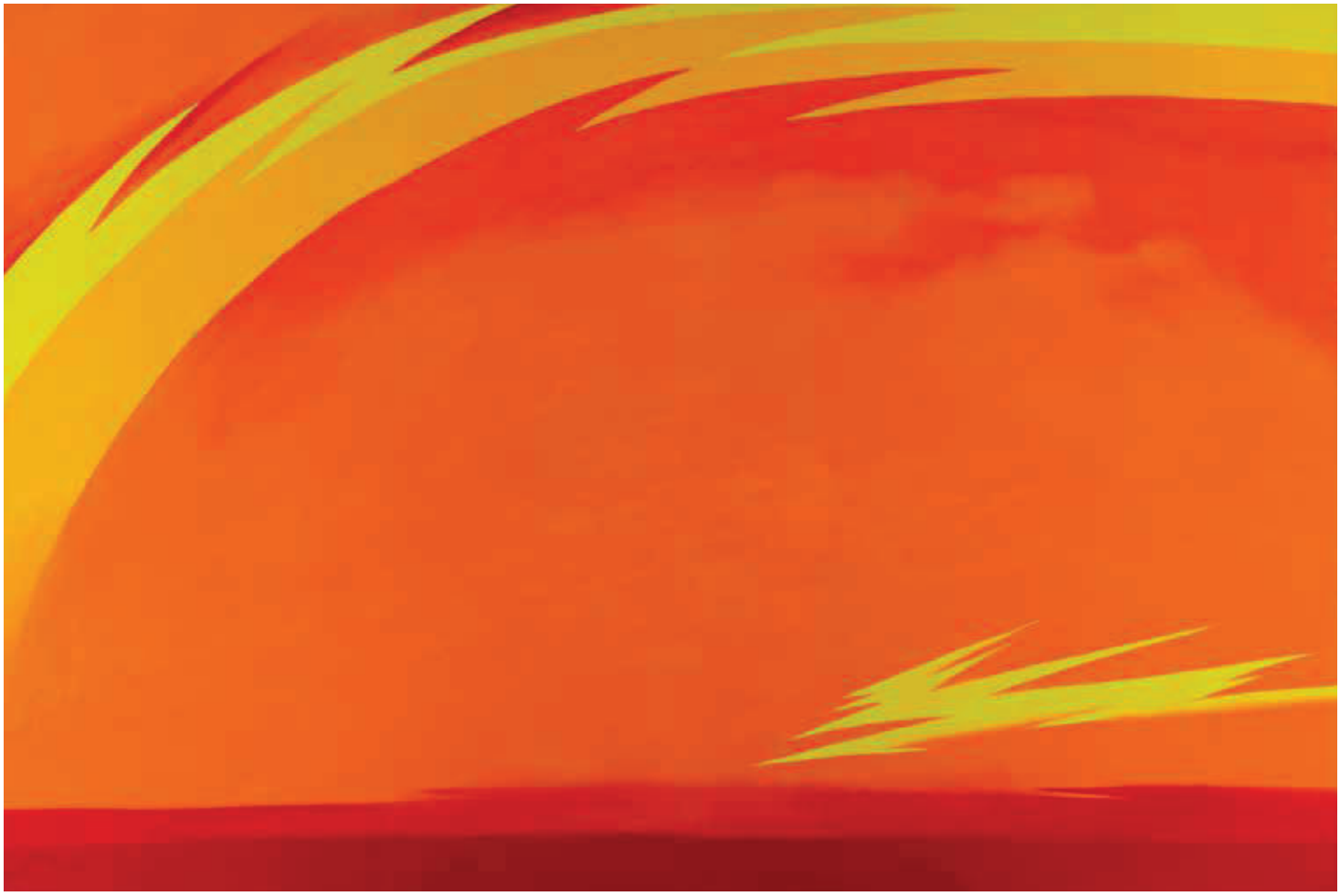
Oil on canvas, 52 × 82.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1998.69

11

Georgia O'Keeffe
Sun Prairie 1887–1986 Santa Fe

Abstraction. Blind I
1921

Oil on canvas, 71 × 61 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 695 (1973.5)



12

Georgia O'Keeffe
Sun Prairie 1887–1986 Santa Fe

From the Plains II
1954

Oil on canvas, 122 × 183 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 696 (1977.36)

13

Frederic Edwin Church
Hartford 1826–1900 New York

Abandoned Skiff
1850

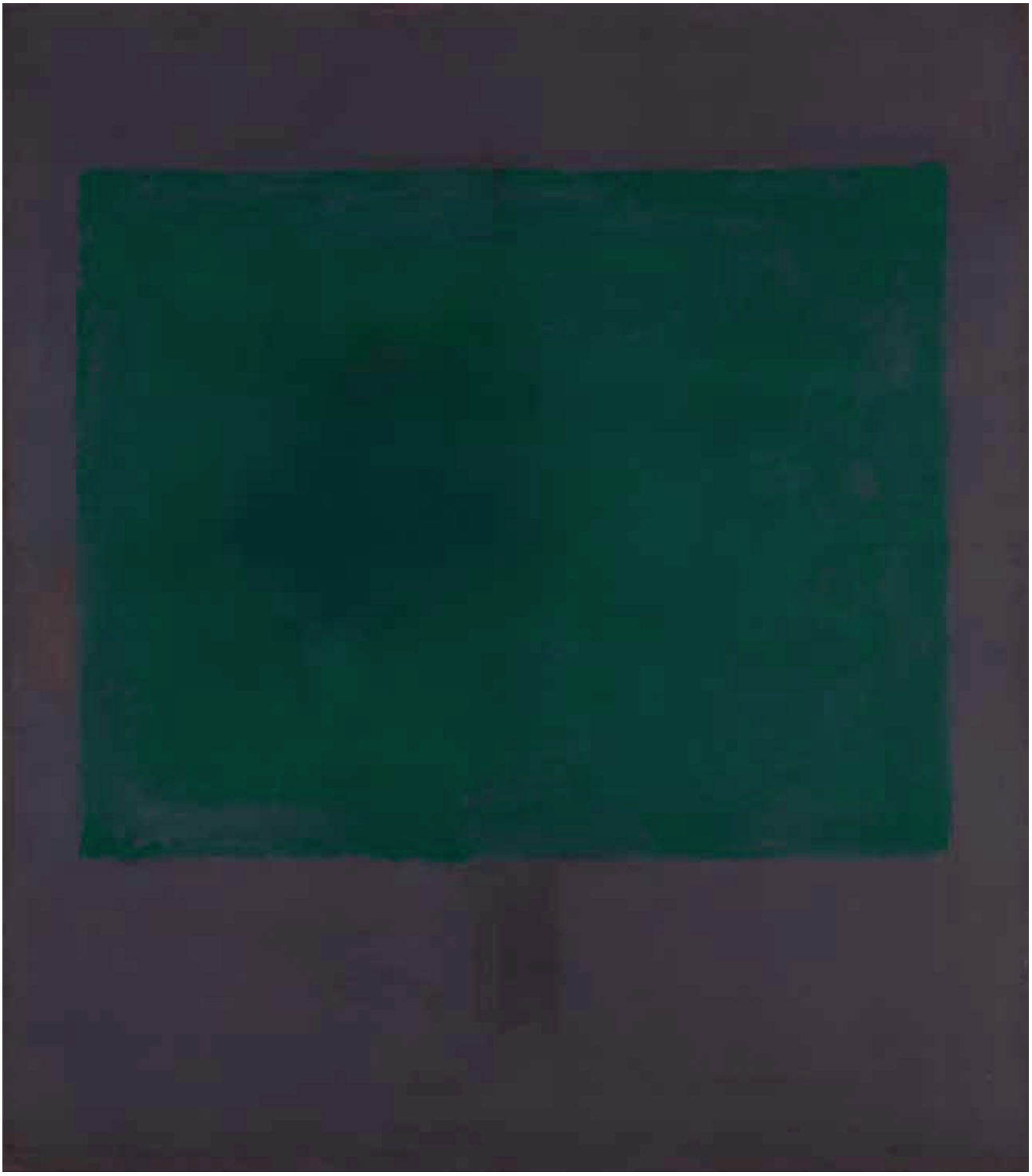
Oil on cardboard, 28 × 43.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 509 (1982.40)

14

George Inness
Newburgh 1825–1894 Bridge of Allan, United Kingdom

Morning
c. 1878

Oil on canvas mounted on cardboard, 76.2 × 114.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid,
inv. 600 (1983.4)



15

Mark Rothko
Daugavpils, Latvia 1903–1970 New York

Untitled (Green on Maroon)
1961

Mixed media on canvas, 258 × 229 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 729 (1982.50)

16

Clyfford Still
Grandin 1904–1980 Baltimore

1965 (PH-578)
1965

Oil on canvas, 254 × 176.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 766 (1982.36)

Charles Burchfield
Ashtabula Harbor 1893–1967 West Seneca

17

Cicada Woods
1950–59

Watercolor, pencil, and chalk on paper, 103 × 132 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid,
inv. 484 (1980.70)

18 →

July Drought Sun
1949–60

Watercolor on paper, 114.3 × 137.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 483 (1977.88)

19 →

Orion in Winter
1962

Watercolor on paper, 122 × 137 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 482 (1977.6)

NATURE/
EARTH RHYTHMS

20

Asher B. Durand
Maplewood 1796–1886

A Creek in the Woods
1865

Oil on canvas, 101.6 × 81.9 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 533 (1980.79)

21

George Inness
Newburgh 1825–1894 Bridge of Allan, United Kingdom

In the Berkshires
c. 1848–50

Oil on canvas, 61 × 56 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1980.22

22

John Frederick Kensett
Cheshire 1816–1872 New York

Trout Fisherman
1852

Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 40.6 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1980.52

23

George Inness
Newburgh 1825–1894 Bridge of Allan, United Kingdom

Summer Days
1857

Oil on canvas, 103.5 × 143 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 601 (1985.26)

24 →

Jasper Francis Cropsey
Rossville 1823–1900 Hastings-on-Hudson

Greenwood Lake
1870

Oil on canvas, 97 × 174 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 496 (1983.39)

25 →

James McDougal Hart
Kilmarnock, United Kingdom 1828–1901 Brooklyn

Summer in the Catskills
c. 1865

Oil on canvas, 33.6 × 59 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1996.18

26

Thomas Moran
Bolton, United Kingdom 1837–1926 Santa Barbara

Hot Springs of Yellowstone Lake
1873

Watercolor on paper, 24.2 × 36.8 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1982.25

27

Theodore Robinson
Irasburg 1852–1896 New York

The Old Bridge
1890

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 81.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 725 (1980.88)

28

William Merritt Chase
Nineveh 1849–1916 New York

Shinnecock Hills
1893–97

Oil on panel, 44.4 × 54.6 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 502 (1979.30)

To paint a landscape of nothing was a curious and unusual thing to do in American art in the nineteenth century. But that is what William Merritt Chase undertook when, at its close, he completed a series of works – a great many, altogether – each portraying a nondescript swatch of land somewhere in the sandy terrain near his home in Southampton, Long Island. Chase operated an art school there between 1891 and 1902, before the place became as rich and fashionable as it is today. Indeed, his well-to-do clientele helped make it so, which it turns out was in part the point of the Shinnecock Hills Summer School of Art. As so often in American history, art and commerce were there linked, specifically via Jane Ralston Hoyt, a socially connected entrepreneur who, in collaboration with the Long Island Railroad, invited Chase to establish the school to promote the area's development and advance her own real estate interests.[1]

It is beautiful by the sea in Southampton. But more often than not, Chase turned his back to the ocean in his paintings of the area, or brought it in only obliquely, as if just to establish that we are at the shore – which might be inferred anyway: the quality of light and the breezy clouds, the color of the soil and the low, windblown vegetation, the spare, gently undulating topography (more dunes than the "hills" of the painting's title) all suggest the littoral zone.

Shinnecock Hills looks more than anything like a slightly earlier French painting – a meadow scene by Alfred Sisley, perhaps, similar in its focus on a random, quotidian bit of countryside, distinguished by the artist's mere decision to see and attend to it. Before works such as this, American landscape paintings had another job to do. In the expanding, rapidly developing United States, they were agents of empire, showing and smoothing the way into their common subject – the great American incognita – through picturesque pictorial conventions that American artists clung to long after they lost currency abroad. And for good reason: the carefully constructed compositions of the picturesque – its framing elements and stepwise recession into space via successively overlapping forms, like on a stage set – brought a sense of logic and control to the unruly, potentially overwhelming land, while at the same time suggesting bodily entry into the scene and thus its metaphorical occupation.

But as the picturesque shaded into the sublime in the large, detailed, theatrical works of painters like Frederic Church and Albert Bierstadt, the very grandeur of the scenes depicted effectively shut the viewer out, making a remote spectacle of nature and thereby subverting the political utility of landscape painting in promoting imperial ends. In any case, that project was already on the wane when Chase took up his brushes in the Shinnecock Hills; the frontier had by then officially closed, and of course the artist was in every sense far removed from it in moneyed Southampton along the Eastern Seaboard.

What Chase instead offered in his Long Island pictures was something quite different: a quieter aesthetic of absence, a predilection for the non-subject in place of the dramatic skies, mighty rivers, and towering peaks of the late Hudson River School. In so doing, he granted an important, beneficial status to all the rest – to the mundane nature so often overlooked, disregarded, and thus unthinkingly developed and despoiled in the way Jane Hoyt had in mind.

In repeatedly turning away from the allure of the shore and prioritizing instead the subtler blandishments of nature's less extraordinary places, Chase invited the viewer back in to his

1 See Schaffner and Zabar 2010.

more familiar scenes, literally humanizing them and thus breaking down the human-nonhuman binary that so permeates the rhetoric of the sublime as spectacular other. He thereby, if unwittingly, accomplished something environmentally minded: an apprehension of nature in which human presence is accommodated and the inherent value of all things is appreciated. By painting nothing, then, Chase arguably came closer to picturing everything.

Karl Kusserow

29

Arthur Dove
Canandaigua 1880–1946 Huntington

U.S.
1940

Oil on canvas, 50.8 × 81.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 530 (1975.23)

30 →

Arthur Dove
Canandaigua 1880–1946 Huntington

Blackbird
1942

Oil on canvas, 43.2 × 61 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 532 (1976.4)

31

Hans Hofmann

Weissenberg, Germany 1880–1966 New York

Blue Enchantment
1951

Oil on canvas, 152.4 × 121.9 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 586 (1979.67)

32

Jackson Pollock
Cody 1912–1956 The Springs

Number 11
1950

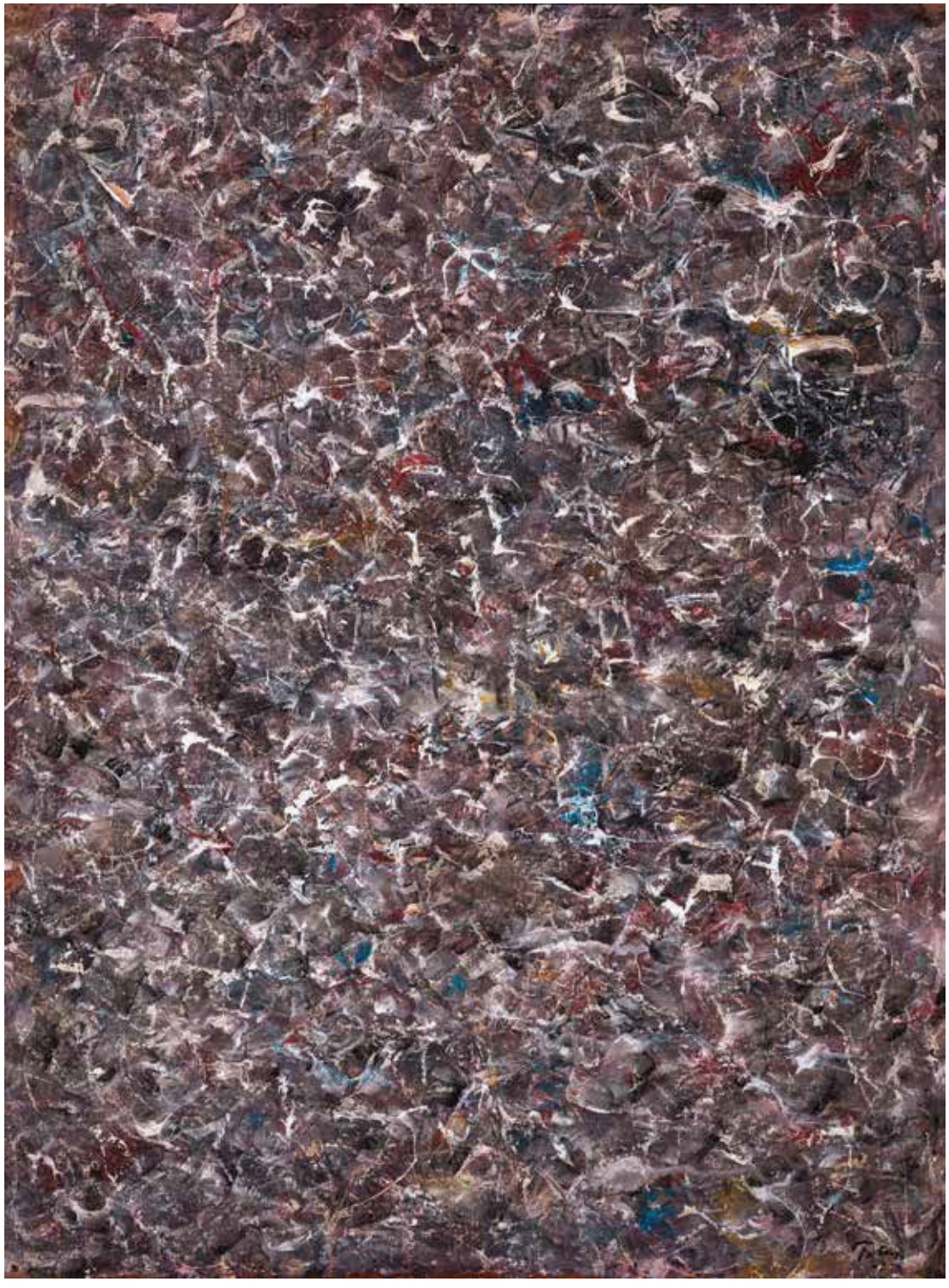
Oil and aluminum paint
on Masonite, 55.8 × 56.5 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1975.28

33 →

Mark Tobey
Centerville 1890–1976 Basel, Switzerland

Earth Rhythms
1961

Gouache on cardboard, 67 × 49 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 771 (1968.13)



34

Morris Louis
Baltimore 1912–1962 Washington

Pillars of Hercules
1960

Acrylic on canvas, 231.1 × 267.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 653 (1983.18)

NATURE/
HUMAN IMPACT

35

Martin Johnson Heade
Lumberville 1819–1904 St. Augustine

The Marshes at Rhode Island
1866

Oil on canvas, 56 × 91.4 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1987.24

36

Eastman Johnson
Lovell 1824–1906 New York

The Maple Sugar Camp–Turning Off
c. 1865–73

Oil on panel, 26 × 57.7 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1981.51

37

Martin Johnson Heade
Lumberville 1819–1904 St. Augustine

Jersey Marshes
1874

Oil on canvas, 39.4 × 76.2 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1979.34

38

John William Hill
London, United Kingdom 1812–1879 West Nyack

View of New York from Brooklyn Heights
c. 1836

Watercolor on paper, 48.3 × 85 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1982.49

39

Robert Salmon
Whitehaven, United Kingdom c. 1775–after 1845 Cumberland

Picture of the Dream Pleasure Yacht
1839

Oil on panel, 43 × 63 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1983.27

40

Fitz Henry Lane
Gloucester 1804–1865

The Fort and Ten Pound Island, Gloucester, Massachusetts
1847

Oil on canvas, 50.8 × 76.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, inv. 635 (1982.43)

41

Francis Silva
New York 1835–1886

Kingston Point, Hudson River
c. 1873

Oil on canvas, 51 × 91 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 760 (1985.10)

42

John Frederick Peto
Philadelphia 1854–1907 New York

Afternoon Sailing
c. 1890

Oil on canvas, 30.5 × 50.9 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 701 (1982.18)

43

Charles Sheeler
Philadelphia 1883–1965 Dobbs Ferry

Wind, Sea and Sail
1948

Oil on canvas, 51 × 61 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 758 (1975.10)

44

Winslow Homer
Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Signal of Distress
1890, 1892, and 1896

Oil on canvas, 62 × 98 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 588 (1980.71)

45

Winslow Homer

Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Daughter of the Coast Guard
1881

Watercolor on paper, 34.3 × 34.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 592 (1983.41)

46

Winslow Homer
Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Deer in the Adirondacks
1889

Watercolor on paper, 35.5 × 50.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 590 (1981.43)

There is a tenacious American dialogue between the wilderness and the insistent, often invasive, presence of the human. One version is given a striking expression in Winslow Homer's splendid watercolor *Deer in the Adirondacks*. In this picture, the extended surfaces of the foreground water and the trees toward the rear are interrupted by the lonely figure of the dog at left and the head and upper torso of the deer moving right. The deer trails a long strip of broken water behind it, extending almost to the left-hand edge of the painting. Of all animals, dogs, domesticated and adapted as human companions, are the most significant mediators between the wilderness and the human, and the hunting dog at left, stranded on the shore behind the swimming deer, poses the gap between the human control of landscape and nature and the otherness of the wilderness. According to a detailed discussion of Homer's hunting practices in the Adirondacks by the art historian David Tatham, an established technique is depicted. The dog is driving the deer towards the hunter who is waiting, gun in hand, on the opposite bank.[1] To that extent, this is an image of the application of human will to the natural world, transforming it, even at the moment of its escape from us, into an ordered and regimented example of our intervention. However, what is true of the hunting technique is not necessarily true of the visual. The hunter is nowhere to be found.[2] Homer is experimenting with another dimension of his subject here. Trapped on the bank, the dog has a melancholy and frustrated air as the deer swims away into the stream of nature. It is an image of the natural's flight from human power. Visually, we are caught between finely balanced possibilities and meanings. The natural world is tamed – the highly-trained dog, the lurking hunter (if we assume that figure counts, since he is absent from the work) ready to fire – but those interventions have a fragility compared with the central visual elements of the watercolor, the forest, water, and sky, and the self-contained figure of the deer, fluidly striking out and away from the human world.

David Peters Corbett

1 Tatham 1996. I should make it clear I am not denying Homer's participation in, and enthusiasm for, deer hunting. See also Tatham 1990 and Tatham 1994.
2 Unlike in the majority of Homer's Adirondacks works, in which the hunter is depicted. A comparator is another watercolor, *An October Day*, 1889, Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, in which the hunter strongly features.

47

Edward Hopper
Nyack 1882–1967 New York

Dead Tree and Side of Lombard House
1931

Watercolor on paper, 50.8 × 71.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 593 (1976.86)

2/CULTURE CROSSINGS

Alba Campo Rosillo

Romare Bearden
Sunday after Sermon
1969

[detail of cat. 86]

SETTINGS
LANDSCAPE AS HISTORY

> Everything in US history is about the land – who oversaw and cultivated it, fished its waters, maintained its wildlife; who invaded and stole it; how it became a commodity [...].[1]

With these words, scholar and activist Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz sets the stakes of her *Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* and grounds this thematic section. Land in itself is a complex concept that can both mean soil and territory. When treated as the subject of painting, land adopts highly charged layers of meaning. This is the case in Charles Willson Peale's double portrait of Isabella and John Stewart painted around 1773–74 [cat. 48]. The children pose elegantly in a wooded area holding peaches. Their refined clothing attests to the family wealth, which came from the land in the form of the peach plantations they owned and managed in Maryland's Eastern Shore. The trees that frame the children and the opening to a body of water in the background refer to their father's voyage to America from his Scottish homeland. John is gathering fruit as Isabella is about to bite a peach. In this they represent an actualized version of Adam and Eve, happy and alone in paradise.[2] Nature and its produce are theirs to enjoy – the land is the stage of their dominion.

John and Isabella's clothing are a key element to interpret the painting: the white, blue, and red colors they wear – after the flag of Great Britain (1707–1801) – profile them as British subjects, a status they shared with all the legal inhabitants of the British colonies in North America before these dominions declared their independence from the British crown in 1776. Their portrait, presenting them alone in the hospitable landscape, advances the idea of "firsting," which Jean O'Brien defines as the belief "that non-Indians were the first people to erect the proper institutions of a social order worthy of notice" in the current US territory.[3] To redress this fantasy and set the record straight, in 2019 the queer and two-spirit[4] artist Kent Monkman of Cree ancestry offered his *Welcoming the Newcomers* [fig. 31]. Firsting peaked between the 1820s and 1880s, when New Englanders especially, in trying to keep their weakening power in the country, created narratives that made them the originators of an Anglo-American civilization. This story sought to displace the agency of natives as well as the input of colonizers from other regions and of African captives. A painting like William Louis Sonntag's *Fishermen in the Adirondacks* executed around 1860–70 [cat. 51], depicting a sublime generic upstate New York landscape with only two people (white fishermen), clearly exemplifies a firsting vision. No natives appear in the scene and the log cabin with smoke coming out of the chimney stands as a symbol of the human taming of the wilderness.[5] Land acts here as the stage of colonial assimilation.

The other side of firsting is "lasting," an idea which stresses the delusion of the inevitability of Indian extinction. Lasting prevailed during the period when the US government forced indigenous peoples out of their ancestral territories into reservations. Around 1856 the German artist Charles Wimar rendered the fantasy of lasting in a scene in which a group of natives are looking for *The Lost Trail* [cat. 49]. While the Indian on horseback pointing toward the horizon seems anxious, the white horse's rider next to him looks defeated; this is how lasting worked, rendering Indians as out of place and resigned to white settlers' fantasies of their disappearance. Added to these ideological fictions are the indigenous attire and customs depicted in the canvas. Wimar used as sources other paintings, prints, and books while he was in Germany, resulting in a work lacking any sense of reality.

The ideologies of firsting and lasting endorsed the seizure of Indian lands for European colonizers to exploit. The labor force that worked these seized lands was made up of subjugated indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples. Plunder and slavery were the pillars on which the colonial order was built.[6] At the core of the American Civil War (1861–65) was the very issue of slavery, which even though it existed in both Northern and Southern states, constituted a matter of regional identity for Southerners.[7] When John Frederick Kensett painted *Lake George* around 1860 [cat. 50], the artist was no longer able to render this upstate New York area in the crisp and bright manner of Sonntag's scenery. Maggie Cao has convincingly argued that "sectionalism had begun to discredit the national power of regional landscapes."[8]

1 Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, p. 1.
2 Steinberg 2004.
3 The concepts of "firsting" and "lasting" were both first coined in the introduction to O'Brien 2010.
4 A "two-spirit" person is one in whose body both male and female spirits coexist. This was a fully accepted concept among Native American nations until colonization began.
5 Manthorne 1986a.
6 O'Brien 2010, p. XXII.
7 Harvey 2012, p. 173.
8 Cao 2018, p. 15.

fig. 31

Kent Monkman
Welcoming the Newcomers, 2019
Acrylic on canvas, 335.3 × 670.6 cm
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Purchase, Donald R. Sobey Foundation
CAF Canada Project Gift, 2020, 2020.216a

The mist conceals the area's topography, veiling its historical and patriotic associations, turning it into a generic site. Land entered a new process of ideological erosion in the 1860s, and painting duly expressed the mood of the times.

Visual blockage dominated landscape painting for decades. A special type of composition appeared during the Civil War: coastal scenes with rocky formations emptied of human action. Martin Johnson Heade's *Singing Beach, Manchester* of 1862 [cat. 54] presents a thin shoreline and a body of water surrounded by land. This site was a popular holiday destination, but the painting's focus on the rocks at left indicates a renewed pride in the land's history by enhancing its ancient morphology.[9] Attention to rocks is even more pronounced in Sanford Robinson Gifford's *Manchester Beach* of 1865 [cat. 52]. Gifford, who had served two terms in the New York State Volunteers, created this work at the end of the war. In this eerily desolated landscape, the massive rocky cliff towers a shoreline in which the waves suggest the layered formation of the land. Also in this line are Alfred Thompson Bricher's rocky coastal scenes [cat. 55–57], which underline US America's need to forget the war and find alternative ways of grounding its history in the territory.

One way to culturally recover from the trauma of war was the Euro-American celebration of a child's fresh worldview.[10] In *Looking Out to Sea*, of about 1885 [cat. 57], Bricher painted a girl in a shore scene where the rocky formation allows access to the sea on both sides and transmits some visual relief – hope. William Merritt Chase also portrayed a little girl, this time using a low viewpoint, in *In the Park. A By-path* of about 1889 [cat. 115]. The stone wall at left was all that remained from the foundation of a Catholic convent and female boarding school that served as a military hospital during the Civil War. The girl is shown touching the stones, connecting her lightness to the heaviness of the wall. Another way to cope with the unresolved sectionalism consisted in coopting indigenous culture, perceived as more authentic and pure.[11] Joseph Henry Sharp painted a group of Crow women in the undated *Setting up Camp, Little Big Horn, Montana* during one of his many sojourns among the native tribes in the area [cat. 59]. The faded green patches and contained actions of the figures have the soothing effect that Sharp's patrons sought when commissioning picturesque indigenous scenes.[12]

Another colorful view is Anthony Thieme's painting of around 1947–48 of several *Cabins near Saint Augustine, Florida*, originally titled *Negro Cabins* [cat. 58]. The artist himself appears sketching the scene. Thieme's dislike of technological progress made him prefer rural communities such as this one located in a swamp. The rapid development of Florida as a cotton-growing state in the mid-1800s caused a flood of planters moving in with their bonded laborers. One century later, the legacy of enslavement lived on in such destitute dwellings. Carolyn Finney denounces that the "great outdoors" was for many African Americans a source of sustenance, not recreation, setting once more the high stakes on land and its ownership history.[13] In an effort to illustrate the effect of land on people of African descent, in 1922 artist Archibald John Motley Jr. portrayed his 80-year-old grandmother, Emily Sims Motley (1842–1929), paying special attention to the depiction of her hands and fingers deformed by the physical labor that she performed in a plantation in Louisiana [fig. 32].

9 DeLue 2020, pp. 57–58.
10 Burns 2012, p. 205, and Pyne 2006, p. 44.
11 Whiting 1997.
12 Maddox 2004.
13 Finney 2014, p. 141, n.7.

fig. 32

Archibald John Motley Jr.
Portrait of My Grandmother, 1922
Oil on canvas, 97.2 × 60. 3 cm
Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art,
Patrons Permanent Fund, Avalon Fund,
and Motley Fund, 2018.2.1

HEMISPHERE
PANAMERICAN EXPANSION

> Bi-lingual, Bi-cultural [...]
> American but hyphenated,
> viewed by Anglos as perhaps exotic,
> perhaps inferior, definitely different,
> viewed by Mexicans as alien [...]
> sliding back and forth
> between the fringes of both worlds.[14]

Despite the country's self-claimed Anglo background, many nations have contributed to the diversity that characterizes the United States of today, as Pat Mora exposes in her poem and several painters capture in their work. ADÁL's *El Puerto Rican Passport, El Spirit Republic de Puerto Rico: Luciana Alexandra del Rio de la Serna* [fig. 33], written in Spanglish, establishes the nationality of the girl as Mexijentirican, jokingly reflecting on the layered history and identity of North American citizens. Puerto Ricans are US Americans but their land is an unincorporated dominion of the United States and they have no political representation in Washington.

Following the millennial presence of the indigenous caretakers of the land, several European powers occupied territories that nowadays constitute the United States. The Falls of Saint Anthony, *Owámniomni* in Dakota language, present a case in point of stratified settlement and US expansion, rendered by Henry Lewis (1847), George Catlin (1871), and Albert Bierstadt (c. 1880–87) [cat. 60–62]. During the 1700s and early 1800s France, England, and Spain settled the region until Fort Snelling was built by enslaved labor in 1820 for the US Army to protect the territory in an area currently located in downtown Minneapolis. The three paintings made by these artists during the course of the 1800s uphold the illusion that the falls remained untainted by tourist and industrial development.

Although US expansion began as a westward impulse, it soon developed in other directions as well. Already in 1813 Thomas Jefferson expressed his belief in the hemispheric unity of America, and in 1823 President James Monroe enunciated – in what later became

14 Mora 1993.

fig. 33

ADÁL
El Puerto Rican Passport, El Spirit Republic de Puerto Rico: Luciana Alexandra del Rio de la Serna, 1994, issued 2012
Lithography with photograph in staple-bound booklet, 17.8 × 12.7 cm. Washington D.C., Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of the artist, 2013.19.2

fig. 34

Robert S. Duncanson
Mayan Ruins, Yucatan, 1848
Oil on canvas, 35.5 × 50.8 cm
Dayton Art Institute, Purchased with funds provided by the Daniel Blau Endowment, 1984.105

known as the Monroe Doctrine – the country's new role as arbiter of the free Americas to prevent further European intervention.[15] Monroe was reacting to the growing wave of political revolutions in Latin America, where territories under Spanish colonial rule were forming new independent countries. The United States established diplomatic relations with the newly formed countries and soon after started prospecting their resources. When Frederic Church painted his *Tropical Landscape* around 1855, he had already visited Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Panama in 1853 [cat. 63], using recently opened American steamship lines carrying goods, mail, and people. Church would often paint "Latin American landscapes" with generic features – like the prominent palm tree – for North American patrons with economic interests in the southern regions.[16]

Church came to express the ambiguity that many US Americans felt for Latin America between the 1850s and 1870s. There was initial awe at this land of wonders, which led artists such as the African-American Robert S. Duncanson in 1848 to depict unfamiliar sites such as *Mayan Ruins, Yucatan* for an enthusiastic audience in the United States [fig. 34]. Due to the commercially motivated expeditions, however, this excitement morphed into a proprietary feeling and a dismissive attitude toward its inhabitants.[17] In *South American Landscape* of 1856 [cat. 66], Church rendered the Chimborazo volcano mountain majestically crowning the composition with a native Andean woman camouflaged in the foreground. The building atop the mountain at left appears to be a church, a symbol of Hispanic Catholicism that the Black Legend criticized.[18] Needless to say, there is no tropical region anywhere near the Chimborazo.

Church's protégée and student, Martin Johnson Heade, also visited several Latin American countries: Brazil in 1863–64, Nicaragua and Colombia in 1866, and Colombia again, Panama, and Jamaica in 1870. *Sunrise in Nicaragua* of 1869 [cat. 65] presents Heade's attempt at painting after his master's style. It also offers another example of art and commercial exploitation coming together, as the artist visited Nicaragua (an independent country since 1821) at the time when it was being studied as the possible site to open a canal connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. Another of Heade's works, *Orchid and Hummingbird near a Mountain Waterfall* painted

15 Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Alexander von Humboldt, December 6, 1813, quoted in Bornholdt 1944, p. 220. President James Monroe's message at the commencement of the first session of the 18th Congress (The Monroe Doctrine), December 2, 1823; Presidential messages of the 18th Congress, around December 2, 1823–around March 3, 1825; Record Group 46; Records of the United States Senate, 1789–1990, 63; National Archives.
16 For further information on this idea, see Verónica Uribe Hanabergh's commentary on Church's work in this volume, pp. 130–31.
17 Manthorne 1989, p. 51.
18 See Kagan 1996.

fig. 35

iliana emilia garcía
Unknown Distances/Undiscovered Islands, from the series of the same name, 2006
Inkjet print on canvas, 81.3 × 101.6 cm
Artist's collection

in 1902 [cat. 64], features a motif that the artist began to develop in Brazil: hummingbirds often depicted next to an exotic flower. Although the pairing suggested a symbiotic relation – nectar as a reward for pollination – the combination of species obeyed an artistic rather than a scientific principle.[19] Nonetheless, the orchid constitutes the national flower of Colombia, Honduras, Venezuela, and Panama, among other countries, advancing in this sense the generic "Latin American feel" that both Church and Heade sought to convey.

Also a prestigious landscape painter, Albert Bierstadt specialized in paintings of sublime views that advanced the idea of American exceptionalism [cat. 8, 9, and 61].[20] *Street in Nassau* painted in 1877–80 [cat. 67] presents an image of a different nature, as it gives a trivial, colorful view of a road that runs along a plantation in the capital of the Bahamas. A British colony until 1973, Bahamas immediately established diplomatic relations with the United States, a country with which it shared a history of economic ties and maritime borders. Bierstadt chose to represent a picturesque scene, like Thieme. The woman with the long red skirt introduces an accent of color in a composition that only depicts people of African origin. Individuals of African descent, the legacy of the Transatlantic system of enslavement, constituted the largest population group in the Caribbean island after emancipation in 1834. In 2006 Dominican-born US-based artist iliana emilia garcía offered a poignant counterimage to Thieme's focused on longing. *Unknown Distances/Undiscovered Islands* [fig. 35], a composition that shows two chairs at a seashore that could be Caribbean, reflects on the affective ties that migrants establish with their motherland.

Like Bierstadt, Euro-American artist Winslow Homer enjoyed the Caribbean region from an outsider's perspective. Beginning in 1884, Homer traveled there for the winter season and painted watercolors of a refreshing simplicity. In *Gallow's Island, Bermuda*, executed around 1899–1901 [cat. 68], the patches of vegetation on the sandy formations became an opportunity to play with semi-abstract patterns; the land turned into a source for artistic experimentation. Much later, in 1976, Andrew Wyeth produced a watercolor of his Alaskan Malamute dog in a landscape strikingly similar in its stylized treatment [cat. 69]. Purchased from Russia in 1867, Alaska represents one of many territories that the United States has acquired since 1776, the Northern Mariana Islands being the latest addition in 1986. The emptiness of the scene and the melancholy tone of the sepia color function as a screen on which to project expansionist fantasies, still active today.

19 Kusserow 2018, p. 133.
20 Ibid., p. 136.

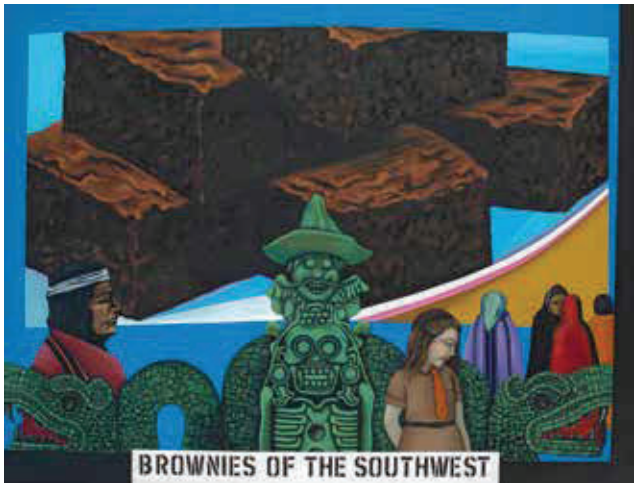


fig. 36

Melesio Casas
Humanscape 62, 1970
Acrylic on canvas, 185.4 × 246.4 cm
Washington D.C., Smithsonian American Art Museum,
Museum purchase through the Luisita L. and
Franz H. Denghausen Endowment, 2012.37

INTERACTIONS COMMUNITY, CONFLICT, ALLEGIANCE

Human interactions in the United States express the complex differences among and interests of each community. In *Humanscape 62*, painted in 1970 and labeled "Brownies of the Southwest" [cat. 36], Melesio Casas makes a pun on these bakery chocolate squares. The composition reveals the ways in which Euro-American communities perceive indigenous and Hispanic populations of the region, calling them "brownies." A similar spirit pervaded the expedition of the Missouri River area that the German Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied (1782–1867) organized between 1832 and 1834, taking with him Karl Bodmer.[21] The Swiss artist produced a print depicting a Lakota Sioux woman – Chan-Chä-Uiá-Te-Üinn – and an Assiniboin and Blackfoot girl whom he saw in different moments and places: the woman in June 1833 at Fort Pierre, and the girl in October 1833 at Fort Union [cat. 70].[22] Bodmer used the strategy of illustrating members of different nations in one image, as if advancing the idea of a panindigenous culture. In another work, the expedition's meeting with the Hidatsa[23] appears in a fictive composite with Fort Clark in the background [cat. 75]. Remarkably, this is probably the only print in which Bodmer portrayed himself at the far right with Maximilian standing next to him. They pose gracefully, holding their rifles nonchalantly while a trapper in buckskins introduces them to the Hidatsa chief in an image that evinces a clear imbalance of power.

The buffalo is a common element across North American Indian culture.[24] In *Ptihn-Tak-Ochatä. Dance of the Mandan Women*, from 1832–34 [cat. 74], Bodmer captured an instant of the White Buffalo Cow Society's ceremonial dance. In the scene, several elderly women perform the dance wearing buffalo hide robes and feathered headbands, carrying twigs and bird plumes to lure the herds during their winter migration.[25] While the women attracted the animals, the men hunted them. The competition to find enough buffalo – among other resources – to feed the tribe caused frictions among different indigenous nations. This feuding led to battles recorded by the warrior's regalia. Clearly fascinated by the chiefs' dress, Bodmer portrayed *Abdih-Hiddisch*, Hidatsa Chief of the village of Awachàwi and *Mató-Tópe adorned with the Insignia of his Warlike Deeds*, a Mandan Chief, also in 1832–34 [cat. 71 and 72]. *Abdih-Hiddisch* (Road Maker) stands carrying a buffalo hide and holding a tomahawk decorated with a human scalp and a scalp lock as war trophies. Red paint embellishes his black tattoos, which express war exploits as well. Remarkably, the chief dons a European hat topped with a coup feather and a US peace medal, both elements likely from white hide and fur traders to supply the international fashion industry. The peace medal constituted a prestigious token of power.

The same degree of recognition among their peers was key to John Singleton Copley's

21 For more on this expedition, see Paloma Alarcó's essay in this volume, pp. 19–27.
22 Although identified as Dakota and Assiniboin in the print, recent scholarship partially based in the notes of Maximilian suggest that the woman was a Lakota Sioux, and the girl Assiniboin and Blackfoot. See Gallagher and Tyler 2004, p. 109.
23 Identified as Minatarre in the print, the current name of the community is Hidatsa.
24 Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, p. 24.
25 Bowers 1950, pp. 324–25.

colonial sitters. Born in colonial Boston, Copley catered to the powerful and wealthy members of the local elites from the early 1750s onward. In 1767 he painted the portrait of Martin Howard [cat. 76], Chief Justice of North Carolina, who sat for him on the occasion of his second marriage. The painting presents him as a distinguished man, wearing an exquisitely kept wig and his official judicial robes. Howard grew up in Rhode Island, where he was chosen in 1754 as a delegate to the Albany Congress to negotiate with the Six Nations their allegiance with the colonies of British America against those of New France in the French and Indian War (1754–63). When the conflict was over in 1765, the debt-ridden English government imposed the first taxation on its American colonies, known as the infamous Stamp Act. Howard's defense of the measure moved protesters to attack his home and public figure, prompting him to exile himself to England. Howard was a high profile loyalist (to the British crown). The chair in which he sits is upholstered in blue fabric, which together with the red of the robe and the white of the collar signals the colors of the Great British flag in reference to his political stance.

Copley's allegiance to both sides of the conflict cost him dearly. Around 1772, he portrayed Catherine Hill [cat. 78], daughter-in-law of the renowned revolutionary magistrate Joshua Henshaw. Copley was soon caught in a web of growing tension between the loyalists to the British crown and the American revolutionaries that made up his customer base. After marrying into a loyalist family, Copley exiled himself to England and never returned to his homeland. His sitter, Howard, also became an outcast (for the second time) when in 1771 he condemned in court the institution of slavery in the plantation-wide state of North Carolina.

Slavery continued to rule and ruin the lives of millions in the United States during the nineteenth century, and while it was officially abolished in 1865, its legacy lives on. In 1847, James Goodwyn Clonney painted *Fishing Party on Long Island Sound off New Rochelle* [cat. 79], commenting on racial relations in the country. It was executed at the time of the Mexican-American War (1846–48), which resulted in the United States' acquisition of almost half of the Mexican territory and prompted the debate on whether slavery should be legal in the new states. Set in a quiet estuary on a slightly cloudy day, the scene presents a contained drama on a boat: the middle-aged white man is staring reflexively at the man of African descent, whose left arm is reaching for the hoe subtly threatening the onlooker with violence if disturbed. The image participates from the logics of genre painting, which depicted low class subjects – very often outnumbered African Americans in lazy attitudes – with comical effect to reassure the Euro-American urban middle class.[26] The caricaturized face of the African-American man attests to the artist's rendering of stereotyped characters. As a counterpoint, the work of Cuban exiled artist María Magdalena Campos-Pons gives voice to the descendants of African captives in the Americas. In the 1996 work *When I'm not here/ Estoy allá* [fig. 37] she expresses the resilience of Afro-American individuals as well as the feeling of being transplanted that permeates the African diasporic community.

Other subjects and cultures were equally superficially rendered. William Merritt Chase shared with his Western contemporaries a fascination with Japanese culture and painted around 1887 an unidentified Western girl wearing a kimono in a Japanese-inspired setting [cat. 81]. The girl sits on a low bamboo chair before a screen and looks at Japanese prints as an expression of Oriental fantasy. Born in Florence and trained in Paris, John Singer Sargent lived during his mature years in London. When in 1904 he portrayed Millicent [cat. 80] – the writer and philanthropist Duchess of Sutherland – the bold likenesses of socialites he had executed over the past 20 years had earned him international fame. Both her appearance and the setting profile her as a forest goddess. The opposite side to this aristocratic portrait is Sargent's painting of an unidentified Venetian onion seller of about 1880–82 [cat. 82]. In the canvas, the young girl standing in a bare indoor space functions as the negative image of the shiny city featured through the window opening. The sparkling onions stand out against the girl's humble attire, emphasizing her working-class condition.

Attention to the exotic and the working class reappears in Frederic Remington's *Apache Fire Signal* of around 1904 [cat. 83]. The night scene shows an Apache astride a horse near a campfire. Alexander Nemerov has convincingly argued that Remington's corpus of Indians and cowboys sought to transmit an authenticity that he felt missing from the turn-of-the-century industrialized East Coast. The passage of the indigenous man, whose hunched back gives him a defeated air, and his horse is blocked by a fallen tree that embodies period racial ideology, which saw both natives and foreign working-class immigrants as primitive people unable to progress.[27]

26 Honour 2010.
27 Nemerov 1991.

fig. 37

María Magdalena Campos-Pons
When I'm not here/Estoy allá, 1996
Polaroid triptych
Courtesy of the artist, Gallery Wendy Norris, San Francisco, and Galerie Barbara Thumm, Berlin

Ben Shahn's art stands as a remedy to Remington's essentializing production. Born in present-day Lithuania, Shahn emigrated to Manhattan in order to flee from the systematic Czarist persecution of Jews. In 1942 Shahn depicted a group of French workers protesting the official Vichy decree forcing the French proletariat to collaborate with the Nazi regime (September 4, 1942) that hangs on the wall in the background [cat. 84]. The Office of War Information (OWI) made a poster of this painting including the sentence: "We French workers warn you... / defeat means slavery, starvation, death." Indeed, their strong raised hands partially shield the decree, expressing their fierce resistance. In a period in which there was a fascination for technology and a general disregard for human toil, Shahn's attention to the workers' hands signals, humanizes, and empowers the labor force.[28]

Hands remained a potent symbol for Shahn, who subsequently painted several of them interlinked in 1968. *Identity* [cat. 85] illustrates Shahn's message to Jews, repeated through his art down the years, to ally with each other and cherish their culture. Another artist with a similar identitarian impulse was Romare Bearden, an African-American designer, artist, curator, writer, musician, and activist. In 1969 he stated:

> It is not my aim to paint about the Negro in America in terms of propaganda [...] [but] to paint the life of my people as I know it [...]. My intention, however, is to reveal through pictorial complexities the richness of a life I know.[29]

In *Sunday after Sermon* of 1969 [cat. 86] he portrays a social gathering on a street, possibly in the rural South from which his family fled when he was a child to escape racism. The figures have different skin tones – various shades of yellow, brown, and gray – which, together with their significantly large hands, undermine reductionist identities to express the richness and complexity of the African-American existence.[30] The apparent simplicity of the image is the result of juxtaposing a myriad cultural references: from the scenes that Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch painted to African masks, from the colorful quilts that African Americans created to Malevich's Suprematism, from Dada and Cubist collages to the papered walls of rural southern cabins. As the artist once said: "In my work, if anything I seek connections, so that my paintings can't be only what they appear to represent."[31]

28 Fraser 2013.
29 Bearden 1969, p. 18.
30 Francis 2011.
31 Letter from Romare Bearden to Mary Schmidt Campbell, September 22, 1973, quoted in Campbell 1981.

CULTURE CROSSINGS/ SETTINGS

48

Charles Willson Peale
Queen Anne's County 1741–1827 Philadelphia

The Stewart Children
c. 1773–74

Oil on canvas, 94 × 124 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 315 (1980.36)

49

Charles Wimar
Siegburg, Germany 1828–1862 St. Louis

The Lost Trail
c. 1856

Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 77.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 785 (1981.49)

50

John Frederick Kensett
Cheshire 1816–1872 New York

Lake George
c. 1860

Oil on canvas, 55.8 × 86.4 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 612 (1980.78)

51 ←

William Louis Sonntag
East Liberty 1822–1900 New York

Fishermen in the Adirondacks
c. 1860–70

Oil on canvas, 91.4 × 142.2 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1981.21

52

Sanford Robinson Gifford
Greenfield 1823–1880 New York

Manchester Beach
1865

Oil on canvas, 27.9 × 48.9 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1980.21

53

Martin Johnson Heade
Lumberville 1819–1904 St. Augustine

Sunset at Sea
c. 1861–63

Oil on canvas, 54.6 × 91.4 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1979.45

54

Martin Johnson Heade
Lumberville 1819–1904 St. Augustine

Singing Beach, Manchester
1862

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 127 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 577 (1985.9)

55

Alfred Thompson Bricher
Portsmouth 1837–1908 New Dorp

Cloudy Day
1871

Oil on canvas, 61 × 50 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1998.67

56 →

Alfred Thompson Bricher
Portsmouth 1837–1908 New Dorp

Coastal View
n.d.

Oil on canvas, 38 × 81.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1998.68

57 →

Alfred Thompson Bricher
Portsmouth 1837–1908 New Dorp

Looking out to Sea
c. 1885

Oil on canvas, 56 × 81.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1999.111

58 ←

Anthony Thieme
Rotterdam, The Netherlands 1888–1954 Greenwich

Cabins near Saint Augustine, Florida
c. 1947–48

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 76.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1999.113

59

Joseph Henry Sharp
Bridgeport 1859–1953 Pasadena

Setting up Camp, Little Big Horn, Montana
n.d.

Oil on canvas, 30.5 × 45.7 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1998.71

CULTURE CROSSINGS/ HEMISPHERE

60

George Catlin
Wilkes-Barre 1796–1872 Jersey City

The Falls of Saint Anthony
1871

Oil on cardboard, 46 × 63.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 487 (1981.54)

61

Albert Bierstadt
Solingen, Germany 1830–1902 New York

The Falls of Saint Anthony
c. 1880–87

Oil on canvas, 96.8 × 153.7 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1980.8

62

Henry Lewis
Shropshire, United Kingdom 1819–1904 Dusseldorf, Germany

Falls of Saint Anthony, Upper Mississippi
1847

Oil on canvas, 68.6 × 82.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 646 (1981.52)

63

Frederic Edwin Church
Hartford 1826–1900 New York

Tropical Landscape
c. 1855

Oil on canvas, 28 × 41.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1990.5

Painted two years after Frederic Edwin Church's first trip to South America, *Tropical Landscape* makes use of a small lagoon-like spot on the Magdalena River in Colombia to represent different elements of the tropics: soaring white birds, a framing palm tree, the humid environment, and locals on a small canoe.

A month-long journey down this river on a *champán* (canoe) inspired Church to draw as he cruised the river. His detailed pencil drawings of this territory include hanging vines, ceiba trees, wild plantains, parasitic plants, grasses, bamboos, and ficus and rubber trees. In this oil painting, however, his knowledge of individual specimens dissolves into a chaotic greenery filled with parasitic plants, stalks, thick foliage, grasses, and feathery seeds. The large mass of vegetation is the main focus of the composition, where specific plants lose their identity and individuality to create a synthetic view that enhances the perception of riotous fecundity through a vast palette of greens. The richness of each plant appears to have been heightened – after being studied in pencil it was then morphed into a general trope of the tropics.

The exuberance of the South American landscape was translated by myriad travelers into an idyllic paradise. The concept of the superabundance of the tropics was created by Alexander von Humboldt through his writings, letters, and lectures, all of which strengthened the idea that "tropical nature was essentially vegetative."[1] Some 50 years later, Church followed in Humboldt's footsteps and recorded in his diary, letters, and drawings the extraordinarily green and exuberant quality of the vegetation.

Church's sketches escape the reality of the constructed and idealized vision of this geography. Sketching entails observing, abstracting, and choosing to represent only the essential, but in *Tropical Landscape* synthesis takes place in the finished painting, not on the pencil-filled page. Drawings of botanical species were rendered by Church in individual studies, isolated from the vegetation with which they interact as a whole.

Humboldt believed in a holistic and ecological world where everything interacted. This is the universe that Church presents in the painting, one in which each botanical species allows for the creation of the whole by seamlessly blending into the thick and dense environment to the point that its singularity disappears. The artist studies the details, grasps the shape, takes note of the location, and then builds an image of these environmental relations in operation. Individuality is feasible when presented as part of the whole. When looking closely at the painting it is not possible to visually separate the vine from the tree, the leaf from the flower, the grass from the trunk. Seen from a distance, small brush strokes on the canvas converge and become part of a solid façade. The islet or bank at left has the most discernible details but when observed up close, it presents palm trees, ferns, vines, and small flowers as part of a tangled knot that cannot be untied.

Here, vegetation, background, and light are homogeneous, and the viewer cannot decipher place or time. The work purports to present the lushness and variety of the individual elements that make it up, when in reality it is a canvas filled with short strokes of green, yellow, white, and brown hues, where the cloudy background gives these make-believe details meaning and

1 Stepan 2001, p. 37.

sense. The key element to understanding the painting as a trope of the tropics is the transformation of an apparent specificity into a generality. Church wants the viewer to believe that each specimen is identifiable, that it works in unison with the vegetation as a whole, but when seen up close the reality escapes botanical determination as its parts blend into a whole and the viewer is left with branches, leaves, and certain shapes, but nothing outright certain that can fit into a proper taxonomy. This is the tone for most of the painting, even for the locals who, crossing the *ciénega* (swamp) in their canoe, also escape being pinned down to a specific economic activity or even a destination. They are depicted in the same way as the greenery, embodying an entire population that stands still in time.

Tropical Landscape represents the particular sense of place that Church wished to convey. Apart from the small amber beach, the orange hues on the palm-tree, the vine, and the bush at left, and the red shade of the clothing of the first figure in the canoe, the lush green ambiance recreates for the spectator the suspended sense of time that is a feature of the Equator. This place stands for every place on the river, this time for all times by the river, this river for each and every river of tropical South America.

Verónica Uribe Hanabergh

64 ←

Martin Johnson Heade
Lumberville 1819–1904 St. Augustine

Orchid and Hummingbird near a Mountain Waterfall
1902

Oil on canvas, 38.2 × 51.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1979.44

65 ←

Martin Johnson Heade
Lumberville 1819–1904 St. Augustine

Sunrise in Nicaragua
1869

Oil on canvas, 38.7 × 73 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1997.6

66

Frederic Edwin Church
Hartford 1826–1900 New York

South American Landscape
1856

Oil on canvas, 59.5 × 92 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1983.15

67

Albert Bierstadt
Solingen, Germany 1830–1902 New York

Street in Nassau
c. 1877–80

Oil on cardboard on canvas, 35.5 × 48.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection, inv. CTB.1996.19

68

Winslow Homer
Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Gallow's Island, Bermuda
c. 1899–1901

Watercolor on paper, 34.3 × 52.1 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1977.7

69

Andrew Wyeth
Chadds Ford 1917–2009

Malamute
1976

Watercolor on paper, 79 × 137 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1977.84

CULTURE CROSSINGS/ INTERACTIONS

Karl Bodmer
Zurich, Switzerland 1809–1893 Barbizon, France

70

Dakota Woman and Assiniboin Girl
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 59.5 × 43 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

71

Abdih-Hiddisch, a Minatarre Chief
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 59.5 × 43 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

72

Mató-Tópe adorned with the Insignia of his Warlike Deeds
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 59.5 × 43 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

Karl Bodmer
Zurich, Switzerland 1809–1893 Barbizon, France

73

Missouri Indian, Oto Indian, Chief of the Puncas
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 56 × 72.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

74 →

Ptihn-Tak-Ochatä. Dance of the Mandan Women
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 27 × 36.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collectio

75 →

The Travellers meeting with Minatarre Indians near Fort Clark
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 27 × 36.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

PTHEH-TAH-OCKAPÁ.

76

John Singleton Copley
Boston 1738–1815 London, United Kingdom

Portrait of Judge Martin Howard
1767

Oil on canvas, 125.7 × 101 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 99 (1984.3)

77

John Singleton Copley
Boston 1738–1815 London, United Kingdom

Portrait of Mrs. Samuel Hill (Miriam Kilby)
c. 1764

Oil on canvas, 128.4 × 102 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 98 (1982.9)

78

John Singleton Copley
Boston 1738–1815 London, United Kingdom

Portrait of Mrs. Joshua Henshaw II (Catherine Hill)
c. 1772

Oil on canvas, 77 × 56 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 97 (1982.8)

79

James Goodwyn Clonney
Liverpool, United Kingdom 1812–1867 Binghamton

Fishing Party on Long Island Sound off New Rochelle
1847

Oil on canvas, 66 × 92.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 91 (1981.28)

80 ←

John Singer Sargent
Florence, Italy 1856–1925 London, United Kingdom

Portrait of Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland
1904

Oil on canvas, 254 × 146 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 732 (1983.12)

81

William Merritt Chase
Nineveh 1849–1916 New York

A Girl in Japanese Gown. The Kimono
c. 1887

Oil on canvas, 89.5 × 115 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 501 (1979.24)

82

John Singer Sargent
Florence, Italy 1856–1925 London, United Kingdom

Venetian Onion Seller
c. 1880–82

Oil on canvas, 95 × 70 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 731 (1979.56)

83

Frederic Remington
Canton 1861–1909 Ridgefield

Apache Fire Signal
c. 1904

Oil on canvas, 102 × 68.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 722 (1981.57)

84

Ben Shahn
Kaunas, Lithuania 1898–1969 New York

French Workers
1942

Tempera on cardboard, 101.6 × 144.8 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 753 (1975.34)

85 →

Ben Shahn
Kaunas, Lithuania 1898–1969 New York

Identity
1968

Mixed media on paper, 101.6 × 69.8 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 755 (1977.83)

86

Romare Bearden
Charlotte 1911–1988 New York

Sunday after Sermon
1969

Collage on cardboard, 101.6 × 127 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 462 (1978.8)


2

3/URBAN SPACE

Clara Marcellán and Marta Ruiz del Árbol

Ben Shahn
Carnival
1946

[detail of cat. 122]

THE CITY

I WAS asking for something specific and perfect
for my city, and behold! here is the aboriginal
name!
Now I see what there is in a name, a word, liquid,
sane, unruly, musical, self-sufficient,
I see that the word of my city, is that word up there,
Because I see that word nested in nests of water-
bays, superb, with tall and wonderful spires,
Rich, hemmed thick all around with sailships and
steamships – an island sixteen miles long,
solid-founded,
Numberless crowded streets – high growths of
iron, slender, strong, light, splendidly uprising
toward clear skies [...].[1]

Walt Whitman (1819–1892), the poet who penned these words, spent most of his life in New York, where he witnessed the fast growth the city underwent from the mid-nineteenth century until it became a symbol of modernity and opportunities, with all of its benefits and drawbacks. The Civil War that pitted one half of the country against the other from 1861 to 1865 triggered a mass migration to the North of the African-American population which, fleeing the tradition of slavery on the great plantations of the South, sought a new life in the city, concentrating in Chicago and New York. These men and women were joined by the millions of European economic immigrants who entered the country via New York, fleeing from wars or political, religious, or racial persecution.[2]

The city thus became a space for cultural mingling and its landscape was transformed by the new skyscrapers, industrial development, and elevated subway lines, among many other features, all of which fascinated American artists and made a huge impact on their European counterparts.[3] New cultural expressions spread and became accessible to everyone thanks to the radio, movies, and also the press, with which nearly all the painters included in this section had connections.[4]

Walt Whitman's verses in the opening lines to this text are the thread that weaves the images of *Manhatta*, the film created as a tribute in 1920 by Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler. The elevated viewpoint made possible by the high-rise buildings turns human beings into a seething mass or tiny dots that disappear in the immensity, among the movement of the boats, the smoke, and the constant growth of a city ever under construction. This vision has precedents in the Impressionists' urban views but is particularly extreme in works such as Alvin Langdon Coburn's *The Octopus* of 1912 [fig. 38]. In it the photographer shows Madison Square from atop the Metropolitan Tower and transforms the city's park into an almost abstract composition. Sheeler's love affair with Manhattan continued, and many years later, in 1951, he painted *Canyons* [cat. 90], in which he likened these geological formations to the grand avenues in the city. This simile – previously used by Coburn when in 1913 he showed *The Octopus* and his *New York from Its Pinnacles* series alongside photographs of the Grand Canyon and Yosemite – invited viewers to compare the city with a steel desert and its skyscrapers with cliffs.[5] In the painted work, Sheeler "edited out" of the photographic image any elements not essential to the composition in order to convert it into a stable and timeless setting.[6]

During many of these photographic campaigns, conducted from atop the city's soaring towers, Coburn would have been accompanied by his friend Max Weber, an artist of Russian origin who had studied with Henri Matisse in Paris from 1905 to 1909 and knew Pablo Picasso. Weber's reencounter with New York in the 1910s inspired him to produce large oil paintings where, instead of describing the city, he attempted to show his experience under the influence of Futurism using the language and colors of Analytical Cubism. *Grand Central Terminal* of 1915 [cat. 87] conveys the speed of journeys by car and public transport which alter and dynamize the perception of buildings, roads, and other stimuli in the city.[7]

John Marin, who, like Weber, had links to the European avant-garde movements and was at the forefront of American Modernism, chose watercolor as a medium for capturing the city's life force in paintings such as *Lower Manhattan* of 1923 [cat. 93]. Marin perceived the vital energy of buildings and people equally and was impressed by the skyscrapers: "If these buildings move me, they too must have a life. Thus the whole city is alive; buildings, people, all are alive; and the more they move me, the more I feel them to be alive."[8]

When Federico García Lorca visited New York in 1929 with the intention of staying away from Spain for a time, learning English and giving lectures, the city's energy seemed to wear him down instead of stimulating him.

1 "Mannahatta," in Whitman 1860–61, p. 404.
2 The urban landscape and the social tensions and changes that New York experienced in the 1860s are portrayed in Martin Scorsese's film *Gangs of New York* (2002). The advertising campaign included the subtitle "America was born in the streets," stressing the importance of urban culture in the shaping of the nation.
3 Francis Picabia, Albert Gleizes, and Marcel Duchamp, to name but a few, made trips to New York in the 1910s and came into contact with its art scene through Alfred Stieglitz, Katherine Dreier, and Walter Arensberg.
4 According to Kenneth Hayes Miller, the mentor of many of the artists linked to the Aschcan School at the start of the twentieth century, "the blurred boundaries between illustration (the medium of contemporary life) and painting (the medium of traditional art practice) benefitted the urban artist." See Higginbotham 2015, p. 21.
5 See Wigoder 2002.
6 As Teresa A. Carbone states of the art of the 1920s, when Sheeler produced his first urban scenes, "artists, unlike writers [...], edited out the crowds, clamor, filth and confusion." Carbone 2011, p. 113.
7 Baron Thyssen possessed another significant work by Weber from this period: *New York*, painted in 1913 and put up for auction at Christie's in 2016. See https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5994687.
8 John Marin, untitled note, in *An Exhibition of Water-Colors – New York, Berkshire and Adirondack Series – and Oils by John Marin, of New York*, New York, Photo-Secession Gallery, n.p. Reprinted in *Camera Work* 42–43, 1913, p. 18. Quoted from Tedeschi and Dahm 2010, p. 99.

fig. 38

Alvin Langdon Coburn
The Octopus, 1912
Platinum print, 41.8 × 31.8 cm
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ford Motor Company Collection, Gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell, 1987, 1987.1100.13

fig. 39

Federico García Lorca
Self-Portrait in New York, c. 1929–31
Ink on paper
Published in the first edition of *Poeta en Nueva York*, 1940
Private collection

He described his experience in the lecture-recital he gave to present the poems that were published posthumously in 1940 under the title *Poet in New York*: "In the following little poem [After a Walk] I wandered alone, exhausted by the rhythm of the huge electric billboards in Times Square. I fled from the great army of windows, where not a single person has the time to watch a cloud or converse with one of those delicate breezes stubbornly sent by the unanswered sea" [fig. 39].[9]

New York Street with Moon, a work painted by Georgia O'Keeffe in 1925 [cat. 88], attests to a sensibility similar to Lorca's and might well have inspired the following words he wrote a few years later: "There is nothing more poetic and terrible than the skyscrapers' battle with the heavens that cover them. Snow, rain, and mist highlight, drench, or conceal the vast towers, but those towers, hostile to mystery and blind to any sort of play, shear off the rain's tresses and shine their three thousand swords through the soft swan of the fog."[10] During the second half of the 1920s, O'Keeffe explored the impact of these high-rise buildings on her experience and perception of the city. In 1925, she moved into the Shelton Hotel, one of the first residential skyscrapers – until then these towers had been chiefly commercial properties. That year, she began painting New York, both from high up and from street level. When she gazed up at the buildings during her strolls, often at night, nature seemed to seep through between them, predominating over the architecture.[11]

Far away from the city, but connected to it, we find *Overseas Highway* of 1939 [cat. 92], inspired by the freeway built the previous year in the Florida Keys. Ralston Crawford, the painter responsible for this image of the road crossing the sea and disappearing into the blue sky, became a sort of celebrity when one of the pictures from this series was reproduced in *Life* magazine the very year it was painted. It "seemed in its vitality and sense of possibility to capture the aspirations of the nation" following the Great Depression.[12] It is reckoned that by then about 70 percent of the world's automobiles were in the United States[13] and were a symbol of the American dream of freedom and independence. Returning to the case at hand, that overseas highway made it possible to exploit a paradisiacal setting as a tourist attraction, but in Crawford's image the main subject is the road, as there is hardly any trace of the sea or any other landscape features characteristic of the Florida Keys. Crawford explained the open and surrealist nature of the scene as follows: "I remember at this particular point on the causeway I felt I was quite literally

9 García Lorca 2002, p. 186.
10 Ibid., p. 185.
11 See the essays by Marta Ruiz del Árbol, "Georgia O'Keeffe: *Wanderlust* and Creativity" (pp. 20–43), and Ariel Plotek, "The Painter's Lens" (pp. 70–83), in Ruiz del Árbol 2021.
12 Kimmelman 1991.
13 Gibson 2012, p. 402.

fig. 40

Kehinde Wiley
Officer of the Hussars, 2007
Oil on canvas, 274.8 × 267.8 cm
Detroit Institute of Arts, Museum purchase,
Friends of African and African American Art, 2008.3

going to sea in my car [...]. When I painted *Overseas Highway* as a young man I did see an awful lot of space before me and it fascinated me."[14] This attraction lives on in the collective American imagination. Legendary roads such as Route 66 make it possible to cross the country by car from Chicago to Los Angeles and have inspired novels such as Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957) or a film genre of its own, the road movie.[15]

The powerful automobile industry turned to renowned artists to help shape an image. In 1927, Charles Sheeler was commissioned to photograph River Rouge, the new Ford plant on the outskirts of Detroit, which was a city in itself with its eight square kilometers of land and 75,000 employees. Sheeler was captivated by its order and rational functioning and the clearly delimited and structured forms, which, in his view, made the factory the new temple of modernity – a recurring theme in his oeuvre together with urban landscapes. In the 1950s, a visit to the US Steel plants in Pittsburgh inspired *Ore into Iron* [cat. 91]. In this work painted in 1953 he duplicated and inverted the same photographic image and experimented with different supports and media, playing with negative and positive images, overlapping planes and a transparent support, Plexiglas.

In contrast to the avant-garde artists' abstract vision of the city, in the 1960s the New Realists went back to portraying the urban landscape from the viewpoint of a person on foot, capturing its complex visual codes.[16] In *Telephone Booths*, executed in 1967 [cat. 95], Richard Estes shows us a particularly crowded spot in New York where the presence of humans strikes us as accidental, as they blend in with the reflections on the glass of the phone booths, whose surface is comparable in importance to the cars, the façades of the buildings, and all the advertising and signs that are part of the place.

Lindner, too, drew inspiration from the street at pedestrian level, though his landscape is made up of city dwellers whom "the artist finds as he walks through the town and through the department store. There Lindner not only finds his themes, but also the way he executes and combines them. He is only interested in people, only really in city people."[17]

In *Moon over Alabama* [cat. 97] Lindner highlights the lack of communication between two figures who pass each other in the street: a white-skinned woman and a black-skinned man, both smartly dressed. The year the artist painted this work, 1963, was marked by African-American people's demands for civil rights in places like Alabama, where the violent crackdown on the demonstrations drew considerable attention from the media and led the United States' legitimate role as defender of freedom in the Cold War age to be questioned. Almost 100 years on from the Civil War, during which abolitionism became particularly relevant, freedom for this part of the population had yet to be effectively achieved. At the start of the twenty-first century, Kehinde Wiley began working on his *Rumors of War* series showing anonymous African Americans, mostly from Harlem, in poses and styles characteristic of Ancien Régime court portraiture [fig. 40]. The contrast between the trappings of power and the urban aesthetic of the sitters, who are dressed in jeans, sneakers, sportswear, and gold chains, is designed to challenge the visual culture and historical narratives still prevalent in many cities of the United States. As part of this series, Wiley created for Richmond, Virginia, an equestrian sculpture[18] that provides a counterpoint to those of the (slave-owning) confederate generals, whose statues were until recently part of the city's urban landscape. The gap still remains today, as denounced by the current Black Lives Matter movement.

14 Jacques Cowart interviews Ralston Crawford in Cowart 1978, p. 14.
15 For example, films such as *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1976), *Thelma and Louise* (Ridley Scott, 1991), and *Nomadland* (Chloé Zhao, 2020).
16 Zurier 2006, p. 7.
17 Spies and Loyall 1999, p. 11.
18 Kehinde Wiley, *Rumors of War*, 2019. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

MODERN SUBJECT

"What makes New York a dream is not so much its objective size as the fact that many people pin their dreams on it, for many reasons," stated Antonio Muñoz Molina of his experience in Manhattan.[19] With these words, the Spanish writer underlines how the legendary aura surrounding the American city par excellence is due, above all, to its population made up of citizens from all over the world who have imagined the place how they would like it to be. As the 1916 program of Israel Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot* illustrates [fig. 41], American cities, especially New York, became a sort of huge cooking pot in which the inhabitants' desires and hopes and different cultures and traditions were gradually mixed and simmered over a low heat to create the most evident exponent of the country's extraordinary diversity.[20]

While many artists strove to capture the radical architectural changes the great metropolis was undergoing, others gazed down at the passers-by, focusing on the individual concealed among the crowd and characterizing with their brushes the modern subjects who were part of the urban mass. Like John Dos Passos in *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), these painters believed that the life and soul of the city was composed of that lonely crowd and the jigsaw puzzle pieced together by their peculiar stories.

Like many others who arrived there to seek their fortune, Eastman Johnson settled in New York in 1858, where his genre scenes soon earned him acclaim as a painter of American life. *The Girl at the Window* [cat. 99] dates from around 1870–80, a period in which Johnson was interested in capturing his new family life with Elizabeth Buckley, whom he had married in 1869.[21] The girl in the portrait, whose identity is unknown, wears a loose house gown and leans on the wide sitting-room windowsill. She gazes out into the street, where another female figure holding a young child can be made out on a flight of steps. This composition has been interpreted as the subject's desire to reach maturity and experience motherhood.[22]

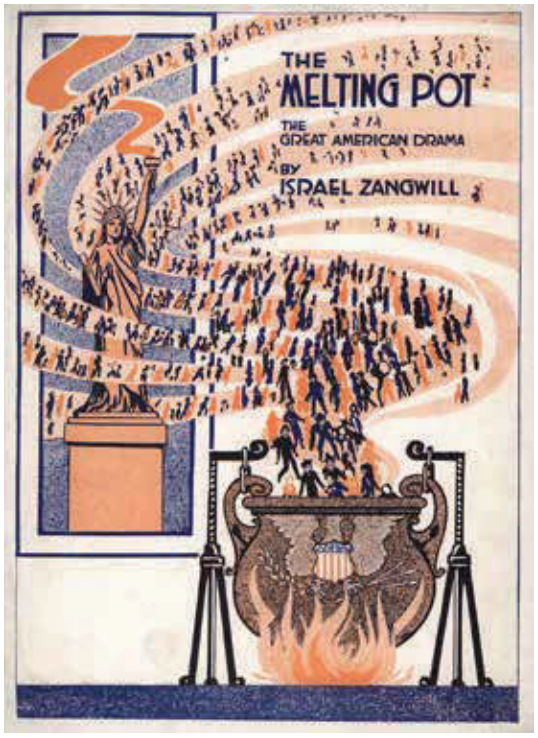


fig. 41

Program for Israel Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot* (1916)

Although Winslow Homer usually depicted women in dynamic attitudes in outdoor settings [cat. 45], the portrait he painted around 1872 of his friend Helena de Kay [cat. 98], a watercolorist and prominent cultural promoter, dates from a period in which, like Johnson, he turned his attention to female figures absorbed in their thoughts. Both artists' fondness for contemplative scenes has been linked to the desire for peace and calm that prevailed in the United States during the aftermath of the War of Independence.[23] On the other hand, they could be related to paintings of similar subject matter common in American painting of the second half of the 1800s, in which the protagonists, often unidentified, adopt behavior deemed appropriate to the female sex at the time. However, even though they are depicted within the sphere of domestic intimacy, *Girl at the Window* and especially *Portrait of Helena de Kay* reveal an interest in capturing the inner voice of the sitters.[24]

Women alone in a room were also one of the favorite subjects of Edward Hopper. In *Girl at a Sewing Machine*, of about 1921 [cat. 100], and *Hotel Room*, executed in 1931 [cat. 103], the artist expresses his personal vision of urban life, which has become a symbol of the solitude of humankind today. The two subjects of the

19 Muñoz Molina 2004.
20 The title of *The Melting Pot*, first presented in 1908, is now a common expression in the English language to denote a place or situation in which large numbers of different people, ideas, etc. are mixed together.
21 Carbone 1999, pp. 72–78, fig. 41.
22 Manthorne 1986b.
23 Ibid.
24 Lévy 2004, pp. 15–16.

paintings in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza are absorbed in their respective activities and totally oblivious to what is going on around them. In both cases the indoor setting is separated from the big city by a window, which is a sort of transparent barrier, a tension point between "the emptiness and finitude of the *interior* and the infinitude of an *exterior* that is invisible or cut off."[25] Sometimes, as in *Hotel Room*, Hopper does not situate the figures in the comfort of a home but in a place of passage, a non-place. In such a space, according to Marc Augé's definition, the person is in transit and remains anonymous, and this heightens their feeling of isolation.[26] Humans establish a consumer relationship with these non-places so common in the city – such as stations, means of transport, shopping malls, and hotels – and therefore have no possibility of appropriating them.

John Marin's *Figures in a Waiting Room* [cat. 104] are also situated in a non-place. The artist had been enormously attracted to New York ever since taking up painting at nearly 30. However, in contrast to his previous urban views [cat. 93], human figures began to appear in his works in the early 1930s in different parts of the city such as in the subway, walking along the street, or in indoor spaces. The use of watercolors in his earlier, more dynamic scenes gave way to oils, which, applied in thick brushstrokes, help isolate the figures from the composition. Although the painter generally gave priority to formal aspects, this canvas – painted in 1931, like Hopper's *Hotel Room* – seems to convey the same anguished feeling of the Great Depression with its anonymous figures who underline the lack of communication that prevails in modern cities.[27]

The life of New Yorkers was also the main subject of the oeuvre of Raphael Soyer. A member of the Fourteenth Street School, which brought together artists concerned with showing the social inequalities that existed before and after the Wall Street crash in 1929, the Russian-born Jewish artist established himself in the district after which the group was named, known as the Fifth Avenue of the poor, and captured his neighbors' circumstances and ethnic diversity in his paintings. In *Girl with Red Hat* [cat. 101], executed around 1940, he helped create a distinctive iconography of new American femininity by illustrating the latest active roles women were taking on in society, whether by exercising professions or by engaging in new consumption habits.[28] Unlike works by other artists of the period who were more interested in political denunciation, this canvas attests to Soyer's empathy with the African-American population and his moving vision of the human condition.[29]

fig. 42

Félix González-Torres
Untitled (Portrait of Ross in L.A.), 1991
Candies individually wrapped in multicolor cellophane, variable dimensions
The Art Institute of Chicago, Promised gift of Donna and Howard Stone, 1.1999

In 1980, during the last stage of his life, Raphael Soyer portrayed himself with his palette in one hand and paintbrush in the other [cat. 113]. The artist, who produced more than 50 self-portraits, found his own likeness to be a perfect vehicle for self-reflection. A staunch defender of the idea that his art was "always self-portraiture, always autobiographic" because "your work is what you are. You look at the world through yourself,"[30] he classified his entire output as a product of his subjectivity and expressed the impossibility all contemporary artists feel of gazing at reality objectively.

Love, Love, Love. Homage to Gertrude Stein, executed in 1928 [cat. 105], is a paradigmatic example of the direction in which portraiture veered as a direct consequence of the new conceptions of the ego that began to emerge in the late 1800s. This crisis, coupled with art's utter distrust of the truth of images, shattered forever the existing bond between sitters and their reflection. Although models had always been accompanied by certain attributes, here Charles Demuth completely dispenses with the writer's facial features and replaces them with emblems or signs that represent her. He includes clues of a sort (words, numbers, and

25 Merle du Bourg 2010, p. 64, pl.
26 Augé 1995.
27 Baur 1981.
28 Todd 1993.
29 Heyd 1999, p. 79.
30 Raphael Soyer in Baskind 2004, p. 53.

fig. 43

Jean-Michel Basquiat
Self-Portrait, 1986
Acrylic on canvas, 180 × 260.5 cm
Barcelona, Colección MACBA. Long-term loan from the Generalitat de Cataluña. Colección Nacional de Arte. Former Colección Salvador Riera, 0413

objects) that camouflage her identity and, like a riddle, guide the initiated spectator toward resolving the hidden mystery the work holds.[31] Similar devices had been used more than two decades earlier by John Frederick Peto in *Toms River* [cat. 106], an illusionistic work from 1905 where the *trompe l'oeil* objects seem to refer to the male image that appears in the center of the composition.[32] Similarly, Demuth's work can be considered a precedent of new forms of portraiture adopted years later by conceptual artists such as Félix González-Torres. In *Untitled (Portrait of Ross in L.A.)* of 1991 [fig. 42], a mound of candies with a weight similar to that of his partner, Ross Laycock, becomes an allegorical representation of the latter. Spectators are invited to pick up these confections so that the installation gradually disappears, emulating the gradual deterioration of Ross's body as an effect of AIDS.

Another dimension of the modern subject appears in Arshile Gorky's works, where man's inner impulses repressed by Western civilizations openly emerge. The artist's personal artistic language, halfway between Surrealist automatism and Expressionist gestural freedom, produced revealing images of contemporary humans. In *Good Hope Road II. Pastoral* of 1945 [cat. 107] the painter captures the period of calm and emotional stability he experienced during the nine months he lived in the house his artist friend David Hare lent him in Roxbury (Connecticut). Located on Good Hope Road,[33] after which the canvas is named, the house with its bucolic surroundings was the perfect spot for enjoying tranquil family life and provided a basis for this canvas, which is also known as *Hugging*. A very different atmosphere is conveyed in his *Last Painting (The Black Monk)* of 1948 [cat. 108], which, according to Julien Levy, was found on his easel the day he committed suicide.[34] The violent black strokes framing the main figure imbue the painting with powerful emotions and "embody his depressed emotional state."[35]

Humans' vital energy is expressed with all its force in Willem de Kooning's *Red Man with Moustache* of 1971 [cat. 110]. The artist, who moved between abstract and figurative art throughout his life, preferred to portray the female body (though he was occasionally interested in male figures, too, as in this canvas) as a means of artistic exploration. His paintings of distorted forms conceal the sitter's identity beneath a thick layer that envelops both figure and ground and gives priority to the material quality of the brushwork and the violence of the color, which are the true subjects. In an interview with David Sylvester, the Dutch-born painter stressed the importance of the artistic process, that is, of creative action, as the ultimate aim of the painting: "I didn't work on it with the idea of perfection, but to see how far one could go [...]. With anxiousness and dedication to fright maybe, or ecstasy, you know, like *The Divine Comedy*, to be a performer: to see how long you can stay on the stage with that imaginary audience."[36] Later artists like Jean-Michel Basquiat [fig. 43] followed the hybrid trail blazed by De Kooning as a means of exploring in their works issues such as racial identity, sexual orientation, or membership of a particular community or social class.

31 Corn 1999, pp. 223–34.
32 See Wendy Bellion's text on this work in this volume, pp. 36–37.
33 The street is now called Good Hill Road. It was not possible to ascertain whether the street's name has been changed or, on the contrary, it was a conscious decision of the artist. If so, the change from "hill" to "hope" would further confirm the artist's overwhelmingly positive feelings during this period in his life.
34 Levy 1966, p. 10.
35 Alarcó 2009, p. 416.
36 Words spoken by Willem de Kooning during an interview with David Sylvester in 1960. See Sylvester 2001, p. 52.

LEISURE AND URBAN CULTURE

In New York, concrete jungle where
dreams are made of
There is nothing you can't do
Now you are in New York[37]

In the big cities that had grown in pace with the industrial revolution, the concept of leisure arose as a consequence of shorter working days, which enabled people to devote their free time to entertainment, as well as resting. Overcrowding in both housing and the workplace and speculative urban development soon became a problem that the New York authorities attempted to solve by designing the first public parks. In the mid-nineteenth century, nearly 3,000 square meters of Manhattan's grid layout, established in 1811, were assigned to creating Central Park, which imported the Hudson River landscape into the heart of New York.

Just as attempts were made to bring nature back to the city, so too did the city dwellers make outings to the countryside. Going for walks in rural areas became an increasingly accessible escape mechanism thanks to the extension of the railroad and subway lines. A popular place was Waverly Oaks, a spectacular oak grove in Belmont on the outskirts of Boston that lends its name to a small oil painting by Winslow Homer of 1864 [cat. 114] where vaguely defined figures attired in "walking dress" seem to be absorbed in their conversation and stroll. This peaceful scene contrasts with the Civil War still being waged at the time, which Homer illustrated as art correspondent for the press.

Childe Hassam captured the varied manners of walking around the city – for work, hurriedly, out of necessity, or at a leisurely pace, like a Parisian *flâneur*. To get to his studio the artist had to cross the Boston neighborhood he had moved into after getting married in 1884, possibly in one of the trams depicted in *Wet Day, Columbus Avenue, Boston*, executed around 1885 [cat. 116]. The throbbing pulse of the city and its inhabitants blends into the wet atmosphere that unifies the otherwise insignificant scene. Shortly afterwards, in the spring of 1886, Hassam moved to Paris, where he lightened his palette and embraced Impressionism, becoming one of its foremost practitioners on returning to the United States [fig. 44]. As Barbara Haskell states, in the urban scenes Hassam painted in New York, modernity is neutralized by the reduced palette, the diffuse finish, and the atmospheric effects to which the artist gave priority.[38]

fig. 44

Childe Hassam
Fifth Avenue at Washington Square, New York, 1891
Oil on canvas, 56 × 40.6 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1979.19

William Merritt Chase, the other main representative of Impressionism in the United States, was especially praised for choosing local settings such as Central Park in *In the Park. A By-path* of around 1889 [cat. 115], heeding intellectuals' and art critics' urge for artists to shun European forms and attitudes and paint what was closer at hand.[39] The ability of the artist's gaze to reveal beauty where others see only feats of engineering or public expenditure was furthermore acknowledged. His pleasant scenes feature exquisitely dressed upper-middle-class children accompanied by an adult who watches over them from a distance.

37 Jay-Z and Alicia Keys, *Empire State of Mind*, 2009.
38 Haskell 1999, p. 60.
39 Kay 1891.

fig. 45

Reginald Marsh
Smoko, the Human Volcano, 1933
Watercolor on Masonite, 91.4 × 122 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1978.39

This privileged situation contrasts with that of children from impoverished families, who ventured alone into the parks. Walt Whitman denounced in his newspaper articles[40] the mistreatment that these minors received from the caretakers, and some of the great photographers of the twentieth century, such as Lewis Hine, illustrated the harshness of the child labor they were forced to endure. It was not until Robert Henri and his followers that painting began to show the less pleasant side of society and lower-class life in scenes that depict overcrowding, squalor, and modern consumption and leisure habits. *Throbbing Fountain, Madison Square* [cat. 118], painted by John Sloan in 1907, makes us feel like one of the passers-by who gaze at the fountain in a celebration of Americans' everyday ordinary life, as Henri advocated. The heavy atmosphere and the figures in the background nevertheless remind us of the unceasing activity of the city, which seems to consume its inhabitants.

Besides Central Park, the beach on Coney Island south of Brooklyn became another of the city's lungs. Although the beach and the unspoiled nature setting are the main subject of the earliest depictions of this location in the mid-nineteenth century, urban and commercial development completely transformed the landscape in the 1890s. Human creations became the main attraction of this spot, which enjoys pride of place in American popular culture as the world's greatest playground, where everything is possible.[41]

Whereas one of the new fashions, sea-bathing,[42] is captured by Winslow Homer in his *Beach Scene* of about 1869 [cat. 119], in *Beach Scene with Punch and Judy Show* [cat. 120] Samuel S. Carr presents the assortment of forms of entertainment Coney Island offered in the 1880s, such as donkey rides and puppet shows. Leisure activities were regarded as a lucrative business opportunity and this area soon became a factory for fun, where there was competition to create the most brightly lit and exotic attractions, the fastest roller-coasters and the weirdest and most wonderful beings. It became permanently accessible to the masses in 1920, when the New York subway network reached this part of Brooklyn. From then onward, hundreds of thousands of people could go and spend the day there for just a nickel, the same as what it cost to go and see a movie.

Nature is glaringly absent from the Coney Island portrayed by Reginald Marsh around the 1930s. He focused on the crowds thronging around the rides and the grotesque freak shows. Federico García Lorca also commented on what an excursion to Coney Island had meant for him during his stay in New York in 1929, which inspired the poem titled "Landscape of a Vomiting Multitude (Dusk at Coney Island)." In *Smoko, the Human Volcano* [fig. 45], painted by Reginald Marsh in 1933, the entire background is covered with posters and advertisements, while the foreground features spectators who represent all the ethnic groups and cultures then living in New York. Unlike the city, where racial and class segregation was evident, Coney Island, like Harlem, was an urban space with "permeable racial boundaries."[43]

In *Carnival*, executed in 1946 [cat. 122], Ben Shahn portrayed a scene inspired by photographs he had taken at the Buckeye Lake Amusement Park in Columbus. The artist, who in 1935 began shooting photographs that documented social reality during the Great Depression,[44] later returned to some of them as sources for his paintings. *Four Piece Orchestra* [cat. 123], a work dating from 1944

40 Whitman 1842.
41 See the catalog of the exhibition *Coney Island: Visions of an American Dreamland, 1861–2008* (Frank 2015).
42 Cross and Wilmerding 2019.
43 Higginbotham 2015, p. 11.
44 These photographs were taken for the Resettlement Administration (which was replaced by the Farm Security Administration in 1937) and are held in the Library of Congress in Washington.

fig. 46

Aaron Douglas
Aspects of Negro Life: Song of the Towers, 1934
Oil on canvas, 274.3 × 274.3 cm
New York, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library

by the Lithuanian-born painter, who showed great interest in folk music throughout his career,[45] is a personal version in oils of a real scene he had captured with his Leica.

Since the start of the twentieth century, a great many modern painters had turned their attention to music as a model for their compositions, as it offered them a less literal alternative that was more removed from the appearance of things. One of the first to produce a musical analogy in his attempt to create an art independent from visible reality was Marsden Hartley. *Musical Theme No. 2 (Bach Preludes et Fugues)* [cat. 124], painted during a stay in Paris in 1912, attests to the impact Cubism made on him, even though the painter never fully subscribed to this movement since he viewed art as the result of intuition as opposed to an intellectual process.[46] Writing to his niece from Europe, he commented: "Did you ever hear of anyone trying to paint music – or the equivalent of sound in color [...] there is only one artist in Europe working on [this idea] and he is a pure theorist and his work is quite without feeling – whereas I work wholly from the intuition and the subliminal."[47]

In 1917, probably influenced by his friend Marsden Hartley, John Marin produced a group of works that were exceptional in his career. In this series of experimental watercolors, including *Abstraction* [cat. 125], the painter, who rarely shunned figurative art completely, attempted to represent sound visually.[48] Marin, who believed that painting should be governed by the same laws of balance and rhythm as music, also turned to musical terms in many works to capture the dynamism inherent in the big city [cat. 93].[49]

The constant presence of music in American everyday life thanks to the appearance of gramophones, radio, and new forms of entertainment made it the most prominent and accessible of the arts. Of all the varied musical expressions, painters were particularly fascinated by jazz, not only as a means of distancing themselves from the visible world but as a local expression that enabled them to turn their attention away from the European avant-garde.[50] Jazz, which had emerged in New Orleans in the 1920s, was the soundtrack of a young, energetic, modern and urban America. Its opponents regarded it as a dangerous expression of modernity and its admirers viewed it as the promise of new social freedoms. The intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance furthermore considered it an expression of the cultural identity of the African-American population.[51] Aaron Douglas, a prominent member of this movement, rendered visually in his mural *Song of the Towers* of 1934 [fig. 46] – where a musician, situated between the New York skyscrapers, holds a saxophone irradiating beams of light – the significance this artistic expression has enjoyed not only in American culture but in international culture too.

Among the artists fascinated with jazz was Arthur Dove, who produced a series of six works referring to specific pieces of music in 1927. *Orange Grove in California, by Irving Berlin* [cat. 126], painted on the boat where he

45 Pohl 1993, pp. 126–31.
46 Ludington 2009, p. 141.
47 Letter from Marsden Hartley to Norma Berger, December 30, 1912, held in Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, cited in Ludington 1998, p. 89. Hartley is most likely referring to Wassily Kandinsky.
48 Reich 1970.
49 See the chapter on Marin in Cassidy 1997, pp. 9–36.
50 Ibid.
51 Haskell 1999, pp. 184–85.

lived with artist Helen Torr on Long Island, is one of them. We know from his son William that he listened to the melody referred to in the title "over and over again on his phonograph while making the picture, consciously experimenting to see what effect this would have on his work."[52] The result is a composition of wavy lines that refer to the energy of syncopated jazz rhythms. As Harry Cooper states, these are unusual, even abnormal paintings in the artist's career on account of their total independence from the visible world and their closeness to automatism, which makes it possible to regard them as a forerunner of Jackson Pollock's work years later.[53]

Examples of American painting par excellence, Pollock's works have been linked to jazz since the mid-1940s on account of their creative freedom and their emphasis on improvisation, as well as their pursuit of the primary and unconscious.[54] This connection has led to speculation about the possibility he painted his pictures – such as *Brown and Silver I*, executed around 1951 [cat. 127] – while this music was playing in the background. However, although the painter could spend days on end listening to his record collection[55] and felt that it was "the only other creative thing happening in the country,"[56] his studio in The Springs had no electricity in 1953 and the artist Lee Krasner categorically denied in a televised interview in 1964 that her husband had produced his works in such circumstances.[57]

Stuart Davis also stated that "jazz has been a continuous source of inspiration in my work from the very beginning."[58] In *Pochade*, a work painted around 1956–58 [cat. 128], he depicted a grand piano in vertical position (in the left half of the canvas) on which the letters "cat" appear and, very close by, an "s." This is a reference to scats, vocal improvisations in a jam session.[59] Davis, who compared his working method to "when a musician takes a sequence of notes and makes many variations on them,"[60] used the same elements over and over again in his compositions but metamorphosing them. His works, which foreshadow Pop Art, are visual embodiments of the joy, speed, and rhythm of jazz.

52 Dove's son William to Theodore E. Stebbins Jr. in August 1982, reported in Stebbins and Troyen 1983, p. 24, and cited in Cooper 2005, p. 73.
53 Ibid.
54 Cassidy 1997, pp. 151–52.
55 O'Doherty 1973, p. 89.
56 Krasner on Pollock quoted in Du Plessix and Gray 1967, p. 51. The other major thing Pollock was referring to was evidently his painting and that of his Abstract Expressionist colleagues.
57 Helen A. Harrison, "Jackson Pollock and Jazz: Inspiration or Imitation?" in Academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/10164140/Jackson_Pollock_and_Jazz_Inspiration_or_Imitation (last accessed on September 24, 2021).
58 Cassidy 1997, p. 69.
59 Thanks to Paloma Alarcó and Alba Campo Rosillo for helping interpret this work iconographically.
60 Stuart Davis quoted in Seckler 1953. On Davis's working method, see Cooper and Haskell 2016, p. 12.

URBAN SPACE/ THE CITY

87

Max Weber
Bialystok, Poland 1881–1961 Great Neck

Grand Central Terminal
1915

Oil on canvas, 152.5 × 101.6 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 782 (1973.57)


MAX WEBER

88 ←

Georgia O'Keeffe
Sun Prairie 1887–1986 Santa Fe

New York Street with Moon
1925

Oil on canvas, 122 × 77 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1981.76

89

Oscar Bluemner
Prenzlau, Germany 1867–1938 South Braintree

Red and White
1934

Tempera on paper, 58.5 × 81.5 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1974.1

90

Charles Sheeler
Philadelphia 1883–1965 Dobbs Ferry

Canyons
1951

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 56 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 757 (1973.6)

91 →

Charles Sheeler
Philadelphia 1883–1965 Dobbs Ferry

Ore into Iron
1953

Tempera on Plexiglas, 23 × 17.2 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1973.8

92

Ralston Crawford
St. Catharines, Canada 1906–1978 New York

Overseas Highway
1939

Oil on canvas, 45.7 × 76.2 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1978.60

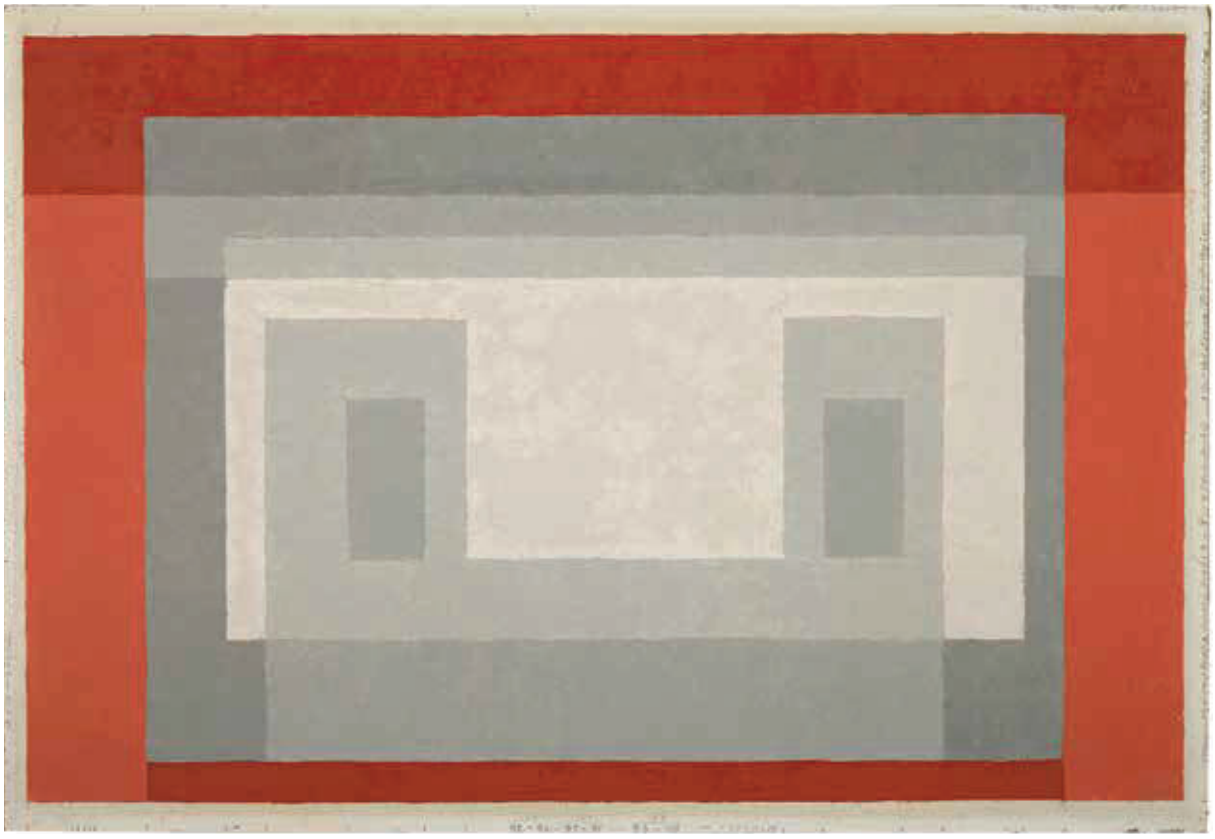
93

John Marin

Rutherford 1870–1953 Cape Split

Lower Manhattan
1923

Watercolor on paper, 67.5 × 54.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 661 (1977.82)



94

Josef Albers
Bottrop, Germany 1888–1976 New Haven

Casa Blanca B
1947–54

Oil on canvas pasted on Masonite, 41.3 × 60.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 450 (1977.90)

95

Richard Estes
Kewanee 1932

Telephone Booths
1967

Acrylic on Masonite, 122 × 175.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 539 (1977.93)


TELEPHONE
TELEPHONE
TELEPHONE
DIRECTORIES
R·H·MACY

96

Richard Lindner
Hamburg, Germany 1901–1978 New York

Thank You
1971

Oil on canvas, 194 × 137 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1993.11

97 →

Richard Lindner
Hamburg, Germany 1901–1978 New York

Moon over Alabama
1963

Oil on canvas, 204 × 127.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 649 (1974.33)

URBAN SPACE/
MODERN SUBJECT

98

Winslow Homer
Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Portrait of Helena de Kay
c. 1872

Oil on panel, 31 × 47 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 591 (1983.25)

99

Eastman Johnson
Lovell 1824–1906 New York

The Girl at the Window
c. 1870–80

Oil on board, 67.3 × 55.9 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1980.23

100

Edward Hopper
Nyack 1882–1967 New York

Girl at a Sewing Machine
c. 1921

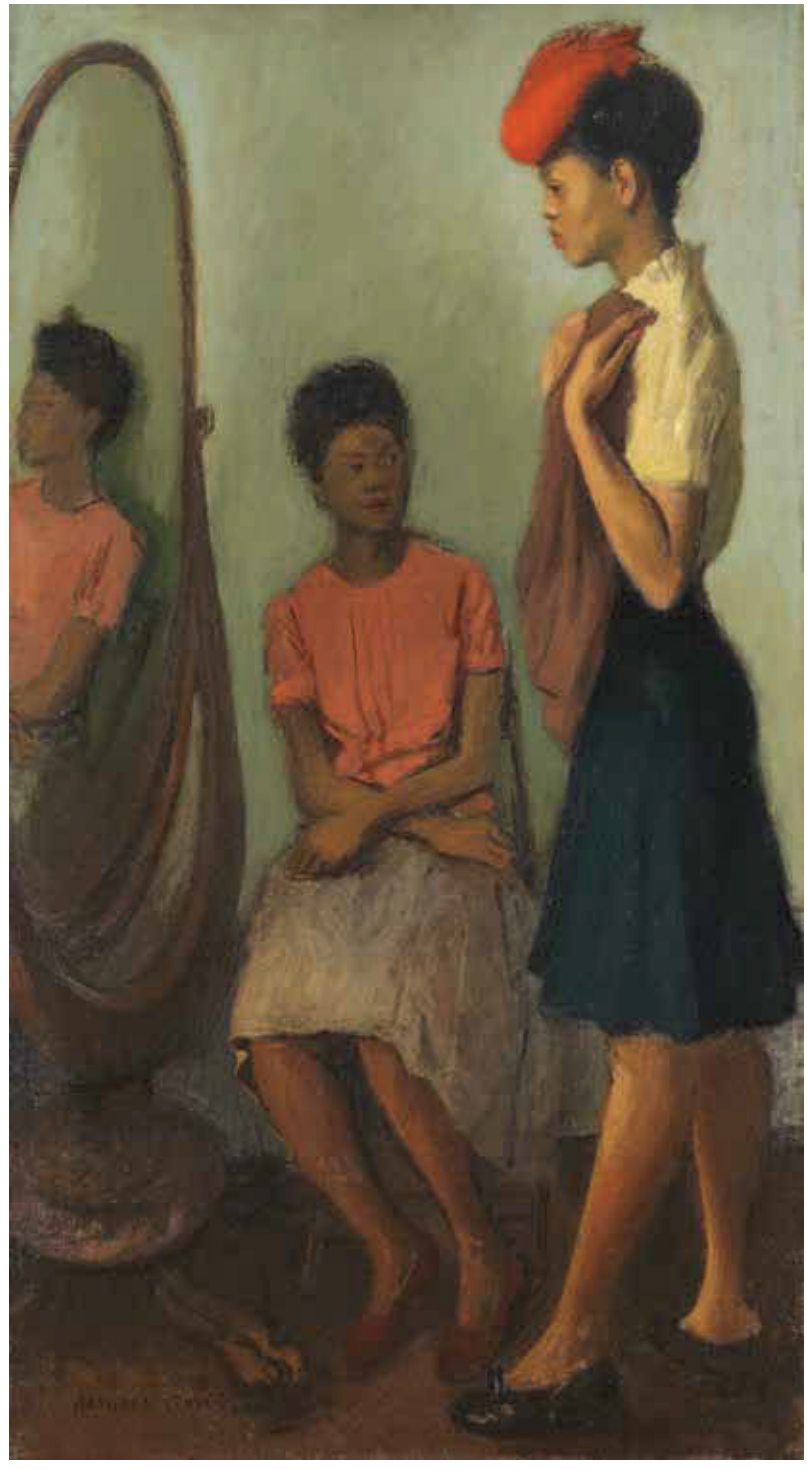
Oil on canvas, 48.3 × 46 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 595 (1977.49)

101 →

Raphael Soyer
Borisoglebsk, Russia 1899–1987 New York

Girl with Red Hat
c. 1940

Oil on canvas, 76.8 × 43.2 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1980.81



102

George Bellows
Columbus 1882–1925 New York

A Grandmother
1914

Oil on panel, 94 × 74.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 466 (1980.69)

103 →

Edward Hopper
Nyack 1882–1967 New York

Hotel Room
1931

Oil on canvas, 152.4 × 165.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 594 (1977.110)

104

John Marin

Rutherford 1870–1953 Cape Split

Figures in a Waiting Room
1931

Oil on canvas, 56 × 68.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 662 (1981.46)

105

Charles Demuth
Lancaster 1883–1935

Love, Love, Love. Homage to Gertrude Stein
1928

Oil on panel, 51 × 53 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 521 (1973.56)

106

John Frederick Peto
Philadelphia 1854–1907 New York

Toms River
1905

Oil on canvas, 68 × 58.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 700 (1980.80)

Toms River: the letters seemingly etched onto the surface of John Frederick Peto's painting identify a New Jersey river, a community, and the artist's home for the last two decades of his short life. What else do they tell us about Peto's attachment to this place?

After Peto, a Philadelphia native, moved to the Jersey shore in 1889, the Toms River provided the location and inspiration for several of his works. Peto built a house and studio in Island Heights, adjacent to the larger town called Toms River. An avid photographer, he documented the free time he spent boating and relaxing with his family on or near the river. His friend Samuel Callan memorialized his attachment to the area after Peto's death in 1907 from surgery for Bright's disease: "Where winding Toms glides gently to the Bay, / On Island Heights – a Cottage may be seen / There Artist lived – of unassuming way / In snug retreat did pleasures know serene."[1]

Around 1890, from his "snug retreat" Peto painted a beautiful riverscape in the Thyssen-Bornemizsa collection, *Afternoon Sailing* [cat. 42], and later a *trompe l'oeil* tribute to the commodore of the Toms River Yacht Club (1906, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts). Yet unlike these works, *Toms River* does not immediately disclose the significance of its title or place. Instead, it invites reflection about the nature of artistic representation.

At first glance, *Toms River* catalogs Peto's iconographical motifs, for it recycles numerous objects from earlier images – the sign, the string, the scratched numbers, the nails – and summons well-known paintings that represent similar compositions of cupboards, such as *The Poor Man's Store* (1885, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). In place of open doors, however, *Toms River* features a wooden panel that is emphatically closed. The "frame" is just as perplexing. It resembles the frame of a picture in the way four thin boards are mitered together to delineate an object at center: the depiction of a wooden board. Yet this board is less a picture than a surface for depiction: we see printed images (a photograph and scraps of paper) and handwriting (the letters HH, Toms River, 1905) that appear to be pasted, pinned, and inscribed. Held in place – barely – by rusty hinges, the board recalls the practice of reusing wooden panels, such as the bottoms of bureau drawers, as supports for painting. Peto repurposed his palettes several times in this way.[2]

What, if anything, does Peto's closed door conceal? It is a risky question to ask: often, *trompe l'oeil* paintings set traps, luring in viewers with false promises of secrets to be discovered. Peto did exactly this in his early "rack pictures," which are full of references to people and places that never existed.[3] Nevertheless, it is possible to understand *Toms River* as an allusion to a local scandal. The man in the *carte-de-visite* – a detail that has escaped analysis in the scholarly literature to date – resembles images of a Toms River physician, Frank Brouwer, reproduced in period newspapers. The letters "HH," often assumed to refer to Peto's grandfather, may name yet another doctor, H.H. Cate.[4] Notably, both men were caught up in a widely-publicized mystery involving the death of Brouwer's wife, possibly from Bright's disease: the same kidney ailment from which Peto suffered.[5]

Are these the men referenced in *Toms River*, which Peto painted at the same time the scandal was making national news? The ambiguity of these details redoubles the painting's representational gambits. *Toms River* gives us worn and torn things. But it also conjures the contemporary world beyond Peto's studio, a small town rendered big news by the thoroughly modern media of newsprint and photography.

Wendy Bellion

1 Samuel Callan, "In Memoriam: John Frederick Peto," November 1907. John Frederick Peto and Peto family papers, 1850–1983, in Archives of American Art, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/john-frederick-peto-and-peto-family-papers-11165/series-1/box-1-folder-7.

2 X-ray photography of *Toms River*, recently undertaken by the studio museum's conservators, has revealed *pentimenti* suggesting Peto may have reused an older canvas, as he did numerous times in his career. On this point, see Bolger 1996, pp. 59–81.

3 Ibid., pp. 63–64.

4 John Wilmerding suggested the initials "HH" signified Peto's maternal grandfather, Hoffman Ham, in Wilmerding 1983, p. 185.

5 Brouwer was charged, then acquitted, of his wife's murder in a trial that attracted national press coverage. For one example of the many articles that reproduced an image of Brouwer – both with and without a mustache – see "Brouwer on Trial Shows Great Composure," *New Jersey Courier* (Toms River, NJ), October 11, 1906.

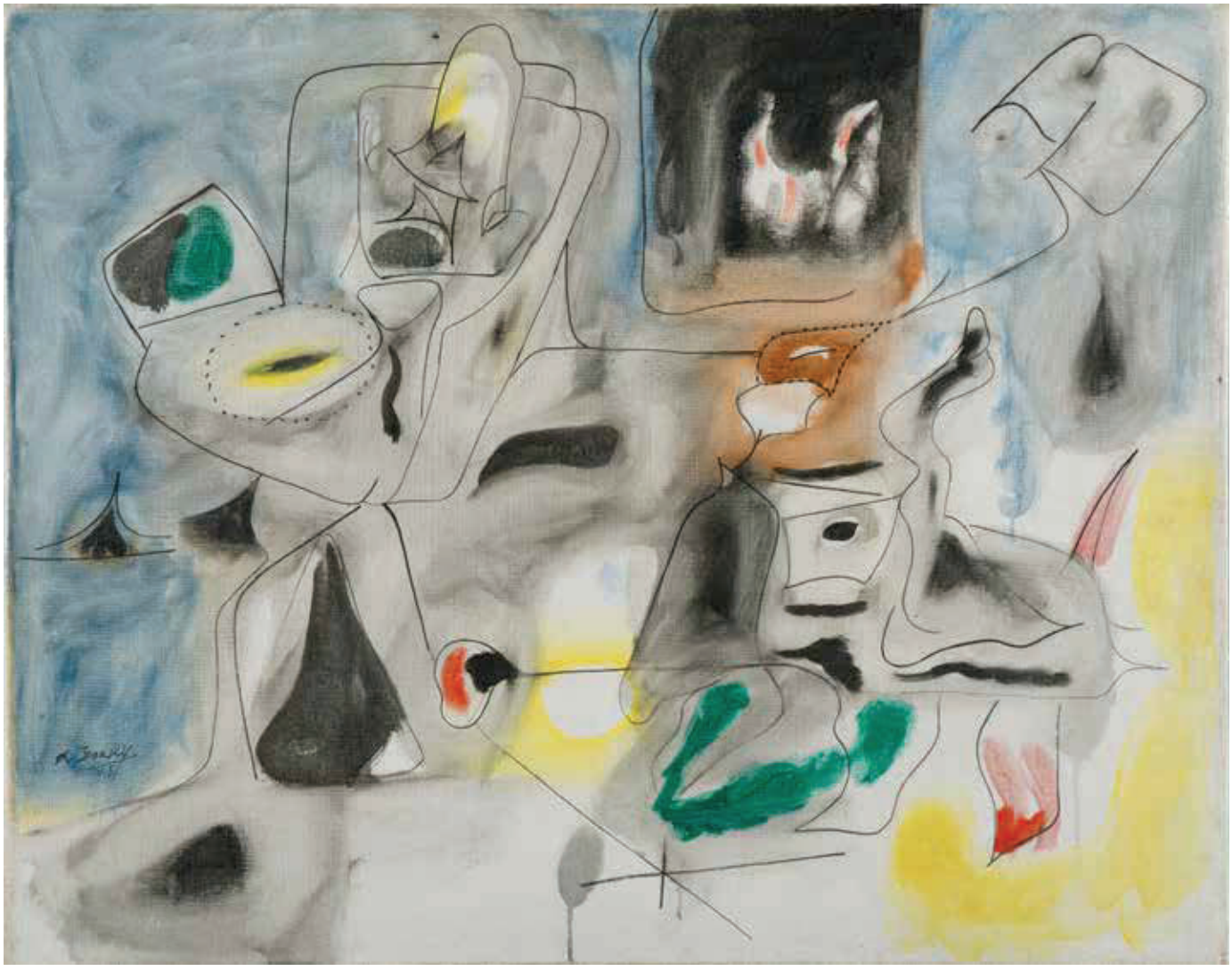

HH
TOMS RIVER
1905

107

Arshile Gorky
Khorkom, Turkey 1905–1948 Sherman

Good Hope Road II. Pastoral
1945

Oil on canvas, 64.7 × 82.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 563 (1977.94)



108

Arshile Gorky
Khorkom, Turkey 1905–1948 Sherman

Last Painting (The Black Monk)
1948

Oil on canvas, 78.6 × 101.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 564 (1978.72)

109

Hans Hofmann
Weissenberg, Germany 1880–1966 New York

Untitled. Renate Series
1965

Oil on canvas, 121.9 × 91.4 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 587 (1981.10)

110 →

Willem de Kooning
Rotterdam, The Netherlands 1904–1997 New York

Red Man with Moustache
1971

Oil on paper mounted on canvas, 186 × 91.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 631 (1984.17)

111

Robert Rauschenberg
Port Arthur 1925–2008 Captiva Island

Express
1963

Oil, silkscreen, and collage on canvas,
184.2 × 305.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 721 (1974.34)

Robert Rauschenberg had been making silkscreen paintings only a few months when he undertook *Express*, a virtuoso demonstration of how rapidly he had adapted the commercial technique to his artistic needs.[1] Its composition is almost elegant in its clarity, with its loose, syncopated grid structured in columnar registers[2] that present opposed pairs of images at its corners and in the middle register. Throughout, the artist plays with paired contrasts: light and dark, photographic positive and negative, and paint applied both in gestural strokes and hard-edge forms, one of which, in bright red, contrasts sharply with the overall black-and-white palette.

Inseparable from this sense of equilibrium is considerable tension. The horse has not yet cleared the fence; the dancers' pose remains dependent on their continued clasping of one another's hands, and the impression of a falling climber appears to result from Rauschenberg's deliberate, repeated printing of the same screen rotated ninety degrees. Near the top of the canvas, his arms raised – whether in orchestration or alarm is unclear – is the small figure of Rauschenberg's friend, the dancer and choreographer Merce Cunningham.

Express is a richly nuanced consideration of masculinity encompassing societal and cultural expectations, generational differences, same-sex relationships, and race. The pivotal conflict is established in the painting's center, with Rauschenberg's contrast of dancers with climbers. He took the latter figures from an advertisement appearing in *Life* as part of a recruitment campaign for the US military captioned: "What's it worth to feel like a man?"[3] This text does not appear in *Express*, but it usefully establishes the starkly defined approach to masculinity common at this time. In addition to the falling recruit, *Express* suggests several different avenues for masculine behavior and relationships between men, most prominently in the inclusion of Cunningham and his dancers, both from Rauschenberg's own photographs. In the composition Cunningham appears in *Express* above the dancers, a distant father figure, but Rauschenberg – like Cunningham, at least a generation older than most of the company's members – was growing more intimate with them as their official lighting director and stage manager. The male dancer in Rauschenberg's photograph, pulling his weight back from his female partners like the outer curve of a parenthesis, is Steve Paxton, with whom Rauschenberg had become romantically involved. Posed above an image of imperiled masculine risk-taking, Paxton, the man central to Rauschenberg's personal and creative life, occupies a key position in his painting's composition.

The photograph of a naked woman at the right side of *Express* also links Rauschenberg with earlier generations of men who shared his creative concerns. Gjon Mili (1904–1984) had made the photograph as an homage to *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* by Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), an artist of immense importance to Rauschenberg.[4] By pairing Mili's photo with the quadrupled image of horse and rider, Rauschenberg made a historical leap back to Duchamp's own forerunners, in the stop-motion photography of Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904) and Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904). Through his manipulations of the silkscreens, Rauschenberg claimed his creative father figures among photographers as well as artists at a time when the use of a camera had again become central to his art.

In this context, the image in the lower right corner of *Express* is especially striking: a reproduction of the painting by Louis Mathieu Didier Guillaume (1816–1892), *Surrender*

1 Rauschenberg began to make silkscreen paintings in October 1962; both *Express* and *Cove* (discussed below) would have been finished by the beginning of February 1963, when they were included in his solo exhibition at the Beaumont-May Gallery, Hopkins Center, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire in February 1963 (from the chronology by Joan Young with Susan Davidson in Hopps and Davidson 1997, updated by Davidson and Kara Vander Weg for Rauschenberg 2010, and further revised for the Robert Rauschenberg Foundation website by foundation staff with Amanda Sroka; https://www.rauschenbergfoundation.org/artist/chronology).

2 Rauschenberg used a similar compositional approach in his early combine paintings; see, for example, *Collection* (1954/55) and *Charlene* (1954). Curator Nan Rosenthal often spoke of the artist's compositional method in terms of a "syncopated grid."

3 The advertisement was published in *Life*, June 8, 1962, p. R2, according to Feinstein 1990, p. 96 n.19.

4 Rauschenberg's source for the silkscreen was likely the photograph's illustration in "The Workings of the Incomparable Human Body," *Life*, October 26, 1962, pp. 76–77.

of General Lee to General Grant, April 9, 1865 after the Battle of Appomattox, an event marking the end of the US Civil War. *Express* was made prior to the most dramatic events of 1963, such as the Birmingham Campaign, but the contemporary import of Guillaume's image of civilized détente nonetheless stands: in the early 1960s, the United States was commemorating the centennial of the Civil War in the midst of a nationwide movement for civil rights that demonstrated how poorly the nation had fared in that regard since the war's end. In fact, by the time Guillaume's painting was made and installed at the Appomattox courthouse around 1880, Reconstruction had come to an end, and the gains made by African Americans in the South were beginning to be rolled back.

Rauschenberg was acutely aware of the struggle for equality in the Jim Crow South, as he was born and grew up in Texas. He supported the civil rights movement and occasionally included references to the subject in his art, especially his transfer drawings. But his use of the Appomattox image in *Express* appears to serve another purpose. Guillaume's painting presents the negotiations around a surrender at the end of a long and bloody war, an image that suspends action as a still point in a closed room and seems to ask the viewer to suspend judgment of the dashing and composed Lee, the focal point of Guillaume's composition.

Facing each other across a small table, he and Grant comported themselves according to the codes of masculine honor expected of men of their power, status, and race. That Rauschenberg might include such an image in an artwork as one example of potential masculine conduct suggests not only that there may be many different ways to "feel like a man," but that the possibilities may involve avenues of privilege unrecognized even by the artist.

Catherine Craft

112

Andrew Wyeth
Chadds Ford 1917–2009

My Young Friend
1970

Tempera on Masonite, 81.3 × 63.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 787 (1978.74)

113

Raphael Soyer
Borisoglebsk, Russia 1899–1987 New York

Self-Portrait
1980

Oil on canvas, 61 × 50.8 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 762 (1981.41)

URBAN SPACE/ URBAN LEISURE AND CULTURE

114

Winslow Homer
Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Waverly Oaks
1864

Oil on paper mounted on panel,
33.6 × 25.4 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 589 (1980.87)

115

William Merritt Chase
Nineveh 1849–1916 New York

In the Park. A By-path
c. 1889

Oil on canvas, 35.5 × 49 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1979.15

116

Childe Hassam
Dorchester 1859–1935 East Hampton

Wet Day, Columbus Avenue, Boston
c. 1885

Oil on canvas, 38 × 46 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1989.3

117

Maurice Prendergast
St. John's, Canada 1858–1924 New York

The Race Track (Piazza Siena, Borghese Gardens, Rome)
1898

Watercolor on paper, 35.6 × 46.6 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 718 (1982.6)

118

John Sloan
Lock Haven, 1871–1951 Hanover

Throbbing Fountain, Madison Square
1907

Oil on canvas, 66 × 81.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 761 (1979.2)

119

Winslow Homer
Boston 1836–1910 Prouts Neck

Beach Scene
c. 1869

Oil on canvas mounted on cardboard, 29.3 × 24 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection, inv. CTB.1985.12

120

Samuel S. Carr
[United Kingdom] 1837–1908 Brooklyn

Beach Scene with Punch and Judy Show
c. 1880

Oil on canvas, 15.2 × 25.4 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1982.15

121

Milton Avery
Altmar 1885–1965 New York

Canadian Cove
1940

Oil on canvas, 81.2 × 121.9 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 457 (1980.30)

122

Ben Shahn
Kaunas, Lithuania 1898–1969 New York

Carnival
1946

Tempera on Masonite, 56 × 75.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 756 (1979.71)

123

Ben Shahn

Kaunas, Lithuania 1898–1969 New York

Four Piece Orchestra

1944

Tempera on Masonite, 45.7 × 60.1 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 754 (1977.42)

124

Marsden Hartley
Lewiston 1877–1943 Ellsworth

Musical Theme No. 2 (Bach Preludes et Fugues)
1912

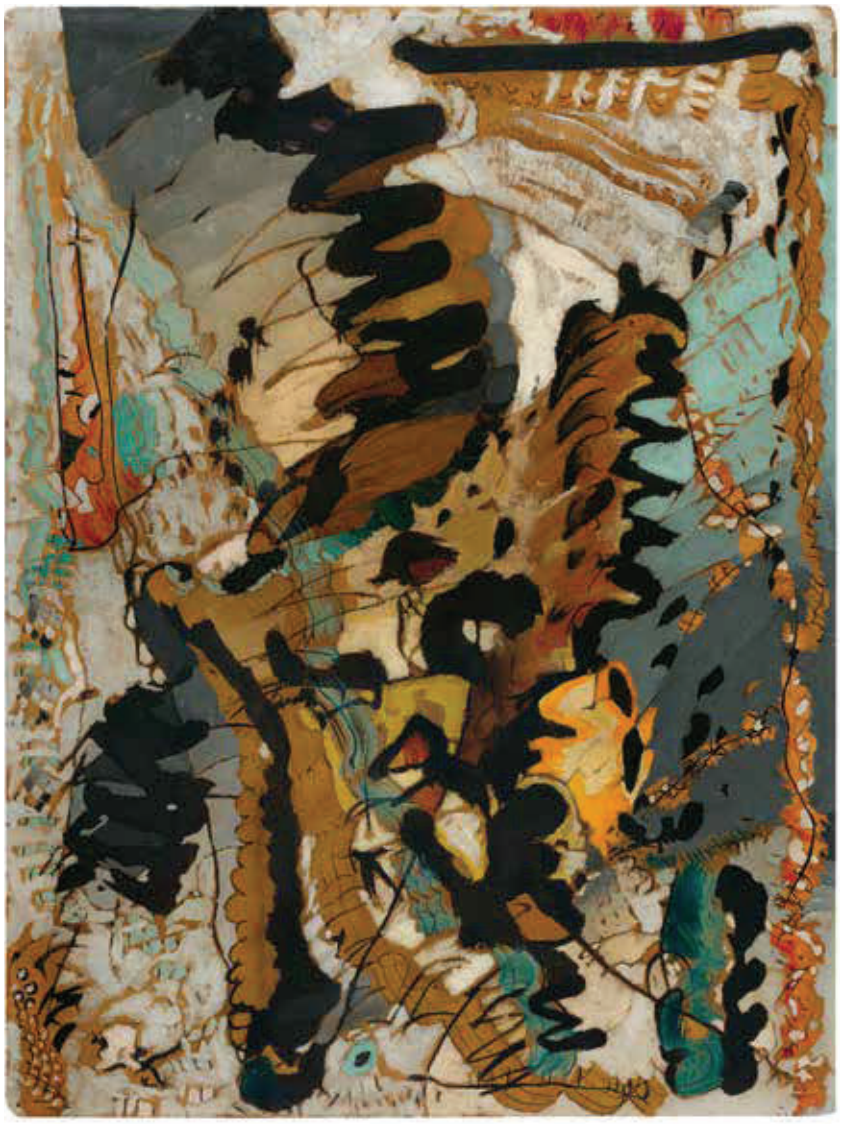
Oil on canvas mounted on Masonite, 61 × 50.8 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 575 (1983.2)

125 →

John Marin
Rutherford 1870–1953 Cape Split

Abstraction
1917

Watercolor on paper, 68 × 55.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 663 (1982.11)



126

Arthur Dove
Canandaigua 1880–1946 Huntington

Orange Grove in California, by Irving Berlin
1927

Oil on cardboard, 51 × 38 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 531 (1975.52)

127 →

Jackson Pollock
Cody 1912–1956 The Springs

Brown and Silver I
c. 1951

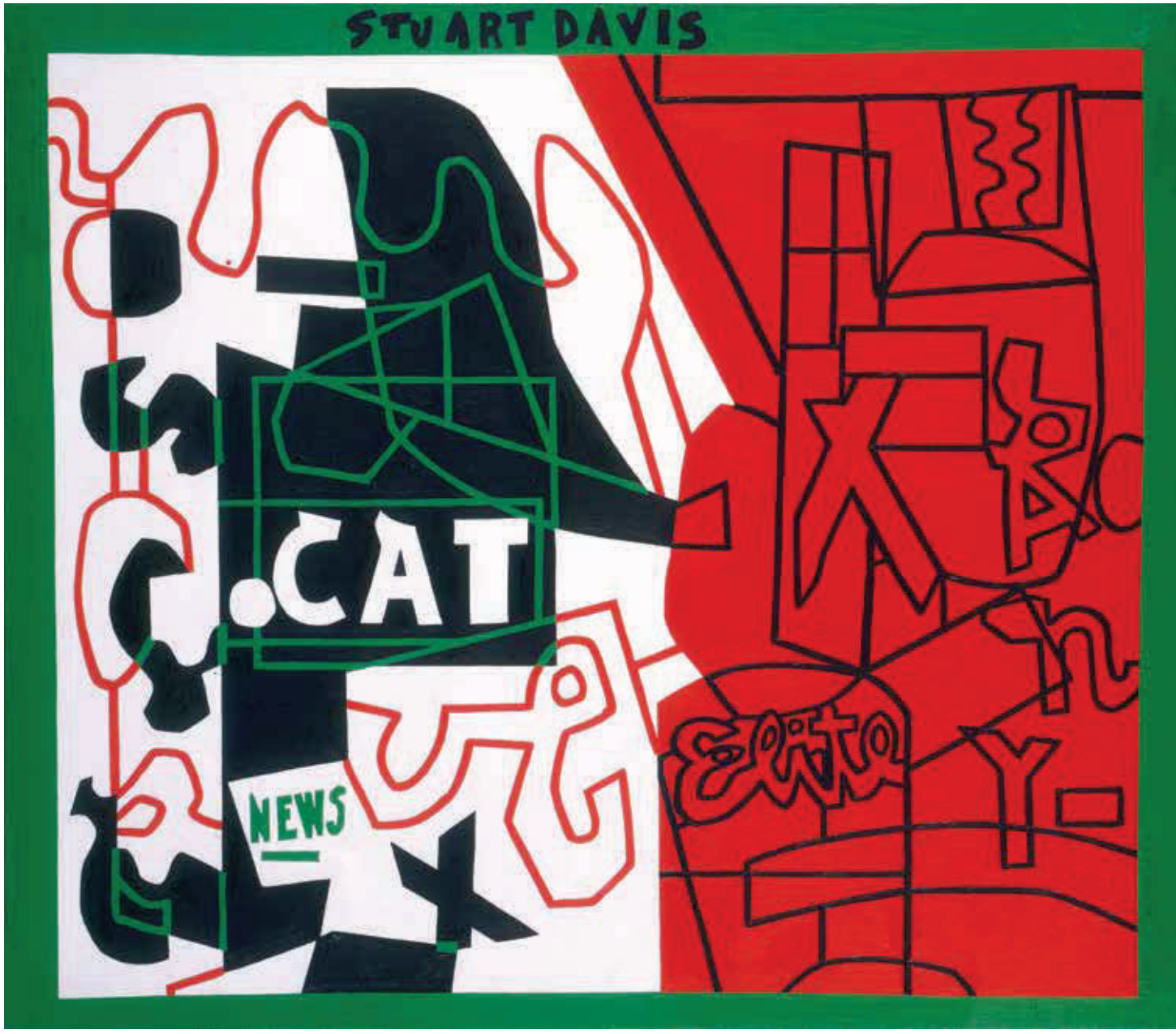
Enamel and silver paint on canvas, 144.7 × 107.9 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 713 (1963.1)

128

Stuart Davis
Philadelphia 1892–1964 New York

Pochade
1956–58

Oil on canvas, 132.1 × 152.4 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 514 (1977.38)


STUART DAVIS
.CAT
NEWS

4/MATERIAL CULTURE

Alba Campo Rosillo

James Rosenquist
Smoked Glass
1962

[detail of cat. 140]

VOLUPTAS

> Glove, pollen, rat, cap, stick. As I encountered these items, they shimmied back and forth between debris and thing – between, on the one hand, stuff to ignore [...] and, on the other hand, stuff that commanded attention in its own right, as existents in excess of their association with human meanings, habits, or projects.[1]

In her evocative prose, political theorist Jane Bennett expresses her experience of seeing discarded stuff and the item's agency in letting the passer-by notice it.[2] This understanding of the reciprocal effect that things and people have on each other constitutes a celebration of life and the senses, encapsulated in the Latin word *voluptas*.

A common sight in still-life paintings is a combination of things and food, as in Paul Lacroix's undated fruit arrangement [cat. 129]. The spotlight dramatically illuminating the composition from the left emphasizes the shine on the grapes and raspberries, the roundedness of the apples, and the curliness of the vines. These tactile qualities reverberate on the aural fizz of the cider glass. The image lauds the fertility of the American soil and the quality of its produce. It also functions as a document of period habits and politics. To prevent poisoning from impure water, Americans drank alcohol – such as hard cider – during the day.[3] The presence of the corn ear refers to the crop that connected the indigenous American nations, and that Native Americans taught colonists to grow.[4] The slice of watermelon reflects, in turn, on the fruit's origins in Africa, where European traders stocked goods and captives to supply the New World.[5] Thus a seemingly innocent depiction of fruit constitutes a visual essay on colonial history and its legacies. Following in this line, Miguel Luciano's *Pure Plantainum* series of 2006 completes the narrative [fig. 47]. This plated version of a plantain, the starchy banana-like fruit that is a symbol of Latin American produce, carries sexual overtones and hip hop aesthetics connecting the colonial with the present day.

Similarly revealing is Stuart Davis's modern take on the still-life genre in *Tao Tea Balls and Teapot*, painted in 1924 [cat. 134], where the artist creates color-block areas around the figures of a teapot, a glass with a slice of lemon, a can, and three tea balls, in a clearly Cubist-inspired composition. The work refers to two events of the time: the commercialization of tea in bags or "balls" – as opposed to loose leaves – and the national ban on the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. Prohibition (1920–33) redirected consumer habits to drinking tea and fueled a tea-room rage, where women became the main patrons and often owners of the businesses.[6] Davis's painting is seemingly making a statement about the renewed modernity of drinking tea. Perhaps he also signaled at its metaphysical dimension, as Tao is a fundamental concept of Chinese philosophy: it is the essence of life, the natural and spontaneous way opposed to human order and culture.[7] *Tao Tea Balls and Teapot* is a particularly lifeless still life, with only two sections of a lemon on display. In a clearly jocular gesture, the tea has not been served and the scene only offers an acidic bite.

Davis belonged to a generation of US American artists from around the 1920s who pursued a modern national art through the depiction of the ordinary.[8] The pioneer modern queer writer Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) led the way with "realist poems" that looked at the everyday from a fresh perspective. In "A Substance in a Cushion" she builds drama by discussing this lifeless object:

> What is the use of a violent kind of delightfulness if there is no pleasure in not getting tired of it. [...] A sight a whole sight and a little groan grinding makes a trimming [...] The disgrace is not in carelessness nor even in sewing it comes out out of the way.[9]

Inspired by her experimental aesthetics, familiar topics, and erotic openness, these artists expressed in their still-life paintings an urge for spiritual regeneration rejecting the industrialized world.[10] In *The Primrose*, dated 1916–17 [cat. 130], Charles Demuth rendered the potted plant from behind a window, playing with the geometry of the white window-panes against the black background and underlining the horizontal spread of the petioles with an electric force. This arrangement makes the flowers, leaves, and leaf stalks look livelier. In *Still Life with Vase*, executed in 1967 [cat. 131], Thomas Hart Benton, stimulated by the

1 Bennett 2010, p. 4.
2 Ibid.
3 Barter 2013, p. 107.
4 Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz names this network "peoples of the corn," in Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, p. 30. See Zukas 2018.
5 The source discussing the origins of both corn and watermelon is Barter and Madden 2013, pp. 60 and 62.
6 Whitaker 2002.
7 Matt Stefon, "Dao," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, April 14, 2016, available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/dao.
8 Costello 2011, pp. 185–86.
9 Stein 1914.
10 Doss 1991, p. 33. The author discusses Benton and mentions Frank Lloyd Wright, Gustav Stickley, and Gustav Klimt to show that theirs was a generational concern.

fig. 47

Miguel Luciano
Pure Plantainum, 2006
Green plantain plated in platinum, pendant with chain

Baroque dynamism of Michelangelo's art, painted a scene in which the curtain's creases in the background, the leaves enveloping the flowers, and even the tablecloth present everything but "a stilled life". In a similar vein, Georgia O'Keeffe focused on single objects to help urban dwellers truly "see" natural elements and become one with them.[11] In *White Iris No. 7* of 1957 [cat. 132], the flower opens up to the viewer revealing its hidden reproductive organs. Clearly, although they practiced different styles, these artists conveyed the life that runs through non-human bodies and that Jane Bennett calls "thing-power."[12]

This modern interest in still lifes encouraged a stylized formal treatment of the painting's components. O'Keeffe communed with nature, collecting found shells and shingles, among other things, during her long walks.[13] She then reduced them to surfaces on which to experiment with volume and light, as in *Shell and Old Shingle V* of 1926 [cat. 133]. Like O'Keeffe, Lee Krasner worked serially after nature itself. In compositions such as *Red, White, Blue, Yellow, Black* of 1939 [cat. 135] she rendered essentialized versions of reality, reducing it to the three primary colors and eliminating shadow.[14] Around 1923–24, Patrick Henry Bruce painted still lifes populated with blocklike geometric figures or "forms" [cat. 136]. The forms pile up in a playful fashion, and their chromatic variation adds rhythm to the already animated composition. Frank Stella would continue the trend toward abstraction by painting purely geometric shapes and stressing his canvases' materiality in works grounded in reality [cat. 137]. In his own words:

> My painting is based on the fact that only what can be seen there is there. It really is an object. Any painting is an object and anyone who gets involved in this finally has to face up to the objectness of whatever it is that he's doing. He is making a thing.[15]

Stella's investment in objecthood sought to distance his oeuvre from previous painting traditions by creating works of art that would encounter and confront beholders in their own spatial and psychological world, a world of humans and agential things.[16]

The interaction of the human and the non-human is a leitmotiv in the still-life painting that Pop artists exploited to reflect on consumer culture.[17] In Tom Wesselmann's *Nude No. 1*, dated 1970 [cat. 139], a naked woman appears lying on her back surrounded by a still-life arrangement: a pot with roses, an orange, and a photographic portrait of the artist. The repetition of undulating lines makes the nude's sensuality reverberate throughout the composition. Roy Lichtenstein's *Woman in Bath* of 1963 [cat. 138] also displays a suggestive series of curves, accentuated by the geometry of the tiled wall behind the figure. The composition uses the image of a woman taken from a sponge advertisement and places her at the center to reflect on the commercial

11 Georgia O'Keeffe quoted in "Women Artists of America," *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, August 4, 1963, n.p.
12 Bennett 2010, pp. 2–4.
13 Ruiz del Árbol 2021, pp. 33–36.
14 Robertson 1986, n.p., and Hobbs 1999, p. 49.
15 Glaser 1966.
16 See Fried 1998.
17 Although traditionally still-life painting did not feature people, it hinted at human presence by showing bitten food or crumbles and cutlery left for the viewer to behold, among other examples.

fig. 48

Carrie Mae Weems
Untitled (Woman and Daughter with Makeup), 1990
Gelatin silver print, 69.1 × 69.1 cm
New York, Museum of Modern Art,
Gift of Helen Kornblum in honor
of Roxana Marcoci, 71.2020

euphoria that the country was experimenting in the 1960s. Manuel Rivas reads in the woman's smile the belief that the future had arrived and was US American.[18]

Diane Waldman reflects that the comely women in Lichtenstein's work represent a decade-old female ideal, an image that proliferated at the time that American soldiers returned home to take up their place in society.[19] A reverse logic appears in the black and white *Untitled (Woman and Daughter with Makeup)* of 1990 [fig. 48], where Carrie Mae Weems shows a mother and her young girl doing their lips in front of a mirror. They are in control of their bodily representation and embellishment, even to the point of negating the viewer the mirror's reflection. The intricate connection between material consumer culture and the female body reappears in the work of James Rosenquist. In *Smoked Glass*, executed in 1962 [cat. 140], the artist presents another instance of a sensual female depiction, now in juxtaposition with the image of a lit cigarette and of a car's headlight. David McCarthy considers that the 1930s figure of the pinup targeted in North American sexist fantasies became the visual catch to sell anything.[20] Indeed, this work constitutes a mosaic of advertising possibilities where the woman's open mouth anchors the composition and exhales desire to possess the neighboring still-life elements.

TEMPUS FUGIT

The fact that all creatures die is a common concept in still-life painting, where a staple of grim iconographic elements juxtaposed with more joyful objects keep reminding viewers of their mortality. Seen under this somber light, the three sexy female depictions just mentioned begin to appear as sarcastic portrayals, maybe as critical comments on commercial culture at midcentury. Wesselmann's reclining nude now functions as a table on which to place things, and her faceless representation dehumanizes her;[21] Rosenquist's exhaling woman becomes another commercial product by association. It is the death of woman and the birth of the glossy Playmate as featured in *Playboy* magazine.[22] Mexican-American artist and activist Margarita Cabrera adds to this gloomy landscape with her soft, vinyl sculptures of household appliances. With banal items such as the *Pink Blender* of 2002 [fig. 49] not only does she parody the sculptures of Claes Oldenburg, but she also exposes the North American consumerist world, which feeds on the labor of Mexicans who manufacture the most toxic pieces in the Maquilas on the Mexican side of the border. Cabrera's kitchen utensils are useless and lucid, in that their soft quality embodies the deflation of the aforementioned commercial euphoria.

Notoriously, Rosenquist's painting makes allusion to two key – and deadly – commercial products in North American material culture: tobacco and automobiles. Tobacco is a plant that is indigenous to Latin America and the Caribbean basin, which native communities consumed for centuries as a medicine and ritual medium.[23] The great worldwide demand of tobacco and the system of chattel slavery allowed American colonial planters to earn fortunes that helped finance their war for independence.[24] Indeed, tobacco leaves served as currency in colonial America. Tobacco came to embody the quintessential American product, as Stuart Davis, in his search for the "really original American work," depicted in 1921 through the use of cigarette products

18 Rivas 1998, p. 46.
19 Waldman 1993, pp. 13–21.
20 McCarthy 1998, p. 83.
21 More on this idea in Lobel 2016, p. 107. The nude as table was explored by Surrealist artists such as Salvador Dalí and René Magritte. On the tendency of Wesselmann and Pop artists in general to reuse and blur traditional painting genres like still life, landscape, and portraiture, see Alarcó 2014.
22 Hugh Hefner founded *Playboy* magazine in 1953.
23 Gilman and Zhou 2004, p. 9.
24 See Brandt 2009.

fig. 49

Margarita Cabrera
Pink Blender, 2002
Vinyl, thread, and appliance parts,
35.6 × 17.8 × 48.3 cm
Private collection

fig. 50

Betye Saar
Extreme Times Call for Extreme Heroines, 2017
Mixed media and wood figure on vintage washboard with clock, 54.6 × 21.9 × 3.8 cm
New York, New-York Historical Society, courtesy of the artist and Roberts Projects

in a modernist fashion [cat. 143].[25] Already in the 1880s tobacco production and distribution were standardized, and its advertisement gained prominence. The paintings featured here by John Frederick Peto of around 1880 and William Michael Harnett of 1879 show still-life arrangements of masculine leisure after Dutch *tabakje* paintings from the 1600s with protruding smoking pipes [cat. 141 and 142]. Ross Barrett explains that smoking tobacco was advertised at the time as an escapist experience of contemplation. Reflecting on the combination of tactile surfaces with the intangible trails of smoke, Barrett argues that smoking was presented as a bourgeois pleasure in which smokers transported themselves from the material to the ineffable.[26]

Smoking tobacco constituted an obvious association with the passing of time and mortality in *memento mori* paintings. The evanescence of smoke reminded the viewer of the transience of life, as much as the crumbled oyster crackers and burnt matches in Harnett's painting. Another *memento mori* element in this painting is the newspaper *Bells Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* – dated May 3, 1879 – which is a clear marker of the passing of time. Joseph Cornell's assemblage *Juan Gris Cockatoo No. 4* of about 1953–54 [cat. 145] also includes a newspaper title, that of *Le Soir*, which in itself is a time reference. The artist featured a collaged bird in a cage, a non-living thing represented in a space for live animals. Within the tradition of still-life painting, the inclusion of insects or decay denoted mortality, and Cornell's flat cockatoo is seemingly reflecting on the ephemerality of life. For Cornell, mortality was a recurrent theme. In *Blue Soap Bubble*, constructed in 1949–50, he represented the universe (the box stands for the sea with blue water, sand, and starfish, and each inner side of the box shows constellations), his family (each suspended cylinder personifies one relative), and the origin of life (with the two glasses) [cat. 144]; the suspended metallic ring is a tool to make soap, and soap bubbles have traditionally referred to the fragility of human life, which ends as easily as a bubble explodes. Recently African-American artist Betye Saar assembled washboards in her series *Keep It Clean* to denounce racial oppression. In *Extreme Times Call for Extreme Heroines* of 2017 [fig. 50], a vintage racist caricatured figure of a Black woman stands as a survivor of the regimented system of labor marked by a crowning clock. Soap bubbles and measured time scream politics here.

25 Haskell 2016, p. 4.
26 Barrett 2019, pp. 74–75. For a more general history of visual representations of smoking, see Tempel 2004.

fig. 51

Jimmie Durham
The Free and the Brave, 2017
Metal-pipe scaffolding, custom-printed PVC mesh, bricks, plastic buckets, and cement mixer
New York, site-specific installation for the Whitney Museum of American Art, November 3, 2017–January 28, 2018
Collection of the artist, courtesy kurimanzutto, Mexico City

Automobiles, the other great product of American consumerism, are intimately connected to the theme of transience, offering the possibilities of speed and escapism. Rosenquist's car headlight constitutes a sensuous surface of shiny reflection, and through a fragment represents the whole of automobility in the United States. Cotten Seiler argues that between 1895 and 1961 the United States experienced the "automobile age," where "automobility emerged as a shaper of public policy and the landscape, a prescriptive metaphor for social relations, and a forge of citizens," where "the horizons of citizenship came to look very much like those of driving."[27] In 2017 sculptor, essayist, poet, and activist Jimmie Durham offered a sarcastic take on the topic with *The Free and the Brave* [fig. 51]. Durham juxtaposes portraits of men emulating sexy women with photographs of the American desert. The slogans: "Buy a Car," "Be Free," and "Smoke!" contrast with the veiled heads and face which perhaps allude to the oppression of women in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East. This work denounces the seizure of indigenous ancestral lands for oil exploitation while it parodies US American white fantasies of the desert as a place of freedom, and of automobiles and smoke as the means to achieve it.

A culture of speed and of doing things on the go developed concurrently with the mushrooming of fast-food restaurants throughout the country. In Richard Estes's painting of 1970, *Nedick's* [cat. 146], a fast-food diner on a corner reflects the opposite buildings on the Coca-Cola round board at top left, a true icon of American material culture. Interestingly, John Wilmerding notes that the theme of reflections and glassy surfaces functions to define and bend space. It could be said that this painting also defines and bends time, presenting the fast-food industry in an image that demands slow examination to apprehend all the details.[28] As this text illustrates, material culture is a crucial facet to understanding American culture, history, economy, and politics. The motifs and arrangements are endless, but they express poignant aspects of the moment in time when they were painted. Estes provides the ultimate thought connecting material culture to lived reality: "Isn't it ridiculous to set up something when the whole world is full of still life?"[29]

27 Seiler 2008, p. 3.
28 Wilmerding 2006, p. 9.
29 Arthur 1978, p. 19.

RITUALS

Bridging mainstream US material culture and indigenous expressive culture are the words of Muscogee poet and musician Joy Harjo, the first Native American Poet Laureate:

> RED – Each of us is a wave in the river of humanity. If we break we bleed out. If we move forward together we are bound together by scarlet waters of belief. One side is war. One side feeds the generations. We are bright with the need for life.[30]

Harjo lucidly exposes the interconnectivity between beings and powerfully asserts their two-faced impulse: violence and nurture. Indeed, the idea of a complex world full of life is something felt and clearly proclaimed in indigenous expressive culture, which encompasses dancing, beading, jewelry, pottery, basketry, and painting, among other forms.[31] Outsider artists such as the aforementioned Karl Bodmer paid close attention to these cultural manifestations.[32] In 1832–34, Bodmer captured the hand-made world of the Plains cultures in *Indian Utensils and Arms I* [cat. 148].[33] Spread across the page to allow careful study, Bodmer offers a visual inventory of instruments that represent the spheres of play and war. This selection reflects the artist's personal interest, with a second print reproducing his fixation for such objects [cat. 149]. In the latter the artist placed at the center a buffalo hide that Mandan chief Mató-Tópe (Four Bears) painted. The piece records the chief's successful war exploits against Assiniboin and Cheyenne opponents in descriptive vignettes. This visual manifestation of warfare focuses on the weapons used and the number of arrows and shots fired in a pictographic language of high specificity.

The accuracy with which Bodmer neatly reproduced indigenous items contrasts with the careless manner in which he selected the objects. On the one hand, the artist mixed in a single inventory images of artifacts produced by the distinct indigenous nations of the Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Crow, Hidatsa, Mandan, Sac and Fox, some of them at war with one another; the only factor connecting all these nations was the artist's travels through their ancestral lands. On the other hand, Bodmer overlooked artifacts of equal importance and beauty such as vases and baskets created to store and transport goods. While the users of most of the objects depicted were men, it was women who produced the majority of the featured items;[34] this practice was common across many indigenous nations.

Of all the nations Bodmer visited, the one he spent the largest part of his travels with was the Mandan, located in current North Dakota along the waters of the Missouri River. *The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief* in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch, dating from 1832–34 [cat. 150], shows the objects mentioned above and others in context. The domestic scene captures several people seated at the center, plus a few wolves and horses. The basket hanging from the left pole features the geometric abstract decorations that were characteristic of female work. Together with the pot at the foot of the pole, the paddle resting against it and other utensils nearby on the floor constitute a thematic arrangement. This grouping indexes the female sphere, and counterbalances the male warfare group of objects on the opposite side. The Mandan were organized according to a matrilineal and matrilocal system, where women built and managed the lodges in which several families lived together.[35] It was female expressive culture that systematized life in the native village.

Outside the village, burial sites and shrines punctuated the landscape. In *Idols of the Mandan Indians* [cat. 151], Bodmer captured a person facing two large poles, both wrapped with hides at the top and arranged to look like human beings. One of these figures stands for the First Man, the deity who created everything. The other effigy is the Old Woman Who Never Dies, a deity object of ritual worship to secure rain and good harvests, as well as successful doctoring and warfare. The Mandan were semi-sedentary: they cultivated their fields, where they grew several different types of corn, and hunted for buffalo, whose meat they ate and pelts they employed to dress among other uses [cat. 152]. Buffalo skulls were utilized to protect the burial sites containing their ancestors' remains and ritual offerings. It is not surprising, then, that the Mandan held year-round rituals to attract, corral, and secure buffalo fertility.[36]

The use of buffalo skulls for protection extended to other nations, like the Assiniboin, in which buffalo were at the core of their life system.[37] Children and social groups were

30 Harjo 2019.
31 To learn more about the concept of expressive culture, see Feintuch 2003.
32 See pp. 19–20 of Paloma Alarcó's essay and pp. 111–13 of Alba Campo Rosillo's essay in this volume.
33 The sources for the iconography and identity of the sitters in the engravings are Goetzmann et al. 1984 and Gallagher and Tyler 2004.
34 Stolle 2017, p. 14.
35 Bowers 1950, p. 37.
36 Ibid., pp. 9, 108, and 305.
37 Originally from the Northern Great Plains of North America, the Assiniboin are currently based in the Canadian region of Saskatchewan. For more information, see David Reed Miller's entry, "Nakota (Assiniboine)," accessible at https://teaching.usask.ca/indigenoussk/import/nakota_assiniboine.php.

fig. 52

Wendy Red Star
Fall, from the series *The Four Seasons*, 2012
Archival pigment print on Museo
silver rag, 53.3 × 61 cm
Minneapolis Museum of Art,
Bequest of Virginia Doneghy,
by exchange, 2012.69.1

given buffalo names, and both the medicine men and chiefs relied on the Spirit Buffalo.[38] In *Magic Pile Erected by Assiniboin Indians*, also of 1832–34 [cat. 153], Bodmer represented a buffalo skull atop several rocks arranged to form a body, illustrating the importance of this animal in indigenous cosmology.

Buffalo population, however, started to decrease in the 1800s in the Great Plains. Incoming indigenous groups from the east coast multiplied the number of hunters in the region, who competed with the professional white hunters massacring buffalo to sell their furs in the international fashion market. Finally, US federal policies cornered Indians into reservations (1850–87) to appropriate indigenous homelands. The near-extinction of the American buffalo around 1900 and the loss of grazing and water rights threatened cowboy subsistence, giving rise to the idea that the wilderness of the western frontier had been tamed.[39] This was followed by nostalgia for this lost world, representations of which proliferated. Today, Apsáalooke (Crow) artist Wendy Red Star produces highly staged photographs to mock romantic idealizations of indigenous culture, as in *Fall* from the *Four Seasons* series of 2012 [fig. 52]. Sitting on fake grass in front of a studio background, the artist poses in traditional dress next to inflatable animals, plastic flowers, and a skull, parodying the animal dioramas of the Natural History Museum and showing indigenous humor while at the same time conveying a serious political message: natives are neither simple nor closer to nature, yet they live with the colonial legacy of land dispossession every day.

Red Star responds to images and ideas such as those that constitute the work of Frederic Remington, in which indigenous culture plays a key role. This visual artist and writer based in upstate New York devoted his professional life to portraying a romanticized idea of the West. His *Buffalo Signal* of 1902 [cat. 155] presents an image of a native riding a horse and waving a buffalo hide in the air with his right hand while holding a rifle with the left. The right-handed gesture was a message sent by scouts to their allies, possibly US soldiers, indicating that they could move forward without being ambushed. But the sculpture is a fiction: by 1902 there was a dearth of buffalo and relations between native

38 Kennedy 1961, p. 63.
39 Zontek 2007, pp. 25–27 and 53. See Besaw 2013, p. 27.

fig. 53

Luis Jiménez
Vaquero, modeled 1980/cast 1990
Acrylic urethane, fiberglass, and steel armature, 505.5 × 289.6 × 170.2 cm
Washington D.C., Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Judith and Wilbur L. Ross, Jr., Anne and Ronald Abramson, and Thelma and Melvin Lenkin, 1990.44

people and US officials were strained.[40] *The Mountain Man* of 1903 [cat. 154] is another highly unlikely figure.[41] The huntsman is riding a horse and carrying all kinds of artifacts required for his animal trapping endeavors. He is tilting his upper body backwards and holding on to the horse at the level of the animal's croup. The trapper's seeming nonchalance stands out against the impossible step that the horse is about to take in such steep terrain. Through their internal tension, both sculptures advance the precariousness of the worlds they represent. Today, Luis Jiménez offers a counterimage of the mountain man in *Vaquero* [fig. 53], a rendition modeled in 1980 and cast in 1990 of a Mexican-American cowboy that highlights the figure's Spanish and Mexican roots. The composition is a tour-de-force in sculptural design with a grounded balance achieved by harmonizing man and horse.

The antagonistic forces underlying the relationship between US colonizers and indigenous communities appear theatrically manifested in Frederic Remington's *The Parley* of about 1903 [cat. 156]. The painting recreates an encounter between a frontiersman and an indigenous horseman in an indeterminate place in the West. The settler, identified by his western attire and prominent blonde moustache, is standing up with his right arm akimbo. His right hand is notoriously close to his handgun while his left aggressively holds a rifle in a horizontal position; the bonfire's smoke rises up to the rifle, and from there twists in the direction of the Indian. The latter sits quietly astride his white horse and lifts his right hand to signal his peaceful intentions. Interestingly, the yellow lilac palette is as much a borrowing from Impressionism's tonalities as a result of the artist's commercial work for illustrated magazines. The five-color photomechanical reproduction technology used in these publications produced color blocks.[42] In the painting, this device lends an unreal quality to the scene. The dreamy character of the piece coupled with the lack of geographic specificity serve to "decontextualize and aestheticize frontier conflict," in Alan Braddock's words.[43] This very serious and real struggle for land and survival was mediated by the material and expressive culture of the different parties, evincing once more the power of things.

40 Sharp 2012, pp. 253–54.
41 Clark 2012, p. 186.
42 Neff 2000, p. 90.
43 Braddock 2006, p. 40.

MATERIAL CULTURE/
VOLUPTAS

129

Paul Lacroix
[France] 1827–1869 New York

The Abundance of Summer
n.d.

Oil on canvas, 64 × 76.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1991.9

130

Charles Demuth
Lancaster 1883–1935

The Primrose
1916–17

Tempera on cardboard, 42.5 × 31.7 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 522 (1981.42)

131

Thomas Hart Benton
Neosho 1889–1975 Kansas City

Still Life with Vase
1967

Oil and tempera on Masonite, 63.5 × 41 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1996.24

132 ←

Georgia O'Keeffe
Sun Prairie 1887–1986 Santa Fe

White Iris No. 7
1957

Oil on canvas, 102 × 76.2 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 697 (1979.36)

133

Georgia O'Keeffe
Sun Prairie 1887–1986 Santa Fe

Shell and Old Shingle V
1926

Oil on canvas, 76.2 × 46 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 698 (1980.10)

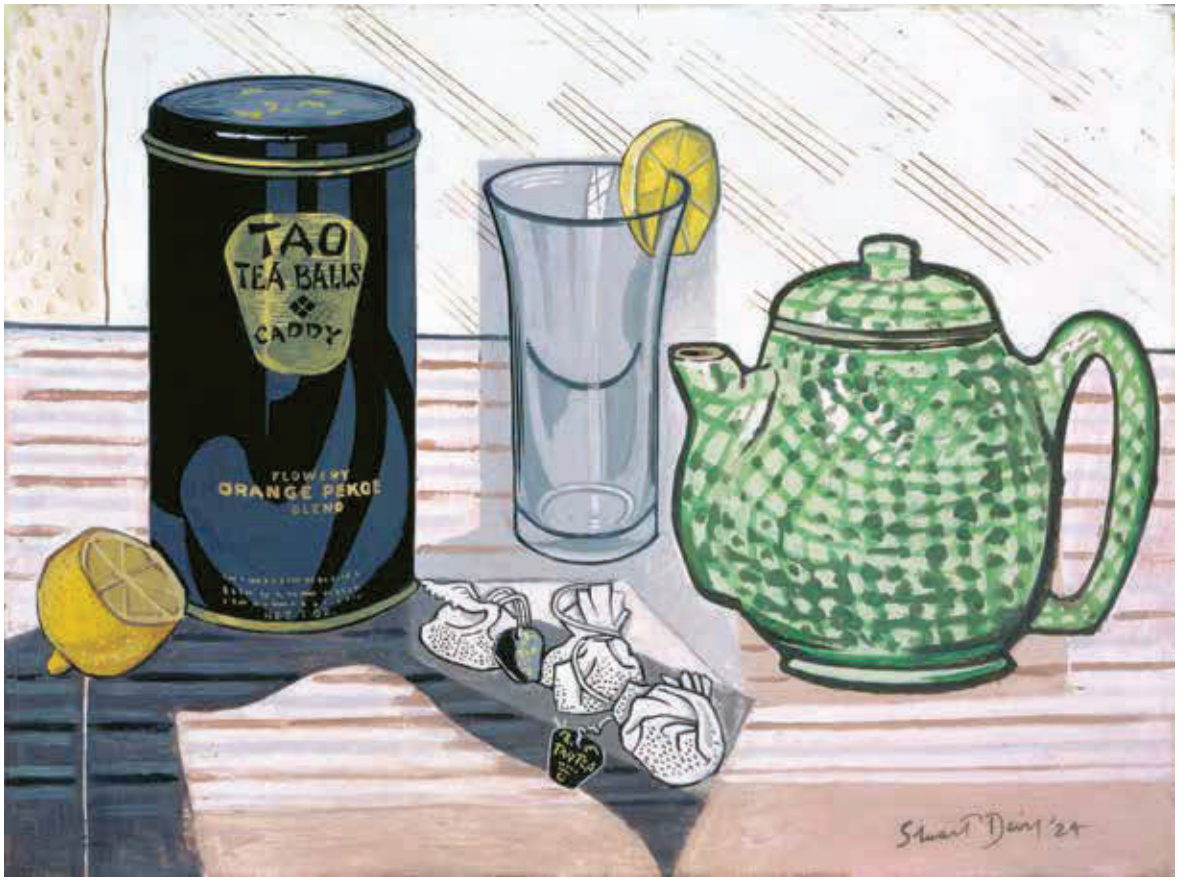
134

Stuart Davis

Philadelphia 1892–1964 New York

Tao Tea Balls and Teapot
1924

Oil on panel, 46 × 61 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1983.3



135

Lee Krasner
New York 1908–1984

Red, White, Blue, Yellow, Black
1939

Collage and oil on paper, 63.5 × 48.6 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1978.9

136

Patrick Henry Bruce
Campbell 1881–1936 New York

Painting. Still Life
c. 1923–24

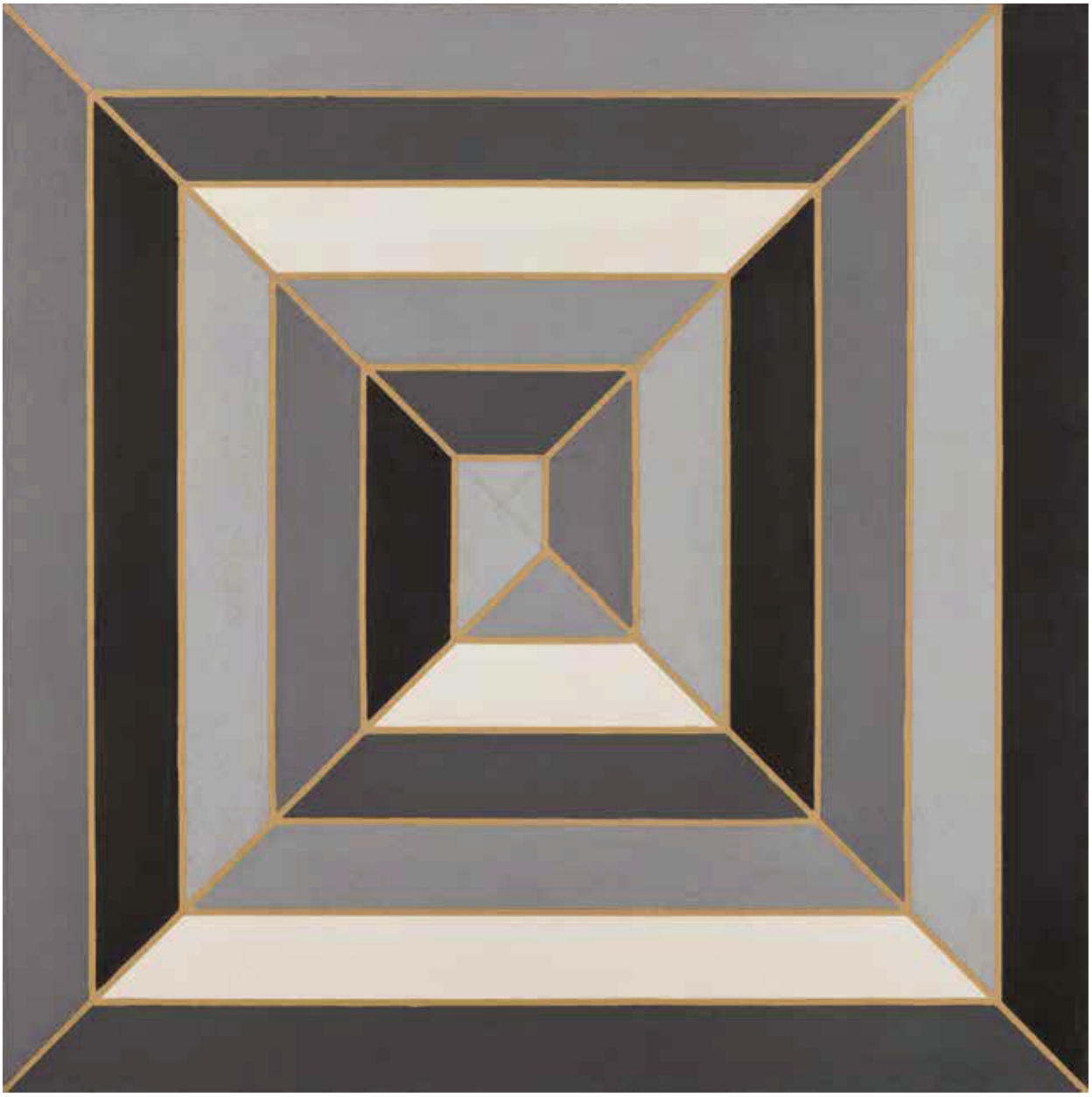
Oil and pencil on canvas, 64.5 × 80.6 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 481 (1980.31)

137

Frank Stella
Malden 1936

Untitled
1966

Acrylic on canvas, 91.5 × 91.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 765 (1983.31)



138

Roy Lichtenstein
New York 1923–1997

Woman in Bath
1963

Oil and Magna on canvas, 173.3 × 173.3 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 648 (1978.92)

139

Tom Wesselmann
Cincinnati 1931–2004 New York

Nude No. 1
1970

Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 114.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 783 (1974.53)

140

James Rosenquist
Grand Forks 1933–2017 New York

Smoked Glass
1962

Oil on canvas, 61 × 81.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 728 (1977.20)

MATERIAL CULTURE/
TEMPUS FUGIT

141

William Michael Harnett
Clonakilty, Ireland 1848–1892 New York

Materials for a Leisure Hour
1879

Oil on canvas, 38 × 51.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 574 (1979.69)

142

John Frederick Peto
Philadelphia 1854–1907 New York

Books, Mug, Pipe and Violin
c. 1880

Oil on canvas, 63.7 × 76.1 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 702 (1982.19)

143

Stuart Davis
Philadelphia 1892–1964 New York

Sweet Caporal
1921

Oil and watercolor on lined cardboard, 51 × 47 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 513 (1973.55)

At first blush, Stuart Davis's *Sweet Caporal* seems to trumpet its putative Americanness unabashedly. It adopts a red, white, and blue color scheme; it includes a reference to "U.S. America," borrowed from the titular cigarette package; and it engages with developments in branding and packaging that came to be identified with American consumer culture in the early twentieth century. Yet any claims it makes to an artistic approach aligned with national identity are as provisional as the position of the United States on the world stage in that selfsame era, several decades prior to publisher Henry Luce's declaration of a triumphant "American Century."

There is an indecision or irresolution to various aspects of the painting, which takes its place among Davis's so-called tobacco pictures, images of brand packaging the artist created in the early 1920s. For one, the artistic influences it draws upon are numerous and geographically dispersed. If its focus on a common (and quite possibly discarded) object harks back to the everyday urban vision of the American artists of the Ashcan School, an older generation that Davis knew well, the work also adopts a collage sensibility borrowed from French Cubism. In his writings of the period, Davis aligned himself as well with the efforts of the Dadaists, whether those still based in Europe like Kurt Schwitters (1887–1948) or European émigrés to New York like Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) and Francis Picabia (1879–1953). Even more equivocal is his overall treatment of the cigarette package. Some sections are rendered in careful, detailed *trompe l'oeil*, as in the torn edge above that casts an illusionistic shadow. Other elements, by contrast, are abstracted and stylized, such as the section at lower right that looks to contain lines of schematically rendered text, implying a more remote or distanced viewpoint. Davis's painting seems to ask: Who – and where – are we as observers? Are we up close or at a remove? Attentive and focused, or disinterested and disengaged?

When taken alongside the aforementioned emblems of national identity, the picture's various martial references, including the military headgear and the product name that invokes the French term for corporal, call out for a political reading. Observers have detected in these assembled elements a link to World War I, which was then only a few years distant.[1] In that context, a certain amount of tentativeness would be apt. The United States had entered the war with no small degree of hesitancy, which continued to mark its actions in the postwar period, as in its refusal to join the League of Nations. In 1922, the year after Davis painted *Sweet Caporal*, former US President William Howard Taft, speaking in London of America's partnership with the world's nations in the wake of the Great War, cautioned his European audience that the country's progress would be slower than some among them would wish.[2] Measured, searching, and tentative: just as these qualities were seen to characterize the country's approach to geopolitics in that era, they may also describe the development of a modernist visual language by its artists, Davis among them.

Michael Lobel

1 See, for instance, Zabel 1991, p. 63.
2 "Taft Asks Britons Not to Be Misled by Factions Here," *The New York Times*, June 20, 1922, p. 1.


SWEE
CAPO
CAPORAL
U.S.AMERICA
KINNEY BROS.

144

Joseph Cornell
Nyack 1903–1972 Flushing

Blue Soap Bubble
1949–50

Construction, 24.5 × 30.5 × 9.6 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 492 (1978.11)

145 →

Joseph Cornell
Nyack 1903–1972 Flushing

Juan Gris Cockatoo No. 4
c. 1953–54

Construction and collage, 50 × 30 × 11.5 cm
Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza,
Madrid, inv. 491 (1976.77)


LE
SOIR

146

Richard Estes
Kewanee 1932

Nedick's
1970

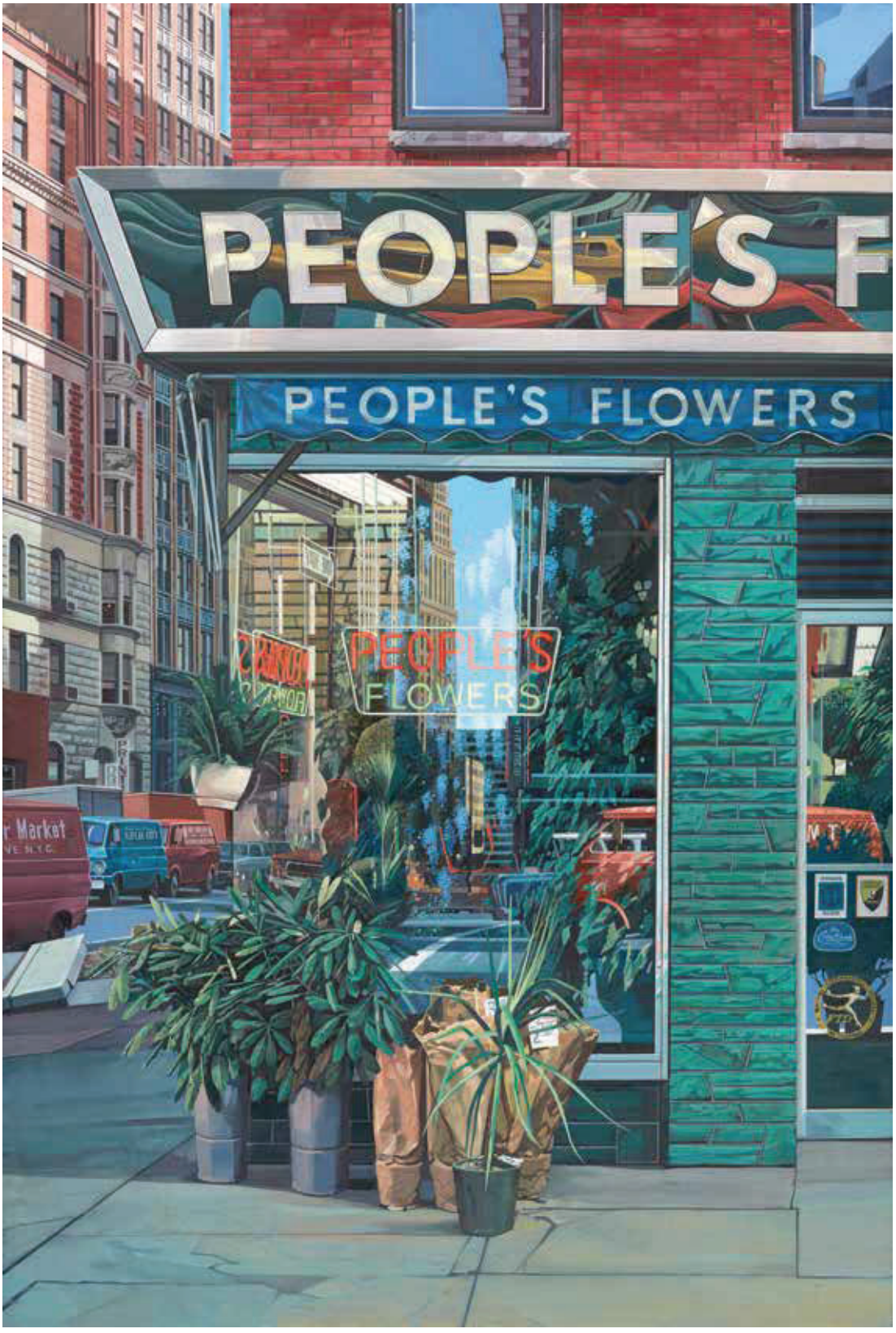
Oil on canvas, 121.9 × 167.6 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1993.10

147 →

Richard Estes
Kewanee 1932

People's Flowers
1971

Oil on canvas, 162.6 × 92.7 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.1975.24


PEOPLE'S F
PEOPLE'S FLOWERS
PEOPLE'S
FLOWERS

MATERIAL CULTURE/ RITUALS

Karl Bodmer
Zurich, Switzerland 1809–1893 Barbizon, France

148

Indian Utensils and Arms I
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 44 × 60.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

149

Indian Utensils and Arms II
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 44 × 60.5 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

Karl Bodmer
Zurich, Switzerland 1809–1893 Barbizon, France

150

The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 39 × 57 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

Karl Bodmer
Zurich, Switzerland 1809–1893 Barbizon, France

151 →

Idols of the Mandan Indians
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 57.2 × 39.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

Karl Bodmer
Zurich, Switzerland 1809–1893 Barbizon, France

152 ←

Offering of the Mandan Indians
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 43 × 60 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

153 ←

Magic Pile Erected by Assiniboin Indians
1832–34

Hand-colored print, 27 × 36.3 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection

154

Frederic Remington
Canton 1861–1909 Ridgefield

The Mountain Man
1903

Bluing bronze, 73 × 49 × 30 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.2014.182

155

Frederic Remington
Canton 1861–1909 Ridgefield

Buffalo Signal
1902

Bluing bronze, 92 × 62 × 27 cm
Carmen Thyssen Collection,
inv. CTB.2014.183

156

Frederic Remington
Canton 1861–1909 Ridgefield

The Parley
c. 1903

Oil on canvas, 68.5 × 102 cm
Thyssen-Bornemisza Collections,
inv. 1981.7

ACQUISITIONS CHRONOLOGY
AND PROVENANCE

BIBLIOGRAPHY
AND EXHIBITIONS

Acquisitions Chronology and Provenance

The works are listed in order of entry into the Thyssen Collection and preceded by the accession number.

1963.1
Jackson Pollock
Brown and Silver I, c. 1951
[cat. 127]

When the painter died on August 11, 1956, *Brown and Silver I* was left to his wife, artist Lee Krasner (1908–1984), who put it up for sale through Marlborough Fine Art [London 1961, no. 57] [label on verso]. In 1962, Romeo Toninelli showed it in a Pollock exhibition at his Milan gallery [Milan 1962, no. 56] [label on verso]. It was Robert Bouyeure who proposed that the baron acquire the picture [letter from Robert Bouyeure to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza, Milan, May 17, 1962, in the Duisburg Archives, TB/2706]. The work entered the Thyssen Collection in 1963 through Toninelli Arte Moderna of Milan.

1968.13
Mark Tobey
Earth Rhythms, 1961
[cat. 33]

Following the artist's move to the Swiss city of Basel in the early 1960s, *Earth Rhythms* was acquired by Albert Turrettini, a Geneva-based collector. After passing through an American collection, it is recorded as being sold by the Galerie Beyeler in Basel to a Swiss collector on May 14, 1963. It was put up for auction at Sotheby's London in the sale *Impressionist and Modern Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* on December 4, 1968 (lot 90), and was acquired by Baron Thyssen through the Galleria Internazionale in Milan.

1973.5
Georgia O'Keeffe
Abstraction. Blind I, 1921
[cat. 11]

Abstraction. Blind I remained in Georgia O'Keeffe's possession for three decades. The artist then deposited it at the Downtown Gallery in New York, which began representing her in 1950. The work belonged to Harry Spiro (1924–2001), a property developer who assembled a significant collection of modern art in New York, before returning to Edith Gregor Halpert (1900–1970), the founder of the Downtown Gallery, which – unusually for the period – started representing living American artists in 1926. The gallery also lent visibility to Jewish artists, immigrants, and women – people with less access to the art circuits who were an essential part of the United States' diversity and modernity. When Halpert died, the painting was included in the sale of her private collection held on March 14 and 15, 1973 at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York, *Highly Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors and Sculpture from the Estate of the Late Edith Gregor Halpert (The Downtown Gallery)* (lot 49) [New York 1973a], where it was purchased by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1973.6
Charles Sheeler
Canyons, 1951
[cat. 90]

1973.8
Charles Sheeler
Ore into Iron, 1953
[cat. 91]

Canyons and *Ore into Iron* belonged to Edith Gregor Halpert's Downtown Gallery. When she died, both works were sold, along with the rest of the gallery's holdings, in the auction at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York held on March 14–15, 1973 (lots 26 and 28). *Canyons* was reproduced on the cover of the sale catalog [see fig. 13]. Hans Heinrich Thyssen bid successfully for both paintings, besides acquiring a further two for his collection.

1973.55
Stuart Davis
Sweet Caporal, 1921
[cat. 143]

Sweet Caporal remained in the artist's collection for more than 40 years until his death in 1964. His heirs kept it until 1973, when Baron Thyssen purchased it through the gallery of Andrew Crispo (1945–).

1973.56
Charles Demuth
Love, Love, Love. Homage to Gertrude Stein, 1928
[cat. 105]

In 1929, Charles Demuth gave his "white mask poster" to his friend Robert Locher (1888–1956) [Demuth 2000], writing a dedication to him on the back ["For R.E. Locher,/ Charles Demuth/ 12-07-'29"]. Locher, an interior and set designer who became the painter's heir after Demuth's mother died in 1943, kept the work until his own death in 1956. After passing to Locher's partner, Richard C. Weyand, who died only a few months after Locher did, it was put up for auction at the Parke Bernet Galleries sale *Watercolors and Paintings by Charles Demuth, Part Two of Artist's Own Collection Belonging to the Estate of the Late Richard W.C. Weyand, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Sold by Order of The Fulton National Bank of Lancaster* in New York on February 5, 1958 (lot 3). Edith Gregor Halpert, the owner of the Downtown Gallery, acquired it for her own collection in the sale. When she died, the work became part of her estate and reappeared on the art market in 1973 at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York in the sale of *Highly Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors and Sculpture from the Estate of the Late Edith Gregor Halpert (The Downtown Gallery)*, held on March 14 and 15, 1973 (lot 47). Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, who was very interested in this auction, purchased it for his collection through Andrew Crispo.

1973.57
Max Weber
Grand Central Terminal, 1915
[cat. 87]

Max Weber kept this work until his death in 1961. *Grand Central Terminal* came onto the art market around 1969 through the Bernard Danenberg Galleries. Baron Thyssen acquired it in 1973, the year of the *Pioneers of American Abstraction* exhibition at the Andrew Crispo Gallery [New York 1973b, no. 148, n.p.].

1974.1
Oscar Bluemner
Red and White, 1934
[cat. 89]

James Graham & Sons is the first known owner of *Red and White*. In the 1940s, this New York gallery, which started out selling antiques in the mid-nineteenth century, began rescuing forgotten modern American artists from oblivion, among them Oscar Bluemner. The work passed through the collection of Harry Spiro before Baron Thyssen spotted it in the 1973 *Pioneers of American Abstraction* exhibition at the Andrew Crispo Gallery [New York 1973b, no. 12a, n.p.], where he bought it the following year.

1974.33
Richard Lindner
Moon over Alabama, 1963
[cat. 97]

Moon over Alabama entered the Cordier & Ekström Gallery shortly after it was painted. Like Richard Lindner himself, who was born in Germany, this joint venture run by Paris-based Daniel Cordier (1920–2020) and Arne Ekström (1908–1996), a Swedish-born dealer active in New York since the late 1950s, established links between Europe and the United States. From 1970 at least, the work belonged to Charles B. Benenson (1913–2004), a prominent New York property developer whose interest in African art led a gallery to be named after him in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a department of African art at Yale University. Baron Thyssen purchased this work in the Sotheby Parke Bernet sale held in New York on May 3 and 4, 1974, *Important Post-War and Contemporary Art* (lot 545).

1974.34
Robert Rauschenberg
Express, 1963
[cat. 111]

Express was one of the works shown in the American pavilion at the Venice Biennale of 1964, where Robert Rauschenberg became the first North American artist to be awarded the Grand Prize. After passing through the gallery owned by Leo Castelli (1907–1999) in New York, the painting was acquired by collectors Frederick R. Weisman (1912–1994) and his wife Marcia Simon Weisman (1918–1991), the sister of collector Norton Simon (1907–1993). It was subsequently owned by Charles B. Benenson [label on verso]. Baron Thyssen acquired it in the sale of *Important Post-War and Contemporary Art* held at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York on May 3 and 4, 1974 (lot 540).

1974.53
Tom Wesselmann
Nude No. 1, 1970
[cat. 139]

The picture was featured in an exhibition of the artist's recent paintings at the Sidney Janis Gallery the year it was painted [New York 1970]. This New York gallery, which played an essential role in the development of Pop Art after showing the work of the New Realists in 1962, represented the artist from 1966 until 1999, when it closed for good. The canvas was later owned by a private collection. The Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York sold it to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1974.

1974.55
Willem de Kooning
Abstraction, 1949–50
[cat. 5]

Film director and artist Jerome Hill (1905–1972) was the first owner of *Abstraction*. Following his death in 1972, the Camargo Foundation, set up by Hill five years earlier, included it in the auction at Christie's London on December 3, 1974 (lot 111). Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza purchased it through the intermediation of Andrew Crispo.

1975.10
Charles Sheeler
Wind, Sea and Sail, 1948
[cat. 43]

The first owner of this work was art collector and dealer Edith Gregor Halpert [label on verso]. After belonging for a time to the collection of Harold S. Goldsmith, it returned to Halpert and was exhibited as part of her collection [Washington 1960, no. 71, and Washington–Utica 1962]. In 1973, it was sold in the auction of *Highly Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors and Sculpture from the Estate of the Late Edith Gregor Halpert (The Downtown Gallery)* at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, on March 14 and 15, 1973 (lot 64). After being acquired by the Kennedy Galleries in New York, which exhibited it in 1974 [New York 1974, no. 28] [label on verso], it joined the Thyssen Collection in 1975 through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York [label on verso].

1975.23
Arthur Dove
U.S., 1940
[cat. 29]

The year it was created, the painting was shown in the artist's one-man exhibition at An American Place [New York 1940, no. 3], the third gallery opened by Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946) in New York, which was active from 1929 to 1946 [labels on verso]. In 1946, it was acquired by Washington-based collector Duncan Phillips (1886–1966), and the following year it was featured in a retrospective at the Phillips Memorial Art Gallery, the museum that he and his mother had set up in the city of Washington (now called Phillips Collection) [Washington 1947]. In 1950, Duncan Phillips gave it to artist Bernice Cross (1912–1996) and in 1975 it passed to the holdings of the Terry Dintenfass Gallery in New York [label on verso]. After belonging for a short time to the collection of New York lawyer and collector Carl D. Lobell (1937–), in 1975 it was acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1975.24
Richard Estes
People's Flowers, 1971
[cat. 147]

After passing through the Allan Stone Gallery of New York and a private collection, the work entered Baron Thyssen's collection in 1975 through Andrew Crispo.

1975.28
Jackson Pollock
Number 11, 1950
[cat. 32]

The first owners of *Number 11* were financier and philanthropist Robert W. Dowling (1895–1973), the second husband of Alice Dowling, and her son from her first marriage to William A. Bartle Jr., physician Stuart Bartle (1924–2015). In 1975, it was shown at the Andrew Crispo Gallery [New York 1975, no. 44], where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen.

1975.34
Ben Shahn
French Workers, 1942
[cat. 84]

From the artist *French Workers* passed to gallery owner Edith Gregor Halpert. Shahn worked with Halpert from 1930 to 1961 and presented 11 solo exhibitions at the Downtown Gallery. It then appeared in a monographic catalog whose international edition listed the Downtown Gallery as its owner [Soby 1963, no. 27, and Soby 1964, p. 63, pl.]. Later on, the picture was acquired by New York art dealer, publisher, and collector Lee A. Ault (1915–1996). Ault had founded Quadrangle Press in New York, a publishing house specializing in luxurious monographs on modern artists with color illustrations, among them a catalog on Shahn reproducing the paintings in his collection [Prescott 1973, no. 143, p. 122]. The baron purchased the oil painting in 1975 from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1975.52
Arthur Dove
Orange Grove in California, by Irving Berlin, 1927
[cat. 126]

Soon after being painted, *Orange Grove in California, by Irving Berlin* was featured in a one-man exhibition at the Intimate Gallery [New York 1927]. Alfred Stieglitz, the owner of the gallery, who had been showing Dove's work since 1912, gave the painting to Edward Alden Jewell (1888–1947), art critic of *The New York Times*, in 1930. That year Jewell included it on the cover of his publication *Modern Art: Americans* [Jewell 1930]. It subsequently belonged to Henry Bluestone (1916–1997) of Mount Vernon (NY) before passing to the Andrew Crispo Gallery, where it was acquired by Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1975.

1976.4
Arthur Dove
Blackbird, 1942
[cat. 30]

Edith Gregor Halpert acquired this work from the artist's estate in 1947 for her Downtown Gallery in New York. It later belonged to Robert A. Ellison Jr. (1932–2021), a New York artist and collector of ceramics. It appeared among the holdings of the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York in 1975 [label on verso] and joined the Thyssen collection in 1976.

1976.77
Joseph Cornell
Juan Gris Cockatoo No. 4, c. 1953–54
[cat. 145]

Juan Gris Cockatoo No. 4 was part of Joseph Cornell's estate following the artist's death in 1972. It joined Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza's collection in 1976.

1976.86

Edward Hopper
Dead Tree and Side of Lombard House, 1931
[cat. 47]

In 1931, the artist sent the watercolor to the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries in New York, which represented the painter from 1921 until his death. In 1950, it was acquired by Clifford Frondel (1907–2002) of Cambridge (MA), a professor at Harvard until 1977. It was put up for sale in 1976 through the Kennedy Galleries of New York, where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen.

1977.6

Charles Burchfield
Orion in Winter, 1962
[cat. 19]

When the painter died in 1967, *Orion in Winter* became part of his estate. It was purchased by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1977 through the Kennedy Galleries of New York [label on verso].

1977.7

Winslow Homer
Gallow's Island, Bermuda, c. 1899–1901
[cat. 68]

This view of the Bermudas was part of the O'Donnell Iselin family's collection. Its first owner may well have been Columbus O'Donnell Iselin (1851–1933), a New York financier and philanthropist who, together with his brother Adrian Iselin Jr., inherited his father's investment bank A. Iselin and Co., founded in 1854 and located at 36 Wall Street. During his lifetime, Iselin headed many companies in the railroad, coal, and water supply sectors. One of his grandsons, Columbus O'Donnell Iselin (1904–1971), a famous oceanographer who directed the Woods Hole Oceanographic and taught Physical Oceanography at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, may have inherited the watercolor. In 1972, New York auction house Sotheby Parke Bernet sold the picture to the Kennedy Galleries, which exhibited it in 1973 [New York 1973c, no. 45]. Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza acquired the picture from this gallery in 1977.

1977.20

James Rosenquist
Smoked Glass, 1962
[cat. 140]

The Green Gallery in New York, which hosted James Rosenquist's first one-man show in 1962, was the first owner of *Smoked Glass* [stamp on stretcher]. The work was later displayed at the Galerie Rudolf Zwirner in Cologne, and in 1973 it was owned by Helmut Klinker (1925–2010), a German collector with a pioneering passion for contemporary art. On December 3, 1974, it was auctioned at Christie's London (lot 174). Baron Thyssen acquired it from the Mayor Gallery in London [label on frame] in 1977.

1977.36

Georgia O'Keeffe
From the Plains II, 1954
[cat. 12]

Edith Gregor Halpert acquired the work from the artist in 1955 and showed it at her Downtown Gallery in New York [label on verso, no. 215]. In 1961, it passed to the collection of Susan and David Workman in New York [label on verso], where it is documented until 1976 at least. It joined the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries in New York [label on verso "stock no. 20788-1"] and later found its way into the gallery of Andrew Crispo [label on verso], who sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1977.

1977.38

Stuart Davis
Pochade, 1956–58
[cat. 128]

Edith Gregor Halpert showed *Pochade* at her Downtown Gallery [New York 1958] in 1958 and later acquired it for her personal collection [Boyajian and Rutkoski 2007, vol. 3, no. 1711, pp. 432–34, pl.] on September 6, 1961. When she died, the canvas became part of her estate and was included in the major sale of *Highly Important 19th and 20th Century American Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors and Sculpture: From the Estate of the Late Edith Gregor Halpert (The Downtown Gallery)* held at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York on March 14 and 15, 1973 (lot 45). It later entered the Kennedy Galleries in New York, which sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1977.

1977.42

Ben Shahn
Four Piece Orchestra, 1944
[cat. 123]

In 1944, the year it was painted, *Four Piece Orchestra* was featured in a show devoted to Ben Shahn at the Downtown Gallery in New York. In 1947, when it was included in the solo exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art in New York [New York 1947, no. 22, p. 4, pl.], its owner was humorist and scriptwriter Sidney J. Perelman (1904–1979). In 1977, it was auctioned at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York in the sale of *American 19th and 20th Century Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors & Sculptures* on April 21, 1977 (lot 195), where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza through the intermediation of the Kennedy Galleries in New York [label on verso].

1977.49

Edward Hopper
Girl at a Sewing Machine, c. 1921
[cat. 100]

A stamp on the back confirms that *Girl at a Sewing Machine* was in the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries, which represented the painter from 1924. Its next owner was John C. Clancy (1897–1981), an assistant at the Rehn Galleries and their director from 1953. It was acquired by the Kennedy Galleries in 1977, and passed to the collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza not long afterwards.

1977.82

John Marin
Lower Manhattan, 1923
[cat. 93]

We know from a label on the verso that *Lower Manhattan* passed through the Intimate Gallery, run by Alfred Stieglitz from 1925 to 1929, and that its owner was George F. Of (1876–1954), to whom it must have been returned. Of, a manufacturer of frames whose creations were highly appreciated by Stieglitz himself and Georgia O'Keeffe, was also a painter and collected works by his contemporaries, which he later gifted to major museums such as the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Brooklyn Museum. *Lower Manhattan* passed to the Downtown Gallery, and subsequently to the collection of Howard N. Garfinkle (1934–1980). Baron Thyssen acquired it from the Kennedy Galleries in 1977.

1977.83

Ben Shahn
Identity, 1968
[cat. 85]

Ben Shahn presented *Identity* in the annual exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1969 [label on verso]. According to the publication on the painter written by his wife Bernarda Bryson Shahn, also a painter, in 1972 the work was owned by Howard S. Levin (d. 1989), a mathematician and professor at the University of Illinois, and his wife Sydell R. Kraft [Shahn 1972, pp. 85, 272]. The Kennedy Galleries in New York showed the picture as part of their holdings in 1975 and sold it to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection two years later.

1977.84

Andrew Wyeth
Malamute, 1976
[cat. 69]

Film producer Joseph Edward Levine (1905–1987) and his wife were the first owners of this watercolor. Levine was of Jewish descent and was born in Boston (MA), though he lived in Greenwich (CT) during his mature years. In 1942, he founded Embassy Pictures to distribute foreign films in the United States. As well as *Malamute* by Andrew Wyeth, Levine owned a portrait that the artist's son, Jamie Wyeth (1946), had painted of him. The baron acquired this work through the Kennedy Galleries of New York in 1977.

1977.88

Charles Burchfield
July Drought Sun, 1949–60
[cat. 18]

After passing through the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries, this work is recorded as being owned by Mr. and Mrs. Charles S. Trattler of Kings Point (NY) [Trovato 1970, no. 1213, p. 282] in 1970. It later belonged to Harry Spiro of New York and a private collection in Detroit, and entered the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York, where it was shown in *Charles Burchfield Watercolors* in 1976. It joined the Thyssen Collection through Andrew Crispo in 1977.

1977.90
Josef Albers
Casa Blanca B, 1947–54
[cat. 94]

Casa Blanca B passed through the Sidney Janis Gallery in New York, founded in 1948, before entering the collection of Arnold H. Maremont (1904–1978), where it is documented in 1961 [Chicago 1961, no. 4]. Maremont, an industrialist and philanthropist, assembled and exhibited a large group of twentieth-century works [Washington 1964] in the 1960s. On May 1, 1974, *Casa Blanca B* was auctioned at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York (lot 52) along with the rest of his collection of modern works to give priority to pre-Columbian art. Baron Thyssen acquired the painting from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in 1977.

1977.93
Richard Estes
Telephone Booths, 1967
[cat. 95]

As indicated by the inscription on the back, *Telephone Booths* belonged to the holdings of the Allan Stone Gallery. Founded in 1960, this gallery was a pioneer in hosting exhibitions of New Realists such as Cesar, Wayne Thiebaud, and Richard Estes. It then entered the collection of Haigh Cudney and his wife of New Jersey. Baron Thyssen purchased it in the exhibition of *20th Century American Painting and Sculpture* at the Andrew Crispo Gallery in 1977.

1977.94
Arshile Gorky
Good Hope Road II. Pastoral, 1945
[cat. 107]

Julien Levy (1906–1981) and his second wife, Jean Farley McLaughlin, became the first owners of *Good Hope Road II. Pastoral*, which they purchased directly from the artist in 1946. The New Yorker, who had been the first to hold a solo exhibition of Arshile Gorky at his Julien Levy Gallery in 1945, kept this canvas until 1965, the year before he published his monograph on the painter [Levy 1966]. That year, the painting passed to the collection of gallery owner Sidney Janis (1896–1989), who included it in his gift of 103 works to the Museum of Modern Art in New York [label on verso: no. 604.67] soon afterwards, in 1967. After being featured in many international exhibitions at the MoMA during the following decade, it was put up for sale by the museum [Asher 1999, p. 9] and shown at the Andrew Crispo Gallery in 1977, where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen.

1977.110
Edward Hopper
Hotel Room, 1931
[cat. 103]

Jo Hopper, the painter's wife, recorded in her detailed notes that after being deposited for years at the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries, the work was returned to the artist on June 30, 1949 [Hopper 1913–63, p. 80]. We also know from her that the work later passed to collectors Nate B. Spingold (1886–1958), a film impresario, and his wife Frances Schwartzburg Spingold (1881–1976), a successful fashion designer known as Madame Frances. In 1976, it was among the *Collection of Watercolors and Drawings by Charles Demuth; American 19th and 20th Century Paintings and Sculpture* auctioned at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York on October 28, 1976 (lot 175), where it was acquired by the Kennedy Galleries [label on verso]. It joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1977.

1978.8
Romare Bearden
Sunday after Sermon, 1969
[cat. 86]

From the artist the work passed to the Cordier & Ekström Gallery (founded in 1960) in New York, where it is documented in 1973. Daniel Cordier, a French historian and art dealer, started out in the art trade as a spy for the French resistance, for which he received many distinctions, including the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, and was made an Honorary Member of the Order of the British Empire. In 1944, following the liberation of France, Cordier started up his own business as an art dealer, going on to open the Daniel Cordier gallery in Paris in 1956 and in Frankfurt in 1958. He was a founding member of the Centre Pompidou in Paris, to which he gave more than 1,000 artworks in what would be one of the largest gifts in French history. He teamed up with French art dealer Michael Warren and Swedish diplomat Arne Ekström to establish the Cordier & Ekström Gallery in New York, where Romare Bearden agreed to show his work for the opening. The exhibition relaunched Bearden's career, and the artist struck up a firm friendship with Ekström, working closely with the gallery for years [Campbell 2018, pp. 198–200]. The painting passed through the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Hoyt in New York, and was later shown as part of a private collection at Andrew Crispo's New York gallery [New York 1977, no. 8], where Baron Thyssen purchased it in 1978.

1978.9
Lee Krasner
Red, White, Blue, Yellow, Black, 1939
[cat. 135]

Red, White, Blue, Yellow, Black remained in the artist's possession at least until 1963, the year that the Marlborough Gallery opened in New York. This gallery exhibited Lee Krasner's painting in 1973 [New York 1973d], which may have been when it was acquired by the Pace Gallery (which was founded in Boston in 1960 and moved to New York in 1963). The Corcoran Gallery of Art held a retrospective entitled *Lee Krasner: Collages and Works on Paper, 1933–1974* in 1975 [Washington–University Park–Waltham 1975, no. 16] and the show traveled to the Pennsylvania State University Museum of Art and the Rose Art Museum of Brandeis University in Massachusetts. This exhibition must have prompted fresh attention to be paid to Krasner's production, as the Andrew Crispo Gallery included this work in the group exhibition *Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage* [New York 1977, no. 101], and sold it to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza not long afterwards, in 1978.

1978.11
Joseph Cornell
Blue Soap Bubble, 1949–50
[cat. 144]

When Joseph Cornell died in 1972, *Blue Soap Bubble* became part of the artist's estate. After belonging to a private collection, it was sold to Baron Thyssen in 1978 by New York gallery owner Andrew Crispo.

1978.60
Ralston Crawford
Overseas Highway, 1939
[cat. 92]

After belonging to a private collection, *Overseas Highway* was purchased by Baron Thyssen from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in 1978 at the exhibition of *20th Century American Painting and Sculpture*.

1978.72
Arshile Gorky
Last Painting (The Black Monk), 1948
[cat. 108]

Last Painting (The Black Monk) was found in Arshile Gorky's studio after his death in 1948 and became part of the artist's estate. During the following years, it was deposited at the Sidney Janis Gallery (1957), the M. Knoedler Gallery (1967), and the Xavier Fourcade Gallery (1978) [labels on verso]. Andrew Crispo acquired it in 1978 and sold it immediately afterwards to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1978.74
Andrew Wyeth
My Young Friend, 1970
[cat. 112]

Like other works by Andrew Wyeth in Baron Thyssen's collection, *My Young Friend* was owned by film producer Joseph E. Levine (1905–1987) and his wife Rosalie Harrison Levine (1938–1987), who acquired it directly from the artist the year it was painted. It joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1978 via the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1978.92
Roy Lichtenstein
Woman in Bath, 1963
[cat. 138]

Woman in Bath was acquired directly from the artist by the Leo Castelli Gallery in New York [label on verso]. After passing through Ileana Sonnabend's Paris gallery [label on verso], it ended up in the collection of E. J. Power (1899–1993), a British collector with a pioneering interest in contemporary art, chiefly American, during the 1950s and 1960s. It later joined a private collection before being purchased by Baron Thyssen from Thomas Ammann Fine Art in Zurich.

1979.2
John Sloan
Throbbing Fountain, Madison Square, 1907
[cat. 118]

Throbbing Fountain, Madison Square was part of the holdings of the Kraushaar Galleries in New York, which represented the artist from the 1920s until his death. After 1951, the work passed to the Cowie Gallery in Los Angeles, where it was exhibited in 1961. On the West Coast it belonged to two Hollywood actors, firstly Thomas Gomez (1905–1971) and later Eugene Iglesias (1926–), before entering the collection of Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza through the Coe Kerr Gallery of New York in 1979.

1979.15
William Merritt Chase
In the Park. A By-path, c. 1889
[cat. 115]

The first owner of the work was New York banker George I. Seney (1826–1893). Before purchasing it, he had been forced by bankruptcy to sell much of his previous art collection in 1885. Over time, he managed to recover his fortune and bought this oil painting executed around 1889, though in 1891 it was included in another sale of his possessions. It was acquired by lawyer and businessman Samuel Untermeyr (1858–1940), who purchased major artworks in the 1890s. Another of Untermeyr's

passions, gardening, led him to create a famous, carefully tended garden at his mansion in Yonkers that still survives and bears his name. When Untermeyr died, *In the Park* was put up for auction together with the rest of his collection at the Parke Bernet Galleries on May 16, 1940 (lot 522) and remained in private hands until Andrew Crispo sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1979.

1979.24
William Merritt Chase
A Girl in Japanese Gown. The Kimono, c. 1887
[cat. 81]

The artist attempted to sell the picture in an auction of his works held on March 2 and 3, 1887 at Moore's Art Galleries in New York (lot 73). That year, William Merritt Chase sold it to dealer and collector James S. Inglis (d. 1908), director of the American branch of the British gallery Cottier & Co., which opened in New York in 1874. When he died, it was included in the sale of the James S. Inglis estate at the American Art Galleries in New York, held on March 11 and 12, 1909 (lot 62). It passed to the collection of A. F. Brady, and later to that of Angeline Garvan, who exchanged it with her sister Agnes Garvan Cavanaugh (1876–1957), married to John J. Cavanaugh (1865–1957), both of Hartford (CT). The couple's son Carroll John Cavanaugh (1914–1978) and his wife inherited the painting in 1957. Some time later, the Irma Rudin gallery in New York received the picture. It was exhibited at Andrew Crispo's gallery in 1979 and joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection that year.

1979.30
William Merritt Chase
Shinnecock Hills, 1893–97
[cat. 28]

The first owner of *Shinnecock Hills* was Arthur E. Smith of New York (acquired from the artist). In 1979, it entered the Thyssen Collection through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1979.34
Martin Johnson Heade
Jersey Marshes, 1874
[cat. 37]

From a private collection in Denver, *Jersey Marshes* passed to the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries in New York in 1976. It was acquired by Baron Thyssen in an auction at Christie's New York on May 23, 1979 (lot 58).

1979.36
Georgia O'Keeffe
White Iris No. 7, 1957
[cat. 132]

The Robert Miller Gallery, founded in New York in 1977 to promote modern and contemporary art, acquired *White Iris No. 7* and sold it to a private collection in 1979. That year the work returned to the same gallery, which together with the Kennedy Galleries in New York sold it to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1979.44
Martin Johnson Heade
Orchid and Hummingbird near a Mountain Waterfall, 1902
[cat. 64]

The first owner of the painting was the artist's dealer and stepbrother Joseph Bradley Heed (1851–?), who married Virginia A. Rittenhouse in 1876. It was inherited successively by his son, Charles Rittenhouse Heed (1879–1954) of Philadelphia (PA), and grandson, Charles Heed of Devon (PA). The work then passed to the collection of art dealer Sally Ann Turner (1934–) of Plainfield (NJ). It joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1979 through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1979.45
Martin Johnson Heade
Sunset at Sea, c. 1861–63
[cat. 53]

The first owner of *Sunset at Sea* was Herbert W. Plimpton, the American collector of realist art from Brookline (MA). Plimpton gifted paintings to the Five Colleges and Historic Deerfield Museum Consortium (MA) in the 1980s, and to the Rose Art Museum, Waltham (MA), in 1995. In 1972 the work hung in the *Amherst Sesquicentennial Exhibition* at the Hirschl & Adler Galleries of New York [New York 1972, no. 21, pl.]. Next year, the Vose Galleries of Boston sold it to a private collection (MA). The Andrew Crispo Gallery of New York exhibited the painting in the show *Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century American Art* of 1979 and sold it to Baron Thyssen that same year.

1979.56
John Singer Sargent
Venetian Onion Seller, c. 1880–82
[cat. 82]

John Singer Sargent painted *Venetian Onion Seller* for Abel M. Lemercier (1819–1893) and added a dedication to him in the lower right area: "à Monsieur Lemercier / souvenir amicale / John S. Sargent." Lemercier, who had a PhD in law and was a registrar, became a member of the Société Française de Statistique in Paris in 1882 and was made a knight of the French Legion of Honor. The work was left to his daughter Louise Lemercier (1856–1936), from whom it passed to her own daughter, Noémie Thil (1879–1930), and finally to her grandson, Baron Henri Guespereau (1904–1980). It subsequently belonged to Japanese artist Kamesuke Hiraga (1889–1971), who was active in Paris and California. In 1951 the canvas was in the possession of Polish-born L. Dlugosz in Paris, and in February 1952 it is documented in the Hall of Art on New York's Fifth Avenue. It became the property of artist and writer Harold Sterner (1895–1976), and was later owned by another artist, Jessie Ansbacher (1880–1964), a painter, sculptor, and engraver who was also the director of the Ansbacher Art School and a member of the National Association of Women Artists. The painting then entered the collection of Sam Baraf before passing to that of Arthur Rocke, followed by that of Victor D. Spark (1898–1991), an important New York art dealer. The baron acquired the painting through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York in 1979.

1979.67
Hans Hofmann
Blue Enchantment, 1951
[cat. 31]

Following Hans Hofmann's death, his second wife Renate Schmitz took charge of the artist's estate [estate inv.: M-1125 on verso of canvas] in 1966. In April 1976, *Blue Enchantment* was shown at the André Emmerich Gallery in New York [New York 1976, on cover] [label on verso]. From 1976 to 1979, it belonged to the collection of New York lawyer and collector Carl D. Lobell (1937–), and in 1979 it was acquired by Baron Thyssen from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York [label on verso].

1979.69
William Michael Harnett
Materials for a Leisure Hour, 1879
[cat. 141]

Materials for a Leisure Hour was part of the collection of Mrs. Lemoine Skinner of St. Louis (MI) since 1948 at least. It then passed to the Kennedy Galleries, where Baron Thyssen purchased it in 1979.

1979.71
Ben Shahn
Carnival, 1946
[cat. 122]

Shortly after being painted, *Carnival* hung in the Downtown Gallery, where Ben Shahn had shown his work for the first time in 1930. When it was featured in the artist's solo exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1947, the painting was listed as the property of Benjamin Tepper and his wife [New York 1947, no. 26, pl.] [label on verso]. After passing through another private collection, it was acquired by the Kennedy Galleries, which sold it to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1979.

1980.8
Albert Bierstadt
The Falls of Saint Anthony, c. 1880–87
[cat. 61]

Albert Bierstadt sent the picture, painted in the 1880s, to the Holland Galleries in New York to be sold. In 1920 *The Falls of Saint Anthony* passed to C. Farina of the same city. It subsequently belonged to two private collections: it is documented in the first in 1926; the second was located in Englewood (NJ). The Knoedler Gallery in New York put the work up for sale in 1976, the year of the bicentenary of the founding of the United States, when many exhibitions were staged to highlight the importance of American art and culture. This work was shown at the Walker Art Center [Minneapolis 1976]. It entered the Kennedy Galleries in New York in 1979 and passed to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection the following year.

1980.9
Albert Bierstadt
Sundown at Yosemite, c. 1863
[cat. 8]

The painting joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1980 through the Kennedy Galleries in New York.

1980.10

Georgia O'Keeffe
Shell and Old Shingle V, 1926
[cat. 133]

For years, *Shell and Old Shingle V* belonged to the artist, who showed it in the galleries owned by her husband Alfred Stieglitz, a photographer and art dealer: the Intimate Gallery in 1927 and An American Place in 1934. Gallerist Edith Gregor Halpert began to represent O'Keeffe at her Downtown Gallery in New York in 1950, the year artist John Marin's son began working with Halpert. This may have been when Marin purchased the work. In 1979, John Marin Jr. (1915–1988) and his wife Norma Boom Marin, who lived in Maplewood (NJ), gave the picture to a private collection in Orano (ME), and the following year it passed to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza through the Kennedy Galleries in New York.

1980.14

Thomas Cole
Expulsion. Moon and Firelight, c. 1828
[cat. 1]

The first owner of *Expulsion. Moon and Firelight* was Alexander D. Butler of Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island (NY), who passed it on to his son Alexander D. Butler Jr. After belonging to a private collection in Rhinebeck (NY), it hung for several years in the room devoted to the Hudson River School in Stouffer's restaurant in New York, which opened in 1957 in the Tishman building at no. 666 on Fifth Avenue. In 1979, it was exhibited as the property of the Alexander Gallery in New York [Tampa 1979, no. 33, p. 53] and in 1980 it was acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1980.15

Thomas Cole
Cross at Sunset, c. 1848
[cat. 2]

The oil painting was documented in an exhibition at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1963 as the property of the Durlacher Brothers' gallery [Minneapolis 1963]. Founded in London in 1843 by brothers Henry and George Durlacher, the gallery opened a branch in New York in 1927. It was run by R. Kirk Askew (1903–1974), who took over the firm in 1937. After belonging to two private collections, *Cross at Sunset* passed to New York dealer Victor D. Spark (1898–1991). Andrew Crispo sold it to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1980.

1980.21

Sanford Robinson Gifford
Manchester Beach, 1865
[cat. 52]

When Sanford Robinson Gifford died in 1880, the painting remained in the artist's estate [estate inv.: 98]. Margaret Chapman of Rhinebeck (NY) acquired it some time later, and it subsequently passed into the hands of her descendants. *Manchester Beach* had never been published until Ila Weiss included it in the painter's catalogue raisonné in 1977 [Weiss 1977, no. 265]. The baron purchased the painting in 1980 from the Alexander Gallery in New York through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in the same city.

1980.22

George Inness
In the Berkshires, c. 1848–50
[cat. 21]

In 1876, the work was owned by William H. Webb (1816–1899), a New York shipbuilder and philanthropist. It later passed through the collections of Mrs. Frederick Lewisohn (Rhoda Seligman, 1888–1978) of New York, Mrs. Maurice Levy of Larchmont (NY), and a private collection in Rhinebeck (NY). It was acquired by Baron Thyssen in 1980 from Andrew Crispo's New York gallery.

1980.23

Eastman Johnson
The Girl at the Window, c. 1870–80
[cat. 99]

Eastman Johnson kept this painting until his death in 1906. It remained in the family, and it is later recorded in the collection of Baron Louis van Reigersberg Versluys (1883–1957), who had married the painter's granddaughter Muriel Lorillard Ronalds Conkling (1898–1971) in 1922. Their relatives kept it until 1977, the year *The Girl at the Window* entered the holdings of the Hirschl & Adler Galleries, where it was acquired by Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1980.

1980.30

Milton Avery
Canadian Cove, 1940
[cat. 121]

Canadian Cove was among the works managed by the Milton Avery estate following the artist's death in 1965. After being acquired by Andrew Crispo, it passed to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1980.

1980.31

Patrick Henry Bruce
Painting. Still Life, c. 1923–24
[cat. 136]

A decade after its creation, this work belonged to Parisian writer Henri-Pierre Roché (1879–1959), who was linked to the French avant-garde and the Dada movement. When he died in 1959, *Painting. Still Life* went to his widow. From 1965 to 1967, it was owned by the Knoedler Gallery in New York, until art dealer and collector Jon Nicholas Streep (1918–1975) acquired it in 1967. It is quite possible that Noah Goldowsky, the owner of the Noah Goldowsky Gallery in New York, arranged the loan of the picture for the 1967 exhibition *From Synchromism Forward: A View of Abstract Art in America*, after displaying it at his own gallery [label on verso]. Henry M. Reed (1923–2006) and his wife Mary Ann Griffith Reed (1948–) of New Jersey acquired the painting in 1969 and showed it that year in the exhibition *Synchromism from the Henry M. Reed Collection* at the Montclair Art Museum [label on verso]. Henry M. Reed took part in many of the museum's initiatives and gifted a vast collection of artworks in the 1980s. The canvas joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1980 through the Kennedy Galleries in New York [label on verso].

1980.36

Charles Willson Peale
The Stewart Children, c. 1773–74
[cat. 48]

The portrait of *The Stewart Children* was commissioned by Anthony Stewart (1738–1791?), one of the most prominent merchants of Annapolis, married to Jean Dick (1741/42–?). This work shows their children, John (1769–?) and Isabella (1771–1817) Stewart. Isabella, who married British naval officer Sir Jahleel Brenton (1770–1844) in London in 1802, inherited the painting in 1817. It passed from her to Frances Isabella Stewart (who wedded her cousin Edward Brenton Stewart in 1830) and subsequently to Augusta Brenton Stewart (married to Herman Galton). Hilda Ernestine Galton (1874–1940) owned it until her death, when it became the property of the Galton family, also of London, through inheritance. Some time later, the work joined the Newhouse Family Collection of New York; the family founded Advance Publications in 1922, which owns Condé Nast Publications, among other companies. Baron Thyssen acquired it from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York in 1980.

1980.52

John Frederick Kensett
Trout Fisherman, 1852
[cat. 22]

The painting belonged to the collection of Dana Tillou (1937–), whose gallery in Buffalo (NY) specialized in American art. It was in Douglas Collins's collection in North Falmouth (MA) and was sold through the century-old Vose Galleries of Boston, established in 1841, to a private collection in Ohio. *Trout Fisherman* joined the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1980 through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1980.69

George Bellows
A Grandmother, 1914
[cat. 102]

When the artist died in 1925, the painting became the property of his wife Emma S. Bellows, whom he had met when they were both studying at the New York School of Art. During the remainder of her life, she contributed to researching and furthering knowledge of the work of George Bellows. Following her death in 1959, *A Grandmother* went to her heirs. H. V. Allison & Co., the gallery founded in 1941 that represented the painter's estate, kept the work until it was acquired by the Kennedy Galleries in 1977. It was sold to Baron Thyssen in 1980.

1980.70

Charles Burchfield
Cicada Woods, 1950–59
[cat. 17]

When the painter died in 1967, the work became part of his estate. In 1970, it is documented among the holdings of the Frank K. M. Rehn Galleries in New York, which specialized in modern American art and had shown the painter's oeuvre [Trovato 1970, no. 1179, p. 276]. This gallery had been established in 1918 by Frank K. M. Rehn (1886–1956), whose assistant John Clancy kept it running from 1953 to 1981. In 1980, the painting was acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza through the Kennedy Galleries in New York [label on verso].

1980.71

Winslow Homer
Signal of Distress, 1890, 1892, and 1896
[cat. 44]

The first owner of *Signal of Distress* was Colonel George C. Briggs (d. 1912) of Grand Rapids (MI), an old friend of Winslow Homer's from the American Civil War period, who acquired it around 1896 through Reichard & Co., New York [Philadelphia 1901, no. 26]. It then passed to dealer J. W. Young of Chicago, and in 1910 it is cited in a publication as the property of Philadelphia-based banker Edward T. Stotesbury (1849–1938), a partner at Drexel & Co. [Buenos Aires 1910, no. 51, p. 125]. In 1916, it belonged to the Chicago philanthropist Ralph Cudney and was exhibited in 1929 and 1930 as part of his collection [Chicago 1929 and New York 1930, no. 16, p. 22]. In 1936, it passed from Ralph Cudney's heirs to the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Williams of Cincinnati [New York 1936, no. 24] through the Babcock Galleries in New York. In 1955, it became the property of Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney (1899–1992), a businessman and philanthropist who lived in Lexington (KY) and New York (acquired through Wildenstein & Co., New York). It was put up for auction at Sotheby Parke Bernet of New York in the sale of *American 18th Century, 19th Century & Western Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors & Sculpture*, on October 17, 1980 (lot 148), and entered the Thyssen Collection that year through the Kennedy Galleries of New York [label on verso].

1980.78

John Frederick Kensett
Lake George, c. 1860
[cat. 50]

The early provenance of *Lake George* is unknown, but it is documented as having belonged to the American art collection of Detroit magnate Richard A. Manoogian (1936–) (four paintings from his collection are now in the Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza). In the 1970s, Manoogian began assembling a collection of chiefly American art, which is now on display at the Richard and Jane Manoogian Mackinac Art Museum on Mackinac Island (MI). The baron acquired this work through the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1980.79

Asher B. Durand
A Creek in the Woods, 1865
[cat. 20]

The first documented owner of *A Creek in the Woods* was Robert Hoe III (1839–1909) of New York, a collector of artworks, manuscripts, and rare books. After belonging to New York lawyer Oliver J. Sterling (d. 1974), in 1972 it entered the holdings of the Hirschl & Adler Galleries in that city. It was acquired by Baron Thyssen in 1980 from the Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York.

1980.80

John Frederick Peto
Toms River, 1905
[cat. 106]

The first owners of *Toms River* were Margaret Porter Bryant and James Moore Bryant, a married couple of Island Heights (NJ). James, an illustrator friend of John Frederick Peto's from his student days in Philadelphia, helped the painter out financially on many occasions and acquired a large number of his paintings. The picture remained in the Bryant family until 1978, when it passed to a private collection. In 1979, it was exhibited as the property of the Hirschl & Adler Galleries of New York [New York 1979, no. 38, pl.] and only a year later, in 1980, it entered the Andrew Crispo Gallery, where it was purchased by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1980.81

Raphael Soyer
Girl with Red Hat, c. 1940
[cat. 101]

After belonging to a private collection, *Girl with Red Hat* passed through the Forum Gallery in New York, where it was acquired by an anonymous collector. In 1980, Andrew Crispo sold it to Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1980.86

Frederic Edwin Church
Autumn, 1875
[cat. 7]

The artist sold the painting directly to his friend William Henry Osborn (1820–1894), a businessman and philanthropist who collected his work. Osborn was the president of the Illinois Central Railroad, also called Main Line of Mid-America, from 1875 to 1882. His wife, Virginia Reed Sturges (1830–1902), was the daughter of Jonathan Sturges (1802–1874), a renowned patron of the arts. *Autumn* and other paintings by Frederic Edwin Church were inherited by William Henry Osborn's son, William Church Osborn (1862–1951), a prestigious lawyer and collector of Impressionist and Postimpressionist art who became president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1941 to 1947 [Oaklander 2008, p. 186]. When he died, the picture was left to his daughter Aileen Hoadley Osborn (1892–1979), who in 1912 married Vanderbilt Webb, the grandson of the philanthropist William Henry Vanderbilt, and became a founder and patron of the American Craft Council in 1958. It subsequently passed to Richard A. Manoogian, a Detroit-based businessman and collector of American art. While on display at the Andrew Crispo Gallery in 1980, the painting was purchased by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1980.87

Winslow Homer
Waverly Oaks, 1864
[cat. 114]

This small picture was painted during the American Civil War, of which Homer was a chronicler with his paintings and illustrations for *Harper's Weekly*. After the war, it was part of the group of works the artist attempted to sell in successive auctions in 1866 to raise funds for his trip to Europe. Its first documented owner is Robert Moore of Montclair [Goodrich 2005–14, vol. 1, no. 248]. It did not reappear on the market until 1965, through Sally Turner of Plainfield (NJ), who acted as an agent in the sale of other works by Homer that year. After passing through various private collections and galleries, *Waverly Oaks* was part of the collection of Richard A. Manoogian for a brief period around 1979. It joined the collection of Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1980 with the intermediation of gallery owner Andrew Crispo.

1980.88

Theodore Robinson
The Old Bridge, 1890
[cat. 27]

The Old Bridge was part of a private collection in Boulder (CO) and subsequently entered the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries in New York, which sold it to Richard A. Manoogian. In 1980, it was exhibited at the Andrew Crispo Gallery, where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen.

1981.3

Alfonso Ossorio
The Cross in the Garden, 1950
[cat. 4]

The Cross in the Garden was acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1981.

1981.7

Frederic Remington
The Parley, c. 1903
[cat. 156]

James Ryan Williams and his wife of Cincinnati (OH) were recorded as the owners of *The Parley* in 1967, when it was shown at the Paine Art Center in Oshkosh (WI). The work then passed through the collection of S. H. Dupont of Palm Beach, and joined Baron Thyssen's collection in 1981 through the Ira Spanierman Gallery.

1981.10

Hans Hofmann
Untitled. Renate Series, 1965
[cat. 109]

When Hans Hofmann died in 1966, *Untitled. Renate Series*, painted only a few months earlier, passed to his estate [estate inv. on verso: M-273]. In 1980, the André Emmerich Gallery in New York showed it as part of the artist's centenary celebrations [New York 1980c, pl.] [stamp and label on verso]. Following a brief stint in the Andrew Crispo Gallery in 1981 [label on verso], it was purchased by Baron Thyssen for his collection.

1981.12

Frederic Edwin Church
Cross in the Wilderness, 1857
[cat. 3]

Frederic Edwin Church received the commission for *Cross in the Wilderness* from William Harmon Brown of Flushing (NY) to commemorate the death of one of Brown's sons. The work was inherited by another son, Abbott Harmon Brown, and is documented as belonging to Mrs. Stewart Brown of San Rafael (CA) in 1939. In 1971, it was exhibited at the Kennedy Galleries, which were founded in 1874 by Hermann Wunderlich and specialized in American art. Between 1976 and 1983, Baron Thyssen acquired many artworks from this New York gallery, which was in business from 1874 to 2005. The painting joined the Thyssen Collection in 1981 through the Andrew Crispo Gallery of New York.

1981.21

William Louis Sonntag
Fishermen in the Adirondacks, c. 1860–70
[cat. 51]

After belonging to a private collection, *Fishermen in the Adirondacks* was exhibited at the Berry-Hill Galleries in New York in 1981. That year it entered the Thyssen Collection through the Andrew Crispo Gallery of New York.

1981.28

James Goodwyn Clonney
Fishing Party on Long Island Sound off New Rochelle, 1847
[cat. 79]

In 1847, soon after the painting was completed, James Goodwyn Clonney sent it to the exhibition at the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York and that year it joined the collection of John H. Carroll (1799–1856) of Baltimore (MD), who was married to Matilda Elizabeth Hollingsworth Carroll (1818–1863). From Carroll's collection it passed into the hands of Walter Booth Brooks (1857–1935), a businessman and philanthropist of the same city who founded the Baltimore Assembly together with his wife Fannie L. Bonsal (d. 1926) and converted his home into a meeting place for local high society. Educated at Princeton, Brooks headed companies in the timber and railroad sectors, among others. *Fishing Party on Long Island Sound off New Rochelle* was inherited by his son Stephen Bonsal Brooks (1888–1959) of Stevenson (MD), to whose own son, Stephen Bonsal Brooks Jr. (1916–1961) of Baltimore, it passed in 1959. It subsequently entered a private collection in Hyde (MD). In 1979, Lucretia H. Giese published it in an article in the Kennedy Galleries' magazine [Giese 1979] and in 1981 it was acquired by Baron Thyssen through Ira Spanierman's New York gallery.

1981.41

Raphael Soyer
Self-Portrait, 1980
[cat. 113]

This late self-portrait was presented in 1981 at the Forum Gallery in New York together with other recent works by Raphael Soyer [New York 1981b]. However, according to the acquisition records in the museum's archives, the artist still owned the painting then and sold it to the Andrew Crispo Gallery, where it was purchased by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza that year.

1981.42

Charles Demuth
The Primrose, 1916–17
[cat. 130]

The Primrose belonged to the Daniel Gallery in New York, which was founded in 1913 and run by dealer Charles Daniel (1878–1971). On February 24, 1919, it was acquired by Ferdinand Howald (1856–1934), a modern art collector and philanthropist of Columbus (OH). Swiss-born Howald trained as an engineer, worked in the coalmines of West Virginia, and retired in 1906 in New York. He finally moved to Columbus, where he helped fund the establishment of the Columbus Museum of Art. The museum opened in 1931 with an exhibition of his collection, and Howald gifted this work to the institution [label on verso]. The picture was loaned to the residence of the American ambassador in Copenhagen from 1961 to 1964 as part of the Art in Embassies program run by New York's Museum of Modern Art [label on verso]. Years later Baron Thyssen contributed to this program with loans from his own collection. In 1971–72, this oil painting was featured in the traveling exhibition *Charles Demuth: The Mechanical Encrusted on the Living* [Santa Barbara–Berkeley–Washington–Utica 1971–72]. At some point after 1972 the Kennedy Galleries of New York acquired it, selling it in 1981 to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

1981.43

Winslow Homer
Deer in the Adirondacks, 1889
[cat. 46]

This work was part of a group of more than 30 watercolors acquired in 1890 through the Doll and Richards Gallery in Boston by famous Bostonian collector Edward W. Hooper (1839–1901), a Civil War captain, patron of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and collector of the painter's works. In 1901, it was inherited by his daughter Mrs. Briggs Potter, née Ellen S. Hooper (1872–1974), a resident of Boston, who bequeathed it to her own daughter Mrs. John Butler Swann, née Mary Frances Potter (1911–1989) of Cherry Hill (MA). In 1978, *Deer in the Adirondacks* was put up for sale at the Hirschl & Adler Galleries of New York, and was acquired by collector and philanthropist Robert H. Smith (1928–2009). Shortly afterwards, it was exhibited at the Kennedy Galleries [New York 1980b, no. 8], which sold it first to R. Scudder and later to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1981.

1981.46

John Marin
Figures in a Waiting Room, 1931
[cat. 104]

Figures in a Waiting Room remained in John Marin's possession and passed to his estate following his death. In 1981, his heirs sold it to the Kennedy Galleries of New York [label on verso], where Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza acquired it that year.

1981.49

Charles Wimar
The Lost Trail, c. 1856
[cat. 49]

Charles Wimar painted *The Lost Trail* in St. Louis (MO). In 1862, after his death, his wife sent the work to James Buchanan Eads (1820–1897), a Unionist Army captain and famous inventor also established in St. Louis. It was inherited by Eads's daughter Mrs. James F. Howe, née Eliza Ann Eads Howe (1846–1915), who bequeathed it in turn to her New York-based son Louis Howe. The oil painting returned to St. Louis to join the collection of Edward Maitager Switzer and passed to his son Edward Maitager Switzer II. Baron Thyssen finally purchased the picture in 1981 through Ira Spanierman's New York gallery.

1981.51

Eastman Johnson
The Maple Sugar Camp–Turning Off, c. 1865–73
[cat. 36]

Following its appearance on the art market on November 16, 1914 in an auction at the Fifth Avenue Galleries in New York, *The Maple Sugar Camp–Turning Off* was kept by the Kennedy Galleries until 1958. That year it was acquired by Pauline Stanbury Woolworth (1906–1994), whose husband's family owned the Woolworth stores. Between the late 1940s and the 1950s, Woolworth assembled a large collection of American art, which was exhibited in 1970, including this work by Eastman Johnson, at the Coe Kerr Gallery in New York, owned by one of her children. From 1979 to 1981, this small painting was part of the holdings of the Hirschl & Adler Galleries, where Baron Thyssen acquired it through the intermediation of Andrew Crispo.

1981.52

Henry Lewis
Falls of Saint Anthony, Upper Mississippi, 1847
[cat. 62]

In 1977, *Falls of Saint Anthony, Upper Mississippi* was among the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries in New York, which sold it to a collector of St. Louis (MO). It then passed to a private collection in Chicago. Washington-based company Arcadia, Inc., specialized in construction materials such as doors and windows, sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1981.

1981.54

George Catlin
The Falls of Saint Anthony, 1871
[cat. 60]

The first owner of *The Falls of Saint Anthony* was Adele Marie-Antoinette Gratiot Washburne (1826–1887) of Galena (IL), the daughter of a lady-in-waiting to Marie Antoinette. She owned a valuable art collection at her home owing partly to the collecting zeal of her husband Elihu B. Washburne (1816–1887), US congressman for Illinois and ambassador in France from 1869 to 1877. His father Henry Gratiot, a good friend of Catlin's, worked in Galena as an Indian agent. The painting continued to be owned by the family until 1976, when the Hanzel Galleries of Chicago sold it to a private collection in Alabama. In 1979, William H. Truettner, curator of American art at the Smithsonian Institution, made the first thorough study of this and other works by George Catlin [Truettner 1979, no. 321, p. 234]. Two years later, in 1981, Baron Thyssen acquired the work in exchange for his painting *Near the Louvre* (*Evening, Champs-Elysees*, 1898), by Childe Hassam, in a joint transaction carried out by the Berry-Hill and Andrew Crispo galleries in New York.

1981.56

Albert Bierstadt
Evening on the Prairie, c. 1870
[cat. 9]

From New York gallery M. Knoedler (established in 1846), *Sundown on the Prairie* passed to the New York collection of Bronson Trevor (1910–2002), the son of John B. Trevor Sr. (1878–1956), a highly influential jurist in the immigration debates that led to the drafting of the Immigration Act of 1924. In 1980, it was part of the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries of New York and was shown there on several occasions [New York 1980a, no. 42, and New York 1981a, no. 11]. It was acquired by Baron Thyssen in 1981.

1981.57

Frederic Remington
Apache Fire Signal, c. 1904
[cat. 83]

The artist kept *Apache Fire Signal* for a time until Henry Smith of New York became its first owner around 1909. The work passed through the American Art Galleries of New York, which exhibited it in 1924, and the Findlay Galleries of Chicago. It was purchased by Bruce Arthur Norris (1924–1986), a businessman who became the owner of the Detroit Red Wings, the professional ice hockey team, in 1955. The Kennedy Galleries in New York finally sold this oil painting to Baron Thyssen in 1981.

1981.76

Georgia O'Keeffe
New York Street with Moon, 1925
[cat. 88]

New York Street with Moon was sold the first time it was publicly shown, at the Intimate Gallery in 1926, alongside other works painted the previous year. The buyers, New Yorkers Adolph Meyer and his wife, kept it during their lifetimes, as did their descendants until 1976 at least. The baron acquired it in 1981.

1982.6

Maurice Prendergast
The Race Track (Piazza Siena, Borghese Gardens, Rome), 1898
[cat. 117]

The Race Track is one of the works that Maurice Prendergast gave to his brother Charles Prendergast (1863–1948). Charles, also a painter, was notable for his woodwork, including carved frames that were appreciated and used by artists such as John Singer Sargent. This watercolor, which he kept until his death, later belonged to Dr. Faucett and his wife of Darien (CT). The baron acquired it in 1982 through the Andrew Crispo Gallery.

1982.8

John Singleton Copley
Portrait of Mrs. Joshua Henshaw II (Catherine Hill), c. 1772
[cat. 78]

The first documented owner of the portrait is Margarethe L. Dwight (1871–1962), who loaned it to the art museum of the Rhode Island School of Design. Born in Germany, she descended from the most prominent families of Rhode Island: the Crawfords, the Allens, the Carringtons, and the Dorrs. Dwight served as a volunteer at a military hospital on Long Island during the war of 1898, an experience that strengthened her pacificist ideals. She was not only notable for her philanthropy but also fought for women's rights, becoming a prominent suffragette. In 1966, the painting belonged to property developer Frank Mauran III and his wife of Providence (RI) [label on verso]. The Kennedy Galleries in New York sold it to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1982.

1982.9

John Singleton Copley
Portrait of Mrs. Samuel Hill (Miriam Kilby), c. 1764
[cat. 77]

The portrait belonged to the subject's great-granddaughter, Mrs. Thomas W. Phillips of Boston. In 1896, it was in the collection of Mrs. Andrew C. Wheelwright, née Sarah Perkins Cabot Wheelwright (1834–1917) [label on verso], and in 1919 it was owned by Boston-based lawyer Henry Bromfield Cabot (1861–1932), a member of the Boston Brahmins, the name by which the city's upper-class families were known. When he died, it was inherited by his eldest son, Henry B. Cabot (1894–1974) of Dover (MA), and in 1938 it is recorded as being owned by the latter's wife [Boston 1938, no. 45] [label on verso, "Mrs Henry B. Cabot"]. In 1966, it joined the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries in New York [label on verso], the year the portrait was published in the monograph by Jules David Prown [Prown 1966, pp. 56, 109, 219]. The work passed from the gallery to the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1982.

1982.11

John Marin
Abstraction, 1917
[cat. 125]

Abstraction was part of John Marin's estate following his death in 1953 and was subsequently sold to the Kennedy Galleries in New York [label on verso], where Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza acquired it in 1982.

1982.15

Samuel S. Carr
Beach Scene with Punch and Judy Show, c. 1880
[cat. 120]

There is little information about *Beach Scene with Punch and Judy Show* until 1975, when it appeared on the art market through the Berry Hill Galleries of New York after belonging to a private collection of Florida. That year, it was acquired by Arthur J. Phelan Jr. (1934–2015), whose art collection was featured in exhibitions on themes such as the Wild West or the coast of Connecticut. Baron Thyssen added it to his collection in 1982 through the intermediation of the Andrew Crispo Gallery.

1982.18

John Frederick Peto
Afternoon Sailing, c. 1890
[cat. 42]

When John Frederick Peto died in 1907, *Afternoon Sailing* passed to the artist's estate. It was acquired by Baron Thyssen in 1982 through the Kennedy Galleries of New York.

1982.19

John Frederick Peto
Books, Mug, Pipe and Violin, c. 1880
[cat. 142]

The first owner of *Books, Mug, Pipe and Violin* was James Moore Bryant, a friend of the artist's. They met in 1875 while studying at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and remained in close contact during the 1890s, as they were neighbors in the village of Island Heights (NJ). Bryant used the family fortune from the beer industry to support many artists, among them John Frederick Peto, by purchasing their works and supplying them with materials. The painting remained in the family collection for two more generations before joining the holdings of the Kennedy Galleries in 1979, where Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza acquired it in 1982.

1982.25

Thomas Moran
Hot Springs of Yellowstone Lake, 1873
[cat. 26]

After belonging to a private collection in Willingboro (NJ), *Hot Springs of Yellowstone Lake* was acquired by Baron Thyssen in 1982 from the Ira Spanierman Gallery of New York.

1982.36

Clyfford Still
1965 (PH-578), 1965
[cat. 16]

1965 (PH-578) passed from the artist's collection to the Marlborough Gallery in New York [gallery inv.: NOS 20.487] [label on verso]. Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza acquired it there in 1982.

1982.40

Frederic Edwin Church
Abandoned Skiff, 1850
[cat. 13]

In 1851, Frederic Edwin Church showed *Abandoned Skiff* in the annual exhibition at the prestigious National Academy of Design in New York [no. 166], of which he had been a member since 1849. It was later owned successively by a private collection in Catskill (NY), the collection of John Donnelly of Marblehead (MA), and that of Paul Cherkas in Rowayton (CT). In 1982, it was shown at the Robert Rice Gallery in Houston (TX) and acquired by Baron Thyssen.

1982.43

Fitz Henry Lane
The Fort and Ten Pound Island, Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1847
[cat. 40]

The work is listed as the property of Bertha Pearce of Gloucester (MA) [Wilmerding 1964, no. 124, p. 65] in 1964. It was acquired by a private collection in 1979 (through the Kennedy Galleries in New York) and joined the Thyssen Collection in 1982 through the Hirschl & Adler Galleries in New York [label on verso].

1982.49

John William Hill
View of New York from Brooklyn Heights, c. 1836
[cat. 38]

The work was put up for auction at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, on November 21, 1980 (lot 67). It belonged to the holdings of the Hirschl & Adler Galleries in New York from 1980 to 1982, when it entered the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

1982.50

Mark Rothko
Untitled (Green on Maroon), 1961
[cat. 15]

In September 1968, two years before his death, Mark Rothko drew up a will appointing as his main beneficiary the Mark Rothko Foundation, which was run by his heirs. When he died in 1970, the painting passed to the artist's estate [estate inv.: 5081.61], which signed an agreement with Marlborough A.G. in Liechtenstein and the Marlborough Gallery of New York, the painter's dealers since 1963, to sell a group of the works, among them *Green on Maroon*. The painting entered the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1982 through this gallery.

1983.2

Marsden Hartley
Musical Theme No. 2 (Bach Preludes et Fugues), 1912
[cat. 124]

An inscription by Mardsen Hartley's artist friend Carl Sprinchorn (1887–1971) on the verso tells us that *Musical Theme No. 2* was registered with the American Art Research Council at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York in 1956. This institution, founded in 1942 at the initiative of the Whitney Museum, aimed to establish a collaborative organization for research on American art and Sprinchorn's note is a sort of authentication of the work. Later on, in 1963, it passed through the Downtown Gallery [label on verso] and a private collection before being sold to Baron Thyssen by Andrew Crispo in 1983.

1983.3

Stuart Davis
Tao Tea Balls and Teapot, 1924
[cat. 134]

Tao Tea Balls and Teapot passed from the artist to the Esther Robles Gallery (in business from 1947 to 1979) of Los Angeles, a pioneer of the local art scene specializing in modern and contemporary art. It was later acquired by the Andrew Crispo Gallery of New York, where Baron Thyssen purchased it in 1983.

1983.4

George Inness
Morning, c. 1878
[cat. 14]

The painting was inherited by the artist's son George Inness Jr. (1854–1926), a resident of Montclair (NJ) and the author of a biography of his father published in 1917. From 1879 to 1946, it was owned by Smith College in Northampton (MA). As Michael Quick states in the catalogue raisonné of the painter's oeuvre, *Morning* was the first of George Inness's works to enter a public collection [Quick 2007, p. 571]. In 1946, it was auctioned by Kende Galleries at the Gimbel Brothers department stores in New York. From 1946 to 1947, it was among the holdings of the Newhouse Galleries in New York and from 1947 to 1969 it belonged to the collection of benefactor Kay Kimbell Carter Forston (1934–), the niece and heir of Kay Kimbell (1886–1964), who established the Kimbell Art Foundation, which manages the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth (TX). The painting returned to the Newhouse Galleries in 1969. The Andrew Crispo Gallery sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1983.

1983.12

John Singer Sargent
Portrait of Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland, 1904
[cat. 80]

Once he had finished this portrait, John Singer Sargent showed it in the annual exhibition at the Royal Academy in London [London 1904, no. 206], where it had significant repercussions in the press. The sitter and first owner of the work was Millicent Sutherland-Leveson-Gower, Duchess of Sutherland (1867–1955), a British reformist and member of high society. She practiced as a writer and journalist under the name of Erskine Gower. Her volunteer work organizing hospital services in Belgium and France during World War I earned her many distinctions. From 1922 to 1954, the portrait was on display at the Philadelphia Museum of Art as part of the Wilstach Collection, a gift to the museum in 1893 from Anna H. Wilstach (1822–1892) and her husband William P. Wilstach (c. 1816–1870). Much of this collection was later sold and the picture was auctioned at Samuel T. Freeman & Co. of Philadelphia on October 29 and 30, 1954 (lot 151). It then passed to the collection of New York public relations consultant Benjamin Sonnenberg (1901–1978) and his wife Hilda Sonnenberg. Following his death, in 1979 the painting was sold in the auction of *The Benjamin Sonnenberg Collection* held at Sotheby Parke Bernet in New York on June 7, 1979 (lot 690). The Newhouse Galleries acquired the portrait and in 1983 it was purchased by Baron Thyssen through the Andrew Crispo Gallery of New York.

1983.15

Frederic Edwin Church
South American Landscape, 1856
[cat. 66]

Ezra Butler McCagg (1825–1908), a lawyer and philanthropist of Chicago (IL), was the first owner of the painting. McCagg was a member of the Chicago Historical Society, served on the executive committee and loaned his paintings for the first art exhibition held in the city in 1859 – organized by sculptor Leonard Wells Volk (1828–1895). In 1863, he lent works from his collection to the charity exhibition to benefit the soldiers of the Unionist Army, among them *South American Landscape* [Chicago 1863, no. 2]. In September 1892, McCagg married Theresa Davis (d. 1932) of Cincinnati (OH). Having moved to Washington D.C. after her husband's death, Theresa Davis McCagg placed the painting on long-term loan to the National Collection of Fine Arts (now the Smithsonian American Art Museum) in 1917. When its owner died, the picture remained in the museum and was included in a major traveling exhibition of the artist's works in 1966 [Washington–Albany–New York 1966, no. 68]. Eleven years later, art dealer James Maroney discovered that the picture was still on loan at the museum and notified Theresa Davis McCagg's heirs so that they could claim it. After a legal battle, the heirs recovered it in 1982 and put it up for sale at Christie's New York. The Kennedy Galleries in New York acquired the painting and sold it to Baron Thyssen the following year.

1983.18

Morris Louis
Pillars of Hercules, 1960
[cat. 34]

Pillars of Hercules was owned by the artist until his death in 1962. His estate [estate inv.: 5–70] put it up for sale at the André Emmerich Gallery in New York [label and stamp on verso]. The Andrew Crispo Gallery in New York sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1983.

1983.25

Winslow Homer
Portrait of Helena de Kay, c. 1872
[cat. 98]

Two years after painting a portrait of Helena de Kay (1846–1916), Winslow Homer gave her this small oil on panel as a wedding gift when she married Richard Watson Gilder. The painting was kept by De Kay, also a painter and cultural promoter, and later by her daughters, and was finally sold in 1983 to Hirschl & Adler Galleries in New York, where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen.

1983.27

Robert Salmon
Picture of the Dream Pleasure Yacht, 1839
[cat. 39]

This work is documented as the property of Francis Lee Higginson of Rye Beach (NH) [Wilmerding 1971, no. 27, p. 97] in 1971. It was purchased by Baron Thyssen in 1983 through the Kennedy Galleries in New York.

1983.31

Frank Stella
Untitled, 1966
[cat. 137]

The canvas may have remained in Frank Stella's possession until the Knoedler Gallery of New York sold it to Baron Thyssen in 1983.

1983.39

Jasper Francis Cropsey
Greenwood Lake, 1870
[cat. 24]

Following the painter's death in 1900, *Greenwood Lake* remained in the care of his wife, Mrs. Jasper F. Cropsey, née Maria Cooley (d. 1906), who sold it to New York politician and collector Frederick S. Gibbs (1845–1903). According to a letter from Gibbs to Henry Stowell dated April 8, 1903, the picture was sent to Seneca Falls (NY) after being gifted to the Seneca Falls Central School District [museum archive]. In 1983, the school where it was deposited decided to sell it and it was auctioned at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, on June 2, 1983 (lot 26) and acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza through the Hirschl & Adler Galleries of New York.

1983.41

Winslow Homer
Daughter of the Coast Guard, 1881
[cat. 45]

Daughter of the Coast Guard passed from Knoedler Gallery in New York to the collection of William J. Curtis (1854–1927) in the same city in 1909. When he died, the watercolor became the property of his wife, Mrs. William J. Curtis, née Angeline Sturtevant Riley (1855–1940). In 1941, it was inherited by their grandson Henry Hill Pierce Jr. of Clinton (CT). It joined the Thyssen Collection in 1983 through the Kennedy Galleries of New York.

1984.3

John Singleton Copley
Portrait of Judge Martin Howard, 1767
[cat. 76]

Martin Howard (1725–1781), the sitter and first owner of the painting, was a Loyalist lawyer, philosopher, and politician of the Rhode Island colony. He and his first wife, Ann Howard (d. 1764), had a daughter, Annie Howard, in 1754. He married his second wife, Abigail Greenleaf Howard (1743–1801) of Boston (MA), in 1767. The family sought exile in England in 1777, where Howard died. His wife and daughter returned to New England in 1783 and the portrait hung in their home in Franklin Place, Boston. In 1787, his daughter Annie married Boston merchant Andrew Spooner and they had two children, Andrew and Anna. Andrew Spooner inherited the portrait and it subsequently passed to his sister Anna Howard Spooner. In 1829, Anna gifted it to the Social Law Library of Boston, where it remained until 1983 [label on verso]. The library placed the picture on long-term loan to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1937 to 1983 [label on verso: "S.217.1.1982"]. In 1983, the work was put up for sale at the Hirschl & Adler Galleries in New York, where Baron Thyssen purchased it the following year.

1984.17

Willem de Kooning
Red Man with Moustache, 1971
[cat. 110]

The first owner of *Red Man with Moustache* was Xavier Fourcade (1927–1987). This French-born American dealer first met De Kooning when he was working at the Knoedler Gallery in New York, and began collaborating with him directly in 1971, when the artist left the gallery after it was purchased by oil magnate and collector Armand Hammer. During the following decade, the work was featured in many exhibitions in the United States and Europe, where it was listed as the property of Xavier Fourcade Inc. [labels on verso]. In 1984, it passed to the Anthony D'Offay Gallery in London [label on verso], where it was acquired by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza later that year.

1985.9

Martin Johnson Heade
Singing Beach, Manchester, 1862
[cat. 54]

In the mid-1860s (possibly in 1867), shortly after *Singing Beach* was created, art dealer Seth M. Vose (1803–1867) – the son of Joseph Vose, founder of the Vose Galleries of Providence (RI) – acted as a go-between in the sale of the work to Dr. John Hale Mason (1843–1916) of the same city on the occasion of his wedding to Alice Mason Grosvenor. The work remained in the Mason family of Barrington (RI) until 1984, when it returned to the Vose Galleries – based in Boston since 1896 – where Baron Thyssen acquired it in 1985.

1985.10

Francis Silva
Kingston Point, Hudson River, c. 1873
[cat. 41]

Kingston Point, Hudson River appeared on the art market in an auction at Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York. After belonging to a private collection, it was sold by the Vose Galleries of Boston [label on verso] to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza in 1985.

1985.12

Winslow Homer
Beach Scene, c. 1869
[cat. 119]

Winslow Homer kept *Beach Scene* until his death, when it went to Charles S. Homer Jr. (1834–1917), his younger brother and sole heir. It later passed to the collection of Allan A. Morrill, of Chicago, in whose family it remained for at least another generation. In 1963, it entered the collection of Dr. Wayne P. Bryer (1907–1991) of Hampton (NH), whose historic mansion displayed paintings of local spots. The work reappeared on the art market around 1979 through the Vose Galleries of Boston, where Baron Thyssen acquired it in 1985.

1985.26

George Inness
Summer Days, 1857
[cat. 23]

When the artist died in 1894, *Summer Days* was inherited by his son George Inness Jr. (1854–1926), who lived in Montclair (NJ). It was subsequently owned by William Macy Walker. Following Walker's death, it passed to his heirs until about 1924, when it became the property of Inness art collector George H. Ainslie, the owner of the George H. Ainslie Galleries of New York and later of the John Levy Galleries in the same city. It belonged to Elliott Hyman of Connecticut until 1979 at least before passing to a private collection in New York. It was acquired by Baron Thyssen in 1985 through Neil Morris Fine Paintings of New York.

1987.24

Martin Johnson Heade
The Marshes at Rhode Island, 1866
[cat. 35]

The first documented owner of *The Marshes at Rhode Island* was Cornelius Moore (1885–1970) of Newport (RI), a banker and collector of American art. It later belonged to the collection of Mrs. Julian Armistead of Brooklyn (NY) and was sold in the auction held at the Parke Bernet Galleries in New York on October 27 and 28, 1971 (lot 134). It became part of the holdings of the Berry Hill Galleries owned by James and Frederick Hill, which specialized in American art, before going to a private collection in New York. It subsequently passed through the A.C.A. Gallery (American Contemporary Art Gallery), opened in New York in 1932 by Herman Baron (1892–1961) and artists Stuart Davis and Yasuo Kuniyoshi (1889–1953) to promote modern art, and later through the Andrew Crispo Gallery. Baron Thyssen acquired it in an auction at Sotheby's New York on December 3, 1987 (lot 74).

1989.3

Childe Hassam
Wet Day, Columbus Avenue, Boston, c. 1885
[cat. 116]

This view of a major avenue in Boston belonged to W. S. Cotton, who lived in nearby Chappaquoit (MA). The work later remained in the Boston area, in the collection of Mrs. Charles Adams of Brookline. It then passed from her descendants to the Ira Spanierman Gallery, where the baron purchased it in 1989.

1990.5

Frederic Edwin Church
Tropical Landscape, c. 1855
[cat. 63]

Tropical Landscape was first put up for auction in the sale of *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* held at Sotheby's New York on May 24, 1990 (lot 44) and was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen.

1991.9

Paul Lacroix
The Abundance of Summer, n.d.
[cat. 129]

This still-life painting by Paul Lacroix entered the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in 1991 through the Adams Davidson Galleries in Washington D.C.

1993.10

Richard Estes
Nedick's, 1970
[cat. 146]

Nedick's remained in the care of the Allan Stone Gallery until it was auctioned at Sotheby's New York on November 3, 1993 (lot 32), when Hans Heinrich and Carmen Thyssen acquired it for their collection.

1993.11

Richard Lindner
Thank You, 1971
[cat. 96]

When *Thank You* was shown for the first time in 1974 in a retrospective that traveled around Europe [Paris–Düsseldorf–Zurich–Rotterdam 1974, no. 35, pl.], it was listed as the property of the Galerie Claude Bernard in Paris. The work belonged to the French gallery at least from the time of that exhibition until the show held in 1979 [Saint-Paul de Vence–Liège 1979, no. 28, p. 78]. After passing through a private collection in New York, it was auctioned at Sotheby's New York on May 4, 1987 (lot 17). It was among the holdings of the Galería Theo in Madrid before being put up for sale again at Sotheby's New York on May 3, 1993 (lot 54), where it was purchased by Baron and Baroness Thyssen.

1996.18

James McDougal Hart
Summer in the Catskills, c. 1865
[cat. 25]

Summer in the Catskills was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen-Bornemisza in an auction at Christie's New York on May 23, 1996 (lot 10).

1996.19

Albert Bierstadt
Street in Nassau, c. 1877–80
[cat. 67]

Street in Nassau is a reflection of Albert Bierstadt's time of residence in the Bahamas, where he arrived in 1876 in search of a more temperate climate suited to the delicate health of his wife Rosalie. He may have been involved in the First Loan Exhibition held in the Bahamas in 1885 at the initiative of the colony's British governor Sir Henry Arthur Blake (1840–1918). The show featured locally crafted ceramics, silver, embroidery, and jewelry, as well as sketches and paintings by Bierstadt lent by Rosalie. The painting, whose whereabouts were unknown for a century, was put up for sale in 1996 at Sotheby's New York (lot 41), where it was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen.

1996.24

Thomas Hart Benton
Still Life with Vase, 1967
[cat. 131]

Still Life with Vase, a late work by Thomas Hart Benton put up for auction at Christie's New York on May 23, 1996, was purchased by Baron and Baroness Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1997.6

Martin Johnson Heade
Sunrise in Nicaragua, 1869
[cat. 65]

The artist presented *Sunrise in Nicaragua* at the first annual exhibition of the Yale School of Art the year of its creation. The painting passed to a private collection in Kentucky through family inheritance and was acquired years later by an art dealer of Denver (CO) in an auction at Sotheby's New York on December 5, 1985. It subsequently entered the holdings of the Ira Spanierman Gallery in New York and was sold to a private collector in Canada. In 1996, it was shown in an exhibition of American art at the Ira Spanierman Gallery [New York 1996] and was acquired from this venue by Baron and Baroness Thyssen in 1997.

1998.67

Alfred Thompson Bricher
Cloudy Day, 1871
[cat. 55]

Cloudy Day, part of the collection of Curtis C. Deininger of Boston (MA), was included in a retrospective of the artist's work [Indianapolis–Springfield 1973, no. 23] in 1973. That year, an anonymous collector purchased the painting and kept it until it was acquired by the Masco Corporation in 1981 through the Alexander Gallery in New York. It was exhibited in 1993 as part of the collection of this company owned by the Manoogian family [Hickory 1993, no. 5]. Later it was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen in the sale of *American Paintings from the Masco Corporation* at Sotheby's New York on December 3, 1998 (lot 118).

1998.68

Alfred Thompson Bricher
Coastal View, n.d.
[cat. 56]

The first owner of this work was Adam Sulima (1869–1940/48?), an Englishman living in New York. Following his death it was inherited by his personal assistant Andrea Thancke. *Coastal View* belonged to a private collection in the 1970s and 1980s until it was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen in the sale of *American Paintings from the Masco Corporation* at Sotheby's New York on December 3, 1998 (lot 140).

1998.69

William Bradford
Fishermen off the Coast of Labrador, n.d.
[cat. 10]

Fishermen off the Coast of Labrador, an undated work, entered the Findlay Art Galleries in Kansas City (MO) in 1870, the year of its establishment (or possibly slightly later). Around 1925, this gallery sold the painting to Mrs. C. J. Smack of the same city. Loretta (Gulian) Boxdorfer (1934–) acquired the work in 1965. Sotheby's New York sold the picture to a private collection in the auction of *American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture* held on December 2, 1993. It was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen in the sale of *American Paintings from the Masco Corporation* at Sotheby's New York on December 3, 1998 (lot 144).

1998.71

Joseph Henry Sharp
Setting up Camp, Little Big Horn, Montana, n.d.
[cat. 59]

Ron Hall of Fort Worth (TX) was the first owner of this work, which later passed into the hands of Mrs. Ted Melcher of Cincinnati (OH). The Altermann Art Gallery of Dallas (TX) acquired the painting and sold it to John F. Eulich (1929–2016) in 1982. The work remained in his collection until December 1998, when it was put up for auction at Sotheby's New York sale of *American Paintings from the Masco Corporation* and purchased by Baron and Baroness Thyssen-Bornemisza.

1999.111

Alfred Thompson Bricher
Looking out to Sea, c. 1885
[cat. 57]

A private collector acquired this painting in 1964 through the New York gallery of Robert Smullyan Sloan, an artist-turned-dealer. It was purchased by Baron and Baroness Thyssen in an auction at Christie's New York on November 30, 1999 (lot 92). *Looking out to Sea* was the third and last work by Alfred Thompson Bricher to be acquired by Baron Thyssen and his wife.

1999.113

Anthony Thieme
Cabins near Saint Augustine, Florida, c. 1947–48
[cat. 58]

Cabins near Saint Augustine, Florida was exhibited at the Grand Central Art Galleries in New York [no. 14] in 1948. Baron and Baroness Thyssen purchased it in an auction at Christie's New York on November 30, 1999 (lot 72).

1999.114

Worthington Whittredge
The Rainbow, Autumn, Catskills, c. 1880–90
[cat. 6]

The first documented owner of *The Rainbow, Autumn, Catskills* was Milton Luria (1922–2015) of Verona (NJ). It was acquired by Baron and Baroness Thyssen-Bornemisza in an auction at Christie's New York on November 30, 1999 (lot 19).

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