Collecting Spanish Art:
Spain’s Golden Age and America’s Gilded Age
Edited by Inge Reist and José Luis Colomer
In addition, James—one of the most widely-read and influential authors of America’s Gilded Age—helped to move collecting into the zone of what Thorstein Veblen defined in 1899 as “conspicuous consumption.” It is difficult to determine which of these two forces—art as a marker of individual status and prestige, or the idea of art collecting as a civic or patriotic activity—carried more weight, but, starting in the 1890s, they combined to help spawn America’s growing and seemingly insatiable appetite for European old-master pictures. This demand terrified Europe, as Hy Mayer’s 1910 cartoon “The Flight of the Old Masters” (fig. 1), followed by the 1911 The New York Times article “How We Strip Europe of Her Treasures of Art” readily suggest (fig. 2). It also served to bridge the Atlantic and establish a close linkage between the United States and those European countries from where many of its citizens originated. But where does Spain fit into this picture? Why would American collectors, especially in the absence of large-scale Spanish immigration to the United States, seek to appropriate the art and the culture of a country whose traditional image in America, influenced as it was by Black Legend themes, was something less than positive? The answers to these overarching questions, in addition to new and detailed information about the reasons why individual collectors developed a taste for old-master painting. My aim here is rather more general, as I wish to explore some of the historical factors contributing to what I shall call the “Spanish turn” in American collecting, that is, the growing fascination for works by the Spanish old masters, especially Velázquez, El Greco, and Goya.

There is, of course, a pre-history here. Thanks to the work of Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, M. Elizabeth Boone, and other scholars, we know that a handful of Americans during the early part of the nineteenth century had developed a taste for Spanish pictures. In 1816, for example, Richard W. Meade, the former American consul in Cádiz, returned to this country with an alleged Murillo, a now-lost Caritas Romana together with works attributed to Sánchez Cotán. We also know that William Walters of Baltimore purchased a Madonna attributed to Murillo at an auction sale in 1855, although this was the only Spanish picture he ever bought. (It is still in the collection of the Walters Art Museum.) Another American collector with a passing interest in Spanish artists was Thomas J. Bryan (1800–1870). A longtime resident of Paris, Bryan assembled a somewhat rag-tag collection of pictures designed, as he put it, to demonstrate “the progress of European art.” His holdings included works attributed to Murillo and

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1 I refer, of course, to VEBLEN 1899.
4 For Richard Meade see Boone 2007, p. 45.
5 Johnston 1846, pp. 12, 238. The Murillo in question turned out to be a copy.
Jarves’s wholesale dismissal of Spanish art went further than most, but he was by no means alone. Most Americans of his era, especially those of Protestant background, found it difficult to reconcile Spain’s long history with the evils of the Inquisition. This certainly was the view espoused by the former American diplomat John Hay in his 1871 book *Castilian Days*, where, following a description of the Spanish paintings on view in the Prado, he observed that: “there is the dim suggestion of the faggot and the rack among many Spanish masters.”

Jarves’s exclamatory dismissal of Spanish art was further conditioned by John Ruskin’s ideas about the “organic” unity linking individual artists with the society they inhabited, particularly his notion that great art could only flourish in republics as opposed to aristocratic and autocratic regimes. One influential American art critic who wrote in this same vein was James Jackson Jarves (1804–1898), a connoisseur and collector of medieval Italian painting, whose collection is now housed in the Yale University Art Gallery. Jarves’s Ruskinian ideas first emerged in his *The Art Idea*, where he maintained that the art of a particular society reflected what he termed the “underlying spirit of the times.” Subsequently, in *Art Thoughts* (1871), he emphasized that “art itself is less dependent on blood or climate than on intellectual influences.” In keeping with this premise, Jarves used Art Thoughts to reduce the entire Spanish School to what he called “the lowestastic standard, scarcely one grade above fetishism” and then to dismiss it on the basis of anything worthy of serious study:

> We need not look for the poetical or imaginative in Spanish art; instead for every refined treatment, and never for any intellectual elevation above the actual life out of which it drew its material motives. What could be expected of a country where masked inquisitors visited every studio and either destroyed and daubed over any that did not accord with their fanatical conceptions? There are admirable points in Spanish painting, but it is not a school of popular value or interest. Besides its two chief names—Velázquez and Murillo—it has no reputation beyond its own locality. The chief purpose of its present wild work was to blind the human intellect and make life a burden instead of a blessing. 15

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Starting in the 1880s, however, a counter current emerged, one that gradually began to see both Spain and its artists in a new, different, and generally more positive light. As we shall see, old masters began to attract serious interest as collectors’ objects, as more and more American artists and collectors began to travel to Spain and begin to see Spanish art in a new light. One of the most influential of these was the art critic and essayist Richard L. Kagan, author of *The Spanish Turn: The Discovery of Spanish Art in the United States, 1887–1920*.
becomes evident that Gibson arranged his paintings for size and aesthetic impact, rather than by genre or national school, for Spanish paintings are combined with an international grouping of works by American, Austrian, Belgian, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, and even Polish painters. Italian artist Gaetano Chierici’s popular genre subject of a boy rearing his older with a mule, for example, hangs to the left of an arched doorway, paired with a Venetian landscape by Martín Rico on the right (fig. 6).

Turning left upon entry, the visitor saw Emil van Marcke’s monumental landscape with cows, The Herd. Gibson was fond of landscape and animal painting in the Barbizon mode, and he counted works by Auguste and Rosa Bonheur, Jules Breton, Camille Corot, the Impressionists, and the New York School. When American art critic Edward "Civil dissension, bad government, and religious intolerance"
M. Elizabeth Boone “Civil dissension, bad government, and religious intolerance” 59

By signaling the pecuniary value of Gibson's collection, Strahan suggested a primary motivation for the amassing of art by Gilded Age Americans. Such “catholic and careful” groupings of aesthetically displayed paintings rarely conveyed a conceptualized theme, intellectual pursuit, professional interest, or national identity, but manifested instead their owner's elevated position in society. Some Gilded Age collectors purchased works to add a fashionable name or national school that might otherwise be missing. Gibson, fairly typical for the period, purchased some of his art objects during trips to Europe, but rarely made the effort to meet the artists who created them. He bought things he liked, usually purchasing through dealers or at auction, and he sold them when they failed to keep his interest or when something he preferred became available. 33

Among the Spanish paintings in Gibson's gallery were, in addition to the landscape by Rico, a Scene in a Spanish Wineshop by José Jiménez Aranda; Dancing the Jaleo in the Palace of Pilate, Seville by Raimundo Madrazo; and three works by Eduardo Zamacona, two watercolors of men in eighteenth-century dress, known as Contemplation and On the Lookout, and a small oil painting of a middle-aged man looking with dismay into a mirror abomined with animal antlers, humorously titled Révélation (or A Pair of Horns). 34

The most valuable of Gibson's Spanish paintings was Mariano Fortuny's diminutive Council House, Granada, which hangs in one of the vintage photographs immediately below Thomas Couture's allegory, The Thorny Path (fig. 7). Fortuny's Council House is a very different kind of Spanish painting than those sent to the Centennial Exhibition by Spain's National Museum (fig. 8). Painted six years after Lorenzo Vélez Cotillas, Cecilia de Castro, Fortuny's work is much smaller in size, its intimacy reinforced by the inclusion of family members and friends. Among the inhabitants of the sun-drenched plaza are Fortuny's wife Cecilia Madrid, their two children María Luisa and Mariano, and his good friend Martín Rico. Considered by some scholars to be from Fortuny's best period, painted in Granada and completed in Rome at a time that the artist was freeing himself from the demands of his dealer Goupil, its contemporary subject and lighthearted air were undoubtedly more appealing to a wealthy businessman in need of relaxation than the somber monumentality and suggestions of political strife found in Vélez-Cotillas's Spanish history scenes. 35

33 STRAHAN 1880, 1: 80.
34 GOODYEAR AND DISKANT 1974, n.p. Gibson's purchase records, if they still exist, are currently unlocated.
35 The painting was sold at auction when sold by Goupil to Knoedler; see ROGLÁN 2005B, 354.
36 MARTÍNEZ PELÁEZ 2005. Martínez points out that preparatory drawings for the canvas fail to prove that the painting includes Fortuny's family.

William Hood Stewart (1820–1897) also from Philadelphia, assisted Gibson in acquiring Fortuny's Council House in 1872. 37 In contrast to Gibson, Stewart developed a deep relationship with Spanish art and culture. An American who expatriated to Paris at the end of the Civil War, Stewart had made his money from a sugar plantation in Cuba and preserved through his connection to this Caribbean colony a tangible link to Spain. Stewart began collecting Spanish art in 1857, and he made a point of befriending the Spanish painters in France. He had little respect for Gibson, apparently agreeing to broker the acquisition out of friendship with the artist rather than the collector; when

37 A letter from Fortuny to Stewart, dated from Rome in Dec. 1872, states: “Je finis le tableau pour M. Gibson, et je n'ai rien commencé de nouveau, car je désire d'abord terminer ce qu'il a rapporté d'Espagne.” COUILLON 1875, 91. Stewart claims to have assisted with the acquisition in “Reminiscences and Notes,” from LIFE OF FORTUNY; WITH HIS WORKS AND CORRESPONDENCE (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1885), 212. See also JOHNSON 1972.
9. Ignacio León y Escosura (1834-1903), 
“Auction Sale in Clinton Hall, New York,” 1876. Oil on canvas, 56.8 x 80.3 cm. 
"Here One Feels Existence": Isabella Stewart Gardner’s Spanish Cloister

The studio of John Singer Sargent to see his controversial Madame X. Gardner was far from scandalized. She was impressed by the beauty and dramatic air of Sargent’s subject, Virginie Avegno, an American married to a French banker, and her admiration continued throughout her life when a sketch by Sargent of Virginie relaxing after a dinner party entered the Paris art market in 1919, she arranged to buy it.22

Gardner immediately engaged Sargent to paint her portrait, but the artist was unable to schedule her sittings until January 1888. The portrait (fig. 3) debuted on the 30th of that month at the St. Botolph Club and provoked a stir. Writers for the Boston Herald and Town Topics commented at length on the revealing cut of Gardner’s dress, and the timing was unfortunate. Town Topics recently had featured an article on the novelist Francis Marion Crawford (1854–1909) that revived malicious rumors concerning his former friendship with Mrs. Gardner, which had ended abruptly in 1883.23 Unflattering comments regarding his wife’s attraction to young artistic men were brought to Mr. Gardner’s attention and enraged, he withdrew the portrait from the exhibition. It was never exhibited again during his lifetime.

To remove themselves from the fray the Gardners embarked on a journey to Spain. Although not as exotic as their previous destinations the couple had toured the Near East in 1874–75 and Asia in 1883–84, late nineteenth-century Spain was an infrequently visited and often misunderstood country. Banditti still nipped travelers on rural roads and accommodations were not luxurious. Mr. Gardner’s impressions of the country were noted laconically in his pocket diary: his assessments of certain cities were confined to “hotel dirty” or “hotel awful.”24

But if Mrs. Gardner was inconvenienced at any time, she did not complain. She was intrigued by Spain’s comparative isolation. As she noted to her friend and adviser Bernard Berenson (1865–1959) on her second trip to Spain in 1906, “I like countries when Americans aren’t in them.”25

The Gardners in Spain

The Gardners most likely chose Spain on Sargent’s recommendation. The artist had lived with the couple for weeks while he was at work on his portrait of Mrs. Gardner and his attraction to the country must have impressed his patrons. Sargent first visited Spain in 1889, when he was twelve years of age and he and his sisters were roaming Europe with their famously restless parents.26 He returned to Spain in 1879, after he had spent five years in the Paris studio of

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21 THARP 1965, 121.
22 Ibid., 123.
23 Ibid., 134.
24 Ibid., 136.
26 BOONE 2007, 115.
IN 1899, the coke and steel industrialist Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919) bought his first major work by an old master—the Portrait of an Artist by Rembrandt (now assigned to the circle of the artist)—and over the next twenty years, with the help of Charles Cailliau and Roland Knoedler of M. Knoedler & Co. and other advisers, he formed a superlative collection of European old master paintings from the early Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century, along with sculpture, decorative art objects, and works on paper. Frick’s Spanish purchases include works by such great painters as El Greco, Velázquez, and Goya, minor nineteenth-century artists like Luis Jiménez y Aranda and Francisco Domínguez y Marqués, and other European artists who treated quintessentially Spanish themes. The majority of these were part of the bequest of one hundred and thirty-one paintings that would form the core of The Frick Collection. Others remained at Frick’s Pittsburgh houses, Clayton—now the Frick Art & Historical Center—or descended through the Frick family.

I would like to thank Inge Reist, Director of the Center for the History of Collecting at the Frick Art Reference Library, and José Luis Colomer, Director of the Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica in Madrid, for their invitation to participate in the symposium and contributed to the publication. David O’Kane, Assistant Director of the Center for the History of Collecting and co-organizer of the symposium gave the text the benefit of her excellent editing. I am grateful to Sally Brazil, Chief of the Frick Archives, and archivist Julia Ludwig and Susan Cramer who so generously guided me through the relevant files, as well as Lydia Dukus, former Chief of Public Services. I thank Colin Bailey, Associate Director, and Peter Jay Sharp, Chief Curator of The Frick Collection for his generous support. Pablo Pérez d’Ors, Andrew W. Mellon Predatorial Fellow at The Frick Collection, discussed the material with me and provided valuable assistance in research. Joanna Shears, Curatorial Assistant, gave the text her customary meticulous care and offered valuable suggestions in shaping it. Thanks are due as well to Calvin Herringman, Curatorial Assistant, and Charlotte Hefley Intern. To the honoree of the symposium and this publication, Jonathan Brown, I owe my deepest thanks for his guidance in the world of Spanish art at The Frick Collection, and for the pleasure of collaboration on several projects.
After Frick's death, the Trustees of The Frick Collection added two more Spanish works: both by Goya: *The Anglers*, a pen-and-ink drawing bought from the Oppenheimer collection in 1936, and an oil portrait, *Don Pedro Duque de Osuna*, acquired in 1943 (see Jiménez-Blanco fig. 19). The Spanish school in The Frick Collection bears Henry Clay Frick's stamp almost entirely.

While the market for English, Dutch, Italian, and French art was well established in the United States by the turn of the century, it was only slowly getting underway for Spanish painting and decorative art when Frick and his compatriots joined their European counterparts in the chase for Spanish art. The iconic masters—Velázquez, Goya, and El Greco—were celebrated in large national exhibitions at the Prado and elsewhere in Madrid between 1889 and 1902, and many of their works were just coming on the market at comparatively low prices. Opportunity combined with Frick's insistence on the highest standard and willingness to take greater risks in this developing field, resulted in his acquiring the three paintings by El Greco, three by Goya, and one by Velázquez that form part of the collection today. Other works purchased by Frick during this period include a pair of Flemish tapestries with scenes from Don Quixote and Mefistófeles, and Jacques-Jonghelinck's bust of the Duke of Alba, which may be considered honorary members of his Spanish collection. Although the smallest of the major European schools represented in the museum as a whole, the Spanish group contains three of the major masterpieces in the Frick, which are among the very finest examples of these artists' work: In North America El Greco's St. Jerome (fig. 1), Goya's *The Forge* (fig. 2), and Velázquez's *Portrait of Philip IV of Spain* (see Colomer fig. 15).

Henry Clay Frick's Spanish adventure began in 1893, with a two-week trip to Spain as part of a two-month whirlwind European tour. Perhaps conceived along the lines of a Grand Tour for himself and his family, the journey was also a means of expanding on the devolving events of the previous year: the tragic loss of two of his four children (six-year-old Martha and a few-month-old Henry Clay Frick, Jr.), the Homestead Strike for which Frick bore most of the blame for the deaths of ten steelworkers and Pinkerton guards and wounding of many others in an armed conflict with the Pennsylvania state militia, and the assassination attempt on his life which followed. The party included Frick and his wife Adelaide Childs Frick, her sister, the Fricks' children, Helen and Childs (ages five and ten), a nurse, and Childs Frick's tutor, Clyde Augustine Durinway, as well as friends Mr. and Mrs. Philander Knox and their fourteen-year-old daughter. They sailed from New York on March 4 on the steamship *Kaiser Wilhelm*, landing at Gibraltar. According to Mrs. Frick's travel diary, after visiting Gibraltar and Tangier, they proceeded to Spain, where they stopped at Granada, Sevilla, Córdoba, and Madrid. Mr. Durinway's comment in his diary that in Sevilla they "saw their first Murillos" suggested prior interest in this artist. They continued on to Bordeaux, Nîmes, Genoa, Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Switzerland, and sailed home from Liverpool in early May. While most of their stops were part of the traditional Grand Tour, Spain was left off.

1. For additional biographical details, see Harvey 2003.
2. With thanks to Martha Springton Sanger for sharing information about the Frick family's first European trip from a diary kept by Childs Frick's tutor, Clyde Augustine Durinway. The acquisition was a turning point in the couple's collecting, heralding their interest in Spanish art that would influence many of their compatriots.

María Dolores Jiménez-Blanco Collecting Goya 329

1. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), The 2nd of May 1808 in Madrid: the charge of the Mamelukes, 1814. Oil on canvas, 268 x 347 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado regarded Goya as a soul mate of the modern artists they loved, as their companion in their search for artistic freedom.

The reasons for the appeal of Goya’s art went beyond formal questions, however. The collectors who admired the modern quality of his daring brush-strokes and compositions probably felt very close to Goya because of content as well. This proximity, then, had to do not only with Goya’s attitude toward art, but also with his attitude toward life. Goya cared for the problems of his own times, and showed his solidarity with people in a completely new manner, apart from any sentimentalism making apparent a genuine concern for the social and political advancement of his country. He was able to record in his oils and engravings the main collective issues that marked his lifetime as well as that of his fellow countrymen—in so many dramatically displayed in his painting El 3 de mayo de 1808 en Madrid (fig. 1). He was also able to express all the loneliness, the fears and anxieties of individuals—as shown in the print El sueño de la razón produce monstruos (fig. 2). Both of these abilities, inseparable as the two sides of the same coin, made him truly modern.
Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), Los Caprichos, No. 43: El sueño de la razón produce monstruos (The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters), 1799. Etching and aquatint, 21.7 x 15.2 cm.

Sixteen to Sixty, one has the impression that she, too, was a compassionate person. In spite of her privileged position, Mrs. Havemeyer, much like Goya, experienced personal hardships and was concerned with the political progress of her country. Both Mrs. Havemeyer and Goya were active in pursuing their objectives for a better world. Goya showed his ideal of an enlightened Spain through his series of cartoons depicting a civilized ideal population both at leisure and at work, and also through his portraits of intellectuals, such as Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1789, Museo del Prado, Madrid), El Conde de Floridablanca (1783, Banco de España, Madrid), or Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1799, Museo de la Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid), whom he identified with a better, modern Spain. Goya also showed his psychological and social awareness in his incisive series of prints, such as the Caprichos or the Disparates, in which he sought to establish a diagnosis to better treat the disease of a backward, unindustrialized country.

Louisine, in turn, after enduring a depression—a trait she shared with Goya—played a very active role in trying to expand democracy in her own country through her activities as a suffragette. This did not prevent her from adding to the art collections that she and her husband had assembled. In fact, as she recalled in her 1922 article “The Suffrage Torch, Memoirs of a Militant,” she managed to link her interest in art with the issue of women’s rights by organizing benefit exhibitions to favor the cause of suffragism at Knoedler’s Art Gallery in 1912 and 1915.

The vision of Goya as a pioneer might have been very appealing to Louisine, as she liked to see herself as one, too. In her memoirs Susten to Sixty, she presents herself as a collector opening new markets in America—not only for Goya and El Greco, but also for Degas and the French Impressionists. In “The Suffrage Torch, Memoirs of a Militant,” she embraces the role of an early champion in the field of suffragism. She thus defined herself as a pioneer both in the field of art collecting and in the field of civil rights.

The Havemeyers made their first trip to Spain in 1901. Some years earlier, in 1897, they had already acquired a pair of portraits by Goya: Bartolomé Sureda y Miserol and Thérèse Louise de Sureda (ca. 1803–1804), their best Goya purchase, from Durand-Ruel (figs. 3, 4). According to Gary Tinterow, they bought these two oils because they felt empathy with the sitter. Thérèse Sureda, a young engineer who returned to Madrid after having worked in London, was appointed to direct the royal furnishing factory. The collectors saw in him a sincere, informal person, “confident of his place among his peers,” in Tinterow’s words. According to Louisine, he was essentially a Maja, the kind of impudent regard Manet used in paintings of Susten to Sixty, one has the impression that she, too, was a compassionate person. In spite of her privileged position, Mrs. Havemeyer, much like Goya, experienced personal hardships and was concerned with the political progress of her country. Both Mrs. Havemeyer and Goya were active in pursuing their objectives for a better world. Goya showed his ideal of an enlightened Spain through his series of cartoons depicting a civilized ideal population both at leisure and at work, and also through his portraits of intellectuals, such as Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1789, Museo del Prado, Madrid), El Conde de Floridablanca (1783, Banco de España, Madrid), or Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1799, Museo de la Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid), whom he identified with a better, modern Spain. Goya also showed his psychological and social awareness in his incisive series of prints, such as the Caprichos or the Disparates, in which he sought to establish a diagnosis to better treat the disease of a backward, unindustrialized country.

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Like Mlle V. in the Costume of an Espada, which the Havemeyers would buy the next year,10 nevertheless, the most remarkable feature of these two portraits in the context of the Havemeyers’ collecting is their authenticity. Of the fifteen Goyas that the Havemeyers bought, only four are still accepted as autograph works.11 The other two works generally accepted are Young Lady Wearing a Mantilla and a Basquíña (also known as La bella librera [The Bookseller’s Wife], now, together with the portraits of the Suredas, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) and Doña Narcisa Barañana de Goicoechea

10 Ibid., 13–14.
Thus Henri recognized in Goya the quality that, many decades later, Fred Licht emphasized in Goya to characterize his figure as “the origin of the modern temper in art,” his ability to make his art embody “the new power and tragedy unleashed by the individual confrontation with the wildness of the universe, unaided by the intercession of traditional religious faith,” but also his determination to “express revolution in revolutionary terms.”

Many years later, in the period after the Second World War, the group of New York artists we usually call the New York School, turned their eyes to the Spanish tradition. Such was the case with Robert Motherwell (1915–1991), a great admirer of García Lorca and Spanish culture. He produced a series of paintings entitled Elegy to the Spanish Republic (fig. 10), in which he evoked not only the death of democracy in Spain with the Civil War, but also the darkness of some passages of Spanish history and culture as a metaphor. The blackest of Goya’s oeuvre—dark not only in the sense of color, as we can see in The Dog (fig. 11) or in Duel with Cudgels (both in Museo del Prado, Madrid), plenty of color although part of the Black Paintings series—was evoked there, thus becoming both an artistic and an ethical example, the paradigm of the artist’s concern with moral values.

But some other artists of Motherwell’s generation, such as Phillip Guston (1913–1980), found the same inspiring qualities in images from the Spanish tradition, and especially in Goya’s art, to denounce the moral wasteland of the present. For Guston, Goya’s anticlasicism was synonymous with free expression, and his allusions to the prevailing darkness in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Spain, had an obvious and ironic parallel in the hooded heads that Guston himself painted in the late sixties, which denounced both the American present and the Spanish past.

Coda

The art of Goya being multifaceted and polyvalent, provided answers to different quests and sensibilities. The way in which Goya’s art was regarded by these main collectors in New York around the turn of the century show how the appreciation of his art evolved from the image of an unorthodox, pioneering, and politically committed artist, as Louise Havemeyer saw him to the embodiment of Spanish character, as for Huntington, and finally to a great master as was the case for Frick. This evolution took place in a little more than a decade in their turn, painters such as Henri, Motherwell, and Guston started their own “collecting” of Goya through their interpretation of images and artistic ideas. What they saw in Goya was what they were hoping to achieve in their own art: freedom and ethics.