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„Albert C. Barnes of Philadelphia and the Emergence of the Dealer-Critic System in the Early Modern Art Market“

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Olivia Christman

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Abstract
This thesis analyzes the American art collector Albert Barnes who collected early modernist paintings between 1912-1950. In this time, the art market shifted from the salon system: where a few prestigious art schools controlled which artists, which artistic style, and what class of buyers were admitted, to the critic-dealer system: where dealers worked directly with art critics to popularize young emerging artists and would sell to anyone interested in buying. This shift occurred due to increased industrialization and technology, such as the camera which, could capture images better than even the most skilled painters. Other contributing factors were the mental and economic hardships surrounding the political chaos in Europe and the desire from dealers to sell to a broader range of newly wealthy American buyers. By analyzing Barnes life, relationships, collection, and Foundation, one finds the keyhole into the working of the art market as a whole. His principles of democracy, education, and scientific ascetic beauty encompassed the emerging philosophy of the new art market. His friendships and academic companionship with other buyers, dealers, and artists were key in understanding the new social aspect of the art market as well as its democratization. These ties prove that the early modern market ignored distances traditionally kept between the social classes. By starting with Barnes's life, his dealers, artists, and philosophy, one first understands the man. Then, moving on to the time he lived in, we delve into the world events occurring and the other actors in the art market. The last section is on Barnes's collection and legacy. Using his biographies next to art dealers and art history books, we can capture the shift of the art market on the personal level and understand its development. His Foundation failed as purely an education institution, but Barnes's life and legacy continue to provide a lens into the early 20th-century art world.

Diese Arbeit analysiert den amerikanischen Kunstsammler Albert Barnes, der zwischen 1912-1950 Gemälde der frühen Moderne sammelte. In dieser Zeit verlagerte sich der Kunstmarkt vom Salonsystem zum Kritiker-Händler-System. Diese Verschiebung erfolgte aufgrund der zunehmenden Industrialisierung und Technologie. Das politische Chaos in Europa weckte den Wunsch der Händler, an einen breiteren Kreis neu wohlhabender amerikanischer Käufer zu verkaufen. Durch die Analyse des Lebens, der Beziehungen, der Sammlung und der Stiftung von Barnes findet man das Schlüsselloch in die Funktionsweise des gesamten Kunstmarktes. Wenn man mit Barnes' Leben, seinen Händlern, Künstlern und seiner Philosophie beginnt, versteht man zuerst den Mann. Dann, über die Zeit, in der er lebte, tauchen wir in das Weltgeschehen und die anderen Akteure des Kunstmarktes ein. Der letzte Abschnitt befasst sich mit Barnes' Sammlung und seinem Vermächtnis. Anhand seiner Biografien neben Kunsthändlern und Kunstgeschichtsbüchern können wir den Wandel des Kunstmarktes auf der persönlichen Ebene erfassen und seine Entwicklung nachvollziehen. Seine Stiftung scheiterte als reine Bildungseinrichtung, aber Barnes Leben und Vermächtnis bieten weiterhin einen Einblick in die Kunstwelt des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts.

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Albert C. Barnes, His Foundation, Philosophy, and Art World of 20th Century

Introduction

This thesis will focus on how the newly wealthy American Entrepreneurs of the early 20th century, given the economic situations in France and the US at the time, were able to dominate the French early modernist painting art market between 1915-1940. By examining what this takeover meant: how the dealers, painters, buyers' habits, cultural change, and what ideas of philosophy and thought were behind the changes, we better understand the history of the art market at large.

The topic matters because this art phenomenon affected not only the culture of the art market in both France and the US but also who the main dealers and collectors were. There was a major shift in supply and demand through the first half of the decade. French dealers and artists who were outside of the old art market system changed the market in their favor, and they marked a new set of buyers as their targets. The Americans who bought modern art were not the same as the wealthy Americans that had bought European art in the past, nor did they want to buy classic works like their predecessors. The American's were looking for something new and philosophically pleasing. They were full of new ideas and wanted to be included in the changing tide. The American's popularization of early modern art changed the way it was viewed around the world. Early modern art went from being barred in Parisian Art Salons and ridiculed, to highly-valued, critically acclaimed pieces of the century.

The philosophy that shaped this artistic movement, did not remain attached only to French art but spread throughout popular thought of the time and remains with us today. Understanding the new philosophies, their focus on meaning and emotions, rather than hard reality and technological precision is a direct outcry against an industrializing modern world. These philosophies' support amongst capitalist Americans themselves, the ones responsible for the shift, is an interesting dichotomy to explore. Yet, these revolutionary philosophies were not constrained to the art world alone, they were spread to education, the meaning of life, the worth of each person, and even the concept of democracy. In other words, the philosophies

around early modern art had far-reaching repercussions that affected the century and everything after.

This thesis focuses on the economic, cultural, philosophic, and legal principles that grew in the early 20th century, using Albert Barnes, his art collection, and his Foundation as a case study.

Something important to note is that the economic situation of the early 1900s made this shift in the art market possible and is why it turned out the way it did. In general, Europe got poorer, while the US got richer. The market in France for early modern artworks was incredibly low, while the dealers and artists needed to sell ever more urgently. This huge supply and low demand forced the dealers to become more creative in how they marketed the art and whom they marketed it to. In part, the shift in the art market was caused by desperation, and success came to those who knew how to take advantage of the current economic situation. The European aristocracy was losing money, so while they spent less lavishly on aesthetic objects and signs of wealth/culture, such as paintings, the newly rich in the US had plenty to spend. The Americans often made their money in the cut-throat industrial sector and were from auspicious backgrounds, so they had a strong desire to prove their new prominence in the world. The Americans saw culture and European goods as a reliable symbol of refinement that would ensure their status in society. This parallel situation was perfect for trade. Europe had lots of inexpensive art, the Americans had lots of money and wanted cultural objects. The European art dealers jumped on the opportunity to buy and work for these Americans, thereby spreading wealth back to Europe.

Since the Americans could not determine the legitimacy of old masters easily and had no schooling in art or forgery, they all soon came to favor modernism. The dealers changed the art market system from the traditional Academic-Salon system where only those approved of, both buyer and seller, could access the market, into a democratic and freely accessible dealer-critic system. The dealers held the shops and sold the art to anyone who came to them, while the critics wrote about the modernist artists and paintings in popular journals, which allowed the Americans to hear about it and trust its value. The European art dealers jumped on the Americans' willingness to buy from unknown painters and to ignore traditional art market

principles, as long as they saw the artist in his own show, or heard of them from a friend. The Americans were willing to buy risqué and new-form art, unlike the old aristocracy. They paid less attention to society's restraints. The dealers only had to give some promising upstart artists (Picasso, Matisse, Cézanne) a few shows and suddenly the Americans were ready to buy. The Americans were also willing to have a more personal relationship with the artists and go to their studios almost as friends, rather than letting the dealer be the only one to associate with the painter as was usual. This led to the dealers along with the wealthy Americans having a direct influence on the art market.

Modern art spread with modern philosophy and was influenced by new ideas about humanity and society. All of this played into which art was demanded. Albert Barnes himself wrote books, like his favorite philosophers, on what makes a painting aesthetically pleasing and why. The Americans were not going for old names, like the aristocracy, they were going for paintings that fit their own views and desires. They traveled to Paris themselves and chose much of their own art, they worked with their dealer almost as a partner rather than a simple transactional relationship. The buyers and the dealers had dramatic relationships and often the dealers found themselves in competition with each other fighting over the same art from only a few famous artists. This had such an effect that the art dealers often set up a residence both in NYC and in Paris in order to balance the painters to their clients.

The original hypothesis of this thesis was that a few American art collectors influenced the renown and acceptance of early modern French paintings. This hypothesis was based on the case study of Albert C. Barnes who was one of the largest American collectors, but more than that, his collection remains intact, his writings about the work he collected are available, and his educational institution to teach about such art is still functioning. Still, one needs to look at the whole American and international social circle that frequented the Paris art scene in order to fully understand the milieux Barnes was a part of. Specifically, it is interesting to look into Barnes’s social connections: the other American collectors, the artists, and the philosophers of aesthetics. The hypothesis holds true. However, it is important to

highlight the dealers' role in shifting the market to the dealer-critic system and therefore promoting the Americans to participate.

Main Thesis Questions:

1. Who were the most relevant people in Barnes's social milieux: artists, collectors, philosophers?

2. What was going on at the time of collection, what was the world like the collectors (Barnes) were living in?

3. What philosophy influenced Barnes's collection and his Foundation.

4. Was the Foundation successful as an educational institution and as a promoter of early modern artwork?

5. What is the international law, US/French law around the breaking of Barnes's trust in order to expand the Foundations profits and later to move the Foundation to a new location?

This thesis deals with international law, economics, and international history and uses those fields to look at this historical phenomenon in an all-encompassing way. The main law concept used is Cy Press in regard to donor's intent and is used to understand the legality around breaking a legal trust, such as Barnes's. As well as the legality of public rights to a tax-free institution and great works of art/cultural achievement. The main economic principles are the law of supply and demand and how buyers and sellers take advantage of it, till the situation changes. The main historical periods touched on are the Paris art market 1900-1940, Bohemian Paris, Industrial American, WWI, and the Great Depression.

Previous research on the topic has addressed single aspects of Barnes's life, the Paris modern art market of the early 20th century, or one of the people in the social circle around it. Prior research has especially been lacking in the world around the art market. It is important to put Barnes in his place in history and understand the chaos that was happening while he was collecting, including two world wars, the

Great Depression, the Spanish flu, and prohibition, especially within the context of the city he spent his whole life in.

Disciplines and Methodology:

Disciplines:

The main discipline in this thesis will be international history. This will be found by the fact that the topic is a matter of history, focusing mainly on the time period (1920-1940). The history of the international art market and historic dealers, buyers, and artists. This thesis will act as an account of the period, through the lens of Barnes and the Art Market.

The second discipline will be a slight legal perspective, based on rights of artists in the US, vs. France, as well as legal rights/requirements of art possessors. Additionally, the legal right to private trusts in the US vs. France and how the Barnes trust was broken.

Third, economic theory will also be used in order to explain how the world economy played a role in the Art Market. It played a part in the depression period and the trade between the US-France, mainly within the principle of supply and demand. Economics will also be part of the section on why the Barnes trust was broken in order for the foundation to be profitable as a business. There is a pure economical answer for the Foundations failure in Merrion, namely its failure to bring in revenue.

General Themes:

- The economic situation of France/US during boom 1900-29, bust 1930-45
- Modernism culture/art, the artists themselves
- Prominent Philosophical thought affecting art/aesthetics 1900-1940
- Major buyers of art in the US, Major sellers of art in Paris
- Cultural milieux of Paris (including US ex-pats) 1915-1940
- Barnes' social network, who he involved with in the US/Paris

Methodology:

This thesis is only able to rely on predominantly secondary sources, such as books, journal articles, documentaries, and magazine/newspaper articles. I reference Barnes's own work, what his friends wrote about him, and all his most prominent biographies. This thesis refers to The Barnes Foundation's own journal and website. Also, Barnes's letters, bills of sale, and available legal documents are used.

Chapter 1: The Life of Barnes

The Making of the Man and his Philosophy

How his Childhood Influenced his Character

Barnes is often quoted as saying that his childhood and upbringing had inspired his desire and thoughts about art collecting[1]. He grew up in a poorer district of Philadelphia and his family was often barely getting by financially. His father had been injured in the civil war and came home with only one arm[2]. Due to his disability and his post-injury drunken state, Barnes's father had trouble keeping or finding a job[3]. Barnes spent a lot of time with his brother and his mother. The family moved while Albert was still quite young to an even worse area of town, the ghetto[4].

In the ghetto, Albert was exposed to two forces that would come to shape his life. One was violence. He had to learn to fight, to defend himself, and that attacking first and viciously was safest, something he kept as part of his personality even after he lived in the wealthiest suburbs[5]. And the second trait was a love of culture. His mother started to take Albert to a local Methodist church where he was surrounded by African-Americans and their culture, so unlike anything he had seen before[6]. He came to love these times and aspired towards the artistic world. This experience also instilled in him a deep respect for black people and their right to express and be proud of their culture, which most white people at the time denied them.

Art was also part of the standard public education during the 1870- the 1890s during which Barnes attended school[7]. He would have been exposed to art and drawing from a very young age despite his poor background. This appetite for art

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[1] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art," *Afr J Reprod Health* 15 (2011): 14.
[2] Mary Ann Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture: Albert Barnes and the Science of Philanthropy* (New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2004) Page 4.
[3] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life" (The Barnes Foundation Archives, June 14, 2017), The Barnes Foundation Archives, https://s3.amazonaws.com/barnes-images-p-e1c3c83bd163b8df/assets/ABC_Pkwy.pdf. Page 5.
[4] George W Boudreau, "The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy by Neil L. Rudenstine (Review)," *Pennsylvania History* 83 (2016): 117.
[5] George E Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes," 2012, 122, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315421858-12. Page 100.
[6] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 205*.
[7] Meyers Page 6.

would only grow in Barnes as his best friend at school was interested in the subject as well. While Barnes tried his hand at drawing and had to come to terms with having little natural talent in the field, his friend William James Glackens would go on to be a modern American Artist of some renown[8]. Barnes found Glackens again when he started to collect art and Glackens remained a trusted consort for Barnes throughout his time collecting art[9].

Barnes came from the lower middle class, but due to his academic achievement and the Philadelphia public school system, he quickly rose[10]. He was awarded a place in the Central High School, a public high school of the city of Philadelphia that was for high achieving pupils[11]. After making it through the school's rigorous program he graduated at seventeen years old with an A.B. degree and was then able to go right into the University of Pennsylvania's medical school[12]. His early graduation from Central High allowed Barnes to graduate medical school by the age of 20[13]. He had not come from privilege, but his intelligence and diligence in school had set him above it.

This experience taught him that coming from the bottom was nothing to be ashamed of, there was nothing disgraceful in being born to poor circumstances. Yet, at the same time, it instilled in him a high standard of what he would expect from people. He saw his rise from the bottom to the top, not as a stroke of luck or good grace, but an effort of self-worth. Barnes would forever require those around him to demonstrate their value, based on their efforts and ability to succeed. He disliked those who were born into privilege or went to study at institutions such as Harvard and Yale[14]. He respected the working poor and he talked about only them in his philosophy of art, but he only valued the working poor who managed to raise themselves above that class later on[15]. In a sense, Barnes believed in the notion of

[8] Colin B. Bailey, "The Origins of the Barnes Collection, 1912—15," *Burlington Magazine* 150 (2008): 543. Page 534.
[9] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector," *Essays of an Information Scientist* 5 (February 1, 1982): Page 388.
[10] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 4.
[11] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 206*.
[12] Meyers Page 8.
[13] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 4.
[14] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 226*.
[15] Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes." Page 103.

the American Dream. He believed that if people worked hard enough and cared enough, with some more help, resources, and educational material, they could have better lives.

Barnes and the Making of his Fortune

After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania (UPenn) Barnes went on to study chemical research in Heidelberg Germany, the hub for medical research at the time[16]. There he was introduced to a fellow Ph.D. student Hermann Hille, a local German[17]. Hille and Barnes arranged a partnership to experiment in finding a new antiseptic drug[18]. The antiseptics currently in use were all made from some sort of silver compounds and they caused severe reactions in some patients[19]. Barnes and Hille believed they could find something better. Only two years later in 1902 they published their research and declared this chemical drug called "Argyrol" was the best on the market[20]. However, it was not yet on the market. Barnes took over the role of marketing specialist as Hille stayed in the laboratory. Barnes went directly to medical specialists, doctors, and hospitals with samples of their product insisting these medical professionals try free samples[21].

During this time marketing was rare in the medical field and usually never done by the chemists themselves[22]. Barnes was an exception and his daring turned out to be a great success. When doctors saw that Argyrol worked themselves, they decided to discard the other options and use only this new product. Barnes made his product trusted and sold it directly to the source without the usual middlemen[23]. Soon Argyrol was the main compound being used as an antiseptic and as a treatment for the eyes of babies to avoid gonorrheal infection. Barnes also went international with his drug. He published various articles about his product in papers and journals

[16] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes Page 7*.
[17] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art." Page 9.
[18] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes Page 7*.
[19] Lindsay Edouard Pages 9-10.
[20] Meyers Page 12.
[21] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 207*.
[22] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Page 389.
[23] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art." Page 10.

in English and German[24]. He met doctors in Europe and the US. He won over all the big pharmaceutical centers. Barnes made his product, *the* product.

Barnes and Hille never claimed copyright, so they did not have to publish the formula for Argyrol[25]. This meant that they kept profits of the product for themselves alone. They made $40,000 their first year and $100,000 the second year, more than double their profits and a considerable fortune at the time[26]. This shows Barnes's intelligence in the business world and his ambition to make as big a profit margin as possible. However, Barnes was as he would show himself to be the rest of his life, difficult to work with. Although Hille was the producer of the compound and the one that discovered it, Barnes came to see him as unnecessary[27]. The two men fought extensively. Hille agreed to end the company agreement and break their partnership in 1908[28]. Both men wanted to keep the company under their sole ownership, but Barnes won the bidding. He bought out his partner, received the formula for the medication, and changed the name from Barnes & Hille company to A. C. Barnes company[29].

It cost Barnes quite a bit of money to rid the business of his partner, but Argyrol continued to dominate the antiseptic market. His factory was small and never had more than 30 employees. Unlike most factories or businesses on Fortieth and Filber Streets in Philadelphia at this time, Barnes's was not a dangerous or dirty affair[30]. His company was decorated like a home, with pictures, furniture, and nicely painted walls. Yet it was financially efficient, and he recovered the cost of buying out his partner in excess by 1929. Those twenty years gave him the fortune that allowed him to buy the large quantity of art he amassed and start his foundation[31]. In fact, by 1912 Barnes had enough wealth to start the endeavor of collecting art.

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[24] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture Page 12*.
[25] Lukacs Page 207.
[26] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 40.
[27] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 5.
[28] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art." Page 10.
[29] Meyers Page 18.
[30] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 5.
[31] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Page 389.

Barnes First Interests in Art and Philosophy

Barnes started reading philosophy early in his life because, as he says later in letters to his friends, he felt "maladjusted"[32]. He thought that by reading philosophy he could find answers about himself and, in a way, understand who he was and why. While he was searching for self-fulfillment, he found the topic of aesthetics. Visual aesthetics is defined as the rationalization of beauty or the philosophical breakdown of what it means for something to be beautiful[33]. Aesthetics captivated him the rest of his life and Barnes himself wrote six publications that touched on the topic, not to mention many articles published in papers and magazines of the time[34]. The main three philosophers on the topic that captured his attention were John Dewey, George Santayana, and William James. He often stated that William James taught him how to think, George Santayana had taught him how to feel, and Dewey had taught him how education should be structured to make a better society[35]. Barnes, therefore, held these three men in high regard and encouraged others to read them as well.

John Dewy

Dewey's theory on education is radical in comparison to the traditional conservatism that was the popular style at the time and to some extent still exists in most of the world[36]. He did not think that there should be a dichotic hierarchy between teachers and students, where teachers lecture at students who quietly listen and take notes[37]. This is passive learning and requires little critical thinking. Dewey believed that passive learning did not create capable and democratic citizens who would be able to act as educated individuals because they did not know how to think for themselves[38]. Dewey believed that to have a functioning democracy, built on the

[32] Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes." Page 99.
[33] James Shelley, "The Concept of the Aesthetic," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2020 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2020), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/aesthetic-concept/.
[34] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 208*.
[35] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography, Page 16*.
[36] Thomas Leddy, "Dewey, Materiality, and the Role of the Visual (Studio) Arts in the Liberal Arts," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 53, no. 4 (2019): 40.
[37] Leddy Page 41.
[38] Margaret Hess Johnson, "John Dewey's Socially Instrumental Practice at the Barnes Foundation and the Role of 'Transferred Values' in Aesthetic Experience," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2012) Page 55.

choices and actions of its citizenry, then you needed to have a populace that was properly prepared for such responsibilities[39]. Democracy demands free, critical, and independent thinkers. Therefore, Dewey believed education needed a radical revision to produce such a populace.

He argued education should be dominated by experiential learning, learning through doing[40]. That means students are more actively engaged and will remember the lesson better because it relates to what's going on now, your life in the present and there is context. Then you must have active discussions and summarizing what the students did or learned after the lesson. These discussions are democratic, everyone states their opinions, beliefs, and has to debate against and with their classmates, they have to learn how to express themselves and work with others[41]. The students also learn democracy within the classroom, the teacher may know more about them and take the role of leader of the group, but that does not mean they are unquestionable. A critical thinker debates with and discusses their ideas with their teacher as well as their peers, there is more of a round-table approach to discussions that encourages active participation[42].

Dewey's views on education and democracy were immoderate compared to the popular discrimination and eugenics of the time[43]. It is relevant to note that Dewey wrote about educational democracy and the ability for all to learn and improve their lives, while many in his field at the time were turning to and supporting Eugenics, which was very much against these principles. Many college textbooks from 1907-1940 propagated Eugenics as the scientific revolution of the day, arguing against it was to fight the tide[44]. Academic thought was leaning towards a natural hierarchy in people and therefore differences in rights to education and citizenship. Yet, Dewey stood against this crowd. He did not mention race or eugenics often in his writings or become a major critic of either idea directly, but his

[39] David A Granger, "A 'Scientific Aesthetic Method': John Dewey, Albert Barnes and the Question of Aesthetic Formalism," *Education and Culture (Iowa City, Iowa)* 23 (2007): 56, https://doi.org/10.1353/eac.0.0012.
[40] Granger.
[41] Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes." Page 112.
[42] Carolyn L Berenato, "A Historical Analysis of the Influence of John Dewey's Educational Philosophy on the Barnes Foundation's Art Educational Experience: 1922 to the Present," 2008.
[43] Timothy McCune, "Dewey's Dilemma: Eugenics, Education, and the Art of Living," *The Pluralist* 7, no. 3 (2012): 97-100.
[44] McCune.

ideas are against this popular structure. Dewey also argued for the education of all citizens, and that meant black, Jew, poor, and rich across America. While Dewey did not go so far as to claim that all people were equal, he did argue that all people within the society deserved equal opportunities and education to make their lives and society as a whole better. Dewey's democratic beliefs inspired him to value all people within the democracy because they affected its success.

George Santayana

Santayana is seen as one of the great American philosophers of the Golden Age, along with John Dewey, William James, Charles Sanders Peirce, Josiah Royce, and A. N. Whitehead[45]. He was both a Spanish and American citizen and grew up in a privileged lifestyle in New England with his mother's family. He graduated from Harvard and after working as a professor for some years decided to quit and move to Europe. He had ties abroad and preferred the literary and artistic way of life. He was not just a philosopher, but an essayist and poet. He tried to paint and draw himself but found himself unaccomplished and devoted time instead to write about it.

He has been relatively forgotten in modern times, neither his work in aesthetics, expression, or poetry seems to have withstood the test of time[46]. His supporters argue he is a lyrical literary genius in demonstrating objective beauty and collective ideals. Yet his critics argue that his philosophy was a declaration of his own opinions and an ode to personal expressionism but holds no academic weight in the field[47]. Nonetheless, his renown during his own time influenced many people of his generation.

Santayana completed his doctoral thesis with William James as his advisor at Harvard University[48]. The two men worked together at the university and became friends who kept in contact and influenced each other for many years. They both worked on aesthetics and while there are key differences between their works, there

[45] Paul G. Kuntz, "George Santayana: A Biography Book Review," *The American Historical Review* 94, no. 3 (June 1, 1989): 707–108, https://doi.org/10.2307/1873764.
[46] John McCormick, *George Santayana : A Biography*, A Borzoi Book (New York, NY: Knopf, 1987), https://ubdata.univie.ac.at/AC01888156 Introduction.
[47] Thomas N Munson, "George Santayana: A Biography Book Review," *The New England Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (March 1, 1988): 156+.
[48] "George Santayana | Spanish-American Philosopher," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed April 20, 2021, https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-Santayana.

are also overlaps. It is only natural that Barnes's affinity for William James led him also to read and respect Santayana.

Barnes was particularly interested in the ideas Santayana laid out in his first book: *On the Sense of Beauty* published in 1896. This was a summation of his ideas and teachings on aesthetics, which became his specialty at Harvard. Eventually, Santayana also became fed up with elite universities and so-called academics[49]. Later in his life, he decided museums were pointless as they were frequented by people who cared nothing for their contents. It is impossible to say that Barnes's identical views on these topics were directly caused by Santayana, but we know Barnes avidly read and respected the philosopher, so there is probably some link to their analyses.

William James

William James was born into a famous and literary family. Like many of the philosophers of aesthetics at the time, he originally wanted to be a painter but was discouraged by his father and the fear of not being able to become a great talent in it[50]. Therefore, he went to Harvard and studied a little bit of everything before settling on medicine. James ended up teaching psychology at Harvard, even though he had never studied it himself[51].

He then went on to be one of the founders of pragmatism which revolutionized the field[52]. In pragmatism, things are only true and right if they work in the real world, if they are applied, tested, and proven to be so[53]. It is the complete rejection of ideals or accepting conclusions without testing them. He was applauded for seamlessly weaving together philosophy, psychology, and physiology to understand how the human mind works and why we think what we do[54].

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[49] Harry Levin, "George Santayana: A Biography Book Review," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 48, no. 4 (October 1, 1987): 719.
[50] Wesley Cecil, *William James His Life and Philosophy*, University Lecture Recording, Modern Philosphers (Peninsula College, 2012), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSJnEFEtGJc.
[51] Russell Goodman, "William James," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter 2017 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2017), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/james/.
[52] Wesley Cecil, *William James His Life and Philosophy*.
[53] Goodman, "William James."
[54] Wesley Cecil, *William James His Life and Philosophy*.

James never wrote exclusively on aesthetics, but his philosophy has been applied to the concept[55]. Perhaps this angle of James's work is what interested Barnes, though he never clarifies why he read William James's work throughout his life or why he used his books in the education of his employees and later students. Yet Barnes was quoted saying that Dewey was the best American philosopher since the death of William James[56]. Barnes had a great deal of respect for the man and his work.

These philosophers helped Barnes form his own opinions on aesthetics and education. Even though he continued to struggle to find a scientific method behind the art, he was trying to work off the ideas these scholars had popularized[57]. He thought critically about their works, ideas, and even debated with some of them, forming his opinions on the topic and helping to shape theirs. He was influenced by his experiences and he influenced other's experiences as well.

Barnes Main dealers

Barnes had two main art dealers that helped him get into the impressionist art market when he first started collecting[58]. The first was William Glackens his once classmate and long-time friend who was a talented artist himself. Glackens knew the market and what made for good art. The other was his first European collector, Paul Guillaume, who got Barnes into the Paris art scene and was able to introduce him to the right social circles to meet the budding early modern artists and their other buyers.

William Glackens
(1890-1938) [US]

[55] DAVID A. REMLEY, "WILLIAM JAMES: THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF ART," *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (1963): 39–48.
[56] George E. HEIN, "John Dewey and Albert C. Barnes: A Deep and Mutually Rewarding Friendship," *Dewey Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017): 44–78.
[57] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 223*.
[58] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Pages 390-391.

Glackens was also born in Philadelphia and he met Barnes while the two attended high school together[59]. Barnes and Glackens both had artistic ambitions, were smart and good students, and were also baseball players[60]. Although Barnes's talent in art was nothing compared to his friend, they held mutual respect for one another. After high school, the two men fell out of contact with each other, as Barnes went to UPenn medical school and Glackens studied art[61]. In time Glackens became a relatively well-known and respected American painter who stepped away from the nineteenth century-accepted style of realistic paintings of uplifting or respectable subjects to paint realist social scenes emerging in the early twentieth century. Glackens became known, along with artists Robert Henri and John Sloan as a founder of the Ashcan school of art[62].

Although Glackens's fame and style remained in the American art scene, he also studied and kept up on the French art scene. When Barnes decided to rediscover his passion for art around 1910, he reached back out to his old high school friend. Glackens encouraged Barnes to collect French early modern and post-impressionist art, favoring it over the work of most of his American counterparts. Barnes took Glackens's advice and sent Glackens to Paris with $20,000 to find and buy the art Glackens deemed suitable[63]. It was Glackens who started Barnes' collecting of French art, but who also purchased the first 33 works of his collection[64]. Barnes never let anyone else buy art for him after this, thinking himself the most capable and intelligent buyer, but he remained open and receptive of Glackens's opinions, recommendations, and the artists Glackens had started him on.

Barnes kept Glackens as his main dealer, advisor, and influence from 1912-1922[65]. During the war years, Glackens steered Barnes towards American modernists and artists in the Ashen school like himself. Then once the war ended, they returned their focus on French modernists. Although Barnes later traded

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[59] Mary Ann Meyers, "Albert C. Barnes: Chemist, Entrepreneur, Philanthropist," *Chemical Heritage* 25 (2007) Page 7.
[60] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 5.
[61] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture*. Page 11.
[62] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector," *Essays of an Information Scientist* 5 (February 1, 1982): Page 390.
[63] Colin B. Bailey, "The Origins of the Barnes Collection, 1912—15." Page 534.
[64] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 6.
[65] The Barnes Foundation. Page 6.

Glackens for Paul Guillaume as a dealer, it was an amicable change[66]. Glackens and Barnes remained friends, correspondents, and aids to one another until Glackens died in 1938.

Paul Guillaume
(1891-1934) [Fr]

Paul Guillaume is remembered as being one of the most important art dealers during the interwar years, especially in his ability to handle and sell to American buyers[67]. Guillaume was one of the first French dealers to promote and sell African Art in Paris. He opened his first gallery early in 1914 on 6 rue de Miromesnil but spent much of his time in Montmartre like many others in Paris's art scene[68]. Guillaume introduced African Sculpture to mass audiences by holding notable exhibitions in 1917 and 1919. As the art became more popular the dealer prospered, allowing him to open a bigger gallery in 1921 on 59 rue La Boétie.

Guillaume was not just a dealer though; he was also interested in art as an academic topic[69]. He published works in art journals and wrote countless reviews on African style and sculpture from 1918-1935. He even worked with other artists, collectors, and dealers in the Paris social scene to develop and further his ideas on art and aesthetics[70]. This included working with Albert Barnes, his most important client. His ties to the Paris social scene also led him towards French early modern painting, which was the most popular type of art to collect in the circle.

He believed that African sculptures were works of "high art" and should be respected and allowed in museums[71]. Those who disagreed with him, he was quick to label as snobs or uncultured. He wrote scathing reviews of his critics, but usually

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[66] Christel H. Force, ed., *Pioneers of the Global Art Market: Paris-Based Dealer Networks, 1850-1950*, Contextualizing Art Markets (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020) Page 92.
[67] John Warne Monroe, "3. THE WINGS OF SNOBBERY: Paul Guillaume and the Launch of Art Nègre, 1911–29," in *Metropolitan Fetish* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 85–130, https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501736360-005 Page 86.
[68] Christel H. Force, ed., *Pioneers of the Global Art Market: Paris-Based Dealer Networks, 1850-1950*, Contextualizing Art Markets (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020) Page 92.
[69] Monroe, "3. THE WINGS OF SNOBBERY: Paul Guillaume and the Launch of Art Nègre, 1911–29." Page 86.
[70] Force, *Pioneers of the Global Art Market Page 92*.
[71] John Warne Monroe, "3. THE WINGS OF SNOBBERY: Paul Guillaume and the Launch of Art Nègre, 1911–29," in *Metropolitan Fetish* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 85–130, https://doi.org/10.7591/9781501736360-005 Pages 86-87.

only under pseudonyms. In this way, his quick-to-fight and defend his beliefs personality fit nicely to that of Barnes who shared those traits.

Barnes used Paul Guillaume as his main dealer starting in 1923 after having been introduced to him through Glackens and the Steins early on in Guillaume's career around 1913[72]. Guillaume influenced the work Barnes bought and sought, sometimes Guillaume would be the one to suggest an artist and Barnes agreed to purchase his suggestion[73]. Other times, it was more of a chance encounter, for instance in the case of Soutine, which Barnes discovered and then sent Guillaume to collect more art from. Barnes purchased most of what Guillaume managed to find. He made up 75% of Guillaumes's sales and the notoriety around Barnes, and Guillaume as his dealer encouraged the rest of the dealer's business[74]. Barnes knew Guillaume relied on him, and because they needed each other they were able to work together with mutual success for some time.

Barnes and Guillaume had become so close by 1923 that Barnes even named him Foreign Secretary of the Barnes Foundation, which only cemented what was already the case, that Guillaume had become Barnes's main dealer[75]. Although it also gave Guillaume a role in the Foundation and a reason to visit Merrion, Pa often. He gave multiple speeches at the Foundation between the years 1923-1926 and even had a role in shaping the Foundation's displays[76].

By 1926 Barnes and Guillaume started to face problems in their relationship. Barnes, always difficult to work with and short on trust for business partners, started to believe that Guillaume was no longer the best dealer for him. Barnes worried that Guillaume was too busy with other clients, African art, and his own collection to cater effectively to Barnes's interests[77]. In 1927 Barnes, fed up with Guillaume and viewing their partnership as already over, bought a painting from another dealer in Paris. Guillaume refused to let the sale go and harassed the other dealer for his part of the commission as Barnes's main dealer. Barnes visited Guillaume to settle the

[72] Christel H. Force, ed., *Pioneers of the Global Art Market: Paris-Based Dealer Networks, 1850-1950*, Contextualizing Art Markets (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020) Pages 92-93.
[73] Meisler, *Shocking Paris. Page 49*.
[74] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography, Page 19*.
[75] Monroe, "3. THE WINGS OF SNOBBERY: Paul Guillaume and the Launch of Art Nègre, 1911–29." Page 93.
[76] Force, *Pioneers of the Global Art Market. Page 93*.
[77] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography, 137*.

issue and the encounter ended in a major fight. From 1927-1932 Barnes continued to circumvent Guillaume, using other dealers and purchasing work on his own. By 1932 at the time of Guillaume's death, Barnes had ended all communication and work with him[78].

[78] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 11.

Chapter 2: The Times of Barnes

1914-1929:

Philadelphia in World War One

Philadelphia in 1914 was the 3rd largest U.S. city with over 1.5 million residents[79]. The city experienced major changes at the beginning of the 20th century from demographics, industry, and culture. Between 1901-1915 the city's population exploded. Most new arrivals were eastern and Southern European immigrants, but there were significant increases in black immigration to the city from the southern states. These new immigrants caused some social unrest in the city by changing the social and cultural makeup[80]. The city had segregated jobs, housing, and schools and this would not change for many years despite the influx of immigration, if anything it made the city more race-conscious. The Philadelphia school system would not desegregate until 1964[81]. Many of the immigrants, European and Black alike, experienced epidemics during the war years, something that was not new to either the city or the poor. But in 1916 an infantile paralysis joined the normal plagues of typhoid and cholera forcing the city to take action against its rats, dirt, and smog[82]. Between 1900 and 1918 industry developed rapidly within the city, making it a major producer of not only fabrics, as it had been for some time, but also shipbuilding, technological products, and consumer goods[83]. The city became the "workshop of the world" before it entered the war effort[84].

At first, the city of Philadelphia like the rest of America saw the outbreak of World War One as a European affair that they did not need or want to be part of[85]. However, already in 1915, the people were starting to see that the US may need to eventually aid in the war effort. Training camps such as the Philadelphia Military

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[79] Peter John Williams, *Philadelphia: The World War l Years*, Images of America (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2013).
[80] Jacob Downs, "World War I," Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, 2014, https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/world-war-i/.
[81] Williams, *Philadelphia*.
[82] Williams.
[83] Michael E Parrish, *Anxious Decades: America in Prosperity and Depression, 1920-1941* (W.W Norton & Company, 1994), https://www.overdrive.com/search?q=CC1E24B9-BC62-44F2-A073-7769BD01E495.
[84] Walter Licht, "Workshop of the World," Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, 1992, https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/workshop-of-the-world/.
[85] Jacob Downs, "World War I."

Training Corps were organized and trained over 40,000 men in preparedness for the war's arrival[86]. The city's residents started holding major rallies at City Hall's main square in support of the president and the U.S. joining the war effort in March 1917 and celebrated when war was declared on April 6th, 1917. Men, women, and children joined the war effort, from all classes and demographic backgrounds. The city became one of the biggest hubs for war manufacturing, almost all the prior industries took on a war-focused role. Military arsenals were set up around and outside the city and City Hall was made into a military barracks. For a whole year, the city became extra patriotic, rationed food, bought government bonds, produced more goods than ever, and even used the public greenery spaces as 'war gardens' to push the war effort forward[87].

Barnes During the War

Albert Barnes started turning towards his fascination with art in 1911 and started collecting by 1912[88]. His Friend Glackens returned from Europe in 1912 with 33 works for Barnes. Barnes was so impressed and excited, that he went to France himself two more times later that same year. He brought the works home and decorated the walls of his home with them and the walls of his office at his factory. In 1913, Barnes and Leo Stein became friends after Barnes visited Paris again in May 1913. Leo Stein became Barnes's first teacher and mentor about art and his first discussant partner over his ideas on aesthetics.

By late 1914, Barnes was 42 years old, a millionaire, and interested in planning his art collection and Foundation, not with war or European politics[89]. Barnes donated money to causes promoting America's remaining out of the war in the early years, believing like most Americans at the time that going to war in Europe did not aid US interest. Still, once the US did go to war, Barnes's factory produced and supplied Argyrol to the government for medical use and like any good patriot, Barnes wanted America to win.

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[86] Williams, *Philadelphia*.
[87] Williams.
[88] Colin B. Bailey, "The Origins of the Barnes Collection, 1912—15."
[89] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 59-60.

During wartime, it was no longer safe for Americans to travel to Paris, and Barnes's trips ended until an armistice was declared[90]. Unable to go abroad Barnes turned to his own education. He hired Laurence Buermeyer as his personal tutor in art and philosophy[91]. Barnes was quite sedentary building his Foundation, participating in Philadelphia high society life, and studying with his tutor during the 1915-1917 years. At this point, he still had his factory to run and he still taught his nine employees two out of eight hours per day[92]. Outside of education, work, and teaching his employees Barnes also participated in Philadelphia society. This included hunting and horseback riding at local prestigious clubs for Philadelphia's elite.

Barnes' living in the suburbs of Philadelphia and avoiding the dirty city as much as possible would have also avoided much of the social unrest and industrial hardships of its residents. In 1917, Buermeyer encouraged Barnes to attend Dewey's class at Colombia University in New York. Traveling by train to New York to attend classes, led Barnes further into New York City's cultural sphere and social circles. Soon, Barnes and Dewey became inseparable lifelong friends and co-workers in the field of aesthetics. Barnes continued to collect during these years, buying art in New York city from public and private actions[93]. He spent all of 1915 thinking about the Havemeyer collection after seeing it with his wife and Glackens. Barnes was very impressed with the collection and later purchased some of the works from its auction. He also worked on his own works, writing two articles in 1915, "How to Judge a Painting" and "Cubism: Requiescat in Pace." He also started writing and working on his first and only major book, *The Art in Painting* which was published in 1925[94].

[90] John Lukacs, *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), http://www.myilibrary.com?id=1019350 Pages 207-208.
[91] Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes."
[92] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life" (The Barnes Foundation Archives, June 14, 2017), The Barnes Foundation Archives, https://s3.amazonaws.com/barnes-images-p-e1c3c83bd163b8df/assets/ABC_Pkwy.pdf. Page 6.
[93] Colin B. Bailey, "The Origins of the Barnes Collection, 1912—15."
[94] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 218*.

Spanish Influenza:

Immediately following the end of the war in late 1918 the city was hit by one of the worst epidemics in its history. Soldiers returning from Europe through the Philadelphia shipyards were greeted with huge crowds and parades by the city's residents[95]. Within days Spanish influenza quickly spread around the city and filled the hospitals[96]. The epidemic ended up killing around 12,000 in the city and affecting over 35,000 in only four weeks[97]. After about six months, there was a total of over 16,000 deaths and half a million cases within the city limits[98]. The city's social system and social relations broke down in a panic. Hospitals were overwhelmed and there was almost no cure for the illness known. Philadelphia had more deaths than any other city in the U.S.[99] The city that had been fully mobilized for the war effort, collapsed under the weight of this new disease. The city was left scared, divided, and also desperate to get back to work.

End to War and Birth of Global Governance

After World War One, there was a progressive push for greater multilateral institutions and a goal of establishing a League of Nations to discuss issues in the future without the need for war as well as a push to make war illegal[100]. An international body, that would discourage aggressors due to its ability to quickly and efficiently act against them. This would replace complicated, secret, or worthless bilateral treaties of defense that had been the system in Europe for the last century and helped spur on this world war. President Wilson was also interested in the League because it epitomized a new world order, it gave America the head seat at the table after coming out on top economically and politically in the war[101]. The US ended up not joining the league after the motion was not ratified by Congress, but

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[95] Mira Shetty, "Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic," University Archives and Records Center, 2018, https://archives.upenn.edu/exhibits/penn-history/flu.
[96] Williams, *Philadelphia*.
[97] Alumni Council, "Philadelphia 1918: The Flu Pandemic Hits Home," Thomas Jefferson University Press, August 11, 2020, https://www.jefferson.edu/alumni/connect/alumni-bulletin/summer-2020/the-flu-pandemic-hits-home.html.
[98] Mira Shetty, "Penn and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic."
[99] Alumni Council, "Philadelphia 1918: The Flu Pandemic Hits Home."
[100] Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920's*, vol. 12 (John Wiley & Sons, 1997) Pages 53-60.
[101] J. M. Roberts, *The Penguin History of the Twentieth Century: The History of the World, 1901 to the Present* (London: Penguin, 2000).

the ideas persisted. This was the birth of America seeing itself and acting like a superpower.

Prohibition

In 1920 the US introduced national prohibition, the restricted sale of all alcoholic beverages and, the illegality of drinking in public under the Volstead Act which became the 18th Amendment[102]. Many states had already ratified prohibition as early as 1917, during the first world war, as alcoholism slowed the skill and efficiency of industrial production[103]. Philadelphia was the third-largest city at the time, after New York and Chicago, and was as affected by the reverberations of bootlegging as the other cities[104]. Yet, no infamous bootleggers or crime stories come to mind when you think of prohibition in Philadelphia. The difference is that the city never found the spotlight. Philadelphia was accused of being "mob"-ruled before prohibition, and so after the law was instated, nothing changed. Philadelphian politics, from the infamous city's Republican Party, was not forced into over-hall until the Great Depression.

Prohibition hit Philadelphia extra hard as it was a major beer brewing center. In 1916 the city had as many as 90 breweries and the largest, the Continental Brewery produced up to 80,000 barrels a day[105]. These breweries were a major source of industry and jobs for residents as well as playing a major role in the city's culture. The 18th amendment shut them all down and most of them were not able to come back 13 years later when the law was finally repealed in December 1933.

The law stated that all alcohol still produced for industrial purposes or non-consumption reason, was allowed, but only if it was denatured (poisoned) and therefore would discourage theft or repurposing of the product[106]. Philadelphia continued to have alcohol on the market for the right price, like all the cities. The wealthy were able to find a drink when they needed it, but it was harder for the

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[102] Mark H Haller, "Philadelphia Bootlegging and the Report of the Special August Grand Jury," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1985, 215–32.
[103] Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920's*, vol. 12 (John Wiley & Sons, 1997) Page 38.
[104] Haller, "Philadelphia Bootlegging and the Report of the Special August Grand Jury."
[105] Peter John Williams, *Philadelphia: The World War l Years*, Images of America (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2013) Page 55.
[106] Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (Simon and Schuster, 2010).

common man. Most of the smuggled alcohol in Philadelphia came from alcohol that was diverted from the chemical industry sector that was located in Delaware, not too far away[107]. The alcohol then had to be undenatured and was sold easily on Market Street like anything else in Philadelphia.

1929-1941:

The Great Depression in Philadelphia

After the first world war, Europe was gravely damaged and needed money to rebuild itself[108]. The American's whose economy had been booming from the war effort became the main lender to the European ally nations. However, France and the UK also relied on the war reparations they had placed on Germany. Everyone was spending more money than they had. Europe to rebuild, Germany paying money out while not having enough to support themselves, and even the Americans who were producing more than they could sell and buying more consumer products than they could support[109]. This overspending by everyone was unsustainable. The stock market first showed mass fear and unloading from investors on October 24, 1929, and only a week later on the 29th crashed completely[110]. The Great Depression started and lasted until the new war production began in 1941.

Philadelphia was a major industrial city[111]. It specialized in textile production and during the 1920s started engaging in newer technologies such as radio and automobile production[112]. Although many in Philadelphia had prospered during the 1920s, those outside the city did not. Both coal workers and farmers suffered during the 1920s as coal was less popular and lost demand as natural gas started to be used to heat homes. Miner strikes were handled with severe reproach and led to lower wages and more instability in job security. Farmers suffered as the European market faced high tariffs and they were unable to purchase produce at

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[107] Okrent.
[108] Roberts, *The Penguin History of the Twentieth Century*. Page 266
[109] Roberts. Page 388.
[110] Parrish, *Anxious Decades*. Page 45.
[111] Williams, *Philadelphia*. Page 19.
[112] Roger D. Simon, "Philadelphia and the Great Depression, 1929-1941 | Exhibits.Hsp.Org," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, accessed April 22, 2021, http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/bnktr/essay/philadelphia-and-great-depression-1929-1941.

prior levels or prices, and domestic competition was higher than ever deflating the price of crops at home[113].

However, by the 1930s the suffering shifted into the city. In 1932, 23.5% of the city's workforce was unemployed[114]. The black population in Philadelphia was growing astronomically since 1890 and continued to do so until the Depression[115]. Blacks were very limited in which jobs they could hold and most were effectively kept out of the labor force before 1930. Still, the black residents of the city, who did work, often were restricted to positions as cleaners, servants, maids, and childcare workers, and they were the first to lose their jobs in the crisis. Many in the city, after losing their jobs, lost their homes as loans were called in from failing banks and people were unable to pay[116]. The city cut its spending and left its infrastructure unattended hoping to ride out the hard times, but the people having nowhere else to turn demanded welfare from their city. An organized labor movement erupted from the people would fundamentally change the politics of the city thereafter.

Small rallies started to take place outside of city hall in February of 1930[117]. By the next month, the rallies doubled in size. The protests grew until finally at the end of the year Mayor Harry Mackey decided to take charge and approved action for assistance to the cities people in need. Mackey created a Committee on Unemployment and placed a local banker as the head of the committee, Horatio Gates Lloyd. Lloyd effectively advertised the campaign as a collective relief for getting people back on their own two feet, rather than simply a hand-out, which led to much private donation and charity[118]. His relief organization prospered for two years, even becoming the envy of other major American systems. Yet by the summer of 1932, the money ran out and the economic situation looked too grim for anyone to privately volunteer funds any longer. The organization was disbanded for a wider-range regional relief board, but that too was unable to raise funds.

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[113] Parrish, *Anxious Decades*. Page 85.
[114] Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, "The Great Depression | PHMC > Our Documentary Heritage," The Great Depression - 1934, accessed April 22, 2021, http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/documents/1865-1945/great-depression.html.
[115] Charles Pete Banner-Haley, "The Philadelphia Tribune and the Persistence of Black Republicanism during the Great Depression," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 65, no. 2 (1998): 190–202.
[116] Roger D. Simon, "Philadelphia and the Great Depression, 1929-1941 | Exhibits.Hsp.Org."
[117] Roger D. Simon.
[118] Banner-Haley, "The Philadelphia Tribune and the Persistence of Black Republicanism during the Great Depression."

People continued to fight for social justice and unionized themselves into collectives, yet there was little relief for anyone in the city until March 1933 after President Franklin D. Roosevelt created The New Deal which supplied the regional relief board with desperately needed funds. By 1935, the relief board was helping 105,000 Philadelphian families[119].

While most Philadelphians suffered during these years, they also drew greater social divisions[120]. The middle class unionized against the corrupt republican mob-like syndicate that had run the city for generations ending its rule and creating a more liberal city politic[121]. Yet at the same time, race relations worsened. White workers excluded blacks from not only their unions, their protests, their relief efforts, but also their communities[122]. Blacks became more and more restricted in where they could live and work and many whites became outright hostile to "colored competition". Riots broke out when it was announced that New Deal relief housing would offer rental options to non-white families, so much so that the projects were never realized.

During this time, Albert Barnes had just given up his factory to Zonite Products Corporation in July 1929, before the stock market crash, and cashed out of the business entirely, ensuring that the crash would not affect his wealth[123]. He invested almost all of his wealth into government bonds, art, and his properties, avoiding shocks and losses. He was incredibly lucky and wise to have decided to retire when he did. Although his factory had employed black workers while he was involved there is little to be found about such statistics after his departure. However, the company did well and lasted through the depression era, becoming famous for their medical products, especially for their promotion of birth control and feminine hygiene products[124]. Barnes too had set up retirement funds for his employees and their families after selling the company, to ensure their security[125].

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[119] Roger D. Simon, "Philadelphia and the Great Depression, 1929-1941 | Exhibits.Hsp.Org."
[120] Parrish, *Anxious Decades*.
[121] Banner-Haley, "The Philadelphia Tribune and the Persistence of Black Republicanism during the Great Depression."
[122] James Wolfinger, *Philadelphia Divided: Race & Politics in the City of Brotherly Love* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5149/9780807878101_Wolfinger.
[123] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art."
[124] Andrea Tone, "Contraceptive Consumers: Gender and the Political Economy of Birth Control in the 1930s," *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 3 (1996): 485–506.
[125] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography, Page 46*.

Although he had some problems with the man himself, Barnes supported Roosevelt's New Deal policy and agreed it was needed to help the American people survive the Depression[126]. Even though he made his fortune from the Capitalist system, he argued a socialist system based on democratic principles that still allowed private business was the best economic future. His strongest views, however, were against communism. Barnes thought communism was both the end of democracy and the end of prosperity, that it created a new form of tyranny, perhaps worse than any other form.

Barnes dedicated the 1930s to building his collection and writing his own publications on aesthetics working with John Dewey and de Mazia. Dewey published his own work called *Art as Experience* in 1934[127]. Barnes really started seeing his collection as something too perfect, he started buying works from his favorite artists from decades or styles he did not already own. He wanted to ensure he encompassed the full scale of their work and to have pieces demonstrating the artist's development. So, Barnes bought more Matisses, Cézannes, and Reniors, between 1930-1935[128]. This included some of the current gems of his collection today, *Young Man with a Skull*. Still, Barnes did not buy in the bulk quantities he had during the 1920s. He was more selective about which works he selected. Matisse wrote to Etta Cone to say she was now his main collector at the moment and he thanked her[129]. The Foundation held classes and tried to attract students during the decade, despite the economic crisis[130]. In fact, the Foundation and Barnes were prospering in the 1930s.

[126] Henry Hart, Page 70.
[127] Neil L. Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, volume 266 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2012) Page 100.
[128] Neil L. Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, volume 266 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2012) Page 60.
[129] Mary Gabriel, *The Art of Acquiring: A Portrait of Etta and Claribel Cone* (Bancroft Press, 2002). Page 288.
[130] Lukacs, *Philadelphia*. Page 213.

The Art Market (Paris-America)

The Art Market Opens to a New Market

There is an overall consensus from scholars that the art market was centered in Paris from 1860-1940. However, even within those years, there was a major shift as the art market went from Paris based and operated affair, to an ever more multinational system. France itself was the cause in some ways, as it faced political instability, economic hardships, and eventually two devastating world wars. All of which caused the French Art Market to adapt and find a more stable and prosperous pool of buyers, outside of the country.

That buying pool happened to be American due to the fact that America during these same years, although facing a civil war, great depression, and entry into the world wars, also had great boom periods. America industrialized quickly during the 1800-mid 1900s causing major cities such as New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia to profit. The major industrialists that headed this growth became millionaires, with enough wealth not only to get them through the rest of the country's financial difficulties but to spend their money outside the US on things like Art. While France was oscillating between hard times and struggling to support cultural pursuits, the Americans were rising to higher ranks. In other words, the stage was set for the Art Market to move towards first America and eventually the rest of the world.

What caused Americans, those with enough money available to buy early modern French art over anything else, was the Armory Show, which took place on February 17th, 1913 in New York and was the first display of modern French art in the US that received worldwide attention. Also, unlike most American's who had bought European Art before, these Americans were not household names like Vanderbilt or Frick, they were immensely wealthy, but not on the same scale. Barnes, the Cone Sisters, and the Steins would not have been able to easily enter the Salon system, the dealer-critic system was much more democratic. The early modern art dealers did not care who you were or how you made your money, as long as you had money. The early modern paintings also went for much less than the

average Italian or Dutch Renaissance work that dominated the Salon market. Barnes could collect many more modernist paintings than he could have collected classics. The Americans could treat collecting modernists as a hobby. They may not have had expert opinions directing their purchases, nor artists of renown to trust, they mainly chose to buy simply what they themselves liked. This new way of buying was not nearly as risky at such a lower cost. The shift in the system and the huge supply of modernist art, while having a low demand, gave it a price that early American collectors could not turn down.

In fact, most scholars agree that more than the art itself, or even an interest in art, it was the Expositions' notoriety that caused Americans to get excited about Art. The show received glaring reviews that condemned the art as demented works of unknown madmen. Women's circles went in groups to see the horrors displayed in the show[131]. It was the talk of not only New York but soon of the whole country. Popular art critics and famous personalities all went to see the show and give their opinions. The artists themselves visited New York and interacted with some of America's elite that were soon to become some of their biggest patrons and collectors[132].

Barnes himself went to the show and noted it as a cause for his support of such art[133]. He was impressed with the works he saw and ashamed of his countrymen and fellow art lovers who could not look beyond their close-minded views to see its worth. For Barnes, the show was more a cause to arms against the establishment and art circles in his own country than solely an introduction to a new hobby since he had already started buying paintings in 1912. Barnes did buy many more "outrageous" pictures after 1913.

The Shift from Salons to Dealers & Artists' Studios

Salons were not galleries to sell art so much as places to preserve and exhibit the art that was promoted in the art schools of the time. Salons were happy to

[131] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 54.
[132] Dan Franck, *Bohemian Paris Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art* (Grove Atlantic, 2018), https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:101:1-20180921003927605040 87, Page 234.
[133] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 53.

display the best portraits from accepted mainstream artists. In a sense, the salon was a way to keep art within confined boundaries, boundaries set by an artistic elite. Salons rejected artists and works who had not come out of the pipeline system, the Beaux-Arts school in Paris, or similar institutions elsewhere. Around 1850, when dealers like Paul Durand-Ruel and Georges Petit started opening their own studios, suddenly there was another way to sell art.

Artists who were not being admitted to the salons made arrangements with these private dealers that would allow them to get their works on the market. Of course, few respectable buyers were interested in salon-excluded, unheard-of works at first. But the dealers found ways around this through their own self-interest and marketing skills. Dealers were motivated by the need to sell art to earn a living and that forced them to be creative. The dealers not only put on their own shows, opened their own studios, and worked directly with various artists to get cheap supplies, but they set up a social network[134].

Dealers organized both among themselves, forming in some cases total monopolies on certain artists, but also with critics, who helped to bring prominence to young artists. Harrison and Cynthia White coin this as the "dealer-critic system" contrasted to the salon system which they called the "academic system"[135]. They argued in their groundbreaking research in 1965, that the academic system collapsed already by the 1870s due to the dealer-critic system. Though further research concludes that until the American market fully developed after 1913's Armory Show, the academic system held on to its importance in the overall Paris art market[136]. Still, the White classification of the shift from academic salon to dealer control of the art market is most fitting.

The dealers' social networks were built out of necessity. The dealers who took on early modern artworks first were from various backgrounds. Vollard had a legal background with little experience in art acquisition or painting other than a fond interest in the topic[137]. Guillaume also started with no experience. Durand-Ruel

[134] Christel H. Force, ed., *Pioneers of the Global Art Market: Paris-Based Dealer Networks, 1850-1950*, Contextualizing Art Markets (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), Page 1.
[135] Lea Saint-Raymond, "Revisiting Harrison and Cynthia White's Academic vs. Dealer-Critic System," *Arts MDPI* 8, no. 96 (July 31, 2019): 17, https://doi.org/10.3390.
[136] Franck, *Bohemian Paris Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art, Page 234*.
[137] Christel H. Force, ed., *Pioneers of the Global Art Market: Paris-Based Dealer Networks, 1850-1950*, Contextualizing Art Markets (New York: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), Page 11.

and Paul Rosenberg both came from art dealing families but decided to break away with tradition and adapt to the changing market. These dealers, in a new and risky field being together not only in Paris but in the district of Montmartre, along with the artists themselves, had the need to work together to succeed. Dealers made agreements with certain artists to become their main dealers enabling them to have a monopoly on one artist. Vollard would get a commission on Cézanne's sold by another local Paris dealer. Some likened the Paris art dealers of 1900-1940 as quasi-cartel[138]. Legal protection for artists and fair competition in the art market was not addressed until after 1940, which made the early 20th century the golden age for private art dealers.

Therefore, to understand the early modern artists and the development of the art market, one needs to study the dealer-artist relationship. The Impressionists did not have Academia to promote or sell their work, their livelihood and success were due to their own skill and connection to the right dealers. The art market was becoming a commercial institution that required knowledge of the business and connections to survive. Paul Durand-Ruel was one of the first to see the potential in the Impressionists and to create a market for them[139]. It was the dealers who set up private shows and galleries worked with the critics and press and courted collectors and potential buyers. In effect, Cézanne, Renoir, Picasso, and Matisse would not have risen to the heights and fame they now hold, had it not been for their personal dealers and the dealer system in general.

The American buyers and modernist painters in Paris, though some did attend the School of Beaux-Arts or other art schools for some time, never adapted to the school system and could not as the academic system refused to allow these new forms and styles of painting. The artists needed someone willing to buy and sell their works, and the dealers were the only ones willing to do that. The system changed because there was a supply of modern art, influenced by the times. Industrialization, political unrest, wars, and depression spurred artists to stop competing with ever-improving cameras that captured images as they were and rather decided to paint what they were feeling amongst this chaos.

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[138] Force, Page 14.
[139] Michael C. FitzGerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), Page 7.

The Shift from Classic to Modern Art Style

Modernist art was born in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Paris France, though not all of its founding artists held French Nationality. France had come to be the center of the art world as Italy and the Netherlands had before[140]. In some ways, modernist art was built off of the past art worlds of the South and North of the continent. The old traditions had simply found new ground and inspiration.

France during this time was chaotic but free. Free in the sense that people could set aside time and energy to focus on something like painting and still survive, albeit not very comfortably. It was also free in the sense that one could paint and think as they pleased. The situation was different in America which was in a new period of revived Puritanism and Christian ethics[141]. The Paris salons and the School of Beaux-Arts which ran the artists' world in Paris would not accept outliers, but the city itself would. Paris held patrons, dealers, philosophers, and academics that were all considering a changing world and abandoning old customs. Outliers from all sects found cheap rent, companionship, business opportunities, and financial survival in Montmartre, then an undeveloped outskirts district of the capital city.

In 1826 Nicéphore Niépce produced the first permanent photograph and photography continued to improve from then on slowly, culminating in George Eastman's invention of the camera in 1888[142]. As photographs became more common, there was less need for portrait painters. But this new technology shook all artists' view of what art was and how it should be. The Classic Style or Academic System supported realism and for years had aimed to master the art of replicating the real world perfectly in painting. Suddenly, there was a camera that could do this better or equal to the most talented artists.

It was both in an effort to survive and ensure their profession, as well as a philosophical, and emotional reaction against such technological realism that pushed early modernists. The first early modernists were impressionist, this meant they

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[140] Jed Perl, *Paris Without End: On French Art Since World War I.* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2014), http://qut.eblib.com.au/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=1657407, Page 28.
[141] Harvey A. Levenstein, *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), Page 4.
[142] "History of Photography | American Experience | PBS," accessed May 12, 2021, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/eastman-history-photography/.

sought to demonstrate the world not as they saw it with their eyes, but how they felt and experienced what they were seeing. Impressionists focused on light, reflection, and movement while maintaining a realistic subject. Post-impressionists went further and were more willing to deviate from realist tradition. They tried to include emotion into the everyday sights around them. These were things that the camera could not compete with, it was a human contribution that was unique to the painting.

Major Modern Artists

Barnes prioritized four artists above the others in his collection, due to their higher aesthetic quality and rising notoriety[143]. These artists were Henry Matisse, Paul Cézanne, Pablo Picasso, and Chaim Soutine. Both Matisse and Picasso took inspiration from Cézanne and added their own touch to the growing field of post-impressionist and early modern art[144]. Soutine was an outlier who was one of the first to touch on expressionism. Before 1914 the modernist artists struggled to sell their work or gain notoriety. Cézanne only started to pave the way for his compatriots at the end of his life and became most famous after his death. Picasso, Matisse, and Soutine's careers took off after the first world war as the American market soared and French dealers started to adapt to the market. These artists went from financially struggling dependents to cultural marvels by 1940[145]. All four of the artists are masters of their time and still renowned today for their pioneering, daring, and brilliant works of art.

Henri Matisse

Matisse was a post-Impressionist painter, befitting his time painting mainly from 1900-1950. Within this style, he was also heavily associated with Fauvism, which prioritized strong vibrant colors that dominated the canvas. Fifty-nine works by Matisse reside at the Barnes Foundation today[146].

[143] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes*.
[144] Franck, *Bohemian Paris Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art*. Page 25.
[145] Franck, Page xiii.
[146] PA 19130215 278 7000 Get Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation," Barnes Foundation, accessed February 3, 2021, https://www.barnesfoundation.org/about.

Matisse was born in Le Cateau-Cambresis in 1869, a dreary textile town in northern France close to Belgium[147]. He helped in the family shop growing up, but due to being sickly a lot, his family decided he would study law rather than take over the family business. Matisse had little interest in law or staying in his hometown, but saw no way out of it. It was not until 1889 when Matisse was 20 years old and in bed after another illness that his mother gave him a box of paints that the artist found his passion. Matisse soon decided to move to Paris, the art capital, and with his parents' blessing made it his new home. He tried to attend the École des Beaux-Arts, as all aspiring artists did, but was denied.

Luckily, Matisse was taken under the wing of Gustave Moreau who had taught at the École and thrown into the new avant-guard artist circle building up in Paris[148]. He studied with other post-impressionist artists learning and working alongside his compatriots. He finally started having his work shown in 1901. Still, the Parisian society refused to accept his work. He famously painted a portrait of his wife in green hues, which was ridiculed in the galleries and around town[149]. Matisse even found women who had been paid to show up at his home with their faces painted green, asking to be his next model. Society could not support his refusal to stick to realistic colors and depictions. Yet, in 1904 Matisse had his first one-man-expo under Vollard's gallery[150]. By 1906 he had met Picasso and the Steins. He was in the social circle of the major American collectors[151].

In 1930, Barnes was the second largest collector of Matisse's work, second only to a wealthy Russian collector, and asked Matisse to come to the US to provide his Foundation a mural[152]. By this time Matisse was an old man and a very

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[147] Peter Schjeldahl, "The Matisse We Never Knew," The New Yorker, accessed April 12, 2021, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2005/08/29/art-as-life.
[148] Hugo Macgregor, *BBC's Becoming Matisse*, Video, Documentary (Brook Lapping Productions, 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UwGt_Yugp0w.
[149] Hilary Spurling and Henri Matisse, *Matisse the Master: A Life of Henri Matisse: The Conquest of Colour, 1909-1954* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), Page 56-57.
[150] Ambroise Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer.* (Dover Publications, 2012), http://www.myilibrary.com?id=566777. Ch. 9.
[151] Arthur Lubow, "An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein | Arts & Culture | Smithsonian Magazine," Smithsonian Magazine, accessed April 8, 2021, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/an-eye-for-genius-the-collections-of-gertrude-and-leo-stein-6210565/.
[152] Hilary Spurling and Henri Matisse, *Matisse the Master: A Life of Henri Matisse: The Conquest of Colour, 1909-1954* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007) Ch. 9.

renowned artist. His work was now sought after by the art world in general and museums were keen to have his pieces in their collection.

Paul Cézanne

Cézanne was a post-Impressionist painter although he is sometimes also labeled an Impressionist painter in some of his work. He painted mainly from 1865-1905, creating many works, 69 of which reside at the Barnes Foundation[153]. He is also famous as a precursor to cubism, which looks at a subject or object from various perspectives in the same picture.

Paul Cézanne was born in 1839 to a bourgeois French family[154]. He was intelligent from a young age and did well in school, but acted out perhaps out of boredom. At 13 he was already drawing and painting portraits of his parents and knew he wanted to paint. Cezanne studied banking, like his father, as well. He took art classes and attended art school at night after work. He was known to favor his painting above all else and to be misunderstood by those outside his family. In 1861 at 22 years old he stopped working at his father's bank and he moved to Paris to study painting.

A few years later he tried to attend but was rejected by, the prestigious École des Beaux-Arts due to his "untasteful" painting style[155]. In 1870 his work was being rejected by all the Parisian art salons and a local paper caricatured him as a walrus in "Salon de Stock" and depicted his work as blindly throwing paint on a canvas. He continued to try to apply to salons through the years, getting ever more disappointed by his constant rejection. Cezanne was able to put a few pieces in art shows over the years, and some of these pieces sold for a good price, but it was a rare occurrence rather than a path to fame or recognition.

It was not until 1895 when Vollard gave Cézanne a one-man show in Paris that Cézanne had any luck at all[156]. Vollard's faith in the artist and total acceptance

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[153] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[154] Alex Danchev, *Cezanne: A Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2013), http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=738130 Ch. 1.
[155] Anna Barskaya and Yevgenia Georgievskaya, *Paul Cézanne 1839–1906* (New York: Parkstone International, 2005), http://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=791295 Pages 25-30.
[156] Maryline Assante et al., *Cezanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avant-Garde* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006).

of his work sprung the artist into the art world at the age of 56. In only a few years Cézanne became one of the favorite artists of Leo Stein, Mrs. Havemeyer, and Albert C. Barnes. Cézanne was to become known as the father of modern art. Matisse and Picasso both claimed to use Cézanne's work as inspiration and to have been encouraged by his ability to break away from tradition and try new techniques[157]. Cézanne may not have had much success in his own lifetime, but his art and style took off in the early modern period, soon he was the model for it all.

Pablo Picasso

Picasso was a post-Impressionist painter of the cubist and surrealist movements. Surrealism aimed to depict the world of the human unconscious and dreams, disconnecting from reality or scientific order. He painted primarily from 1910-1970. The Barnes Foundation holds 46 pieces of Picasso's works[158].

Pablo Picasso was born in 1881 in southern Spain to a middle-class family. His father was an artist and saw his son's talent from infancy[159]. Pablo grew up in Barcelona with the full support and teaching of art from his family. His father even encouraged him to try new artistic styles. When Picasso grew up his father sent him to art school, but he had little left to learn and soon left school to continue painting on his own. However, he was very involved in the local art scene and often went to the café Quatre Gats in Barcelona's version of Paris's Latin Quarter. Picasso set off to Paris like most young aspiring artists in 1901.

In Paris, he studied in the Louvre, lived in Montmartre, and joined the advent-guard society. Unlike the other early modernist artists who struggled for years to be accepted in the art world, Pablo came at the right time and made the right connections quickly. He was only 22 years old in 1901 when the avent-guard was gaining support in Paris and the American collectors were starting to find them. Picasso was also different from his fellow artists because he knew how important a loyal collector could be to an artist's career. Pablo started painting and drawing portraits of the Steins as early as 1905 soon after meeting them and was known to be

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[157] "Paul Cezanne Biography | Life, Paintings, Influence on Art | Paul-Cezanne.Org," accessed April 13, 2021, https://www.paul-cezanne.org/biography.html.
[158] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[159] Timothy Hilton, *Picasso (World of Art)*, Repr, The World of Art (London: Thames & Hudson, 1985) Ch. 1.

very sociable[160]. He developed a close relationship with Gertrude that encouraged her to continue buying his works into his cubist period when most other collectors had abandoned the artist.

Pablo knew how to set himself up for success and knew that in the dealer system an artist had to not just paint well, but market themselves. He was not a fan of the dealer system though. He is quoted as saying that "the dealer is the artist's enemy" and he often saw his dealer as a snake to be kept at bay rather than a friend[161]. Still, when he received a contract with a member of the Rosenberg family he stayed with them even after a fallout with Léonce Rosenberg, a member of the family and his first dealer. Picasso simply switched to Paul Rosenberg as his dealer and this loyalty was reciprocated back towards him when he needed it. The impressionists did not have a choice in the system as the salon system would not accept them and they relied solely on dealers and critics. For Picasso, this was even more difficult because he was not a French citizen nor did he speak the language well. During the first war, Picasso's profits fell by 50% and he had not been making enormous amounts before the war[162]. This financial situation left him with few options but to work within the dealer-critic system. So, he quickly adapted to it, even introducing his dealer Paul Rosenberg to Gertrude Stein and including him in her soirees and painting a portrait, in salon style, of Paul's wife and daughter for the dealer. By the early 1920s, the system started to turn in his favor and his career took off. In 1921 Picasso earned 7,500 francs for 50 canvases, by 1925 he was earning 19,000 francs[163]. While Matisse started off earning about the same as Picasso and his worth eventually grew as well, it was not nearly as rapidly.

Chaim Soutine

Soutine was purely a modern artist, associated with expressionism and the School of Paris. The School of Paris generally encompasses émigré artists of the

[160] Lubow, "An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein | Arts & Culture | Smithsonian Magazine."
[161] FitzGerald, *Making Modernism, Page 3*.
[162] FitzGerald, Page 54.
[163] FitzGerald, Page 156.

Montparnasse district of Paris in the early 20th century. Soutine painted mainly from 1920-1940. Twenty-one of Soutine's works remain in the Barnes Collection[164].

Chaim Soutine was born a Jew from present-day Lithuania in 1893, then a Russian province[165]. He had shown talent and interest in art and drawings since boyhood. His family, however, was poor and he was expected to carry on as his father had done. It was only after a severe beating by a local butcher for breaking the Ten Commandments by sketching the Rabbi, that his parents helped him escape to Minsk to go to art school. A few years later Soutine and his friend from art school decide they needed to be in Paris, the art hub of the world, to be great painters. They had heard of cheap housing for artists at the La Ruche, a collective. Soutine arrived in Paris at 20 years old, with almost no money and no connections. Due to his depressing personality and rude behavior, he was not accepted by many other artists or Parisians.

Soutine was known to paint wildly and sometimes destroyed the canvas in the process. One could see his tormented soul in his works[166]. People referred to him as a wild animal as Soutine did not talk often and rarely groomed or washed himself. He barely ate, had few friends, and appeared mishappen. No one understood Soutine and few non-artists even tried. Soutine would have never been anyone worth noting had it not been for Albert C. Barnes[167]. Soutine painted grotesque and often distorted portraits mainly in reds, yellows, and blacks leading to work that was best described as dark. If anyone criticized his work, he would destroy the painting and refuse to paint again for some time. This moody, inexplainable, rash character would have found it difficult to succeed without a Patron like Dr. Barnes.

Barnes went to Paris in 1923 and happened to see a very unique painting with his dealer Paul Guillaume of a pastry Chef by Soutine[168]. Barnes demanded on the spot in his usual decisive manner that he would buy that painting and that he wanted to both see more works by Soutine and meet the artist. Guillaume arranged this and Barnes went on to buy 54 more of Soutine's works in

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[164] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[165] Stanley Meisler, *Shocking Paris: Soutine, Chagall and the Outsiders of Montparnasse*, First edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) Page 5-10.
[166] Franck, *Bohemian Paris Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art, Page 185*.
[167] Meisler Page 2.
[168] Aleh Lukashevich, *Chaim Soutine: Soif de Couleur*, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNPEXe8EmUY.

Paris, all for a "cheap price" of around 3,000 dollars each. Barnes's rash acquisition of so many paintings from an unknown and stylistically independent (neo-expressionism) artist made all of Paris pay attention. Suddenly everyone was talking about this wealthy American Dr. Barnes and the artist he chose to favor, Soutine. Works by Soutine, which had never really sold prior, suddenly faced huge demand and rising prices. The artist became famous nearly overnight. This demonstrates the power Barnes had on the modern art market around the 1920s.

Still, Soutine strongly disliked Barnes. Barnes may have been the only reason the artist became famous and grew wealthy, but that only left Soutine with a reluctant benediction for the man[169]. As Barnes bought more of Soutine's paintings and Soutine became sought after by other collectors, the artist started to work on his personal hygiene and join a more polite society. However, Soutine hated that he owed Barnes and felt like a puppet in front of him. Soutine always dressed well when Barnes was around. Barnes was 51 years old when Soutine was 20 and Barnes had come to see himself as deserving of respect from his patrons. Soutine eventually stopped the charade and his feelings became clear. However, rather than getting upset, Barnes was perfectly fine with Soutine not liking him. Barnes never stopped appreciating Soutine's works and continued to collect him over the years, even selling off some Soutine's to auctions to help the artist's career.

Major Art dealers of the time

At the beginning of the 20th century, the art market was starting to shift. The famous art dealers of the time such as Georges Petit and Paul Durand-Ruel adapted to the change and handled the sales of European work to the new American clients, but they also had to shift the style of the art they were peddling. The American's wanted modern pieces from hardly known artists who were on the rise, rather than old Italian Masters. The new generation of art dealers such as Ambroise Vollard and Paul Rosenberg understood how best to attract these buyers and this type of artist. They changed the way they sold art, befriended artists and clients, hosted parties, joined the expat-artist social circles, and made their salons into social hubs rather

[169] Meisler, *Shocking Paris Page 51-53*.

than ridged places of business. The Rosenbergs's even followed their customers back to America by the middle of the century.

Georges Petit (1877-1915) and Paul Durand-Ruel (1865-1915)

These two famous French dealers were the inspiration for the rising dealers, while also being part of the changing times at the end of their careers. These dealers saw the appeal of early modern art and where the market was going. They had sold classic pieces for years, all very mainstream, and had some of the best clientele. Their cliental was more international and old-moneyed than the rising elite and had different values. They were so famous and respected, that the new American circle also looked to them for artworks and the older American collectors like Mrs. Havemeyer had built their collections off these dealers. This passed on to the newer generation, as they collected from auction sales. Albert C. Barnes got many of Mrs. Havemeyer's works from an auction.

Ambroise Vollard (1893-1937)

Vollard was a French dealer who became interested in art in university and soon decided that he would make the selling of pictures his life's work[170]. He opened a shabby shop in Paris that was anything but a fine establishment in the sense of the time. Paintings stood against each other on the floor, not having enough room on the walls and only Vollard knew its organization. However, the most remarkable aspect of his shop was what he sold in it. Vollard listened to his artist friends and read the art journals and decided that the "outcast" modern painters were his road to success[171]. He carried Renoir, Sisley, Cézanne, and Manet when few other dealers were willing to do so. Vollard's shop was well known in the art world already, but not by high society or other art dealers.

Vollard knew he needed to gain attention and press coverage in order to gain recognition and to promote these modern artists[172]. He chose Cézanne as his

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[170] Ambroise Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer.* (Dover Publications, 2012), http://www.myilibrary.com?id=566777 Ch. 2.
[171] Ambroise Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer.* (Dover Publications, 2012), http://www.myilibrary.com?id=566777 Ch. 3.
[172] Philip Hook, *Rogues' Gallery: The Rise (and Occasional Fall) of Art Dealers, the Hidden Players in the History of Art*, 2017, http://www.scranton.edu/academics/wml/bookplates/index.shtml.

catalyst. Vollard's meeting with Cézanne is described anywhere from an act of fate to obsessive stalking[173]. Either way, Vollard managed to locate the artist's house and speak to him. Vollard convinced Cézanne to allow him to set up a gallery show of his work, the first of such shows Cézanne was offered even though Cézanne was already quite elderly and in the last decade of his career. Cézanne accepted but believed little would come of such a show knowing that few people respected his work and that his landscapes were not lauded by the art school world.

The show was such a major success both Vollard and Cézanne were elevated to celebrity status. By 1895, the art market was shifting audience and the new collectors were willing to support modernism. Cézanne's work gained recognition in Paris, but many of the most avid buyers of his work were not French. Vollard opened a new gallery in Rue Laffitte after the success of the Cézanne exposition and celebrated with another "problematic" new artist's work, Pablo Picasso. Vollard was not just a dealer, he became these artists' greatest advocate and pushed them into the mainstream art market[174]. These expos gained much attention and highlighted modern art as something exciting to look at so his shop was soon flooded with Americans who heard the news of these scandalous shows and wanted to see more.

The Americans were more willing to put aside old ideas on art and form and discover new ideas and styles. Many American buyers were interested in where art was going, rather than delving into the past. There were wealthy American buyers who preferred the classics, such as Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Mellon, and the Rockefellers. Yet, there was a growing social circle of American collectors that was looking for the "next big thing" and wanted to be a pioneer. It is important to note still, that although Vollard pioneered early modern painters, and even later sold expressionists and some cubist works, he refused to sell surrealists as most art dealers did at the time.

Yet Vollard is idolized in the art world for his indirect support of Picasso and Matisse. Paul Durand-Ruel was the pioneer of dealing with Impressionist works, but Vollard was not just his successor, instead the first to one-up his predecessor by

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[173] Alex Danchev, *Cezanne: A Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2013), http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=738130 Ch. 10.

[174] Anne Sinclair and Shaun Whiteside, *My Grandfather's Gallery: A Family Memoir of Art and War*, First American Edition (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014) Page 70-71.

including post-Impressionists' work as well[175]. Vollard expanded the kind of art and artist that was being marketed. In a way, his decision to give these radical (even for impressionists) young, no-names a place in his shop next to those who were already starting to be accepted in Paris such as Cézanne and Renoir, caused others to do the same. Vollard did not believe in Picasso or Matisse enough when he first met them to sponsor them or become their patron. But he saw talent enough in their work to give them their own shows, press, and fame. Later, when major collectors came to his shops having been to the shows, asking to buy works by those artists, Vollard saw their value. It was not until after André Level and the Steins regularly came to Vollard's shop after 1906 for post-Impressionist work that Vollard started buying Picasso's in bulk, even though he'd given Picasso his first show in 1901[176].

The Steins bought their first pieces of art from Vollard in 1903[177]. They brought the Cone sisters and Barnes to the gallery soon after. Even Mrs. Havemeyer who had used another dealer, Paul Durand-Ruel, for most of her collecting years showed up to Vollard's gallery[178]. His gallery became the hub for early modernist paintings in Paris. One reason Vollard had so much success with the American circle is that he delt art differently. Vollard did not try to sell to his customers. He knew these wealthy American collectors thought highly of their own knowledge and perceptions on art and he never disagreed with them. He let them look through the art he had, accepted as fact any criticism or praise they spoke of on the art he carried, and let them choose the paintings that pleased them.

This does not mean Vollard had a hands-off approach to selling art, he was very willing to do anything to stay on top in his field and to sell his works[179]. He was also willing to do whatever it took to keep his patrons coming back, but he knew that sometimes the best way to please the customer was to say nothing.

Vollard also joined the social circle of his collectors[180]. Like the American's, Vollard became friends and social host to the artists he was selling. He had Renoir,

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[175] FitzGerald, *Making Modernism, Page 8*.
[176] FitzGerald, Page 30.
[177] Mary Gabriel, *The Art of Acquiring: A Portrait of Etta and Claribel Cone* (Bancroft Press, 2002) Page 60.
[178] Neil L. Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, volume 266 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2012) Page 31.
[179] Hook, *Rogues' Gallery*.
[180] Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer Ch. 13.*

Cézanne, and Picasso over for dinner parties in his cellar. When the Steins, Barnes, or the Cone sisters were in town, they joined as well. In this way, not only did he get to know his collectors and artists well, but as their friend, he was able to ask favors, build strong bonds of trust, and good business relationships. The American collectors bought from various dealers, Vollard was not the only one, but each of them continued to buy and value their friendship with Vollard throughout the years.

This does not mean that they wholly liked each other's character. Vollard liked Barnes as a collector because Barnes always bought in bulk, was decisive, and knew exactly what he wanted with little fuss. Yet, as a dinner party guest, Vollard found Barnes to be, as many in Paris did, too concerned about money, too direct, aggressive, and stubborn to his own will. Barnes too thought Vollard did not fully understand the work he sold and did not view art in the "right way". He also thought Vollard was more concerned with parting than intellect. Despite these differences, they both prospered from their partnership.

Paul Rosenberg (1911-1940)

Rosenberg came from a Jewish family that had emigrated to France and started dealing art[181]. He took over the business from his father in 1911 and soon made it into one that resembled Vollard's gallery. He had grown up hearing about and gaining respect for Vollard and the early modernist painters he pioneered. Paul Rosenberg was determined to do the same. He used the same methods of becoming the artists' and collectors' friends and opening his gallery to anyone who wanted to frequent the establishment or look at the paintings. He made his galley a hub for artists, though it started from a higher-class rank than Vollard's had. Léonce Rosenberg had secured a contract with Picasso in 1915, and Picasso stayed with the Rosenburg family for most of Paul's career[182]. The Rosenburg gallery had an almost absolute monopoly of Picasso's works from 1918-1932. Anyone who wanted a Picasso usually had to go to Rosenberg to get it. This led many of the American dealers to his gallery at some point, even Barnes[183].

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[181] Sinclair and Whiteside, *My Grandfather's Gallery Pages 69-71*.
[182] Sinclair and Whiteside Pages 116-127.
[183] Frances Fowle, "A Woman of No Importance?: Elizabeth Workman's Collection of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Art in Context," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2020, no. 31 (December 2, 2020).

However, where Rosenberg's gallery differed from the rest was that it was one of the first to move shop. Understanding that the new main collectors and buyers were American, rather than making them travel to Paris, the Rosenberg gallery moved to New York in 1941[184]. This decision was made to support the growing market there, but also because of the approaching sense of war. Being Jewish there was more pressure for the Rosenbergs to assure safety than some of their other French counterparts. During the war, Americans were unable to travel to Europe, leaving the galleries in New York their only option. After the war, the Americans went back to Paris, but the local New York galleries were not abandoned. After the Second World War, the market did start to shift more towards the US and the New York gallery branches soon became the main hubs.

Major Art buyers during this time

The Major Industrialist American Buyers

Art Collection became a hobby and passion for many newly rich American industrialists during the early 20th century. Many of the most famous families of the time collected art, such as Andrew Mellon (1855-1937), Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), Benjamin Altman (1840-1913), J. P. Morgan (1837-1913), P. A. B. Widener (1834-1915), Collis & Henry Huntington (1821-1900) (1850-1927). They collected art to gain the sense of culture and class which was afforded the wealthy classes in Europe. These Americans wanted the respect that cultural possessions seemed to be able to provide. Americans had money, but more importantly, they had the will and desire to spend it on huge collections of art. So much so that, "Between 1895 and 1955 the great transatlantic migration of paintings, of sculptures, or the occasion of entire buildings of libraries, of artists, of musicians, of scientists, took place"[185]. These collectors often stuck to the status quo of the art world, buying classic masters and famous Italian works that society and the art world accepted as good art. These Americans tried to follow the European stigmas and replicate those norms.

[184] Sinclair and Whiteside Page 157.
[185] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 204*.

However, there were quite a few major American Collectors who decided to collect but paid little regard to what the accepted definitions of good art were. More Americans than Europeans were able to buy and collect "unacceptable" and "unconventional" art because they had a distance from European society. These Americans that were collecting often started from scratch, not having inherited galleries or collections from their ancestors. They often chose work they themselves liked or thought represented talent rather than relying on trained aids and professionals to do so for them. And the Americans were scoffed at either way by high European society for the way they got their money and the way they acted in society. Therefore, the Americans simply had more freedom to go against the norm and less to lose for doing so.

The most famous impressionist, post-impressionist, and early modern art collectors of the 20th century in America consisted of Mrs. Havemeyer (1855-1929) who mainly collected from 1875-1929 and amassed a large collection that was later sold at auction except for several pieces she left to the Metropolitan Museum of Art[186]. Albert C. Barnes (1872-1951) mainly collected from 1912 until his death in 1951[187]. His entire collection remained together and displayed as he had it when he died under the protection of his own trust which keeps the works at the Barnes Foundation in Pennsylvania. Gertrude & Leo Stein (1874-1946) (1872-1947) mainly collected between the years of 1900-1940[188]. They ended up selling off most of their collection as they lost financial stability and most of the collection was bought by friends or at auction. John Quinn (1870-1924) mainly collected from 1912-1924[189]. He was a diverse and avid collector and his collection was one of the largest modern art collections before his death. After his death, the collection was auctioned off to various buyers. The Cone Sisters (1900-1948) mainly collected from 1905-1949[190]. Their collection, favoring Matisse, was almost entirely left to the Baltimore Museum

[186] "Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection | MetPublications | The Metropolitan Museum of Art," accessed April 20, 2021, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/Splendid_Legacy_The_Havemeyer_Collection.
[187] PA 19130215 278 7000 The Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation: About," Barnes Foundation, accessed February 4, 2021, https://www.barnesfoundation.org/about.
[188] Lubow, "An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein | Arts & Culture | Smithsonian Magazine."
[189] Cristina Turino, "John Quinn's Art Collection," New York Public Library Archive, July 9, 2014, https://www.nypl.org/blog/2014/07/09/john-quinn-art-collection.
[190] "Cone Collection," Baltimore Museum of Art, accessed April 20, 2021, https://artbma.org/collections/cone.html.

of art after their death. Mrs. Potter Palmer (1849-1918) collected most of her works between 1980-1918, and after her death, many of the works were bequeathed to the Art Institute of Chicago[191].

These collectors varied in what they collected and how they left their collections, but it is hard to talk about any one of them without reference to the others. All of these American buyers were in some ways connected to, inspired by, or working with one another at some point. Almost all of the American collectors ended up traveling to or living in Paris where the art was being made. They socialized with each other and with the same artists and competed for the same works.

The Stein's and their Parisian Home, Hub to Artists and Buyers

In 1902 Gertrude Stein graduated from medical school and decided to join her older brother Leo abroad. Leo and Gertrude moved to Paris and lived together at 27 Rue de Fleurus. Soon this address would be known by all the ex-pats in Paris, American visitors, and local artists. The siblings both became interested in modern art and culture. They hung this artwork on their own walls, invited artists of all kinds to their home, and held Saturday night soirees that were both scandalous and esteemed. It was Gertrude who did most of the inviting of the Steins' guests and was responsible for building the social circle that developed. She insisted on always inviting Picasso and Matisse together as she liked to compare and contrast the two artists, and thought they complimented each other's personalities. Although the artists had less fondness for each other's company, they respected each other's work and enjoyed discussing their personal talents and achievements as well as taking advice from each other[192]. In this way, Gertrude orchestrated Picasso and Matisse's relationship.

Leo was more interested in the paintings at first than his sister. He loved Cezanne, Renoir, and Manet[193]. This caused him to fall in love with Matisse, as he

[191] The Art Institute of Chicago, "Pissarro Paintings and Works on Paper at the Art Institute of Chicago: Bertha Honoré Palmer and Potter Palmer," AIC, accessed April 20, 2021, https://publications.artic.edu/pissarro/api/epub/7/955/print_view.
[192] Franck, *Bohemian Paris Picasso, Modigliani, Matisse, and the Birth of Modern Art, Page 93*.
[193] Larry Silver, "The Steins Collect: Matisse, Picasso, and the Parisian Avant-Garde," *Studies in American Jewish Literature* 32, no. 1 (2013): 113+.

saw the work of these other artists in that of Matisse. He was one of the first to fully appreciate and support Matisse's work. Gertrude on the other hand was always very interested in writing and stories, she loved having writers around more than painters. She did collect art and support the work of Matisse as well. But her favorite artist was Picasso, she was one of the few American collectors that loved Picasso's work throughout his career including his cubist period. Whereas Leo was personal friends with Matisse, Gertrude was personal friends with Picasso. Leo became disappointed in both artists and stopped collecting Matisse after 1908 and Picasso after 1912, whereas Gertrude continued to collect both when she could afford to do so.

The Steins only lived together in Paris from 1903 until 1914, yet within these eleven years, their home became famous. Many pop-culture references, including Woody Allen's *Midnight in Paris*, refer to the Stein Salon of only Gertrude Stein after World War I when writers like Ernest Hemmingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald were in Paris, taking advantage of post-war reconstruction[194]. However, the art world knew the Steins before the war. Barnes, the Cone sisters, Quinn, and even the Steins themselves all met each other at the Steins and started their collections between 1905-1914. After Leo left, the Stein residence was less focused on painting. He had been the Stein family member who discovered and instilled the pursuit of modern art in the family, and once the leader left and money was scarcer the Steins took a backseat in the collecting world[195]. Pop culture has skewed our perception on which Stein member was most prominent in the art world because of Gertrude's overshadowing personality. Gertrude is the one that wrote the books, sat for Picasso's portraits, and was written about in the papers. Her notoriety has made her appear the protagonist of the operation rather than an astute disciple of her older brother.

Leo left his sister for several reasons, but the most cited is their changing relationship status[196]. While brother and sister lived together both siblings had multiple flings. Gertrude had many mostly unphysical relationships with women until she met Alice B. Toklas[197]. Leo, on the other hand, had many mainly physical

[194] Silver.
[195] ALINE B. SAARINEN, "The Steins in Paris," *The American Scholar* 27, no. 4 (1958): 437–48.
[196] Lubow, "An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein | Arts & Culture | Smithsonian Magazine."
[197] SAARINEN, "The Steins in Paris."

affairs with various women. Neither sibling was married or overly attached. That changed for both around 1909. By the end of the decade, Gertrude was very much involved with and in a sense married to Alice B. Toklas. This relationship made things a bit awkward for Leo. At the same time, Leo had fallen in love with a woman Nina Auzias, whom he later married in 1921. Leo and Gertrude also had a fallout as they disagreed over their collection. By this time Leo was no longer impressed by Matisse and Picasso and Gertrude insisted on continuing to buy and support their work. Leo actually grew so angry at their differing views that he left the Paris home without any of Picasso's works, even the early ones which he had bought himself[198].

The Stein's siblings viewed art very differently. Michael and his wife collected only Matisse, loving everything the artist did and fully his patron. Michael's family was less interested in new artists or the art market, they simply wanted a perfectly homogeneous and uniform collection[199]. They collocated almost more for quantity and out of their passion for Matisse as a friend than for pure love of art or revolutionary vision. Perhaps when Michael started collecting Matisse in the early 1900s it was remarkable, but soon Matisse was accepted and celebrated. The Michael Stein collection was more in line with the culture of the time.

Gertrude Stein was interested in art as it pleased her. She adored pretty things, her own portrait, and portraits of her favorite artists. She was as willing as Leo to collect works considered scandalized by high society either for their content or their artist, but not because she saw something to learn from it[200]. Gertrude did not study art or look to artworks for her education. She looked at art as decoration for the walls of her home or as clues into the artist's soul who created it. She considered herself a writer and since she wanted her friends and co-patriates to read and respect her work, so she saw paintings as the books of her artistic friends and social circle. She collected Matisse's, Picasso's, and Cézanne's the same as Leo did, but for very different reasons. Gertrude never read books about art, form, or

[198] Lubow, "An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein | Arts & Culture | Smithsonian Magazine."
[199] James R. Mellow, "The Stein Salon Was The First Museum of Modern Art," The New York Times, December 1, 1968, https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/05/03/specials/stein-salon.html.
[200] SAARINEN, "The Steins in Paris."

aesthetics, nor did she care to discuss the topic. She simply appreciated the work for what it seemed to be.

Leo, much like Barnes, had no patience for Gertrude or Michael's form of collecting. He believed art was an academic subject that like all "sciences" needed to be studied to be fully appreciated[201]. He thought his sister silly and unintelligent about art. He neither approved of her reasons or impressions from the works she bought, even though she often bought pieces he himself condoned and wanted, at least while they lived together in the early years. Leo wrote about the art he collected. He followed the current art critic magazines and reviews by the press of modern art shows[202]. He disagreed with much of the generalized opinions and he liked to talk about why. He spent the Stein soirees in a chair talking to academics, artists, and philosophers about what the artworks around him represented and how their form or structure produced such reactions. He found Gertrude's playful partying and gossiping in the next room to be a cause of her lack of comprehension of what art truly meant. Leo became a lasting friend to Barnes because they were both similarly stubborn on the fact that their aesthetic view of art was the only acceptable approach to the topic. They were able to send letters back and forth on their impressions of Cézanne and Picasso and delve into the philosophies and education inherent in the paintings they both bought. This is to say, both men disdained collectors like the other Stein members.

Barnes came into Leo's life when the breakage of the bond between Leo and his sister Gertrude was solidifying. Barnes was a receptive and ever-present voice in Leo's head. Barnes and Leo had many academic fights that hurt their egos, both being so prideful, but they could never lose respect for the other based on their common ideology. By 1914 Leo refused to be so identified and tied to his "crazy" and "silly" sister that he told Barnes he could not live with her, he could not even talk to her[203]. Leo wrote and argued with Barnes for the rest of his life, but Leo never again talked to Gertrude after 1914.

Leo's impression of his sister is not fair. Time has proved that Gertrude and Michael's collections did alter and enrich the art world. They supported artists that

[201] Mellow, "The Stein Salon Was The First Museum of Modern Art."
[202] Lubow, "An Eye for Genius: The Collections of Gertrude and Leo Stein | Arts & Culture | Smithsonian Magazine."
[203] SAARINEN, "The Steins in Paris."

may never have grown into such icons without this sort of dedicated championship of them. Matisse was rising on his own, but Picasso was not. Gertrude bought Picasso's cubist paintings when neither Leo nor Barnes was willing to buy them. She kept Picasso afloat and moneyed enough to experiment with whatever he wanted to paint. Today, Picasso's cubist paintings are celebrated and generally accepted by the art world. Gertrude did not leave behind a legacy of art philosophy or books on art like Leo or Barnes, but that does not mean that the art world would not be a less rich field without her.

The Cone Sisters and their relationship to the Steins and Paris

The sisters started traveling to Europe in the early 1900s after Etta Cone and her cousin completed a European tour in 1901 and Etta fell in love with traveling[204]. Already knowing the Stein family from Baltimore, the sisters socialized with the Stein circle in Paris. The Steins introduced the sisters to Pablo Picasso and Matisse around 1905. The Sisters collected most of their art between 1920-1937[205]. Although Claribel died in 1929, her sister Etta continued to collect and preserved her sister's collection as she left it. The Cone Sisters collected many of the same artists as Dr. Barnes at around the same time. They also had a very similar social network or were within the same social circle in Paris.

Therefore, it is interesting to compare the Cone Collection to the Barnes Collection and to compare the man himself to these women. The Cone Collection was never set up as a private trust or open to the public during the sisters' lifetime. Instead, they kept their art almost completely unseen. It remained in their home until the later sister, Etta's, death in 1949. Unlike Barnes, the sisters did allow museums to borrow pieces of their personal collection, on-demand. Upon Etta's death, the whole collection went to the Baltimore Museum of Art where it was easily accessible to the general public. These acts display the good relationship they had with their community and museums, unlike Barnes.

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[204] Leonard A. Lauder Research Center For Modern Art and Giovanni Casini, "Index Of Historic Collectors And Dealers Of Cubism," The Met, December 2019, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/leonard-lauder-research-center/research/index-of-cubist-art-collectors/cone.

[205] Mary Gabriel, *The Art of Acquiring: A Portrait of Etta and Claribel Cone* (Bancroft Press, 2002) Page 225.

The Cone Sisters were immensely wealthy as their family came from textile manufacturers. They were two of twelve children in the family and were of German-Jewish descent. Their parents settled them in Baltimore due to the German community there at the time. The sisters' brothers continued to work in the family business and later opened a textile factory called Proximity in North Carolina. Their brothers supplied the sisters with a nice allowance for the rest of their lives as neither Etta nor Claribel Cone ever married. The two sisters were quite close with their family. Claribel was the smarter, prettier, and leader of the sisters. She had gone to medical school and became a doctor at a time when most women did not seek higher education. It was Claribel who got to know Gertrude Stein first when they both attended John Hopkins Medical School. Etta never went to university nor seemed to have any interest. Etta rather preferred to be at home and take care of her unmarried brothers and the house.

In the early 1900s, the sisters went to Europe. It was only natural for them to make a house call to the Steins, both because of their acquaintance with Gertrude and because the Stein family was already making a name for itself as one of the most respectable American ex-pat salons in Paris. Everyone was desperate for an invitation to visit the Stein household, either the one which Leo and Gertrude shared or Michael and his wife's home around the corner. The Steins threw wonderful parties with many interesting guests including bohemian French artists, but their apartment itself was also something to see. Leo Stein had started, before his siblings, collecting pieces of modern art and proudly placed Cézannes, Picassos, Matisses, and other "absurd" art on the walls of his and Gertrude's home. The visitors of the Steins were shocked and amazed by the number of these works.

Etta Cone was very impressed and interested in the Steins. She looked up to all the members of the Stein family and was a receptive student to them. Leo taught Etta about the art he was collecting and introduced her to the artists. She bought her first Matisse and Picasso, small pieces and drawings while visiting their studios. She was impressed both with the men and their art. But in 1905 Etta was not yet really a collector. She was a wealthy woman buying souvenirs around Paris while on holiday[206]. Both Sisters loved to procure things and spent their money on fine food,

[206] Gabriel Page 153.

hotels, fashion, and collectibles. Etta was also always receptive to those around her, she was very willing to listen to Leo's opinion on what she should purchase.

Etta and Claribel were both enchanted by their time in Paris and the friends they met there. They traveled around Europe often for the next few years. Etta became closer to Gertrude during this time and even acted as her typist for a while. The two women almost certainly had a romantic relationship as well as a close friendship, but like most of Etta's relationships, the women were not on equal ground. Gertrude took the lead and was always the stronger spirit of the two. Etta seemed to solidify her place in the background. She was quiet and calm, but always present and soaked up the conversation around her. Etta was never as well-liked by the Steins' other guests who preferred her sister Gertrude for company. Yet, Etta paid attention. She learned much about post-impressionist art, what makes a good painting, and even what to buy from her time with the Steins. Both sisters collected, but Etta's collection was more impressive than her sisters and in their later years it is assumed that Etta was the one selecting the works for both of them.

In 1907 Alice Token came to Paris and soon after Etta was pulled away on a European tour with other siblings. Etta wrote letters to Gertrude almost every day, detailing her days, and trying to maintain the relationship from afar, but soon Gertrude's replies slowed and her letters began to grow colder. Etta fretted, she had finally found her comfort zone being Gertrude's typist, assistant, and partner. Etta could sense she was losing all of that. Gertrude wrote to Etta of Alice and before Etta returned Gertrude and Alice had already become inseparable. Alice took over as Gertrude's typist and assistant. Etta stayed a while in Paris, mainly spending time with Leo and getting more involved in his passion for art.

Then in 1908, Cone's brother Moses died in Baltimore. Etta had come home to help take care of him being incredibly close to Moses and she cared for him for several years. Etta broke apart after his death, maybe in part over what she also lost in Paris. From 1908-1912 Etta did not travel often to Europe and she did not collect art. She spent her time in Baltimore taking care of other members of her family and falling in and out of illness herself. Claribel continued to travel and grew very fond of Germany. The family still had many relatives in Bavaria and Munich was the cultural hub of Europe.

Then in 1914 the first world war broke out and travel between the US and Europe became quite difficult. Etta remained in Baltimore with her family, while Claribel remained in Munich. The Cone family used their power and connections to arrange for Claribel to leave on a diplomatic escort, but she refused[207]. Claribel was not rational about the war situation since she had all the money and comforts life could provide and could not imagine that even a large war would end that for her. So, Claribel stayed in Europe and it was true that until 1916 the war hardly touched the city. However, by 1918 Munich was undergoing internal strife. Hitler held his beerhall putsch there and red guards terrorized the homes of the wealthy. The Anti-Jewish sentiment was also already exploding within the city and all of its past cultural prowess had long since ceased. Claribel returned to her family in Baltimore in 1921, a ghost of her past self[208]. Claribel returned in rags, having suffered from 1918 until her departure, yet too stubborn to leave sooner due to her possessions and her ego.

It was not until 1922 after the world war settled down that the Cone sisters really started collecting art. They returned to Paris and traveled together, now much closer and united than they ever had been before. Claribel was too old and tired from her Munich days to be without her sister. Etta was older too, but also always seemed more comfortable with a stronger companion. Etta took care of her older sister and followed her everywhere. Etta did have a major role though, she encouraged their purchasing of art. Parisian studios and salons were shocked by the two sisters, always dressed in Victorian fashion (all black conservative outfits) who showed up to their modern galleries to purchase pictures the general public considered "disgusting" and "scandalous". The Sisters were a unique sight in Paris, but they made themselves stand out even more by what they chose to spend their money on.

The Sisters bought mainly Matisse and Picasso's work. Etta became quite close to Matisse from her connections to Leo Stein and her constant purchases of his work. But Leo Stein and Gertrude were starting to have issues and eventually Leo moved out. Etta never regained her past friendship with Gertrude after their breakup

[207] Gabriel Page 131.
[208] Malino Sarah S., "Claribel Cone," Jewish Women's Archive, accessed April 7, 2021, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/cone-claribel.

and soon the Cone sisters started spending more time with Michael Stein's family instead.

During the 1920s the Cone-Stein friendship became complicated[209]. The Steins were starting to lose their wealth or had spent it all, while the Cone sisters' wealth was actually growing. The Steins started to take advantage of their friends and Etta especially seemed too naive to see it. Gertrude even wrote a poem which she claimed to be a study of female friendships called "Two Women" which was based on the Cone Sisters[210]. In this book, Gertrude analyzes the sisters' relationship from how she once saw it when they were friends with a cold veil of indifference towards either woman. In 1924 Gertrude even tried to sell *Three Lives* to Etta for $1,000. This was the manuscript that Etta had typed for Gertrude during their close friendship, for which she had never been compensated. Etta may have been forgiving, but she could not forgive the insult of Gertrude trying to sell Etta's own work to her for an outrageous price. She canceled her planned visits with Gertrude and the Steins in Paris that summer and refused to see them. Soon Gertrude returned the favor, and the two women never met alone or by choice again.

As the Steins and Cone's friendships ended, their business increased. Due to their hard times, the Steins started to sell many of their best works of art, and rather than lose profit from going through dealers, they asked their friends to buy directly from them. Both Barnes and the Cone sisters were obliged to take the works they wanted. Barnes, shrewd as ever, got great prices from Leo, always ready to throw friendship aside in business deals. Etta was not so cold. She purchased many works from Leo, some from Gertrude and even some from Michael. She did only buy ones she liked and wanted, but there is evidence the Stein family was colluding to try to get more from the sisters than perhaps would have been fair. Still, the Steins had many early works of Matisse, Cézanne, and Picasso that were seen as some of those artist's best works, and added much to their collection's esteem.

Although Claribel Cone died in 1929, the Cone wealth was not affected by the Great Depression and Etta continued to purchase art without her sister. The sisters both had their own (neighboring) apartments back in Baltimore where they

[209] Carolyn Burke, "Gertrude Stein, the Cone Sisters, and the Puzzle of Female Friendship," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 3 (1982): 543–64.
[210] Burke.

kept their art and after 1929 and Etta kept Claribel's collection exactly as she had left it. The sisters did not arrange their collection in any unique or special way. They arranged it on personal preference and practicality, depending on where everything seemed to fit on the wall. Usually, their most favorite works were in their bedrooms, where they could look at the works closely from the comfort of their beds. But the walls of their apartment were covered from top to bottom in precious post-impressionist and modern art. Keeping the art within their own homes meant that visitation of the art was hardly convenient, but neither sister was stingy with sharing. Unlike Dr. Barnes, the Cone sisters were always willing to let guests, friends, acquaintances, or anyone interested come to see their collection in their homes[211]. Both sisters were also always willing to lend their art out to museums for shows, or back to the artist (usually Matisse) if they wanted to put it on display. The sisters collected art as part of their love for pretty things. They loved their pieces and loved to look at them.

Matisse became a good friend to Etta and he wrote her often. In his later years, Etta corresponded with Matisse's son. When Dr. Barnes contracted Matisse to provide a mural for his Foundation in Philadelphia and the artist came to the US to see the location, the only other American he sought out was Etta. Matisse made the journey from Philadelphia to Baltimore in order to call on Etta at her home and to see his work displayed in her home. Etta remained a friend and regular of Matisse's studio through every one of her European travels. Matisse even showed her the mural he had made for Dr. Barnes before he sent it off to the US. Now of course Matisse was extremely interested in Etta because she was such a loyal and long-term customer of his work[212]. He always tried to sell his newest pieces to her and even reserved a few each year for her selection, knowing she would surely buy them. They were in a sense very close business partners, but their friendship is also undeniable. They both always had pleasant things to say about each other and sought out each other's company. Etta knew much of the drama of Matisse's life which Gertrude had rudely altered to the public, but she never spoke ill or gossiped about

[211] Tom Stammers, "Women Collectors and Cultural Philanthropy, c. 1850-1920," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 2020, no. 31 (December 15, 2020): NA.
[212] Gabriel, *The Art of Acquiring: A Portrait of Etta and Claribel Cone Page 284*.

her favorite artist. She even wrote a stinging letter to Gertrude after the publication of her book about its content on Matisse.

Etta may have been naive and overly trusting, but she truly cared about her friends and contacts. Barnes on the other hand met and worked with the same people and besides Leo Stein Barnes never kept any of these people as friends. Matisse was impressed with Barnes after their first meeting, but soon after, upon learning his true character, lost all favor for him. Barnes was not able to keep friends in the art world or Bohemian Paris outside of his Foundation staff. The Cone sisters were liked and able to maintain friendships in this circle.

The Cone sisters were not trying to learn or build an educational experiment like Barnes was, nor were they trying to build their own museum that would last forever under their own name. They were simply following their passion and collecting the works they liked to put on their own walls. They were happy and pleased whenever anyone else took an interest or wanted to see what they liked. They were very proud of their pieces as if the works were their children, rather than simply an investment. Art collecting for them was a passion project, not a high-brow science experiment or method to show off.

The Cone sisters were quite sure from the early 1920s that they would leave their ever-growing collection to the local Baltimore art museum. They wanted to give back to their community and let the art be open to the public. Again, unlike Barnes, the sisters believed in art museums and people's ability to view art however they pleased, perhaps more than Barnes they believed art should be available to anyone. They even left the money for the museum to build a new wing to house their art after their passing. Still, as the museum does not place art everywhere coving the walls nor could ever be big enough to show so much art at once, the Cone collection has never again been seen in full. The Baltimore Museum rotates the pieces but has never shown more than about 15% of the collection at once[213]. This means that the public has never seen the collection in the way the sisters had it or would have seen it. Unlike Barnes, the sisters were not able to preserve the aesthetic they had created with their art in their lifetime. This is what Barnes alone was able to accomplish.

[213] Mary Gabriel, *The Art of Acquiring: A Portrait of Etta and Claribel Cone* (Bancroft Press, 2002) Page 323.

Chapter 3: The Collection

Notoriety in Paris and Philadelphia

Barnes's Relationships with Friends, Coworkers, and Society

Everyone who writes or talks about Albert C. Barnes always begins by trying to explain his personality. Even popular documentaries tend to highlight his personal character[214]. While everyone seems to agree that he was obscene, persistent, and retaliatory, there is less consensus on how his personality affected his art collection. It is easy to assume that his cut-throat competitiveness and personal confidence helped him decide which art he wanted and assured he was able to obtain it. He apparently joked about buying all the art he wanted from mourning widows still in shock[215]. He was hard-handed with artists and dealers too, even Vollard who respected him as a buyer, especially since he did know what he liked and bought in bulk, claimed he made a respectable client[216]. But there is a difference between respect and fondness.

Barnes's only close friends were Glackens, Guillaume, Leo Stein, Dewey, the Mullen sisters, and de Mazia and Barnes and Guillaume ended their friendship before 1930. Glackens died soon after that. As mentioned above, Barens did make friends with the Bohemian scene in Paris and the philosophical scene in New York, and until the 1930's he did associate with the Philadelphian elite. He had wide circles of connections, but they were not strong or lasting bonds. Gertrude Stein found Barnes rude, too-American, pushy, and a bore[217]. Henry Matisse liked Barnes well enough at first, enjoying dinner parties and talks with him, but soon came to realize that it all never ended: Barnes was not only loquacious but repetitive and his arrogance annoyed the painter[218]. Barnes also was notoriously on edge and uncomfortable with the Philadelphian elite, often feeling like he did not truly belong

[214] The Barnes Foundation, *The Collector Documentary* (HBO, n.d.), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rs9khEOOi80&t=2630s.
[215] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 128*.
[216] Vollard, *Recollections of a Picture Dealer, Ch. 15.*
[217] SAARINEN, "The Steins in Paris."
[218] Gabriel, *The Art of Acquiring: A Portrait of Etta and Claribel Cone. Page 285*.

with them, perhaps due to insecurities over his underprivileged youth[219]. This means Barnes's true circle of friends was very small.

Barnes's reputation was affected by his lack of good social ties. Barnes was rarely described favorably by those that knew him and soon this poor reputation became the focus of printed news as well. The Philadelphia elite, the Paris Bohemian circle, even the New York philosophers, all came to hear and read about Barnes as an unpleasant and arrogant man. This affects too how we see him today. His legacy is tied to his lack of strong social ties during his life.

Yet, Henry Hart, who worked with Barnes for many years starting in 1927[220], describes him differently in his biography. He claims that how the general public saw Barnes was due to the fact that they did not know or understand him. Hart admits Barnes was brash, aggressive, and demanding, but not without cause. Barnes believed that people needed harsh criticism to grow and become better, smarter, more educated people. He believed that if you did not attack the elite, then they would silently walk all over the common people. He saw himself as a protector of the common man, a teacher to everyone, and a militant guard against lazy and powerful elitism.

He claimed that by attacking museums he hoped to bring their directors into the press[221]. Once there, the directors would have to confront the public's opinion, desires, and interests. Barnes assumed that public museums should work with public schools to inspire greater art education. When they did not, Barnes called them horrid names that may have been unfair, but the press picked up the story and ran it in the papers. In other words, Barnes used his aggression statically to try to instill change.

His methods may not have worked as there is little evidence that anything good ever came from his press battles with various elites in Philadelphia. His actions often only lead to his own ostracization and harmed the Foundation and its students. However, it is an important distinction to understand his good intentions behind these actions. Barnes argued that a good democratic society was one that was filled with well-educated, critical thinking, and equal individuals. He thought that by

[219] Lukacs, *Philadelphia*. Page 230.
[220] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 4.
[221] Henry Hart, Page 215.

pushing people, and by publishing inequality or incompetence he was furthering a way to build such a society. He was fighting for what he believed in the way he thought it had to be accomplished.

Hart claims that on a personal level, Barnes's consistent intense debates on various topics, though always hurtful and aggravating at the time, in the long run, did work. He claimed that he realized his ignorance, false pretenses, and misconceptions because Barnes always bluntly pointed them out[222]. Hart holds a certain respect for Barnes as an unsentimental, but effective and wise mentor. The public never seemed to have such success. The public unlike Hart did not get to know Barnes over multiple years on a personal level, nor were they ever his employee or friend. Hart and Barnes's other long-term employees respected the man because they saw the reasons behind his actions.

Barnes' media attention in Paris and the US

The New York Times has published over 70 articles, pieces, or comments on Barnes and the Foundation. This is just an example from a single paper. The Wall Street Journal, the Los Angeles Times, and the Philadelphia Inquirer have also written extensively on Barnes. Since Barnes was such a unique collector, problem starter, and legacy builder through the Foundation, he has become infamous in the papers. Yet, despite this attention, the common man has remained largely unaware of Barnes the man or his collection of art. In fact, while the Barnes Foundation was in Merion, even many Philadelphia residents were unaware of or ever attended his art gallery[223]. Given, the gallery was not open to the general public outside of personal request until 1965, but even after that date, the gallery drew more tourists than locals. Even many Art lovers did not cite the Barnes Foundation as a Pennsylvania art hub. The works of Renoir, Cézanne, and Matisse have only grown in popularity as time has gone on, yet the Barnes Foundation remained a hidden gem until its move into the art quarter in downtown Philadelphia.

Barne's attention in the US was almost always negative, except with respect to his publications or factory. This was due to the way he interacted with

[222] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1963), Page 3.
[223] Henry Hart, Introduction.

Philadelphia Elite society, how he interacted with local universities and professors, and his legal battles in court that arose over the years. In the US he was always seen as an aggressor against decency, prominent and respected people, and even the state[224]. This was in some ways encouraged by his enemies, but it was solidified by his own actions. What the average man knew about Barnes other than his wealth and love of art, were his exact insults against anyone who wrote to him. By publishing his correspondence, people saw the laudable things he said to others who wrote to him in earnest. He may have been trying to make a point by righting society women that his dog had more right in his gallery than they did, but the public did not understand that he was upset that someone of means was trying to wiggle their way into something that was not supposed to be open for them, what they saw was a man insulting a lady for a simple question.

In Paris, Barnes had a better reputation[225]. The French did not get the same Barnes that Philadelphia did. Paris never had to deal with the Barnes Foundation, lawsuits, or attacks against the elite. When Barnes was in Paris, he was just a rich American collector with a bad attitude, but a wallet that made up for it. The Americans in Paris valued the man's knowledge and respected his collection. They also had a lot in common with Barnes, they were themselves greatly wealthy, educated, and interested in new philosophical ideas. Outside of America, Barnes not only could fit in alongside the other eccentric Americans there, but he could avoid confrontation. Barnes still published some correspondence he had with his dealers and friends like Leo Stein, he made enemies abroad and was surly not loved by all. But the press was much more willing to spin his image into a kindly sort of persona. In Paris, Barnes was mean and rough, but you wanted him in your gallery, he had the power to change your life. If Barnes favored a dealer or artist, it was sure they would succeed, because he himself could keep them afloat with how much money he spent on art. Barnes in Paris was a powerful ally that everyone wanted. Few in Paris loved to socialize with Barnes, but they were more than willing to have him in their shops or studios.

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[224] Philip McCouat, "Strange Encounters," Journal of ART in SOCIETY, 2012, http://www.artinsociety.com/strange-encounters-the-collector-the-artist-and-the-philosopher.html.
[225] Stanley Meisler, "Albert Barnes and His Pursuit of Non-French Art in Paris," Los Angeles Times, May 1, 2015, https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-ca-shocking-paris-exerpt-20150503-story.html.

Barnes may have traveled to Europe multiple times a year outside of the war years, but in Paris, he remained a tourist and customer. He was able to gain respect financially and intellectually from afar. Also, Barnes did not dislike many people in Paris. Barnes loved going to the Louvre and other French museums and had few criticisms of French museum directors that he did in the US. He had more respect for the art market there, the artists, and even the dealers. He even had an interest in high society in France. Whereas, in Philadelphia, he was a resident burden to most elite society against whom he had a personal agenda. Therefore, Barnes received much attention on the old continent and the new, but his reception and portrayal differed greatly.

Barnes Foundation and its Works

Barnes Foundation

Barnes set up his foundation to be a school where he could teach underprivileged and novice, but passionate young artists about what art should be using the works he had collected[226]. While he was alive the school worked as he had planned. However, since he charged almost nothing for tuition fees and barely had the foundation open to the public the Foundation was unsustainable as a business model[227]. The business was never the idea behind the foundation in Barnes's mind. Barnes's philosophy was that everyone had the right to enjoy art, and art was supposed to be something healing and an experience to enjoy, it was not about profit[228]. He could do this because of the immense fortune he had made with his medical drug Argyrol.

Barnes was completely against the public museums in America because he saw them as snobbish upper institutions for the privileged[229]. He did not want his art to end up there. Barnes hired many of the best lawyers he could find to ensure that his will would prevent his art from ever leaving his foundation or be opened for sale

[226] Meyers, "Albert C. Barnes: Chemist, Entrepreneur, Philanthropist."
[227] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 162*.
[228] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture*. Page 66.
[229] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes*.

or public museum pleasure[230]. To further spite the art world, he gave his private trust over to a local black college to sit as the board of his foundation[231]. He had been friends with the leader of Lincoln University and had seen eye-to-eye with him so he could fully trust that his foundation would remain how it was in its hands[232]. However, a few years after the foundation had been in the hands of the University the head was replaced by a younger leader who had grander ideas.

The university was in desperate need of funds. Buildings and equipment were in need of maintenance and had not been upgraded in years making it difficult to attract students[233]. Therefore, the new head of the university sought to use the Barnes Foundation to help his university undergo the modernization it needed. To accomplish this, they had to break certain conditions in the trust. At first, they just started to open the Barnes Foundation more regularly to the public, charging admission fees, and raising the fees of students who took programs at the foundation[234]. This soon led to a dinner party at the foundation, banquets, charity promotions, and allowing the elite to indulge in exclusive events there. This went against Barnes's philosophy but it was not actually against his Trust as the art was not being moved off the walls.

These events gave the Barnes Foundation greater notoriety and greater fame around the World[235]. With this growing fame came a wider desire to see the art that could not be met easily under the present conditions. The foundation's building was too small and too secluded in a wealthy residential neighborhood in Merion, a suburb outside of Philadelphia, that it was hard to get large groups of visitors to visit without disruptions or complaints. As more people desired to come there were even more congestion problems[236]. At first, the answer seemed to be to make the trust into a public trust rather than a private one and open the foundation as a modern museum. Following this, the foundation's location would also need modernization to

[230] Chris Abbinante, "Protecting 'Donor Intent' in Charitable Foundations: Wayward Trusteeship and the Barnes Foundation," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, January 1997, Gale Academic OneFile.
[231] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art." Page 12.
[232] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Pages 270-271*.
[233] Henrik Bering, "Art Lovers and Crackpots," *Policy Review*, no. 124 (2004): 87+.
[234] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes Page 158-160*.
[235] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 328*.
[236] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes Page 160*.

accommodate more customers. They needed public parking lots and safety measures such as guest halls which the foundation had never before supported[237].

As this occurred, there were more buses and passers-by through the neighborhood that angered the neighbors and lead to their own safety concerns. Therefore, the neighbors took action and got the courts to deny the foundation their larger parking lot and to limit the number of public buses coming to the area[238]. While this turn of events was more in line with Barnes' goals for his collection, it was tragic news for the foundation's economic goals. The foundation started to realize that it could no longer stay in Merion where it was but rather needed to move to downtown Philadelphia to manage and provide for the guests it needed[239]. The foundation started to look for ways to raise money to facilitate the Foundation's relocation. They decided to take some of the paintings on a world tour and loaned them out to various museums, including some within the US[240]. Barnes's trust clearly states that his paintings should not leave the walls where they currently hang, let alone their Merion address. Yet, there was very little protest as everyone wanted to see the masterpiece works of art that were so hard to view in their current location[241]. After the world tour, the move commenced but was met with unanticipated contention. Many of the same neighbors who previously complained about having the foundation as a museum in their neighborhood now complained about its removal[242].

The most common argument brought up was the fact that Barnes's trust was set up so securely and clearly that everyone knew the move and traveling art shows were in violation of his will. Those who protested did so on the grounds that the actions of the Foundation were not moral or legal[243]. The case went to court multiple times and each side made a documentary for their side of the argument[244]. The process dragged on for over 10 years, but eventually, the move was given the green

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[237] Rudenstine Page 161.
[238] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art." Page 13.
[239] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 164*.
[240] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture Pages 327-328.*
[241] Michael Hall, "The Barnes Foundation's Bad Move," *Apollo*, February 2005, Gale Academic OneFile.
[242] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 380*.
[243] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 181*.
[244] CBS News, *Sunday Morning. Against His Will?* (New York, NY : Columbia Broadcasting System, 2012).

light[245]. The court generally decided that the pieces of art were of public cultural heritage and should be allowed to be seen. They also decided that since Barnes' money no longer secured the foundation but instead the foundation had been forced to rely on charity and state funds to stay solvent, the state had some say in its organization[246]. They argued that the only way for the Foundation to be economically independent would be to move, so the state decided that was allowed.

The new building in Philadelphia is nothing like the building at the original Barnes Foundation in Merion. It is of modern architecture, dark, and has many public guest halls, all of which are complete opposites to the Foundation Barnes laid out. Still, the art is displayed in the same way that Barnes had the art arranged originally[247]. The paintings are arranged by their aesthetic not by the artist nor by time period. There are also furniture pieces and metal carvings around the art, as was the case when viewed in Merion. In this way, the foundation has kept Barnes' original philosophy on aesthetics, only they made it more conducive to modern times and larger audiences[248]. However, many critics complain that while the aesthetic philosophy has been kept all other philosophies Barnes held dear have been disposed of.

The situation makes for a very interesting study on public trust vs private trust and the legality of changing a will in order to pursue economic and cultural priorities. It is interesting to see how this case compares to similar cases in other countries and how the law around art and trusts in the US varies compared to other countries, such as France.

Educational Art Philosophy

Violette de Mazia (1920-1988) [Fr] was a tutor to Dr. Barnes in Philosophy and art. She later became a teacher for Barnes Foundation and co-authored books with Barnes[249]. De Mazia became a trustee of the Foundation from 1935-1966. She

[245] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 186*.
[246] Rudenstine Page 185.
[247] Boudreau, "The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy by Neil L. Rudenstine (Review)."
[248] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[249] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Pages 153-154*.

taught at the Foundation until 1987[250]. Barnes, Dewy, and Mazia developed their philosophical thought together.

However, Barnes started his art education experiment even before the Foundation opened. He created a mandatory, free, two-hour class for all of his employees in his factory[251]. His factory was mixed by gender and race, but all were "common people," and he decided this was the perfect group to be 'improved' by learning through art[252]. Barnes and Mary Mullen, an employee of his, held 'classes' using art that he had brought and kept in the offices at the factory. Dewey and Barnes believed art was democratizing and that understanding it, learning from it, improved one's life no matter who or what your occupation was[253].

Barnes had started to read Bernard Hart, Freud, William James, and John Dewey, Nietzsche, Bertrand Russell, Santayana, Tolstoy, and Roger Fry around 1910 as he became interested in art and aesthetics[254]. He was influenced by their work and the educational revolutions happening in England, where some factory owners like Richard Owens started to experiment with improving their workers' lives through education. Barnes started writing his own thoughts about art in articles and started his first book soon after, which was heavily based on Bernard Hart's work[255]. John Dewey knew nothing about the topic of art prior to Barnes, but read the same works and knew the philosophical side[256]. Dewey encouraged Barnes that his workers could understand and be enriched from the very same readings. Barnes set high standards and expected academic rigor and full participation from his workers[257]. His employees responded well and did the readings he provided.

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[250] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 121*.
[251] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Page 389.
[252] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 84*.
[253] David A. Granger, "The Science of Art: Aesthetic Formalism in John Dewey and Albert Barnes, Part 2," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 52 (2018): 70, https://doi.org/10.5406/jaesteduc.52.2.0053 Page 55.
[254] Neil L. Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, volume 266 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2012) Pages 3-5.
[255] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector."Page 389
[256] Craig A. Cunningham et al., "Dewey, Women, and Weirdoes: Or, the Potential Rewards for Scholars Who Dialogue across Difference," *Education and Culture* 23, no. 2 (2007): Page 53.
[257] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Page 389.

Barnes was inspired by these philosophers and art critics with regard to their new ideas about both art and education. All of these authors seemed to agree that art needed to provide something to the viewer, or that a viewer could learn something about life from the paintings. Form, line, color, and subject were all important factors to consider in good works of art, but there was a major reverence for feeling as well. Yet, if good art is not objective and is rather a science, then it would mean that personal preference would carry no weight in its selection. In Barnes's first book, he described art exactly as that. Barnes declared which art was good and which was bad and why. He decided which pieces could qualify based on their specific characteristics, a cold study of their form. Leo Stein criticized the book as Barnes sharing his personal opinions and trying to force his students to agree with him, refusing them to have their own views[258]. Leo Stein deemed that art was always subjective. Barnes disagreed, he studied art scientifically but at the same time claimed art had to be lived and felt and could not be grasped from academics.

In other words, Barnes's ideas were at times contradicting and hard to pin down. Barnes ended up writing a total of five volumes on art and aesthetics most of which he co-authored with Dewey and de Mazia, but he never wrote a curriculum for the Foundation[259]. The classes held at the Foundation always used Barnes's own books as well as the initial founding favorites listed above, but they also always included what Barnes was reading at the moment or whatever the visiting professor Barnes had invited recently was a specialist in. His classes were never the same[260]. Other than Mary Mullen, Dewey, de Mazia, and himself, the Foundation's teachers came and went year in and year out. Barnes fought with all of them and disagreed with whatever anyone else taught.

Even those teachers that were consistent were criticized. Barnes defended de Mazia and Mullen as teachers and never faulted their knowledge of his desired curriculum (at the moment) or their teaching style. He was devoted to these women who had stood by him and worked for him for so long. Students, however, although appreciative of their teachers and their work, saw that the women were not the most qualified or even Dewian teachers. Neither woman had extensively studied or

[258] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes Page 115*.
[259] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture Page 343*.
[260] Rika Burnham, "The Barnes Foundation: A Place for Teaching," *The Journal of Museum Education* 32, no. 3 (2007): 221–32.

experienced art before meeting Barnes, and although they were intelligent and Barnes worked with them for years, taking them to Europe and art museums around the world, they were in no other way accredited. They also failed, like Barnes, to allow the students their independence or opinions in class. They held lectures, that unlike Barnes did not even rapture the students, but droned on in a way that Henry Hart remembers as agonizingly boring and inept[261].

Barnes had invited Bertrand Russell to the Foundation in 1940 to teach a class as Russell wanted to leave California and come East[262]. He was intending to teach in New York at the city college, but there were protests over his appointment at the university, due to his personal life and "immoral" beliefs. So, Barnes decided he should teach at the Foundation[263].

Russell knew that Barnes went through teachers the same way that he went through pens, he never kept anyone around long and he trashed the teachers when he was no longer pleased with them[264]. Russell only accepted the position at the Barnes Foundation because he was desperate for work, having already quit his job at the University of California at Los Angeles. Russell insisted on a five-year contract with Barnes assuming that would keep Barnes from firing him for any potential ideological disagreements that may arise while teaching[265]. And still, Russell only lasted a year at the Foundation. Barnes decided that Russell's wife was too annoying to be allowed around the Foundation and insisted on treating her with the utmost disrespect and dismissal, that Russell, in the end, had to leave to keep the peace at home. Barnes then took Russell's contract as a method to sue him for compensations, for "disappointing his future students"[266]. The lawsuit and the personal attacks, as well as Barnes's vehement abuses of the Russells, ensured the relationship ended like most Barnes was involved in; utter hatred on both sides[267].

The Foundation's educational program was not exceptional for what it taught or in any way the best at teaching art history. Barnes often fought with the

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[261] Henry Hart, *Dr. Barnes of Merion: A Biography, Page 27*.
[262] Rudenstine Page 129.
[263] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector."
[264] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 223*.
[265] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 132*.
[266] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture Page 234*.
[267] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Page 393.

University of Pennsylvania and Colombia University because they refused to offer credit for the courses taken at the Barnes Foundation[268]. The universities were always skeptical of the educational value of the Barnes classes. In 1910 Art History was barely talked about let alone taught and the Barnes Foundation was one of the first institutions to devote itself to the study and to take it seriously[269]. The educational program is unique because it was pioneering and because it helped to develop art history as a topic in universities. It is also remarkable that Barnes found and developed education in aesthetics around works of art[270]. His experiment was unique in using the works themselves and the books Barnes selected for art education. The experiment may not have been successful, but it was quite an inspiring idea.

It was because of his 'ideal' crowd in the factory, that he was forever disappointed in the Foundation's classes[271]. None of which consisted of such 'purely plain' peoples, despite his efforts to attract them. Barnes ordained anyone with previous art knowledge to be blinded to the truth and unable to re-open their minds. For this reason, and due to his uncompromising and aggressive character, the Foundation failed to ever have much recognition or success in the educational world[272].

The Foundation did not even reach the "plain people" as Barnes had intended[273]. While he was alive, he had some students that matched that description, often those he sought out and invited himself. Plain people were always the minority[274]. Barnes often had university students in his classrooms as he endlessly sought partnerships with local universities. He tried working with the University of Pennsylvania many times, Colombia, Bryn Mayr, Lincoln, and more[275]. He was

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[268] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes 138*.
[269] Kazuyo Nakamura, "A Progressive Vision of Democratizing Art: Dewey's and Barnes's Experiments in Art Education in the 1920s," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 53 (2019): 42, https://doi.org/10.5406/jaesteduc.53.1.0025.
[270] Berenato, "A Historical Analysis of the Influence of John Dewey's Educational Philosophy on the Barnes Foundation's Art Educational Experience: 1922 to the Present."
[271] Eugene Garfield, "The Legacy of Albert C. Barnes. Part 1. The Tempestuous Life of a Scientist/Art Collector." Page 225.
[272] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 230*.
[273] Johnson, "John Dewey's Socially Instrumental Practice at the Barnes Foundation and the Role of 'Transferred Values' in Aesthetic Experience." Page 45.
[274] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 371*.
[275] Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes." Page 121.

always disappointed with university art students in his classes, but they were the most reliable source for participation[276].

Since the 1990s the enrollments were low, only about 100 students participate in the educational programs per year[277]. The Foundation has three terms a year, or about thirty students a term. Of these students, the average age is 56 years old (not the traditional student) and most are women (76.5%)[278]. These women are from the wealthy local suburbs of Philadelphia as well and predominantly white. There is no diversity in Barnes Foundation classes today though there was rarely ever any diversity.

Barnes had a brilliant idea and he dreamed of a different world, but his goals were not attained either within his lifetime and certainly not now[279]. Barnes sought to get working-class people who were not academics or art students to learn and grow through studying and appreciating art. He wanted to help improve the lives of the kind of people he grew up around[280]. Yet, he did not ensure that this would be accomplished. He said in the first court case against the Foundation about opening up to the public that:

> "I came from the rabble ranks, as I think most of our people did…. The only thing is, we have risen. I am making no social criticism at all. The only thing is that the great mass of people aren't so very much interested in pictures as they are in killing time…."[281]

Barnes may have dreamed of helping the "rabble ranks" but he had little faith in them. He never gave them a chance to try to take his classes or visit his gallery. Barnes spoke of high and mighty ideals, but he was too biased and prejudiced himself to enact those ideals.

For most of the courses' history, they never provided any credit or degree[282]. Barnes wanted people to sign up to study art, to better their lives, but he ignored the fact that working people did not have the time or ability to spend hours each week

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[276] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 139*.
[277] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[278] Rudenstine Page 173.
[279] Lukacs, *Philadelphia*. *Page 230*.
[280] Derek Gillman, "Albert Barnes and the Rejection of History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158, no. 2 (2014): 107–19.
[281] Rudenstine Page 126.
[282] Anne Sinclair and Shaun Whiteside, *My Grandfather's Gallery: A Family Memoir of Art and War*, First American Edition (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2014) Page 89.

learning for simply their own personal growth. Even the "plain people" Barnes found himself while he was alive and gave free classes too, often dropped out after a few months because they had to get back to focusing on their jobs and didn't have enough time for such a time-consuming hobby[283].

By the 1990s tuition had risen to $650 per course and still, there was no credit or certification possible upon completion[284]. Today, during the Covid pandemic, only the horticulture program is held in person and full tuition is $3,000 per year for three years, upon which a graduate would at least receive a certificate[285]. While online classes are offered in various topics for $220 per class (all classes have 4 meetings) they remain unaccredited. This leaves older well-off bored housewives as the main participants in the education program, definitely not Barnes ideal audience when forming the Foundation, but these are the only students who can afford to spend both the time and money to attend the courses[286]. There are scholarship positions each year, but these were not intended to support the majority of students.

The Barnes Foundation's Educational Method

Barnes learned much of his educational philosophy from John Dewy[287]. He had been reading and using his work in his education project inside his own factory before he ever met or befriended the man. It was not until the first world war that Barnes started to really focus on his own education in philosophy and sought outside help. He arranged to have Laurence Buermeyer tutor him personally and help him understand the current academic thought[288]. It was Buermeyer who in 1917 advised Barnes to go to Colombia University to take Dewey's class there[289]. And it was while attending Dewey's class that Barnes befriended Dewey.

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[283] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 218*.
[284] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 174*.
[285] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[286] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 173*.
[287] Berenato, "A Historical Analysis of the Influence of John Dewey's Educational Philosophy on the Barnes Foundation's Art Educational Experience: 1922 to the Present."
[288] George E Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes," 2012, 122, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315421858-12 Page 106.
[289] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 6.

The two men got on well, despite Dewey being over ten years Barnes's senior. They found they agreed on many topics including in theory on education, democracy, and people's place in society[290]. They both believed that art appreciation and understanding were vital to citizens of a democracy. They believed that there was a lot to learn from art. Anyone could, and everyone should spend time analyzing great works. Art has the power to expand our critical thinking and well-being. Barnes truly believing in this and the equal opportunity of all, practiced it within his own factories[291]. He also provided classes at his foundation with tutors free of charge for anyone eager and passionate to study art[292]. "The Barnes Method—emphasized close looking, critical thinking, and prolonged engagement with original works of art.[293]" However, the Barnes Foundation's education program never lived up to the ideals Dewey laid out and Barnes celebrated[294].

Dewey set his classroom up as a discussion circle, where he sat at the head of the table, but all his students sat around him and were to participate fully in the class[295]. Dewey was always interested in criticism and quizzical thought, even from Barnes[296]. However, the classes at the Barnes Foundation were usually taught in lecture style where the professor remained in the front of his class and was the primary voice of note[297]. Especially, when Barnes himself taught classes at the Foundation, there was no room for disagreements or arguments against his ideas. What he said was simply to be taken in and unquestioned. This is not democratic learning, as Dewey lays out in his books. Nor did the Foundation allow for hands-on learning in practices. While the students had full access to the paintings Barnes had collected and were able to draw them and work around them, they did not usually study the art through painting, instead, remaining constricted to lectures. By keeping

[290] Margaret Hess Johnson, "John Dewey's Socially Instrumental Practice at the Barnes Foundation and the Role of 'Transferred Values' in Aesthetic Experience," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2012) Page 45.
[291] Johnson. Page 55.
[292] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 218*.
[293] Barnes Foundation Website, "The Barnes Foundation."
[294] Cunningham et al., "Dewey, Women, and Weirdoes: Or, the Potential Rewards for Scholars Who Dialogue across Difference." Page 54.
[295] Berenato, "A Historical Analysis of the Influence of John Dewey's Educational Philosophy on the Barnes Foundation's Art Educational Experience: 1922 to the Present."
[296] Cunningham et al., "Dewey, Women, and Weirdoes: Or, the Potential Rewards for Scholars Who Dialogue across Difference."
[297] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 227*.

the general public and most people he deemed unworthy from his art Barnes hardly achieved the universal equality of the masses that he professed to prefer[298].

Despite this, Dewey was the Foundation's first "director of education" in 1925 and after 1935 remained a close consultant to Barnes and the Foundation, always an avid supporter and influential at the institution[299]. Barnes kept the teaching philosophy he used at his factory and brought it to the Foundation. However, while the factory never had many great works, or a gallery to speak of, the students of the Foundation had an abundance of great works at almost their personal disposal. The other major difference from the factory to the Foundation is the way the works of art were arranged[300]. Barnes got the idea to place many works from various artists and various periods on the walls of his gallery before the Foundation ever opened. His ideas about aesthetics led him and the others at the Foundation to understand that art was not met to be seen or organized in such a sanitized and inorganic way[301]. However, it was not until de Mazia arrived in 1927 that the theory of transferred values became a concreate principle of the Foundations philosophical method[302].

The idea of transferred values is that the way you view a piece of art or the message you receive from it depends on its context rather than the work alone. Therefore, if you move the piece to a new wall or surround it with other objects or works of art, there is a changed impression. Therefore, de Mazia and Barnes moved the artwork around the gallery walls and studied it in various locations[303]. In this way, the aesthetic theory did not only apply to the works of art, but the gallery as a whole, and all the objects within it.

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[298] Berenato, "A Historical Analysis of the Influence of John Dewey's Educational Philosophy on the Barnes Foundation's Art Educational Experience: 1922 to the Present."
[299] Cunningham et al., "Dewey, Women, and Weirdoes: Or, the Potential Rewards for Scholars Who Dialogue across Difference." Page 53.
[300] Johnson, "John Dewey's Socially Instrumental Practice at the Barnes Foundation and the Role of 'Transferred Values' in Aesthetic Experience." Page 52.
[301] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 118*.
[302] Johnson, "John Dewey's Socially Instrumental Practice at the Barnes Foundation and the Role of 'Transferred Values' in Aesthetic Experience." Page 47.
[303] Johnson. Page 52.

The Man Vilified or Glorified

Richard Glanton was appointed leader of the Foundation's board from Lincoln University (per Barnes's trust) in the 1990s[304]. During this time the Barnes Foundation was already approaching ruin and needed drastic action. At first, Glanton was seen as a hero, able to accomplish this task, yet soon the tides would turn against him[305].

After Barnes's death in 1951, nothing changed at the Foundation[306]. His trust ensured that things would go on as they had been. All of the current teachers remained on the staff with fixed salaries, and they had worked with Barnes and knew his philosophy, so there was no confusion in curriculum presentation. Violette de Mazia and the Mullen sisters who had helped build the Foundation were still running it. Barnes's wife was now the official head of the Foundation, but she took no lead in her role, other than ensuring things continued as her husband would have wanted[307]. But the city of Philadelphia started to turn against the Foundation, with critics in the local papers and especially from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, calling, as they had done even when Barnes was alive for open access to the Foundation[308]. The papers argued that a tax-exempt institution that held so many precious (and now accepted works of great art) had to be free and open to taxpayers[309].

This lawsuit, which was resolved in March 1960 in the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, decide that the public did have a right to the art. The Foundation was to open its gallery to the general public for free two days per week with a maximum of 200 visitors per day starting in 1961[310]. This decision fundamentally changed the Barnes Foundation and its future. Barnes had kept the institution completely closed to the general public for so many years, and insisted that it was a school, not a museum. From 1960 onwards the Foundation started to shift slowly towards a museum as more and more court decisions forced its doors open. In essence, the

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[304] Michael Kimmelman, "ART VIEW; The Barnes Explores Other Byways," *The New York Times*, April 21, 1991.
[305] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 322*.
[306] Neil L. Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes: The Man, the Collection, the Controversy*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, volume 266 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2012) Page 149.
[307] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 308*.
[308] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 148*.
[309] Lukacs, *Philadelphia Page 233*.
[310] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 304*.

legal courts of Pennsylvania made the Barnes Foundation into what it is today. But it was not them alone. The Indenture and the Board of Trustees' decisions over the years, including Glanton, sealed the Foundation's fate.

The Foundation was in court from 1951-1963 and 1991-2012, this means the foundation was in court for a total of 28 years since Barnes's death[311]. This was not only costly financially, but the Foundation lost a lot of public support during their years of legal battles. The issues were present from 1961 onwards. After Barnes's death, the board of trustees decided, in 1952, to invest the $9.7 million in endowment at only a 2.5% interest rate when it could have been invested at 3.5%[312]. This meant that the endowment hardly grew each year despite the new added costs of public visitors and legal fees. The size of the endowment actually shrank for a few years[313]. As inflation rose over the years and the endowment shrunk, the Foundation began to be in serious financial trouble[314].

The Barnes Foundation tried to get a meager entrance fee approved for visitors as a public museum has more operating costs than the Foundation had when Barnes was alive. Now that the Foundation was open to the public tickets were necessary, someone to issue the tickets, sales communications, marketing and organization, security guards, fire safety measures, parking places, and amenities for the guests to use[315]. All these additional expenses added to the regular maintenance costs of the Foundation structure while maintaining academics and paying for legal fees caused the Foundation to struggle financially.

So, by the 1990s when Glanton took over the leadership role of the Foundation by being appointed by the board of trustees to that role, he had quite a perilous situation to deal with. He knew that major change was needed to reverse the financial decay of the Foundation and to push major change he needed more flexibility than the trust left him. Glanton also realized that additional cash was not going to be made on the Foundation's educational side, but rather there needed to be more focus on the gallery side. He was criticized for not knowing, caring, or understanding the Foundations educational project, he never read Barnes's books or

[311] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. 149*.
[312] Rudenstine Page 153.
[313] Rudenstine. Page 163.
[314] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 337*.
[315] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 163*.

understood art or aesthetics[316]. However, Glanton argued in his defense that there would be no educational aspects of the Foundation if it collapsed and he was more worried about saving it from certain decay[317].

The Glanton critics assume that the Foundation could have remained more of an educational institution than a museum and that Glanton forced it to be the latter since he was only concerned about making money[318]. However, people who use this argument ignore the dire financial crisis the institution was already in and refuse to answer how the crisis would have been solved without opening to the public, asking for donations, or lending the artwork, all the things Glanton pushed[319]. Still, even if Glanton himself did not cause the Foundation to become a museum, his decisions and his frivolous legal battles that cemented rather than ameliorated the Foundation's financial woes ended up causing the Foundation to deteriorate to a point where it's moving to center-city Philadelphia and opening as a public museum became the only option.

Glanton was the first director of the Foundation that was willing to bend the will of Barnes's trust. Glanton expanded visitation hours, sold more tickets during visitation hours, held events, parties, charities, loaned art, and took the collection on a world tour[320]. He persuaded the courts that visitors had to pay to see the art because the Foundation needed to provide many amenities to facilitate their visit. Using this argument, he was able to get a compromise decision from the courts. He also opened the Foundation up to the public more days a week, three days[321]. Whereas in 1960 the Barnes Foundation fought the local court's insistence to open the gallery to the public, now Glanton fought the courts to be allowed to open more frequently. Glanton reversed the Foundation's priorities and this angered many present and past students who saw the intention of the school was being superseded[322].

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[316] Bering, "Art Lovers and Crackpots."
[317] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 343*.
[318] Michael Kimmelman, "ART VIEW; The Barnes Explores Other Byways."
[319] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 165*.
[320] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 338*.
[321] Carol Vogel, "A Controversial Man in an Eccentric Place," *The New York Times*, April 4, 1993, sec. Arts, https://www.nytimes.com/1993/04/04/arts/a-controversial-man-in-an-eccentric-place.html.
[322] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 329*.

Glanton was able to get permission to take the art on a world tour by telling the courts that the artworks were no longer safe in the Foundation's deteriorating building and needed to be removed for several months so that renovations could take place[323]. Glanton also argued that due to the dire financial situation of the Foundation, the world tour was the only way to pay for the renovations of the building. Therefore, the world tour was permitted as a way to cover the costs of renovation and preserving the building so that the works could sit on the walls once more after its completion. The art went to Paris, Tokyo, Munich, Toronto, and made two stops in the US, Washington D.C., and the local Philadelphia gallery only a few miles away from Merion[324]. The tour raised $17 million in much-needed funds and a considerable amount of recognition for the collection that helped draw visitors' interest in coming to see it at home in Merion. But it also sparked protest from the students who had their "educational material" taken from their "classrooms" and over direct violation of Barnes' trust which declared that that art should not travel under any circumstances[325]. In other words, Glanton was good at getting two birds with one stone, but since the world tour money only went to the renovation and building costs, the endowment was still in need of fluffing[326].

Glanton, undeterred, decided to start a legal battle with the local townspeople as the local Merion residents were an opponent to the Foundation being open to the public six days a week. Glanton wanted to reach his ideal number of visitors of 9,600 people a month to cover costs, but the court had sided with the local residents who wanted to preserve their peace and tranquility by limiting visitation to two and a half days per week and a monthly maximum of 4,000 visitors. This was half of the visits Glanton wanted[327]. Rather than agree that the local population had a reasonable claim in limiting visitors in busses, picnics on their lawns, and cars parking in their driveways (all of which already happened often) six days a week, Glanton insisted that the neighbors around the Barnes Foundation where prejudice against him. He sued 17 neighbors and the court for racial discrimination against a black man (himself)[328].

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[323] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 159*.
[324] Rudenstine Page 159.
[325] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. 329*.
[326] Meyers. Page 337.
[327] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Pages 161*.
[328] Bering, "Art Lovers and Crackpots."

The townspeople lost all respect and their will to work with the Foundation after Glanton's "dirty" and "unfounded" claims in a desperate effort to get his way[329]. The court threw out the case quickly as Glanton did not even try to provide evidence for his case. But Glanton insisted that anyone who refused to entertain his desires for the Foundation was being racist. The fees for these lawsuits were placed fully on the Foundation and soon even the Board of Trustees lost faith in Glanton's leadership[330].

All Glanton's actions broke the trust, but he insisted they were necessary and for a while, with profits and renown flooding the Foundation once more, people could turn a blind eye to his behavior. However, this was not enough for Glanton. Soon, Glanton spoke of selling some of the artwork, ending education programs, and changing the concept of the Foundation. He went to court to obtain approval to act as he saw fit, but the court denied him multiple times always citing a lack of evidence for the need, a lack of a compressive plan, and a direct violation of Barnes's trust.

Glanton was a local lawyer known as being a wild card[331]. He was a leading figure in Philadelphia's Republican political circle[332]. Known for being overly keen to litigate, even when he did not have a case, Glanton was also quick to label anyone who disagreed or stood against him as a racist. He was villainized by the press including the New York Times and was made a fool in his court cases[333]. Everyone seemed to see through his attempts to play the victim and his claimed desire to want to help keep the Foundation intact. Many called him out as simply a businessman with no interest in either art or the Barnes's Foundation[334]. His critics saw him as a man who used his position to elevate and promote himself. Saying he would do anything to make money, most of which he threw away frivolously on lost lawsuits, unconstructive donations, and unwritten projects.

In his five-year reign at the Barnes Foundation, Glanton made a ruckus of Barnes' legacy. This spotlight did garner support and attention for the Foundation, but the man himself was disliked and his tenure remains a sore subject to many in

[329] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 162*.
[330] Rudenstine Page 162.
[331] Bering, "Art Lovers and Crackpots."
[332] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 319*.
[333] Vogel, "A Controversial Man in an Eccentric Place."
[334] Bering, "Art Lovers and Crackpots."

the Art World and Philadelphia still today. It is true he saw the issues in the Foundation and was willing to fight to fix the financial crisis, but his methods ended up hurting the Foundation more than they helped[335]. He sealed the Foundation's fate both in relocating after losing the respect of the local Merion population and by leaving the foundation with little respect or connections related to education. The Foundation was now pushed up against a wall with the only solution to accept its fate as a city museum.

Barnes African Art Collection:

Barnes did not only collect French art but was quite renowned for his African Art Collection[336]. He had been interested in African culture since his childhood in the slums, but it was not until he started collecting modern French Art, that he considered pairing it with African Art[337]. There was a growing trend towards African Art appreciation during the 1920s influenced by the Harlem Renaissance[338]. Barnes was not the only one to collect this art, however, Barnes displayed the African and French art together and was the first American to collect African art seriously[339]. He displayed African art along with and mixed between European and American art which put all three on the same level. Barnes' opinion was that the African masks on display at the Foundation belonged as much as the works by Cézanne. Barnes indeed preferred his paintings to the rest of his collection whether that be his furniture, metal, or African sculpture collection[340], still, his pioneering of the collection was remarkable. He saw the mixed art forms as most aesthetically pleasing when viewed altogether.

Barnes acquired almost all of his African art from his second main dealer Paul Guillaume who was one of the first French dealers to move towards the African Art market and helped popularize and include it in France[341]. Barnes and Guillaume

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[335] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 165*.
[336] Pamela Allara, "African Art in the Barnes Foundation: The Triumph of L'Art NÃ¨gre and the Harlem Renaissance," *African Arts* 50 (2017).
[337] Mark Helbling, "African Art: Albert C. Barnes and Alain Locke," *Phylon (1960-)* 43, no. 1 (1982): 57–67.
[338] Hein, "John Dewey and Albert Barnes. Page 107"
[339] Hein. Page 106.
[340] Lindsay Edouard, "Antisepsis with Argyrol, Acrimony and Advocacy for African Art."
[341] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 7.

became good friends and shared not just an appreciation of African art, but also an academic interest. The two men co-authored multiple essays on the influence of African art on European and American art. They were especially interested in African sculptures rather than paintings as was the case with the French collection[342]. It is interesting to discover that the collection of his African art was much more hands-off than his French painting collection methods. Barnes bought the African art en-mass and trusted Guillaume fully to secure it for him[343]. There was far less socialization, direct participation, and a less personal approach to this collection.

Barnes was not completely outside of his time period with regard to race. He did have views of Black people being distinctly different from white people, and he lived in a segregated and hierarchical society[344]. Still, he believed that all peoples should have their cultures celebrated and honored[345]. Barnes did employ black men in his factory and gave them not only good work, fair wages, and fair treatment, but also equality to his white employees (most of whom were female)[346]. He did not have any black workers, teachers, or assistants at the Foundation until after his death, but he did have an occasional black student, which was radical for the time. Some of his biographers' critique even the fact that he did leave the Foundation in the hands of a black university for the reasons he did so. Many of Barnes's critics point to the fact that he chose Lincoln only to stick it to UPenn[347]. Therefore, rather than wanting to help a school that was discriminated against, he simply wanted to use it for his own benefit, to further humiliate his enemies. In similar ways, some of his critics argue that Barnes did not respect African art enough that he thought it should be placed in high honor beside French Impressionists' work, but that it was done to attack, elitism not racism. He wanted to demonstrate that French art was not a snooty, elitist display like some art in public museums, but that it was worthy of the common man.

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[342] Christa Clarke, "Defining African Art: Primitive Negro Sculpture and the Aesthetic Philosophy of Albert Barnes," *African Arts* 36 (2003): 93, https://doi.org/10.1162/afar.2003.36.1.40.
[343] The Barnes Foundation, "Albert C. Barnes Correspondence ABC Introduction: Barnes Life." Page 7.
[344] Helbling, "African Art: Albert C. Barnes and Alain Locke."
[345] Helbling.
[346] Lukacs, *Philadelphia. Page 225*.
[347] Howard Greenfeld, *The Devil and Dr. Barnes: Portrait of an American Art Collector* (New York, N.Y., U.S.A: Viking, 1987), Page 4.

Still, Barnes' collection of African art celebrated African culture and artistic achievements. Unlike most collectors of his day, he did not compare African art to European art or American art but he compared it to other African artworks[348]. He saw African art as a unique and spiritual encapsulation of African identity and character. His willingness to both, collect such art and place it in his gallery spurred other collectors, dealers, and critics' interest in the subject. His collection, no matter his beliefs or reasons, helped African Art rise to the prominence it deserves.

Barnes Private Trust to Public Museum

The Legality of Art Ownership in France & US

France, unlike the US not only has a different legal system, but they have different priorities when it comes to cultural heritage and property rights[349]. France is a civil law country, which deals less with precedence and more on the legal norms that are codified. Whereas the US is a common-law country that focuses more on the past precedence, rights of the individual, and court opinions. Therefore, in France, artists and owners of art have an implied legal duty to maintain the integrity of the work, they are not able to treat a valued piece of art as their personal property in the sense that they can do with it as they please, the government has laws set out to protect culture from being destroyed or restricted to society[350]. This is not the case in the US. In the US, personal property rights are prioritized over cultural heritage rights. There is no legal protection afforded to works of art so an owner of art can destroy it or do whatever they please with it.

The French call this protection of art a moral right or "*droit moral*" which was established there during the 19th century. French moral rights only belong to the

[348] Allara, "African Art in the Barnes Foundation: The Triumph of L'Art NÃ¨gre and the Harlem Renaissance."
[349] Raymond Sarraute, "Current Theory on the Moral Right of Authors and Artists under French Law," *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 16, no. 4 (1968): 465–86, https://doi.org/10.2307/838764. Page 465.
[350] Elina Moustaira, *Art Collections, Private and Public: A Comparative Legal Study*, 1st ed . 2015, SpringerBriefs in Law (Cham: Springer International Publishing : Imprint: Springer, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-15802-0 Ch. 3.1 General Comments.

artist[351]. The right is not passed on to their heirs in equal weight. The heirs only have the right to enforce the artist's right in their stead once they are gone. In this way the right to destroy or have full control of a work of art is only given to the creator of the work, once that creator is gone, the right to full control of their work is also gone. Germany goes even farther than that. In Germany, no right of integrity can transfer from artist to heir, but the right transfers from artist to cultural preservation[352]. This means that the right of an artist's work after he is gone goes directly to community-regulated control. Art preservation and conservation outweighs inheritance or property rights when it comes to art. European countries established such stringent rights to ensure that artwork is part of their cultural heritage and that their countrymen en mass enjoy the right to preserve that heritage. In other words, they value what the work brings to society and the public more than individual rights or wealth.

These rights that cover artwork relate also to how European countries store and present their artwork. In Europe, museums are generally seen as national monuments to their own culture and progress in achievement[353]. This means that museums are open and affordable to the general public. Museums are prioritized in government funding and respected by society. Museums in Europe are not private businesses or for-profit institutions. European countries want their citizens to go to their museums to learn about their own culture and history, museums are an educational place for all of society. This contrasts with the US, wherein there are three different types of museums[354]. First, there are museums built and run on public trusts from an individual or family, such as the Barnes Foundation today. Second, there are Non-profit museums that have been incorporated and formed under state law and thereby receive local subsidies and benefits. Then third, there are some museums operated and run by Government funding, such as the museums in Washington D.C which are some of the few free admission museums in the US. The

[351] Henry Hansmann and Marina Santilli, "Authors' and Artists' Moral Rights: A Comparative Legal and Economic Analysis," *The Journal of Legal Studies* 26, no. 1 (1997): 95–143, https://doi.org/10.1086/467990.
[352] Moustaira, *Art Collections, Private and Public*. Ch. 3.1.
[353] Eva Vicente, Carmen Camarero, and María José Garrido, "Insights into Innovation in European Museums: The Impact of Cultural Policy and Museum Characteristics," *Public Management Review* 14 (2012): 679, https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2011.642566.
[354] Moustaira CH. 4.4.

government-run museums most resemble those of major European capitals, in that they are set up as cultural heritage centers over all else.

In countries like the US and Switzerland, where there is not a lot of money or government backing of museums, private museums and collectors have the advantage[355]. This is because private museums usually have more money and special connections which allow them an advantage in the art market to buy and sell more freely. Whereas government museums are much more constrained in both what they are allowed to do and in their budgets. Therefore, some argue that private museums are better, as they have more flexibility and dynamic ability to acquire great works. This premise ignores two important facts. First, government-funded museums would not have such a hard time competing without a large number of private museums to compete with, in effect without the unfair competition[356]. And second, although private museums can acquire works more easily since they are often more expensive to visit, they usually do not have the widest audiences, meaning that the works they collect are seen by a limited few. However, in France, this is not the case. French museums have plenty of money and also rights, such as a first right of purchase at auctions, and heritages following the death of great artists or collectors.

There is also a legal tactic that varies around the world but does exist both in Europe and in the US. That tactic depends on the legal system in place, but throughout, it tries to use financial incentives to encourage artwork to end up in museums. Some laws try to "convince" private collectors to allow public access to their collections, mostly by offering tax incentives[357]. For instance, the US allows tax deductions of the value of the work of art, if it will be donated to a public American museum. In this way, the law is trying to create in those with great works of art to have a personal incentive for preserving works and opening them up to the general public. Where Europe uses personal tax incentives as well as property restrictions as an incentive, the US relies only on personal incentives[358]. Therefore, Europe's method is more effective at getting art into the public domain, but both aim for the same goals.

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[355] Moustaira Ch. 5.1.
[356] Vicente, Camarero, and Garrido, "Insights into Innovation in European Museums: The Impact of Cultural Policy and Museum Characteristics."
[357] Moustaira Ch. 5.3.
[358] Hansmann and Santilli, "Authors' and Artists' Moral Rights: A Comparative Legal and Economic Analysis."

When Was the Trust Broken and Why?

The debate over the intent of the trust and therefore the way the Foundation should be handled has been heatedly fought over in the court system and press[359]. As already stated above, the Foundation spent many years in court fighting either against their opening to the public, against restrictions in the Merrion suburban location, as well as for opening up more to the public and moving away from the Merrion location after accepting its neighbors' rights[360]. Meaning that over the years the Foundation has wanted and used the founder's Trust under different interpretations, according to their current goal. This is mainly due to the changing nature of the institution[361].

Under Barnes and subsequently his wife, education was the main focus of the Foundation. The gallery was primarily for the use of students to study aesthetics, and nothing more[362]. When the court ordered the opening under tax-exempt privileges in the 1950s, the Foundation started to become a museum for the first time, although it fought against admitting guests until the 1960s[363]. Still, it remained more committed to its educational core than to its responsibility as a museum. So, the Foundation stood against the court's decision to open to the public and decried this interference to the educational experiment that Barnes had set up. The building did not fundamentally change or organize itself towards a gallery for public guests until the 1990s after de Mazia's death[364].

When Glanton took the reins as head of the board of trustees, he decided to adapt to the changing tide. Glanton, understanding that the court's decisions to open the gallery to the public were not going to be rescinded, saw that the Barnes Foundation had already been transformed into a permeant museum[365]. He decided to take advantage of this transformation rather than continue to fight a pointless battle

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[359] Ilana H. Eisenstein, "Keeping Charity in Charitable Trust Law: The Barnes Foundation and the Case for Consideration of Public Interest in Administration of Charitable Trusts," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 151, no. 5 (May 2003).
[360] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 381*.
[361] Eisenstein, "Keeping Charity in Charitable Trust Law: The Barnes Foundation and the Case for Consideration of Public Interest in Administration of Charitable Trusts."
[362] Neil L Rudenstine, "Albert Barnes and His Foundation: Three Paradoxes 1," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 158 (2014). Page 124.
[363] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture Ch. 15*.
[364] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 147*.
[365] Rudenstine. Page 159.

against it. Glanton embraced the museum side of the Foundation and sought to expand that part into the main branch of focus. Therefore, Glanton started to fight the courts to give the public more time at the Foundation, to adapt and update the run-down building into a modern museum gallery with amenities and facilities suited to a large number of public guests[366]. Glanton also realized the financial benefits and opportunities that the museum side could offer the Foundation, which the educational side never had. In other words, Glanton did not make the Barnes Foundation into a museum as his critics' claim, that decision was made by the courts, but he did make it the main focus[367].

Glanton was grilled by the press, past students, and professors, and all those who believed in Barnes' educational experiment for his actions[368]. His complete disregard for the educational aspect of the institute, lack of knowledge on either art or aesthetics, and ignorance of Barnes volumes, the basis for his educational program, sold the world on his "disrespect" for the founder's intent. Eventually, the board had to replace him when it became obvious that his methods were too provocative.

Even after Glanton the board continued to push the museum over the Foundation's educational aspects and prioritized opening more to the public. The Foundation had effectively committed itself to this new role. The Foundation's board started to plea for a location where it could move in downtown Philadelphia where it could really prosper as a museum, in the neighborhood of the other local art museums such as the Rodin and the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The Foundation needed the move for financial and legal reasons. Financially, they had many more costs to cover as a public museum and they also had expenses related to past mismanagement and frivolous lawsuits. The need for a steady income was great[369]. Legally, the neighbors who fought the foundation at every turn in Merion over the last two decades had exhausted them and caused the board to seek to avoid further confrontation. Setting up the Foundation in a more convenient location with ample parking made sense for them now that the focus was on providing public access to a museum instead of an educational center. But the main reason that the courts and the

[366] Meyers Ch. 16.
[367] Michael Kimmelman, "ART VIEW; The Barnes Explores Other Byways."
[368] Burnham, "The Barnes Foundation: A Place for Teaching." Page 228.
[369] Bering, "Art Lovers and Crackpots."

board felt comfortable in the Foundation's transformation, was in fact due to the donor's intent[370].

Barnes wrote, spoke, and philosophized about how to one day, after his death, have his precious collection enjoyed, intact, by the world[371]. He thought about giving his collection to the Philadelphia Museum of Art before they criticized his collection and then wrote them off as an enemy to him. He then considered other museums; however, he always found a fault with the specific institution[372]. So, he decided to pick a university for his collection, but the same problems occurred. In the end, he decided to leave his collection hanging on the walls in Merion as he had it. Barnes was unable to work or cooperate with anyone else, leaving his Merion location as the only possibility. However, that does not mean he changed his mind about his desire to one day have the collection accessible to the general public[373].

Barnes, during his lifetime, wanted his collection for himself and for students who met his ideals. He set up his experiment in a way to further his own knowledge and thoughts on aesthetic education. However, it is clear that his experiment failed[374]. His education program changed constantly while he was alive, as did its teachers (other than de Mazia and the Mullen sisters), and his educational partner institutes[375]. As previously noted, Barnes never had a written curriculum and his education plan was far from being set in stone, it was truly an evolving experiment. After his death, his wife and de Mazia kept it the way it was when Barnes died, but it was not working then and continued to be a niche in the best of terms.

The educational side of the institute was always planned for an extremely limited audience. Lacking outside recognition and controversy in its teachings the educational experiment ultimately failed[376]. Barnes wrote of democracy, agreeing with Dewey about education reform, and that students should study these works by

[370] Abbinante, "Protecting 'Donor Intent' in Charitable Foundations: Wayward Trusteeship and the Barnes Foundation."
[371] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes Pages 180-181*.
[372] Meyers, *Art, Education, & African-American Culture. Page 282*.
[373] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes. Page 67*.
[374] Lukacs, *Philadelphia*. Page 230.
[375] Rudenstine Pages 171-174.
[376] Kazuyo Nakamura, "A Progressive Vision of Democratizing Art: Dewey's and Barnes's Experiments in Art Education in the 1920s," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 53 (2019): 42, https://doi.org/10.5406/jaesteduc.53.1.0025.

post-impressionist masters by working and viewing them with their own eyes. Barnes himself declared that the works should be open for people to work with[377].

Those who oppose this argument cite Barnes's disagreements with those public museums he fought with and his retorts that the public "rabble" do not care to study art and therefore have no right or place being in such a gallery[378]. However, these are words of anger and generalizations. Perhaps Barnes would prefer never to have his gallery viewed by those who do not care about art or aesthetics, but does that mean he wanted to keep his gallery so locked-up and restricted that only those with the money, time, and geographical convenience to Merion, PA could ever view his collection? This notion seems absurd and a disgrace to the Founder's works and philosophical beliefs.

Aside from the intent of the trust, there is also the legality of how to handle precious works of art. In France and much of Western Europe that art is seen as a cultural heritage of the society itself and therefore has special protections against either being destroyed or kept from society at large[379]. Even in the US, there are laws that encourage great works of art to be enjoyed by everyone. Barnes bought his art with his own money; the pieces were his private property and he left them protected in a legal trust. Still, he kept his art in a tax-exempt Foundation from 1925 onwards[380]. In this way, the public was paying toward the art as well. The works in the Foundation consist primarily of French works and with a closed gallery of Barnes's time, completely kept from the French public.

It only seems fair that the court decided in the 1960s that since the buyer of the work and his sole surviving family member's (his wife's) death that the public now had a right to the art because it did not fall under normal property laws. The court balanced the fate of the Foundation with cypress doctrine in following the donor's intent as closely as possible with the public's benefit of a public tax-exempt institution. The court decided that opening the Foundation, allowing it to move, while keeping its educational nature and unique display intact was a fair legal

[377] Kazuyo Nakamura, "A Progressive Vision of Democratizing Art: Dewey's and Barnes's Experiments in Art Education in the 1920s," 2019.
[378] Rudenstine, *The House of Barnes*. Page 126.
[379] Moustaira, *Art Collections, Private and Public*.
[380] Meyers, "Albert C. Barnes: Chemist, Entrepreneur, Philanthropist." Page 66.

compromise[381]. It follows the general idea about how to legally treat great works of art, both in the US and especially in France.

[381] Abbinante, "Protecting 'Donor Intent' in Charitable Foundations: Wayward Trusteeship and the Barnes Foundation."

Conclusion:

During the early twentieth century, the art market did not only shift, it became much closer to what it is today. Crossing the Atlantic was the first step in the art market's further expansion. The art market and all involved with it were swept into the growing economic global dependence system that remains with us today. The historical, political, and economic factors of the period ensured that it would be American buyers that dominated the market during the time because they were the most able to afford to collect. While Europe suffered from political upheaval and bloody conflicts on their continent, some in America were amassing and preserving incredible fortunes that survived the depression and political trials in the US. That the Americans chose to spend their fortunes on French Art, was in part due to culture but mostly due to the early modern artists and their dealers' amazing marketing feats.

The Dealer-Critic system was able to overshadow and eventually fully replace the Salon system due to its own skill. The dealers saw the demand for studios and galleries to show and sell the art that the salons refused. They recognized the shift of popular demand and common supply and they acted upon it. The dealers sold impressionist art to anyone willing and able to buy it, American's or otherwise. The dealers connected the producers (artists) to the buyers (collectors) and made a profit doing it, more so than the salon ever could. And the dealer found and encouraged more people to buy and to buy their kind of art, by working with critics for mutual benefit, popularizing and highlighting the early modernist works. The dealers put on one-man shows for young artists who promised collectors a lifetime of future works and achievements that would only raise their value and these shows further promoted the young artist's names. It was easier for an American collector to purchase an unknown artist after reading about them in the newspaper. The dealers in effect created the American market and spun it to their advantage since they held all the control. Artists were reliant on the dealers and buyers for a few painful years, but eventually, their fame and market value lifted them to a position of power and they all shared in the wealth.

While there were many American buyers who were taken up in this early modern dealer-critic art market fashion, there is one of particular interest as a case

study. Barnes was a relative nobody, but he had the money and desire to collect art, and early modernism was ready to accept him. He took advantage of the low prices of modernist art while supply was high and demand was low, which allowed him to make mistakes, learn the market, and develop social ties to dealers and buyers alike. Albert C. Barnes was remarkable among his compatriots because of his legacy.

Barnes is one of the only collectors that had such a full and extensive assortment of art and the only one to have kept such a collection intact. He collected from many of the early modernist painters and has many masterpieces of the genre. He even wrote, debated, and instilled their importance throughout his lifetime. Through his efforts and as modernist art became more popular and recognized, his own wealth increased. He had purchased his art cheap, but once demand outpaced supply, his collection became priceless. But even more relevant than that, is the fact that Barnes publicly displayed and preserved the ideas behind the art of this time. Barnes detailed what philosophy, educational ideals, and public morals stood behind the early modernist art and those who chose to collect it. Leo and Gertrude Stein left some remnants, but their ideas have been lost outside of their books and essays. Barnes alone set up a Foundation that continues to this day to carry out and teach the times' views on aesthetics and the meaning behind the art.

It has been stated that the Foundation does not actually succeed in carrying out its educational goals. The educational aspect of the Barnes Foundation is no longer, if ever it was, good at reaching large crowds, providing a set education, or developing intellectual thought on aesthetics. Nonetheless, its founder's ambition for it to do so and its existence still today is noteworthy. The Foundation has, if nothing else, preserved Barnes' generation of collectors and intellectuals' ideas and goals. It has kept them alive even if they have not always been widely accessible or taught.

Over time Barnes' Foundation has become a public museum. Its move to downtown Philadelphia has ensured it will remain as such. This was perhaps legally questionable due to US property rights priorities. But its legality has been upheld under the notion of cypress deriving that Barnes himself had intended the art to be open to everyone eventually after his and his wife's deaths. This is further backed up and supported as the Foundation is a tax-exempt institution for the public good and its educational aspects have been almost universally condemned to have failed to live up to the founder's intent for them. The opening of the Foundation as a public

museum has allowed people from around the world access to the vast collection and spotlighted early modernist French art in America. The Foundation's legacy will continue to demonstrate the great cross-Atlantic ties of the early 20th-century art market.

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Appendices:

Timeline of Major Events:

January 1872: Barnes was born to a working-class family in Philadelphia.

Around 1880: Barnes' father lost work and the family moved to a slum known as "the Neck" which was racially and culturally diverse. During this time his mother, a devout Methodist, started taking Barnes to African American churches, revivals, and gatherings.

1885: Barnes graduates from elementary school and is awarded a place at Central High School, a public school for academically high achieving students in Philadelphia. At this school he meets William Glackens, later to become an artist, art dealer, and advisor to Dr. Barnes, traveling with him to Paris.

1889: After graduating from high school, Barnes enrolls in medical school at the University of Pennsylvania. In order to help pay the bills, Barnes started tutoring and boxing. Where he is said to have engraved his love for education and teaching, while also cementing his aggression and quick to give his all to a fight.

1892: After graduating from medical school, Barnes did his clinical practice at Polyclinic Hospital in Philadelphia and Mercy Hospital in Pittsburgh.

1893: Barnes became an assistant physician at the State Hospital for the Insane, after which he decided the medical practice was not for him. He never practiced as a doctor again even though he had the degree, but rather moved into pharmaceuticals.

1895: He moved to Berlin, Germany to study and work in chemical research.

1898: Next he became employed by H.K Mulford a pharmaceutical company that sent him to Heidelberg to continue to work and study chemical research.

1999: He and a friend of his, Hermann Hille, a German, working in a lab together noticed they could create an effective new product. They left their jobs to start their own company, which they called Barnes and Hille.

1902: Barnes and Hille created their new drug Argyrol, a silver nitrate antiseptic, mainly used in the eyes of infants to prevent blindness caused by gonorrhea. It was not the only silver nitrate antiseptic, in fact, that was what was generally used at the time, however, they claimed theirs has fewer side effects and was safer than others on the market. Barnes marketed their product by going to meet doctors personally and letting them test his product for free first, this uncustomary sales tactic was hugely successful.

1908: Barnes feeling like he is doing more of the work for the company while restricted by his partner's opinions, due to their 50-50 share of the board, decides to

buy out Hille and make his own private company. Argyrol is trademarked and Barnes receives all the profits, leading to his fortune.

1909: The US removes tax on importing works of art.

1912: Barnes reconnects with his old friend Glackens and gives him $20,000 to buy paintings he thinks are notable. Glackens comes back to Barnes with 33 paintings.

1912-1913: Barnes was so happy with the paintings Glackens bought he travels to Paris himself and meets Gertrude and Leo Stein. He buys two Matisse paintings from the siblings and comes into contact with the art dealer Paul Guillaume.

1913: The Armory Show, first time Picasso and Cézanne's works were showed prominently in the US.

1922: The Barnes Foundation to be run by Barnes and Dewy is set up and designated an educational institution.

1923: Barnes went back to Paris and with Guillaume saw a painting by Soutine that Barnes fell in love with. He had Guillaume find him more Soutine paintings, met the artist, and bought 54 paintings from him. This extravagant buying from a single artist made Barnes a stir in Paris papers. Barnes met and befriended many young artists, visiting their studios and the shops of various art dealers, becoming involved in the Parisian art world.

Barnes also had a confrontation with Thayer the art critic who ran the Dial, as Thayer had criticized Barnes in his paper.

Barnes let his collection be displayed in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Show, where it appalled most guests and was deemed too avant-garde and disgraceful. This caused Barnes to turn against the established art community in Pennsylvania, something he did not give up on for the remainder of his days.

1925: The Barnes Foundation building is finished in Merion PA. The Foundation starts teaching. However, the art was closed to the public. People whom Barnes thought were worthy or true in their desire to appreciate art, could be allowed to visit upon written request.

1925-1939: Barnes wrote books and articles on art/philosophy of art, especially on that which he had collected with the help of his friends De Mazia and John Dewey.

1927: Barnes and Guillaume end their friendship and cooperation after a big fight in Paris. Guillaume collecting for himself as well as Barnes and the two men's tempers said to be the suspected cause.

July 1929: An American company, Zonite Corporation, buys Barnes' company. Barnes is fully cashed out before the stock market crash in October 1929. This allows his fortune to remain unaffected by the crash.

1930: Matisse, who has become a friend to Barnes, was asked to come to Merion, PA. While there as a guest, Barnes commissioned him to make a mural around the building's windows in the lobby. This is the only painting Barnes ever had commissioned. Matisse called his work "The Dance".

Around 1948: Barnes met and became friends with Horace Mann Bond, the president of Lincoln University, originally a Black university outside of Philadelphia.

1950: Barnes amended his trust to ensure that a representative from Lincoln University would be elected to the board of trustees, while also specifically writing in that no member from any of the other local universities would be allowed to sit on the board.

July 1951: Barnes dies in a car accident. Leaving his art bound in an iron-clad trust, nothing was to change in the Foundation after his death.

March 1961: The Foundation is open to the public for limited hours on Fridays and Saturdays.

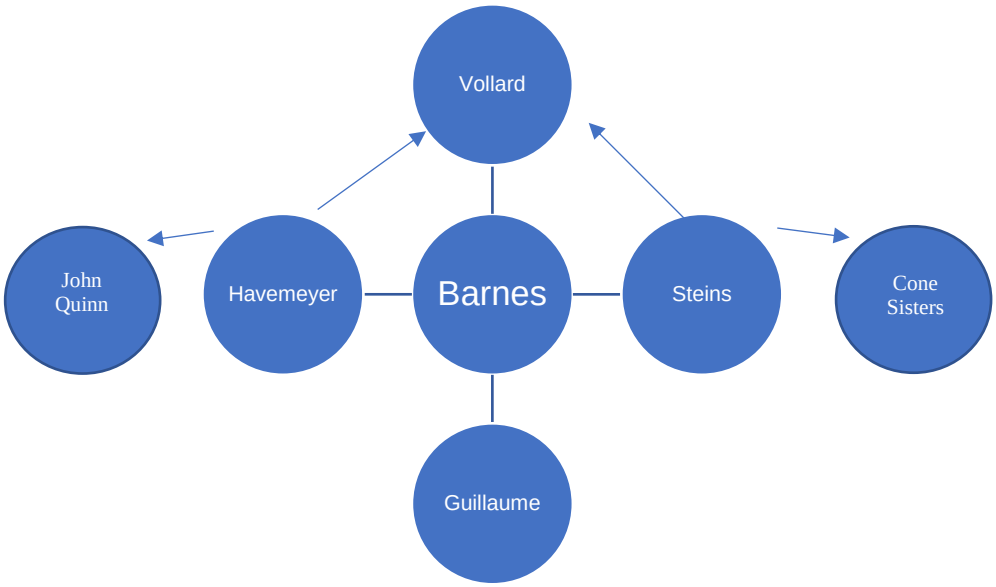
1966: Barnes's wife dies, leaving the Foundation under the control of the board of trustees.

1967-1990: The Foundation is opened up three days a week to the public and starts to become a public museum-like attraction, gaining more recognition and patronage.

1993: 80 of the Foundation's paintings took on a world tour, helping to popularize the art, show the world, and raise money for the Foundation. However, this world tour broke Barnes' trust, especially since the last stop of the tour was at the local Philadelphia Art Museum only a few miles from their original home in Merion, in the hands of the institution Barnes hated.

1995: The Foundation was taken to court over the World Tour's breaking of Barns' trust.

2004: The Courts decide the Foundation's move from Merion to downtown Philadelphia is legal.



https://research.frick.org/directory

Famous Dealers During this Time: <u>Their Major Buyers:</u>

- Joseph Duveen (1927-1933) [UK] -> Andrew Mellon
- Ambroise Vollard (1893-1937) [Fr] -> Albert. C. Barnes

- Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (1907-1959) [Gr, Fr]
- Paul Cassirer (1900-1926) [Gr]
- Herwarth Walden (1910-1940) [Gr]
- Knoedler (1897-1928) [shop founded in US by French Goupil & Cie]
- Nathan Wildenstein & Family (1870-1940) [Fr]
- Jacques Seligmann (1874-1920) [Gr, Fr] -> Henry Clay Frick
- Paul Durand-Ruel (1865-1915) [Fr] -> Mrs. Havemeyer
- Paul Rosenberg (1911-1940) [Fr]
- Georges Petit (1877-1915) [Fr]
- Paul Guillaume (1891-1934) [Fr] -> Albert C. Barnes
- Gustave Geffroy (1880-1925) [Fr]
- Sam Kootz (1925-1966) [US]
- Alfred Stieglitz (1900-1940) [US]
- Edward Steichen (1910-1950) [Lux, US]
- William Glackens (1890-1938) [US] -> Albert C. Barnes

Major American Buyers:

- Andrew Mellon (1855-1937)
- Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919)
- Benjamin Altman (1840-1913)
- J. P. Morgan (1837-1913)
- P. A. B. Widener (1834-1915)
- Collis & Henry Huntington (1821-1900) (1850-1927)
- Mrs. Havemeyer (1855-1929) Collected: (1875-1929)
- Albert C. Barnes (1872-1951) Collected: (1912-1951)
- Gertrude & Leo Stein (1874-1946)(1872-1947) (1900-1940)
- John Quinn (1870-1924) Collected: (1912-1924)
- Cone Sisters (1900-1948) Collected: (1905-1949)
- Mrs. Potter Palmer (1849-1918) Collected: (1980-1918)

Major Modernist/(Post-)Impressionist Artists:

- Picasso (1896-1973) Barnes collection 45 paintings [Cubism, Surrealism]

- Cézanne (1880-1906) Barnes collection 67 paintings [Post-impressionist]
- Matisse (1905-1954) Barnes collection 59 paintings [Modernism, Post-impressionism]
- Rouault (1895-1958) Barnes collection 8 paintings [Fauvism, Expressionism]
- A. Derain (1900-1954) Barnes collection 3 paintings [Fauvism]
- H. Rousseau (1886-1910) Barnes collection 18 paintings [Post-Impressionism]
- P-A. Renoir (1870-1919) Barnes collection 181 paintings [Impressionism]
- A. Sisley (1862-1899) Barnes collection 2 paintings [Impressionism]
- F. de Goya (1760-1828) Barnes collection 4 paintings [Romanticism]
- Claude Monet (1870-1926) Barnes collection 4 paintings [Impressionism]
- Van Gogh (1881-1890) Barnes collection 7 paintings [Post-Impressionism]
- Soutine (1913-1943) Barnes collection 21 paintings [Expressionism]
- Glackens (1890-1938) Barnes collection 71 paintings [American Realism/modernism]
- J. Pascin (1900-1930) Barnes collection 57 paintings [Fauvism, Expressionist]
- Demuth (1910-1935) Barnes collection 44 paintings [Cubism, Precisionism]
- M. B. Prendergast (1891-1924) Barnes collection 21 paintings [Post-Impressionism]
- A. Modigliani (1900-1920) Barnes collection 16 paintings [Surrealism, Cubism]
- G. de Chirico (1915-1978) Barnes collection 13 paintings [Metaphysical, Surrealism]

Only Americans represented in Barnes Collection:

- Arthur Charles
- Andrew Dasburg
- Charles Demuth
- William Glackens

- Maurice Prendergast

Miscellaneous Names That Continuously Pop Up:

- F. Ropes
- M. Dumas
- M. Maurice
- Blanqui

Dealers: Paul Vallotton (~1926)

Galerie Rosengart in Lucerne, Switzerland (~1934)

Paul Rosenberg (~1937)

Pierre Matisse (1938)

Artists: Matisse

Pablo Picasso

Paul Cézanne

Gustave Courbet

Francis Pissarro

Pierre-Auguste Renoir

Alfred Sisley

Vincent van Gogh

Marie Laurencin

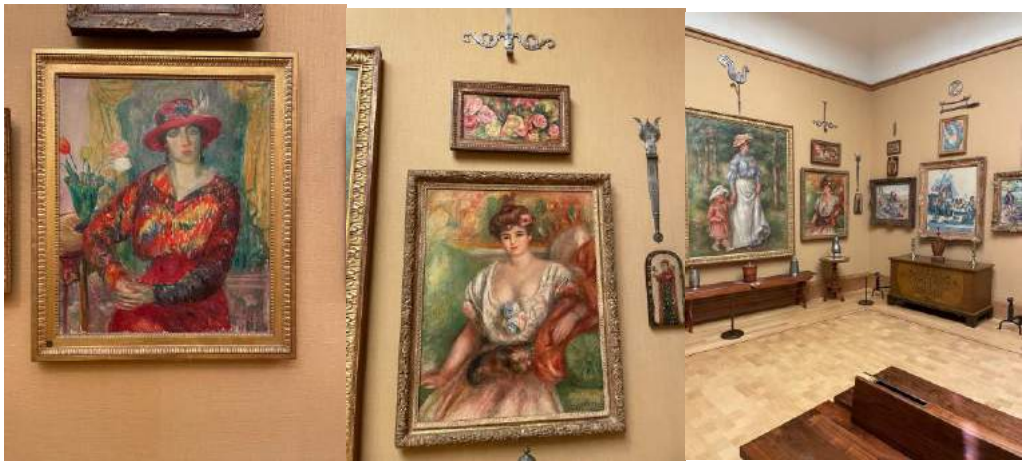
Félix Vallotton

Relevant Philosophy:

John Dewy	George Santayana	Henry Miller	William James
Art lost its local/indigenous purpose, now aesthetic needs to be universal.	Separates art and aesthetics. Aesthetics are momentary pleasing, but give nothing to	Art should awaken people to be better than they are, to show them	Feared pleasure for the sake of pleasure, things should have a purpose, achieve

	the viewer; art should	they can be more	a goal (religion, morals)
Art is part of nature, hence always around, innate to the world, to us.	Aesthetics is about sensuous beauty providing joy. Art is not about joy; it serves a function. To transmute viral aspects of life	An idealization of the common man, of average life, abandon social/political levels	Aesthetic enjoyment without effort, weakens the mind -> less moral character
Art has to be loving, needs to be emotional, perfection can be done better by a machine, humans can express feelings/impressions.	Art should be creative/imaginative, does not need to follow scientific exactly.	The modern man in cities wants to conquer the world and ask questions, but loses simplicity of nature.	One should not idealize men of the past, even if they achieve great works, it is unhealthy to hold them in reverie.
Art needs to be an experience, there is a development in the viewer, growth happens.	The expression of the human spirit is found in science, religion, and ART	Strong concept of unique identity; lost in universal norms.	Art should say something, it should have an ethical or moral component that is expresses well.

Original Photos Taken from Inside the Foundation: February 2021



Pledge of Honesty:

On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

Olivia Christman 11.06.2021

Vita:

Olivia grew up in Pennsylvania. After graduating from High School, she moved to Brussels, Belgium, where she obtained her B.A. in International Affairs from Vesalius College. Olivia continued her education at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, graduating with an M.A. degree in International Studies. During these years, she completed various internships at governmental and humanitarian offices around the world. Her main areas of focus are history, international law, and cultural affairs.

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Thank you to all of my professors, advisors, family, and friends who helped me achieve this goal and succeed in my endeavors.